

# MANKIND

FDR. EDR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

Vol.4, No.8, May 1999

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# MANKIND

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Vol. 4, No.8, May, 1999

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## COMPRADOR BIG BUSINESS AND POLITICIAN - BUREAUCRAT NEXUS

In India, the rise of the every big business house has always been connected with the favours bestowed upon it by some leading politician or bureaucrat.

During the British colonial days, the nefarious affairs were kept under wraps by a racialist authoritarian administration which operated secretly through Managing Agency Houses. These Managing Agency Houses were a typical and peculiar British colonial creation. The White bureaucrats placed their life's saving with managing agencies at favourable rates of interest. The managing agency houses shared the super-profits with their depositors when profits went beyond a fixed percentage point, say nine percent. The shady deals were made in exclusive European and Euro-Indian clubs like the notorious Calcutta Club, the Bombay Gymkhana, the Connemara Club in Chennai, the Chelmsford Club in Delhi and the Cubbon Park Club in Bangalore. There were similar institutions dotted all over the hill-stations, cantonments and district headquarters of India. Everywhere suppliers, contractors and tenderers met the top officials and made under-the-table deals.

For instance, the two biggest business houses in India are the Tatas and the Birlas. These giants also called monopoly houses as they are supposedly regulated by the Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices Act, 1969. (See attached table "The Congress Connection with Plutocrats" giving details of the increase in Fixed Assets

of the top ten Indian business houses between 1951 and 97, reproduced here on p.5 from *Mankind*, April 1998, pp.44-45).

The Tata fortune is based upon the Opium Trade with China promoted and enforced by imperialist Britain against Chinese wishes. It is exactly identical to the narcotics traffic promoted by American mafia lords in Columbia, Panama, Peru and other Latin American countries. In those days, Britain had the temerity and the imperialist verve to fight two Opium Wars 1839-42 and 1856-60. These two wars had been openly called Opium Wars by Britishers themselves. The Parsis of western India were Britain's chief assistants in carrying on this criminal narcotic trade. Amongst the leading Parsi families engaged in this dirty business were the Tatas, Readymonies, Cowasji Jehangirs, Petits and other criminal collaborators with British imperialists. (For Tatas' participation, see Saklatvala and Khosla, biography of Jamsetji Tata in the *Builders of Modern India Series*, 1970, pp 6-7). Various Viceroy's of the 19th century and early 20th century (till the opium trade was abolished by the Republic of China in 1911) were involved with the Tatas in these narco-activities. Jamsetji switched over to steel, from opium, cotton, and the China trade in 1909 and the Tata family has tried very hard since then to suppress evidence of their connection with the dirty opium business.

The Birlas' connection with Mahatma Gandhi is too well-known

to need documentation. Throughout the British period the Birlas manipulated the gold trade and the currency exchange business in a manner akin to that of George Soros, the Hungarian currency speculator who drove down the British pound and made £ 900 million sterling in a coup in 1991. Birla didn't make that much, but made quite a pile in the days when Gandhi lived in Birla Houses all over the country.

The Mafatlals were Patels and closely connected with Sardar Patel. The Kasturbhai Lalbhai group was related to G.V. Mavlankar, the speaker of the CA of 1946-49 and the first Lok Sabha. T. T. Krishnamachari was Nehru's confidant in economic affairs. He had helped the Chidambaram group to spread its wings. Unfortunately for TTK, one Haridas Mundra sought to challenge the Birlas by cozy deals put through the LIC (Life Insurance Corporation). These became a public corruption scandal which was investigated by M.C.Chagla of the Bombay high court. T.T.K had to resign though Nehru brought him back after a little while, as Minister without Portfolio. Strangely enough Chagla had also joined Nehru's cabinet as Minister for Education at the relevant time. Thus the principal accused and the principal judge both became Nehru's cronies.

### 1946-49 CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

A recent example of the comprador-politician nexus is provided by the Ambanis of Reliance who were vigorously promoted by Indira Gandhi and her F.M. Pranab Mukherjee.

A scandalous interview has just appeared in the *Indian Express* of 19-4-99 wherein H.P. Nanda confesses to being far from lily-white in his dealings. He admits that he bribed British army officers with whisky bottles and cash to snap up the best vehicles from the surplus stores sold off by the army at the end of W.W. II in 1945. In 1983 Nanda refused to transfer shares in his Escorts to Swraj Paul, leading NRI industrialist and sychophantic biographer of Indira. So aggrieved were the pair Indira and Pranab Mukherjee, Finance Minister,

that they ordered multiple income tax and excise raids upon Nanda's companies. Lord Swraj Paul was determined to buy up a controlling interest in the Escorts Group through *benami* holdings. He had set up thirteen front companies in the tax haven of Isle of Man. Swraj had begun to corner Escorts shares through these 13 *benami* agencies.

H.P. Nanda had to fight tooth and nail to stave off Swraj Paul in 1983-84. Pranab Mukherjee had slapped Nanda with a tax liability of over Rs. 50 Crores. "On Nov. 9, 1984 nine days after Indira Gandhi was assassinated, the Bombay High Court ruled in Nanda's favour." (*Indian Express*, 19.4.1999).

It is a frightening interview where a shark is complaining about being attacked by other sharks. Nanda admits that he started his tractor company on 800 acres of land leased from the army through wheeling-dealing. We are forcefully reminded of the scene from Orson Welles' *Lady from Shanghai*, in which Welles describes the churned up bloody waters of the ocean as sharks attack each other and ultimately bite their own tails because of the utter confusion!

If we take the other members of the top ten business houses we see the same Congress politician-comprador businessman linkage. The Bajajs are number six in India and Jammalal Bajaj was Mahatma Gandhi's permanent host in Wardha and his son Kamalnayan Bajaj became an MP. Kamalnayan Bajaj was a close friend, school-mate and employer of the Executive Editor of *Mankind* from about 1957 to 1967 when the Executive Editor had been Art Advisor to the Bajaj Group.

We advise our readers to

consult the table the 'Congress Connection with Plutocrats' published in *Mankind*, April 99 pp.44-45 and in part reproduced on p.5 of this issue.

With the rise of the BJP, a new crop of monopolists is emerging.

The Hinduja's have in 1998 displaced the Mittals from the top position as the richest NRIs living abroad. According to the London *Sunday Times*, Hinduja brothers were assigned eleventh position in the overall list of 500 richest Britons last year and this time they have been given the 8th rank. Their estimated wealth went up from £1200 million to £1300 million. Lord Swraj Paul and his family (See above) have slipped from number 29 last year to number 63 this year. Laxmi Mittal's fortune also nose-dived from number 3 last year to number 10 in the latest list. The estimate of his wealth had to be reduced from £2000 million to £1200 million. Shares in Ispat International steel group which was floated in New York in 1997 touched \$30 per share last year but are down to \$8 a share at the start of this year.

The top spot in the *Sunday Times* list is not bagged by a true Briton, but by a Swedish industrialist who has been seduced by Britain's tax laws to make his home in Britain. Hans Rausing who is into the food packaging business (Tetra Pak) has an estimated wealth of £3400 million. It was he who had dethroned the queen who had been till 1993 the richest person in Britain.

As we have learnt from the controversy surrounding M. Guruswamy who had been Advisor to the Finance Ministry till forced out a few weeks ago, the Hinduja's lobby operated directly through Prime Minister Vajpayee, whilst the Essar

group employ Advani and Guruswamy himself and the Mittals operate through Pramod Mahajan.

Amongst the newcomers to big business status is the Sahara Group, who have appointed Amar Singh on their board of directors. Amar Singh is the spokesman and chief assistant to Mulayam Singh Yadav, who was the Defence Minister in the Deve Gowda and Gujral Ministries. Mulayam is the supreme of the Samajwadi Party at present.

The Sahara Group is also an NRI group involved in the laying out and construction of an alternative hill station to Lonavla on the Bombay-Pune highway.

According to Manmohan Singh, Narasimha Rao's Finance Minister from 1991 to 1996, about Rs.5000 crores have been finagled from the public coffers through the latest steel scam involving the Hinduja's, the Mittals, Swraj Paul, the Essar Group and a few more steel-makers (in all 14 steel firms were involved including the Tatas).

As Manmohan Singh put it "the extra undeserved gain to the producers of Hot Rolled (H.R.) Coils would be Rs.5,000 crores". (*India Today*, 12-4-1999). This is exactly what has been going on since 1951 when Chacha Nehru called it Socialism and his daughter Indira said that the government's programmes amounted to *Garibi Hatao*. Her son carried on merrily with Bofors Commissions, paid to the not-so-mysterious Lotus Corporation and deposited in Swiss accounts by the Italian Ottavio Quattrochi who is hiding in Kuala Lumpur and who will return as soon as Sonia Maino is sworn in as India's next Prime Minister! (Luckily for the country, Sonia failed miserably in her bid.)

## THE CONGRESS CONNECTION WITH PLUTOCRATS

1 No.	2 Name of Monopolist	3 Year of Foundation	4 5 Increase in Fixed Assets during Jawahar's "SOCIALIST" Rule (Rs. Crores)			6 7 8 9 Increase in Fixed Assets during Indira's "GARIBI HATAO" Rule (Rs. Crores)		
			1951	1963	BY %	1966	1983	BY %
<b>A- THE TOP TEN HOUSES</b>								
1	Tata <sup>1</sup>	1863	116	418	360	505	2,672	529
2	Birla <sup>2</sup>	1912	153	304	199	458	2,830	618
3	Reliance	1966	-	-	-	166	563	339
4	Thapar	1929	16	72	450	99	572	578
5	Goenka	1979	-	47	-	65	-	-
6	Bajaj	1926	-	21	-	35	384	1,097
7	SPIC Chidambaram	1945	-	-	-	-	44 <sup>1981</sup>	-
8	Singhania	1938	37	59	159	67	674	1,006
9	Mafatlal	1905	13	46	354	93	695	747
10	Kirloskar	1881	2	19	950	43	362	842

1 No.	2 Name of Monopolist	3 Year of Foundation	10 11 12 Increase in Fixed Assets during Rajiv's "BOFORS" Rule (Rs. Crores)			13 14 Increase in Fixed Assets during Rao-Singh's "LPG" Rule (Rs. Crores)			15 16 Overall Increase in Fixed Assets-% Rise	
			1983	1989-90	BY %	1992-93	1996-97	BY %	1951-97	
<b>A - THE TOP TEN</b>			<b>HOUSES</b>							
1	Tata <sup>1</sup>	1863	2,672	8,531	319	20,761	41,679	201	35,930	1951-97
2	Birla <sup>2</sup>	1912	2,830	8,473	299	15,186	27,645	182	18,069	1951-97
3	Reliance	1966	563	3,600	639	6,239	24,102	386	14,519	1966-97
4	Thapar	1929	572	2,177	381	3,811	8,112	213	50,700	1951-97
5	Goenka	1979	-	-	-	4,460	6,174	138	13,136	1951-97
6	Bajaj	1926	384	1,391	362	1,402	5,410	386	25,762	1963-97
7	SPIC Chidambaram	1945	44 <sup>1981</sup>	1,273	2,893	2,442	5,035	206	11,443	1981-97
8	Singhania	1938	674	2,139	317	2,480	4,971	200	13,435	1951-97
9	Mafatlal	1905	695	1,344	193	638	2,300	361	17,692	1951-97
10	Kirloskar	1881	362	633	175	984	2,239	228	1,11,950	1951-97

Source: Mankind, April 1998, pp.44-45

### JUDICIAL ACTIVISM, INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM AND ANTI-CORRUPTION CRUSADES

Let us not indulge in nitpicking and decry the important victory achieved by the citizens of Pune through their signature campaign that fetched a few lakh endorsements, their meetings and demonstrations, which finally persuaded the Bombay High

Court to reinstate Arun Bhatia, an upright IAS officer.

The press played its part, especially the *Indian Express*. Rane's admission in a press conference that confirmed the diabolical connection between demolitions and Bhatia's

transfer was echoed by the entire press corps which itself became evidence before the court. The press conference was reported in identical terms by the entire press and the electronic media and the judges were forced to note that the "diabolical connection" was reasonably established and therefore Bhatia's transfer was improper.

The demolition drive of Bhatia has hurt Congress interests and those of friends of Sharad Pawar, Suresh Kalmadi and other bigwigs. The five star hotel Holiday Inn has been hurt and several other skeletons of the past and present governments have rolled out of the cabinet. The middle class citizens of our country are normally supine. Thieves and policemen chase and kill each other and often bystanders die in the crossfire. Corrupt bureaucrats function openly and without displaying guilt or shame. In a recent case, five men gang-raped a teenaged girl who

was forced to lie between two rows second class berths in a long distance train compartment within sight of all the passengers. Luckily one man refused to be cowed down and alerted the railway authorities and the police to the nefarious goings on. His efforts were rewarded just a few weeks ago with heavy court sentences inflicted upon the culprits.

Let us hope that the Bhatia case proves to be a catalyst and leads the citizens of Pune to a daily battle with the notoriously corrupt municipal and police officialdoms. The fight will

demand grit and determination. It cannot end till a New Constitution guaranteeing to Indian citizens Rights of Information, Bureaucratic Accountability and Transparency of State Business are secured.

All little streams and rivulets of popular protest must combine into a gigantic wave of National Re-awakening and must merge to project a New Constitution framed by a New Constituent Assembly elected FOR THE FIRST TIME on the basis of a Direct Equal Adult Universal Franchise! ■

### AYES 269, NAYS 270

In all the excitement created by the photofinish to the Confidence Motion moved by PM Vajpayee in the Lok Sabha on Thursday, 15-4-99 and amidst all speculation regarding Mayawati's *volte-face* on the issue of abstention; (all five members of BSP voted against the BJP coalition government in power for 13 months), and the thoughtless permission given by TDP Speaker Balayogi to Giridhar Gomango, Orissa CM, to vote in Lok Sabha, and the flagrant violation by the National Conference MP Saifuddin Soz of party mandata, and his vote against Vajpayee; the mindless act of our *chirkoot* (ball of shredded rags) President K. R. Narayanan forcing a debate on the Confidence issue has gone unnoticed.

This petty bureaucrat of the MOEA who clawed his way into the *naukershahi* imperialist recommendation to our comprador first PM, and former Chhota Minister in the Congress Government, proved true to his salt and acted thoughtlessly to please the current Congress boss the non-Indian dynastic inheritor Sonia, nee-Maino Gandhi.

Narayanan's ancestors could not have predicted the one vote margin by which Vajpayee fell. **Our Constitution which everyone knows is a farce, a joke, a travesty and a fraud upon the people, confers undue powers upon the President.** Our current constitution was drafted in 1946-49 by a Congress coterie of self-appointed *dalals* who had been selected by Provincial Assemblies of

1937 vintage which had been gerrymandered on the basis of a restricted communal franchise of the propertied 14 percent. The 1937 electoral roll was used for the 1945-46 poll! Naturally it was largely made up of ghosts who had died or shifted residence in the 10 intervening years. 95 members were nominated by the princelings. Out of 274, 71 did not attend as they represented Pakistani parts of India. This bogus constitution conferred enormous powers on the executive which is headed by our *chirkoot* Narayanan.

Why was Vajpayee forced to seek a repeated Confidence vote? A No-Confidence motion moved by Congressman Sharad Pawar might have lost by a one vote margin! And the country might have been spared the expense of a new government consisting of famished panting and salivating Congressmen who have waited 3 years to raid the Indian treasury! The Congress Party is like a pack of hungry dogs, what they have missed for 3 famished years, they will try to recoup with redoubled vigour in three weeks, since Sonia's Italian mafia set up will probably count its days from day one!

Mayawati has been promised dismissal of BJP led UP government under Article 356, exactly on the lines of misuse of 356 which the Congress has carried out on 96 earlier occasions, Similarly Jayalalitha has been assured dismissal of the DMK government, and exoneration of her

corrupt crimes since her deals match precisely those carried out by Rajiv and Quattrochi in the Bofors matter.

So we will have the next government with 270 supporters made up of 140 starved Congressmen and 130 other Leftist-Centrist-Opportunists. Will the government last as many days as the number of years sported by the Stalinist swines; Harkishan Surjeet, Somanath "MNC" Chatterjee, and Indrajeet "Dog's Tail" Gupta?

These worthies supported British imperialism in the trifurcation of India in 1947. And will they rest content till they have smashed to smithereens Residual India? Kashmir will become autonomous with the help of the fascist daughter Sonia Maino who has remained loyal to Mussolini's teachings till today. As the richest land owner in India, Sonia Maino will now divert hundreds of crores to her INTACH trust 'forgetting the hundred crores she missed when ManMohan Singh was not allowed to rob the people of India in her favour in the 1991 budget. She will now extract the grant due to her INTACH with quadruple compound interest. After all, it is derogatory for the Maino family to leave less than Rupees 1000 crores each to Priyanka and Rahul!

Mayawati made the stupidest speech that I heard on the Confidence Motion rivalling that of Deve Gowda. But the Indian people should not lose heart. Sonia and Jayalalitha will soon be entering the Lok Sabha and then we will have a spectacle that will be fit for the Gods to witness: Mayawati,

Subramaniam Swamy, Deve Gowda, I.K. Gujral, Sonia Maino and Jayalalitha Jayaram, Sharad Pawar, Laloo Yadav etc. will regale the whole world with their witticisms and scintillating repartees. The only question is whether these luminaries function in the Lok Sabha or will they prefer to call it an Acrobatic Ring of Ethical Controtonists?

Sonia never repudiated her fascist father or her dumb-dalal husband or her imperialist idiot of a mother-in-law. Priyanka Vadra is waiting in the wings and living in State-given palatial accommodation, for the first opportunity to join the Discotheque and massage parlour called the Indian National Congress Dynasty Club.

How long will the people of India continue to bleed and pay for the

### COUP IN NIGER

A military coup has just been announced in Niger. (*Indian Express*, 10 and 11.4.99).

It is difficult for me to explain why I was in t h i landlocked Francophile country in the mid -'60s. Perhaps my intention was to reach Timbouctou, which I had decided was "the never never land" for me. Niger was situated at the edge of the Sahara desert in the Sahel. This was the F r e n c h equivalent of the English w o r "Sudan". The Sahel and the Sudan lay between the equatorial forests of West Africa and the Sahara desert that extended almost upto the Nile in Egypt and in erstwhile Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

rich antics of our comprador rulers?

In India neither Victorianism nor Stalinism, nor corrupt careerism can enjoy an early death! They will linger on, well into the next millenium!

What is the hurry? The number of Indians are increasing, however slowly! The amount of blood available for sucking is ever - increasing! The *dalal* does not have to worry. The sex worker is gestating ever more Prostitutes, Devadasis and Salable Commodities for upmarket consumption! These are the real white goods of the Ad-man's lingo.

Only fair game is served! How can Sonia be untrue to her European origins?

As George pointed out in his speech on the Confidence Motion our Indian tradition is to have divergent

As a matter of fact, Mansa Musa of Mali (1307-1332) was my favourite historical character from medieval

*karni* (doings), and *kathani* (sayings). In 1971 Indira Gandhi instructed the Bombay Municipal Corporation's Transport and Water Works Depts. to remove Muslims from all sensitive posts! In 1984 her dumbo son justified the attacks on Sikhs in Delhi, in Punjab and everywhere in the country with flagrant advertisements in daily newspapers calling upon Indians to distrust the *dadhiwalas!* Vajpayee and Chandrashekhar pressurised George to "forget the past because the Sikh's anger may be suddenly revived". George, the weakling, once again gave in, and his truthful remarks were expunged by the Speaker.

The expunging of truth and democracy is going on in front of our eyes. Let us rejoice in our shamocracy, which is the largest in the world! ■

1997, pp. 47-8, which we are reproducing in a box on the next page).

I did reach the outskirts of Timbouctou from Niamey, the capital of

Niger, with a few German friends whom I had picked up just casually whilst knocking about the world in the mid- 60s.

One of the German friends was Fritz Axt, who was a primary school teacher and colleague of Hamani Diori who became the first president of Niger.

Diori ruled Niger from 1960 when the country attained independence till ousted in an army coup by

Lt. Col. Seyni Kountche in 1974. There was not a single graduate in the entire country when Niger became independent in 1960. (Present population 1 Crore).

#### STATE AND CORPORATE POWER

That MNCs/NCs are formidable entities in World political economy is very well known. As a reminder, to our readers, we append a table incorporating the latest available data:

#### STATE AND CORPORATE POWER, 1994 (U.S. \$ billions)

Country or Corporation	Total GDP or Corporate Sales	Country or Corporation	Total GDP or Corporate
Indonesia	174.6	IBM	72.0
<b>General Motors</b>	<b>168.8</b>	Malaysia	68.5
Turkey	149.8	Venezuela	59.0
Denmark	146.1	Pakistan	57.1
<b>Ford</b>	<b>137.1</b>	<b>Unilever</b>	<b>49.7</b>
South Africa	123.3	Nestle	47.8
<b>Toyota</b>	<b>111.1</b>	Sony	43.9
<b>Exxon</b>	<b>110.1</b>	Egypt	30.4
<b>Royal Dutch/Shell</b>	<b>109.8</b>	Nigeria	30.4
Norway	109.6	<b>Top five corporations</b>	<b>871.4</b>
Poland	92.8	Least developed countries	76.5
Portugal	91.6	South Asia	451.3
		Sub-Saharan Africa	246.8

Source: Human Development Report 1997, Table 4.1 1, p. 92

Africa whose fabulous accumulation of gold first attracted the cupidity of the Portuguese royal bandits. We have written about Mansa Musa's famous pilgrimage to Mecca in *Mankind*, (Sep.

A situation not at all unusual in colonial Africa. European brigands had found it advisable to deny education to their subjects, lest opposition surfaced too soon.

Nobody took any interest in Niger till 1971 when huge Uranium deposits were discovered in the north, which area became a subject of invasion from all sorts of MNCs operating from Libya, Chad and Burkina Fasso then known as Upper Volta.

I had a very strange experience in Niamey where the centre of the town had been turned into a living museum of African "Human Animals". Doves of tourists were being taken around in every conceivable kind of vehicle to observe African Society. The citizens of Niger were being observed by Europeans whilst they, the black colonials were going about their daily chores, suckling the children, preparing food in the kitchens, weaving on

waist-tied looms (called *Tangali* in Assam), brewing, milking the animals etc. The Africans were forced to live in "glass houses". Not only had they no privacy, but they had been turned into zoo animals, to be ogled at from the windows of their huts at all times of the day and the night!

Whilst the Europeans were observing the Nigerians, I was observing the Europeans!

After Lt. Col. Kountche died in 1987, another General Ali Saibu came to power who made way for Gen. Mahamane Ousmane, who was ousted in a military coup by Ibrahim Barre Mainassare in 1996.

It is this Mainassare who was fleeing the country on 9th April 1999 when he was killed at Niamey airport.

The name of his successor has not yet been announced!

I loved the trip from Niamey to the outskirts of Timbuctou, particularly the stopover that we made

at an oasis well, where a Taureg caravan had stopped to enable the camels to refresh themselves. The Taureg and Fulani women were absolutely out of this world. I have hardly ever seen such topless beauties in such vast numbers! (Not even at Folies Bergere, Paris!).

We also remind our readers that the multinational corporates of this world, particularly those connected with the uranium - using armament industry, are unimaginably powerful. We are republishing a box relating to the power of the MNCs which we had earlier printed in *Mankind*, Jul-Aug. 97, p.35; on p.7 of this issue.

We also remind our readers of the data published in *Mankind*, Dec. 97, repeated in Sep. 98 where we have shown how the third world is being deprived of \$550 billion per year in Blocked Trade (\$500 billion) and Unequal trade (\$50 billion).

#### MANSA MUSA OF MALI (b.1307-d.1332)

Mansa Musa was an amazing fellow! (Incidentally, he is great favourite of mine!)

He did not know that he was so immensely rich. As a devout Muslim, he just thought that he would make a simple pilgrimage to Mecca.

Mansa Musa didn't realise that he was surrounded by White thieves and bandits and murderers of Europe who coveted his riches. In fact, by hindsight, we can see that it was Mansa Musa who provoked among the European White riff-raff, a covetous inner fury that provided the proverbial last straw to their psyche of greedy hunger. The Europeans just couldn't bear the total failure of their Eight Crusades of the 11th and 12th centuries AD. They had been badly beaten and pulverised into pulp by the great Saladin. They didn't know what to do! Arab-Berber Islamic forces were in occupation of the whole of Spain and Portugal, Sardinia, South coast of France, Italy upto Rome, Sicily, Malta, Rhodes, Cyprus and Crete. In these islands of the eastern Mediterranean, their armies overlapped with the Turkish Islamic armies which had conquered Egypt, Palestine, the Red Sea coast, the Levant, Syria, Yemen, Northern Arabia, the Persian Gulf, Iraq, Anatolia and Thrace, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia, Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and knocked on the gates of Vienna. Again the Turks overlapped with the Mongols of the Golden Horde who were in occupation of Crimea, Ukraine, All Russia (then called Muscovy), Eastern Poland, Prussia, Lithuania, upto the Baltic coastline.

Poor and miserable Europeans realised that their petty feudal principedoms and dukedoms and tiny kingdoms were nothing compared to Oriental feudal power. The Europeans had to break out of their shackled feudal incubus by developing Communes, and Cities, the new centres of capitalist growth.

The Europeans thrashed about frantically. They searched for a North East passage to Oriental wealth via the Scandinavian and North Russian Arctic route. They searched for a North West passage across Greenland, Canada and the Baring Straits. They searched for a Westward passage through the Caribbean and Central America. They searched for a South West passage via Latin America and the Pacific. They searched for a Southward passage along the coastline of Africa and across the Indian Ocean. (This was ultimately the voyage that Vasco de Gama made in 1498.) They again and again looked cautiously and expectantly at the Eastward passage through Turkey, Persia, and beyond, along the Ancient Silk Route to India and China (a route which Marco Polo and his uncles had tried in the 14th century).

Mansa Musa was not bothered about these flies and worms who called themselves European merchants and traders.

Mansa Musa's date of birth is not known. Either the grandson or the grandnephew of Sundiata, the founder of his dynasty, he came to the throne in 1307. In the 17th year of his reign (1324), he set out on his famous pilgrimage to Mecca. It was this pilgrimage that awakened the world to the stupendous wealth of Mali. Cairo and Mecca received his royal personage, whose glittering procession, in the superlatives employed by Arab chroniclers almost put Africa's sun to

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shame. Travelling from his capital of Niani on the upper Niger River to Walata (Oualata, Mauritania) and on to Tuat (now in Algeria) before taking his way to Cairo. Mansa Musa was accompanied by an impressive caravan consisting of 60,000 men including a personal retinue of 12,000 slaves, all clad in brocade and Persian silk. The Emperor himself rode on horseback and was directly preceded by 500 slaves, each carrying a gold-adorned staff weighing about six pounds. In addition, Mansa Musa had a baggage train of 80 camels, each carrying 300 pounds of gold.

Mansa Musa's prodigious generosity and piety, as well as the fine clothes and exemplary behavior of his followers, did not fail to create a most favourable impression. The Cairo that Mansa Musa visited was ruled over by one of the greatest of the Mamluk sultans, al-Malik an Nasir. The black emperor's great civility notwithstanding, meeting between the two rulers might have ended in a serious diplomatic incident, for so absorbed was Mansa Musa in his religious observances that he was only with difficulty persuaded to pay a formal visit to the Sultan. The historian al-Umari, who visited Cairo 12 years after the Emperor's visit, found the inhabitants of this city, with a population estimated at 1,000,000, still singing the praises of Mansa Musa. So lavish was the Emperor in the spending that he flooded the Cairo market with gold, thereby causing such a decline in its value that, some 12 years later, the market had still not fully recovered.

Rulers of West African states had made pilgrimages to Mecca before Mansa Musa, but the effect of his flamboyant journey was to advertise both Mali and Mansa Musa well beyond the African continent and to stimulate a desire among the Muslim kingdoms of North Africa, and among many of European nations as well, to reach the source of this incredible wealth.

Mansa Musa, whose empire was one of the largest in the world at that time, is reported to have observed that it would take a year to travel from one end of his empire to the other. While this was probably an exaggeration, it is known that during his pilgrimage to Mecca, one of his generals, Sagmandia (Sagaman-dir), extended the empire by capturing the Songhai capital of Gao. The Songhai kingdom measured several hundreds of miles across, so that the conquest meant the acquisition of a vast territory. The 14th century traveller Ibn Battuta noted that it took about four months to travel from the northern borders of the Mali empire to Niani in the south.

The Emperor was so overjoyed by the new acquisition that he decided to delay his return to Niani and to visit Gao instead, there to receive the personal submission of the Songhai king and take the king's two sons as hostages. At both Gao and Timbuktu a Songhai city almost rivalling Gao in importance, Mansa Musa commissioned Abu Ishaq as-Sahili, a Grenada poet and architect who had travelled with him from Mecca, to build mosques. The Gao mosque, built of burnt bricks, which had not, until then, been used as a material for building in West Africa, was still being admired as late as the 17th century.

Under Mansa Musa, Timbuktu grew to be a very important commercial city having caravan connections with Egypt and with all other important trade centres in North Africa. Side by side with the encouragement of trade and commerce, learning and the arts received royal patronage. Scholars who were mainly interested in history, Quranic theology and law were to make the mosque of Sankore in Timbuktu, a teaching centre and to lay the foundations of the University of Sankore. Mansa Musa probably died in 1332.

The organisation and smooth administration of a purely African empire, the founding of the University of Sankore, the expansion of trade in Timbuktu, the architectural innovations in Gao, Timbuktu, Niani and indeed, throughout the whole of Mali and in the subsequent Songhai Empire are all testimony to Mansa Musa's superior administrative gifts. In addition, the moral and religious principles he had taught his subjects endured after his death. (Source: EB, Macro, 1983 edn, vol. 11, p.458)

## A NINE-HUNDRED CRORE 13TH LOK SABHA ELECTIONS INFLICTED UPON THE POOR PEOPLE OF INDIA BY PRESIDENTIAL FOOLISHNESS !

We had already written that there was no need for Vajpayee to move a Second Vote of Confidence in the 12th Lok Sabha. He had been Premier for 13 months. The Punjab Chief Minister has expressed the same opinion and firmly blamed Narayanan for the mess (*Times of India*, 29.4.99). If the opposition wanted to, it could have moved either a no-confidence motion or defeated the Vajpayee coalition on any substantive motion.

We had highlighted three aspects of Narayanan's algebraic existence.

He had become a career diplomat and *naukarshah* in the ministry of external affairs from 1949 on the recommendation of a British imperialist rascal through the Anglophile Nehru.

He had a long career as a bureaucrat from 1949 to 1984.

He was a Chhota Congress Minister (from 1985).

Vajpayee lost the confidence vote by a margin of one vote which could not have been predicted by Narayanan or any of his ancestors! Where was the need for such a silly Vote of Confidence?

The plain truth of the matter is that Narayanan acted thoughtlessly as instructed by his habitual Congress masters.

Jayalalitha's letter of withdrawal of support of 18 MPs was effectively nullified by Vajpayee securing 17 more votes from the other MPs. Jayalalitha is entitled to be frantically stupid since she is beset by endless corruption cases, which she

has so far not been able to face or resolve. She has managed to enmesh all cases against her into procedural wrangles and preliminary objections. Things have come to a head now and her foolish antics are a measure of her desperation. What is Narayanan's desperation?

It is true that Sonia was in a hurry to become the New PM and we are certainly happy to record the decisive veto exercised by Mulayam Singh Yadav, an old Lohiaite. In the next Lok Sabha, Sonia's chances will be even less than at present. She has one hundred and thirty-eight Congress MPs now. On what basis did she seek support from hundred and thirty four more in order to make up the magic number of 272?

Look at the little fascist's arrogance. She wanted the support to come from outside without any participation in the ministry! To join the Congress in any ministry is a great political liability which can be compensated to some extent by the money that can be made by a cabinet minister. But Sonia wanted support without any sharing of the loot!

It was fit and proper that the little fascist was slapped soundly on the face.

She had to tell the President that despite days of intrigue, she could not gather more than 233!

Along with Sonia, Harkishan Singh Surjeet of the CPM got his just desserts. From within the CPM and its allies (RSP and FB) he was soundly castigated. Sitaram Yechury and Prakash Karat meekly surrendered, but the RSP and FB leaders, Abani Roy, Debebrata Biswas and Debabrata Bandopadhyay remained firm.

Of all the principal female characters in the power play, Jayalalitha committed *harakiri*. Sonia was totally routed, Mayawati made a complete fool of herself, but Mamata Banerjee of the Trinamool Congress kept her cool. It bodes ill for Surjeet and Basu. Potentially Mamata is the next CM of West Bengal and she is far superior to old Ajit Mukherji and P. C. Sen of the erstwhile Bangla

Congress of 1967-71. It is obvious that the clueless and rudderless Stalinists of West Bengal are in serious disarray and are facing an almost certain rout in the next assembly elections.

Mayawati, the brainless rabble rouser actually got up in the Lok Sabha and charged Mulayam with being a part of a conspiracy to murder her. If she is so certain of her grounds why doesn't she file an "attempted murder" charge against Mulayam. If she can't, she should keep quiet!

How powerless our Parliamentarians are, is revealed by the antics of the President and the Chief Election Commissioner. The *chirkoot* President has forced a 900 crore electoral exercise upon us and the dates of this exercise are being decided by another *chirkoot* M. S. Gill. Who are these non-entities? How can a Constitution which places all these arbitrary powers in the hands of bureaucrats be called a democratic constitution?

One can only hope that the next elections to the 13th Lok Sabha will produce a clear-cut majority for the BJP. Let not the BJP have any excuse for non-performance and non-governance the next time!

After the BJP, let us look forward to a 14th Lok Sabha which will elevate Revolutionary Socialists and Nationalists to power!

We had outlined this Three Step Strategy as early as April 1998 (*Mankind*, pp. 15-17) in the following words:

### MASS EDUCATION NEEDS THREE STEPS

Anti-Congressism is merely THE FIRST STEP.

We can be sure that he who votes for Congress or sympathises with its programme and policies, will never be a member of the Radical Militant Left Movement.

For him, it is necessary to take the first step of Anti-Congressism, before he can attempt to run as a revolutionary nationalist and socialist.

The Indian National Congress is

not an ordinary liberal bourgeois party like the Democratic and Republican Parties of USA, or the Conservative Party of UK, or like the Christian Democratic Parties of Continental Europe. The Congress is a *naukershahi* party with an extremely authoritarian character. The Congress does not tolerate any dissent and the *naukershahi* shoots down all opposition elements exactly in the colonial manner! The number of unarmed people killed in India in police firing from 1947 to 1998 would number several lakhs! The Congress-*naukershahi* combine has imposed Preventive Detention Laws upon the country for all the years since 1947 except for one year during the Janata Party rule (Even that against the then PM Morarji Desai's wishes!) Not satisfied with the draconian provisions of the Indian Penal Code and the P.D. Acts, the Congress has imposed other special laws applicable to various parts of the country, like the Special Regulations for the North-East States, and above all, it has extended TADA from J&K and Punjab to almost all the states of the Indian Union.

### THERE ARE NO HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDIA ESPECIALLY FOR THE POOR.

That is why, Anti-Congressism is the first step.

We have to patiently argue with the people and our cadres, that the authoritarian semi-fascist Congress-*naukershahi* rule has to be overthrown in order to establish the democratic rights of the Indian people.

Secondly, from the beginning of Nehru's rule from Sept. 1946 as Vice-Chairman of the Viceroy's Executive Council, India has carried out all the neo-colonialist and comprador policies, which the Western powers required. The rupee was devalued in 1949 in consonance with the Sterling devaluation of the time. The Partition of 1947 was implemented to the letter as per British dictates and elite Muslim interests have been consistently appeased as per the wishes of Anglo-America. There is

nothing communal about our demand for compensation worth billions of dollars from Pakistan for its thorough-going ethnic cleansing ! Only 4 per cent of the people of West Pakistan belong to the minorities today, as against over 30 per cent in 1947 ! Thousands of Hindu Temples and Sikh Gurudwaras have been demolished in Pakistan. For this, full compensation must be paid to the Hindus and the Sikhs !

**Ethnic cleansing within Pakistan cannot be allowed to go on under an Anglo-American shield !**

We must demand a re-unification of India and Pakistan so that the billions of dollars expended on defence by both countries, that fill the coffers of the Western armament producers, cease forthwith !

This money is urgently needed for the upliftment of the masses of both countries ! Thirdly, we must denounce the hypocritical socialism professed by Jawaharlal Nehru, which actually resulted in extraordinary growth rates for Indian Monopoly Houses led by the Tatas and the Birlas. The Tata Group and the Birla Group increased their assets by 361 and 199 per cent respectively during Nehru's pseudo-socialist rule ! Continuing their assaults upon the Indian working classes and taking the entire period of Congress misrule from 1951-1997, we can record an overall increase in the assets of the House of Tatas from Rs. 116 to Rs. 41,679 crores, or an increase of 35,930 per cent (360 times) and of the House of Birlas from Rs. 153 to Rs. 27,645 crores or 18,069 per cent (180 times) !

It is obvious that this is not socialism in any sense ! It is only Jawahar's pseudo-socialism ! This is not "Garibi hatao" ("Eliminate Poverty") in the true sense under Indira's rule. It was only *Garib hatao* ("Finish-off the Poor"). It was not clean administration by Rajiv, it was Bofors mal-administration ! It was not freeing the economy from Licence-Quota-Permit-Raj by Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh. It was merely verbal balloon

flying with LPG ! (LPG stands for both - Liquid Petroleum Gas, and Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation.)

As stated earlier in this article, the bleeding of India is today proceeding at the rate of tens of thousands of crores, as imports are uncontrolled, as exports are not rising fast enough, as devaluations are outpacing exports, as foreign debt is accumulating rapidly and as invisible outflows are cascading !

We must never forget that the reduction by one rupee in the exchange value to the dollar adds Rs. 10,000 crores to the burden of our foreign debt !

All these facts must be dinned into the minds of our cadres. They may be summarised under three heads -

- Violations of Democratic Rights by successive governments led by J. Nehru (1956-64); I. Gandhi (1st Term 1966-75, Emergency 1975-77, 2nd Term 1980-84); R. Gandhi (1984-89) and the Rao-Singh Disaster Duo (1991-96).
- Neo-Colonial behests carried out faithfully by the comprador-naukersshahi combine over the last five decades. For instance, the devaluations of the rupee from Rs. 3.3 to the dollar in 1947 to Rs. 39.50 to the dollar in 1998 ! Or the Gold Smuggling that was promoted till the 1990s by the London Gold Council !
- The Anti-People Economic Policies pursued by the Congress naukersshahi combine over the last fifty years, which necessitates the twin demands for a New Constituent Assembly and for a New Economic Policy.

But the Anti-Congress stand is only the first step !

The next step through which we must guide our cadres is the Anti-BJP stand !

The BJP programme is pseudo-swadeshi ! The BJP does not stand for re-unification of India and Pakistan ! The BJP accepts the LPG Programme of the Congress. The BJP has surrendered to the Structural

Adjustment Programme imposed upon India by the terrible *Trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO !

English must be banished ! Otherwise the children of our landless labourers can never receive an education that will be equal to that received by the children of our elite!

So long as the Big Five retain their nuclear arsenals, the world is under acute threat. India must be free to exercise its nuclear option if attacked by any of the Big Five and their satellites, like Pakistan or Israel or South Africa or any present or future NATO member.

Article 370 must be abrogated. Kashmir must have the same equal status as all the other states of the Indian Union.

There must be a Uniform Civil Code for all Indians.

India, Pakistan and Bangladesh must be re-united in a Confederation of Socialist States of the Indian Sub-Continent !

This is not all. **We must expose the pseudo-swadeshi platform of the BJP and demand true revolutionary nationalism to combat the neo-colonial hegemony over the world established by the G-7 and OECD powers.**

There is a third step yet ! **After exposing Congress perfidy and BJP chicanery, we must proceed to expose the hollowness of the claims of Stalinists and Reformist Socialists.**

We have time and again listed the heinous Stalinist crimes against the Indian people.

- Foremost among them is the support that the united Communist Party of India extended to the formation of Pakistan, which resulted in the massacre of six lakh innocents in British police created communal riots.
- The Partition of India in 1947 spawned 1.7 crore refugees, the largest single such event known to world history.
- Betrayal of the freedom fighters of the August-1942 Movement by the united Communist Party of India and the party's intimate

collaboration with the British police during the Second World War.

- The dastardly collaboration of the united Communist Party with the Razakars of Hyderabad, and their joint resistance to the Indian army in 1948.
- The support to the Indira government extended by both the Communist Parties during the Internal Emergency of 1975-77 and thereafter.

This is only a partial list of Stalinist crimes against the Indian people. In general, the Stalinists of India have promoted a non-revolutionary line of parliamentary reformism which is perhaps the greatest harm that they have done.

We are revolutionary socialists and nationalists. Our arguments cut both ways. They cut to size the Congress and BJP on one side and mow down equally the Stalinists and the Reformist Socialists on the other.

We do not accept the Common Minimum Programme of the UF government or the National Agenda

of the BJP.

### WE WANT A GENUINE SOCIALIST ORIENTATION.

We have explained our socialist nationalist and revolutionary credo quite fully in *MK*, Oct 1995, *MK* Oct 1996, and *MK* Oct 1997, issues. Thus, these are the THREE STEPS :

**STEP 1 :** Anti-Congressism that exposes the authoritarian, corrupt, comprador and anti-people policies of the Congress-*Naukershahi* regime of the last 50 years.

**STEP 2 :** The Anti-BJP stand, that denounces the pseudo-swadeshi pretensions of the BJP and insists upon genuine and true nationalism that defies the neo-colonial dictates of the world bourgeoisie.

**STEP 3 :** Anti-Stalinist and Anti-Reformist Socialist stand, which explains fully the rationale behind our demand for a New Constitution formulated by a New Constituent Assembly elected for the first time on the basis of Direct, Equal, Universal, Adult, Franchise and for a New Economic Policy that stops the

drain of resources from India and which assures the *Panchabhutas* or five essentials of life, namely, Food, Clothing, Housing, Education and Health Care, to all our people.

In Indian parlance, we may state that we, the people of India, must assume the *Vaman-Avataar* and take three giant steps to conquer the universe. We must destroy the triple devils of neo-colonialism, anti-people authoritarianism and poverty. The world belongs to its labouring masses and they shall possess it! (end of quotation from *Mankind*, April '98, pp.15-17)

Let us remain firm on this revolutionary course ! Let us look forward to a 14 th Lok Sabha in 2004 or thereabouts which will organise a NEW CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY which will for the first time formulate a true democratic constitution of India and which will be elected for the first time on the basis of a Direct Universal Adult and Equal Franchise. ■

## HAVE INDIANS GONE TOO FAR IN APEASING THE NEO - COLONIALISTS?

A flying bottle was about to brain Stephen Waugh as the West Indian crowd at Barbados lost its cool towards the end of the seventh one day international.

Bigwigs descended upon the scene. Gary Sobers tried to sober down the crowd and ultimately Steve Waugh was prevailed upon to recall Sherwin Campbell to the crease. Sherwin had been run out after colliding with bowler Julian Brandon whilst he was running between the wickets. Incidentally, Sherwin was adjudged to be the Man of the Match and Man of the Series later on.

This was in sharp contrast to the cowardly appeasement of Pakistan indulged in by our cricket control board in Calcutta, a little while ago. Tendulkar who was in full cry had been declared run out after collision with the bowler Shoaib Akhtar or Shahid Afridi. I do not remember exactly which. Anyway Sachin had

been obstructed. At that time, Wasim Akram was not asked to recall Tendulkar. On the contrary, Tendulkar was made to go around the stadium to pacify the irate crowds who were later lathi-charged by the Indian Police. The audience had paid for the seats in the Eden Garden Stadium but had been subjected to a brutal lathi-charge by the senseless Indian Police. Appeasement of Pakistan, really Anglo-American imperialists, had been carried to such humiliating lengths by the Indian *dalals* that the simple rule, that whosoever obstructs the batsman must pay for the offence, was thrown to the winds. Why is it necessary to go into apparent motivations of the players? The fair and simple rule should be that no fielder can obstruct a batsman from completing his run. If he does so, his side must pay for it. Pakistan had to be assisted to

win. All the commentators, the Britishers, the Pakistanis and the brain-washed Indians had opined that Tendulkar was fairly and squarely out.

A Pandora's box had been opened. We had written at that time in *Mankind* that who is to judge whether a certain obstruction was deliberate or accidental? Why should not the fielding side selectively stage a collision that prevents a star batsman from completing a run? Who is going to decide whether a certain event was acrobatic theatricality or something else?

WHY WAS SHERWIN CAMPBELL NOT OUT, AND TENDULKAR OUT?

In India the Western powers are so dominant that they can force a Pakistani victory! In the West Indies it is not possible to lathi-charge thousands of paying seat-holders seated in the stadium. The *naukarshahi* that holds all the trump cards in India can be expected to be

ruthless. In West Indies the Whites were directly confronting the Blacks and they did not dare to appear partisan ! In Calcutta, Pakistan was the surrogate and the Westerners could get away with the specious plea that appeasement of a bully is at times advisable !

Pakistan will not be able to post easy victories in the World Cup 1999. India is dominated by Western

media and can be bullied by Pakistan with their help. But other countries of the world are not such easy meat.

That Azharuddin is a poor leader has been proved by Ajay Jadeja. He is also currently in poor form. But in India regional intrigues determine the composition of the team. Therefore, it is more than likely that the Indian team will be defeated in the coming World Cup or

at least it will be very surprising if India wins.

Those who are worried about the rise of the BJP in Indian politics should concentrate on the bigger problem: **Has the appeasement of neo-colonialists gone too far in India? To please the Anglo-Americans must we cringe before the Pakistanis on every occasion? ■**

## AMERICANS MUST BE QUARANTINED FOR THE SAFETY OF THE WORLD !

The latest school shootout, the eighth in the last two years in which Eric Harris, 18, and Dylan Klebold, 17, killed 13 students and a teacher before killing themselves, brings to the forefront the stark reality of modern American culture. Leftists have been calling the USA the Benighted States of America for a long time. But school shoot-outs are taking place on both sides of the Atlantic. The other day in Dumfries, Scotland, a paedophile massacred some two dozen little kids. I do not know whether similar incidents have occurred in other parts of Euroland. I would strongly suspect that the White people as such, who are genetically mixed up with *Homo neanderthalensis* are likely to possess this barbaric trait.

President Clinton came out with a strange statement that, he could understand what was going on in the minds of these two near adults! As a matter of fact Clinton must be amongst the very few who have understood the psychology of the killers.

Actually on deeper thought, what Eric and Dylan have done should come as no surprise to the world. The ancestors of the two school boys and those of the President, had systematically murdered something like 70 to 110 million Amerindians after 1492! (Fidel Castro's estimate was 70 million killed, in his welcome speech at the Havana airport whilst greeting the Pope, and 110 million is the estimate by *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1973 ed.).

Thereafter from 1765 to 1947 British imperialism disposed off 85 million real Indians.

Thirdly, the transatlantic African slave traffic took a toll of 20 million and more.

The fourth great depredation of which the Europeans can be proud was the narcotics traffic forced upon the Chinese, known to the world as the two Opium Wars. (1839-42 and 1856-60).

Fifthly, we can club together all their miscellaeneous crimes, racist genocides and barbarising acculturation in the Pacific islands, Australasia and Sub-Saharan Africa and total up another fifty millions or so.

In all, at least two hundred fifty million peoples of the Third World have been decimated by the White ancestors of Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold and Bill Clinton.

Far from encouraging tourist traffic from the Americas to the rest of the world, the world should take urgent steps to quarantine the Americans who invariably come along with their cultural paraphernalia: fast foods, streamlined cars, match box apartments, pop-music, violent and sex crazy movies, mafia gangs, prostitution rackets, narcotic mafias, serial killers and free market capitalist enterprise.

Let us particularly note the heinous American record. The entire bloody saga of genocidal massacre of innocent Red Indians has been converted by the American White vermin into a romantic epic of

Frontier Adventures, Western Movies and Cowboy Melodramas. The White Americans went so far as to kill the bison which have become almost extinct. The bison were eliminated because they were the plentiful food resource upon which the Red Indians relied. One Buffalo Bill killed 4,280 buffaloes in order to preempt the hunting Red Indians.

Some of the ancestors of present day Americans actually established Slave Breeding Farms so as to supply the plantation owners of the Southern States with necessary labour force.

The Neanderthals are strongly suspected to have been cannibals.

That is why the Europeans are so bloody-minded.

**There is nothing that they will not stoop to, in order to serve some immediate political or economic aim.**

Look at Hitler's record. Six million Jews killed in gas-chambers in concentration camps, plus an unknown number of Gypsies.

Look at Stalin's record. Six to eight million Russians thrown in forced labour camps in the Gulag Archipelago of Siberia.

Consider the facts of the Yugoslav case. Tito died in 1980, till then the six Republics of Yugoslavia had formed a single Federal Union. In 1991 Slovenia and Croatia declared independence. Bosnia-Herzegovina was plunged into a civil war which was going on till 1997. Serbs had indulged in the most brutal forms of ethnic cleansing involving erstwhile nationals of their own country! Bosnian women were used in large-scale camps as

(contd. on p. 29)

# WHO IS A FOREIGNER?

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

Last week in one of the last speeches that Vajpayee made as Prime Minister of India, he renamed the Sahar airport of Mumbai as Chhatrapati Shivaji International Airport. In his speech Vajpayee lauded Shivaji's efforts to free India from foreign rule and particularly named the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb as a "foreigner".

One can understand English imperialists calling Aurangzeb a foreigner as they wanted to demoralise Indians and propagate the untruth that India had been ruled for six or seven centuries prior to their own rule from the 19th Century, by "Muslim invaders and foreigners". **The imperialist textbook writers have assiduously propagated the myth that the Mughals, and prior to them the Delhi Sultans were all foreigners.**

I do not know whether they extend their definition of "foreigner" to include the Bahamani Kingdoms, Sher Shah Suri and his descendents, the Sayyids and the Lodies, the diverse independent Muslim kingdoms of Ahmedabad, Jaipur, Ajmer, Malwa, Khandesh, Kashmir, Bengal, Hyderabad, Mysore and so on, as exactly hundred percent foreign.

In all the armies of the above named and many more similar Muslim kingdoms only the king and his immediate circle were Muslim. Hundreds and thousands of Hindu amirs, generals and dignitaries occupied positions of power in the regimes of Muslim kings. Many of the so-called Muslim Kings and Emperors, Subedars and Nawabs were the offspring of innumerable Hindu princesses and daffing girls.

We will not go into the blood line of Aurangzeb who was the son of Shah Jahan who was the son of Jehangir who was born in Akbar's harem. **We do not believe in this elitist story of royal blood lines and similar nonsense.**

As a Muslim proverb puts it : "I have done well and I am a Sheikh today. However if prosperity continues in my family for two or three more years I will become a Sayyid" ( a Sayyid is a descendant from the prophet Mohammed's family).

There were thousands, nay lakhs and millions of Muslim converts roaming about the length and breadth of India for many centuries. There were dozens of Muslim generals in Shivaji's armies and there were scores of Maratha generals in the armies of the five Bahamani kingdoms (Bijapur, Ahmednagar, Bidar, Golconda and Gulbarga). Particularly in the Bijapur army, to which Shivaji's father belonged, there were numerous Muslim as well as Maratha Sardars. **Anyone who could gather together a band of followers and equip them and pay their monthly salaries, could lead his followers into any army commander's entourage and set about pillaging the countryside.** In fact there is a word in Urdu and Marathi for such criminal activities. It was known as "Mulkgiri" which meant "officially sanctioned and permissible local banditry and robbery!".

The religion of the ruler was totally irrelevant. Many operations were carried out in India over many centuries which resembled the activities of the Christian Crusaders in Palestine and the Levant in the 11th and 12th centuries. There were great religious orders, namely orders formed in the Holy Land at the time of the Crusades: those of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem (the Knights Hospitallers; later the Knights of Malta), Poor Knights of Christ and of the Temple of Solomon (the Knight Templars), Hospitallers of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, and the Teutonic Knights (Knights of the Teutonic Order; German knights who later fought in northern Europe). (*Ency. Brit. Micro*, 1983, vol. V, p. 857).

In those days in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D., Europe imitated everything Islamic, Arabic and Persian.

The whole of Southern Spain, Portugal, Italy, Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, South Eastern (Balkans) and eastern Europe upto Vienna were under the occupation of Islamic armies belonging to Arab-Berber, Turkish and Mongol armies. Europe had been virtually swamped by Islamic forces. That is why there is reason to believe that the Christian religious orders mentioned above (Hospitallers, Templars etc.) were imitating the great Sufi religio-militaristic orders. The best known of these Sufi religio-militaristic orders in India were the Chistiya, Suhrawardiya and Naqshbandiya.

To return to our point of departure, the Indian feudal rulers expended the revenues that they collected from the Indian people in mainly three directions.

1. Warring upon each other, in other words, recruiting and disbanding enormous armies of free-booters who required immense supplies of all kinds of war materials (swords, spears, guns, cannons, tents, fodder for animals and food grains for men as also ten thousand items of logistical support).

2. Public works mainly roads, rest houses, hostels, hospitals, caravanserais, irrigation dams, bunds, canals, tanks, wells, etc.

3. Wherewithals of luxurious living (palaces, forts, vast apartments, gardens, stables, enclosures for processing and serving food, gatchouses, guardrooms, audience halls, carpets, brocades, wall-hangings and innumerable other aids to good living).

There was nothing else that the Indian feudal lord could do: **He could make war upon other feudal lords, or he could carry out useful public works or he could live out his life in wasteful luxury.**

**All the money that he expended remained within the country and increased employment, either civil or military.**

The Britishers were the first foreign invaders of India. They drained wealth from India by sending

out commodities purchased as "Investments". Whatever could be saved mainly out of Indian Land Revenues, after meeting all Collection Charges and Administrative Costs, became in the hands of East India Company officials "Investments". We have quoted many times from R. C. Dutt and William Digby the amounts set aside as "Investments". The East India Company defined Investments as Purchases made out of Current Revenues. These purchases were sent to England as unrequited exports. Nothing came back to India.

That is why we have emphasised the historic importance of the year 1765 when by the acquisition of the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the E.I. Company was authorised to collect land revenue and other taxes on behalf of the Mughal Emperor. These revenue collection rights enabled the E.I. Company to spend whatever was surplus over their collection costs as investments. These Investments were drained out of India. Money collected in India from millions of peasants was now to be spent in sending textiles, spices and other commodities to England, the bulk was to be used as "primitive accumulation" to carry through the First Industrial Revolution of 1765-1860 in England.

As a result of this Drain of Wealth from India, on the one hand, India was denuded of resources and the drain caused Loss of Employment, Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation. This in turn brought about an unending series of Famines of Purchasing Power that carried away 85 million poor landless labourers who were former urban craftsmen. These craftsmen had been pushed out from the Indian towns and pushed back upon land to work on share-cropping terms however uneconomical these terms might have been. There was no other way they could eke out a living. They actually died in front of warehouses, godowns and *mandis* full of foodgrains as they did not have the wherewithal to make any purchases. Foodgrains remained the leading Indian exports all through. The Indian Famines of 1765 to 1947 were not due to shortage in foodgrains production, but were the consequence of lack of purchasing power.

The Mughals and the Delhi Sultan fiercely exploited the Indian peasants. Something like 1/3 or 1/2 of the total agricultural produce was extracted by the Muslim rulers of Delhi as land revenue and incidental taxes. BUT THE ENTIRE AMOUNT REMAINED IN INDIA. It promoted employment within the country and the circulation of commodities was speeded up internally. The soldier in the armies of the various Indian feudalists, the craftsmen working in the Palace and Temple, Karkhanas, and the masons, carpenters, blacksmiths and labourers employed to build all the public works of that era received their wages. The English destroyed the ability of the Indian princes to provide employment and a living wage to Indian peasants and workmen.

We are not saying that the enormous surplus accumulated in the treasuries of the Delhi Mughals and Sultans from the 13th to 17th centuries was not robbed from

the people of India. However the Britishers added a new dimension to the traditional exploitation of the poor by the rich. They carried away the loot to foreign lands where employment increased and where commodity production expanded.

Aurangzeb was in no sense a foreigner. He was an Indian who lived in India and spent all his wealth within India. The East India Company and its successor the British Government drained India of its wealth, they carried away Indian loot to foreign lands where Industrial Capitalism became established, where employment increased and where a very small part of the Indian loot was shared with members of the British working class.

Some of the Delhi Sultans particularly the Khaljis and Tughlaqs used to send small amounts of gold, silver and jewels to the caliphs as tokens of their religious devotion. This may be called a little drain of wealth. When Nadir Shah of Persia sacked Delhi in 1739 and carried away the Peacock Throne you might say that there was a substantial loss suffered by India. But Mohammed of Gazni and Mohammed of Ghori were rulers of Afghanistan which was a province of India. Asafoetida and Lapis Lazuli along with immense quantities of "dry fruits" (almond, apricot, walnut, pistachio, dates, figs, raisins, etc.) were sent by caravans to the ports of Cambay, Broach and Surat for onward transmission to world markets. Afghanistan was a part of India atleast from the 4th century BC to the 18th century AD. From the Maurya Empire to the Mughal, Afghanistan traded through Indian ports. Indian Craftsmen worked in various parts of Afghanistan to enrich themselves and India.

That was not the case with the British conquest. Manchester, Liverpool, London, Birmingham, Newcastle and other British towns grew whilst darkness descended upon the Indian sub-continent. People died of poverty and ill-health here, whilst prosperity lifted up the British people.

That is why we do not consider the Delhi Sultans of 12th to 15th centuries, or the Mughals of the 16th to 18th centuries as foreigners. They were Indians, precisely because they lived in India and bequeathed their loot to their Indian inheritors.

A foreign ruler is one who removes wealth and purchasing power from India and causes the decline of Indian industries and crafts and causes loss of employment opportunities inside the country. Mohammed Ghori, Mohammed Ghazni, Mohammed Tughlaq, Allauddin Khalji, Sher Shah Suri, Akbar, and Aurangzeb promoted the growth of Indian economy and made India prosperous. They were not foreigners but entirely 100% Indian! The Britishers made them into foreign ogres in order to bolster their Two Nation Theory and Divide and Rule Policy.

So many years after partition of 1947, the Indian rulers should realise that Muslims were not foreigners whilst the Britishers were, and that a reunification and a confederation of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh is the solution to most of India's ills, which were created by imperialists and which are promoted to this day by neo-colonialists. ■

# INDIA - PAKISTAN : ELEVEN ROADS TO AMITY

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

It must be stated once and for all that NO AMITY IS POSSIBLE WITH PAKISTAN TILL USA IS PUBLICLY HUMILIATED AND DEFEATED, PREFERABLY BY INDIA. OR IF THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME PROMOTED BY WB, IMF, AND WTO, COLLAPSES WORLDWIDE AND THE ECONOMIC - MILITARY HEGEMONY OF USA IS VISIBLY SHATTERED.

Pakistan is a strange country. It has no freedom fighters or liberation martyrs. The Muslim League demanded Pakistan for the first time in 1941 and Britain created Pakistan in just six years!

Pakistan's freedom was a gift of the Indian people. In the 1937 Elections to the Provincial Assemblies, Muslim League did not obtain a majority in any province which later became part of Pakistan. In the Frontier Province, the Red Shirts or Khudai Khidmatgars won the electoral battle, but Gandhi and Nehru were persuaded to advise the Congress movement led by the Khan Brothers to abstain in the twelve per cent referendum that decided the fate of the Pathans of the NWFP in 1947! In Baluchistan, there was no 1937 election, ridiculous as it was, based on a 12% franchise divided into communal electorates. In Sindh, Allah Bux won. In Punjab, the Unionist Party led by Sir Sikander Hyat Khan won. In Bengal, the Krishak Praja Party of Suharawardy and Fazlul Haq won. In both Sindh and Bengal assemblies, the minority European MLAs were utilised to overthrow local landed interests and swing the provincial administrations in favour of the Muslim League.

Pakistan remained a Dominion

with British -appointed governor-generals in place till 1956. Hundreds of British civilians and army officers continued to function in Pakistan long after they had been kicked out of India. We must remind ourselves that the parting kick of the 1947 vivisection which British imperialism delivered to India, caused 6 lakh killings in police-organised communal riots. The Partition also created 17 million refugees who lost everything that they possessed in the countries of their birth and settled in homes, camps and *bustees* thousands of kilometres away from their original habitats!

AS WE HAVE STATED ABOVE, PAKISTAN IS A STRANGE COUNTRY WITH NO FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND LIBERATION MARTYRS. Before the state of the Dominion Status ended, Pakistan had been compelled to join both the US-led military alliances called the MEDO or Baghdad pact, and the SEATO.

Pakistani army officers and Intelligence Services received prolonged training in American bases all over the world.

One might almost say that Pakistan is a joint Anglo-American creation and enmity with India has been planted there by these two members of the Security Council that wield the veto power.

The UK had become a third-rate power but as a member of the EU which it joined reluctantly and belatedly, it still wields marginal influence in world affairs.

Pakistanis have emigrated to the Gulf countries and the Middle East in very huge numbers. In Saudi Arabia, they form the backbone of the police and the army. In Oman, Jordan, UAE, Kuwait, Bahrain and Qatar the Pakistani NRPs are very powerful. In

UK itself, they have become rich and prosperous. In recent times, Pakistan has sponsored the drug mafia called Taliban which has captured four-fifths of Afghanistan that had been under Soviet Rule from 1979 to 1989. Taliban is a joint creation of CIA and its Pakistani counterpart ISI (The Inter Services Intelligence Agency).

At every juncture, the USA, in pursuit of world hegemony, first pretends to strike a balance between India and Pakistan, forces both countries to spend enormous amounts on armaments and finally baits out Pakistan with generous loans often enough supplemented by overt and covert grants.

With the help of British agents, V.K. Krishna Menon and Mountbatten, the wretched last Viceroy of India, the Western powers manouevred Nehru into referring the Kashmir issue to the Security Council in 1948 and there it has remained for fifty years, festering and suppurating. India has spent hundreds and thousands of crores upon the Kashmir Valley which is a part of its national territory. A Line of Control passes through northern Kashmir and a puppet fundamentalist government of Azad Kashmir has come up in this largely tribal area which was a continuation of the NWFP. The Swat, Dir, and Gilgit Agencies make up most of the territory of Azad Kashmir.

Under the pretence of promoting a "secular alternative" to the present BJP Government in power in Delhi, the two Stalinist parties CPI and CPM and the INC are continuing their pro-Partition policies which vivisected India in 1947. Originally, Sheikh Abdullah was the leader of an anti-feudal State People's Movement. At that time, Pakistan sought the help of USA and UK to prevent the holding of a plebiscite. Later Adlai Stevenson suborned Shaikh Abdullah and offered to make Kashmir an independant state having borders with India, Pakistan, Afganistan, Russia and China. Abdullah was a Third World fool who fell into the American trap. He was jailed for a long time and was later released by Indian authorities. However, a half century of NON-



DEVELOPMENT in Kashmir has created conditions in which communalism has become dominant. Terrorist gangs financed by the CIA, ISI and Taliban have been allowed to enter Kashmir across the LOC at will, and in the last decade more than 5,000 Kashmiri citizens have perished on the Indian side of the LOC at the hands of these mercenary gangs. **India is prevented from pursuing the terrorists to their bases** and the Kashmir conflict remains unresolved after five decades of UN mediation.

Pakistan had one military dictatorship after another: Iskandar Mirza (1955-1958), Ayub Khan (1958-1969), Yahya Khan (1969-1971), Zia Ul Haq (1978-1988) and has always spent one-third of its budget on its armed forces (*The Cambridge Ency. Of India, Pakistan, Bangladesh etc, 1989-Edn, p.205*). Therefore it has received the highest amount of US and European aid per capita (*UNDP 1992 Report, pp. 41-43*). The latest *World Development Report 1998/99* by the World Bank provides data on ODA (Official Development Assistance). Whilst in case of India, the ODA in 1996 was hardly 0.6% of GNP and \$2 per capita, it was 1.4% of GNP for Pakistan and \$7 per capita.

The Pakistani army has survived on American generosity and diversion of funds meant for Afghanistan, where the Americans and Pakistanis have jointly promoted the drug mafia called Taliban.

In 1960, the Americans forced comprador India to sign an entirely one-sided Indus Water Treaty. India gave up its rights to Kabul, Jhelum, Chenab and Indus with all the west bank tributaries also going to Pakistan. India bound itself to use only the smaller rivers: Beas, Ravi and Sutlej. Not only did it not receive any compensation for the gigantic irrigation works earlier carried out on the Indus (Sukkar Barrage, Canals, etc.) but actually agreed to pay, "a sum of £ Sterling 6.2 crores towards the cost of the replacement element of the system of works to be undertaken on the river Indus, Jhelum and Chenab" (*India, A Reference Annual, 1961, p. 575*, where

an outline of the Main Provisions of the Indus Waters Treaty, 1960, may be found).

**This is an endlessly repeated story. Pakistan appropriates whatever it can, India pays Pakistan crores of sterling for the privilege of robbing India.**

At the time of its formation, the Hindu and Sikh minorities in Pakistan made up almost 40% of the population of Pakistan. Today they are only 2 to 3 per cent. India has absorbed millions of citizens of Old Pakistan. But no compensation has been given to India for its quiet absorption of Pakistani minorities. No Commission of Inquiry has been set up to estimate the value of properties left behind by the minorities in Pakistan.

One stupid little mosque is razed to the ground in Ayodhya and the whole world shouts that a great injustice has been done to the Muslims of India. Pakistan joins the Anglo-American chorus, *because it has a right to speak for Muslims anywhere in the world*. But what about the thousands of Hindu temples and Sikh gurudwaras destroyed by Pakistan in old West Pakistan and in the Kashmir Valley? **All this destruction is supposed to be purely secular** and the Stalinist communists never stop talking about the fundamentalist forces in power in India! Pakistan is secular and India is not! Because that is the dictum propagated by the Western media!

Pakistan may destroy any number of temples, churches, gurudwaras, fire temples and viharas. No one is supposed to even notice such criminal activity.

No compensation needs to be paid, though for 6 million Jews killed in the Holocaust, Israel is entitled to billions of dollars in compensation and is still receiving huge amounts from Germany! Swiss Banks had to set up a 6 billion trust fund just last year, against Nazi profiteering from Jewish gold from which in turn the Swiss made money. Just yesterday, a new case has been filed by American Jews against General Motors, Ford and other international giants for making money out of slave labour organised by Hitler

during the Second World War.

Pakistan is America's friend and ally and therefore America must come to the rescue of Pakistan whenever needed. India must not protest even if millions of Hindus and Sikhs are thrown out of Pakistan. Jews are after all predominantly White. Indian Hindus and Sikhs are predominantly Black and Brown!

*Mankind* has demanded an International Commission of Jurists and other experts including Jewish Holocaust victims, to investigate and fix compensation to be paid to India for the endless terrorist activities of the Pakistani State against its minorities from 1947 to the present.

No Englishman or American can be made a member of this team because these two countries have for the last five decades encouraged Pakistan to commit every conceivable crime against its minorities.

Nobody in India can stand for appeasement of Pakistan except stupid Stalinists belonging to the two Communist Parties. They are continuing their pro-Partition policies of pre-1947 days.

**WHAT IS EVEN MORE OBJECTIONABLE IS THE APPEASEMENT OF AMERICA THAT IS GOING ON IN THE NAME OF SECULARISM.**

Thousands of square miles of Indian territories are occupied by Pakistani armed forces in Kashmir and Indians are not supposed to liberate this area!

## II

There is no way out! No amity can be established with Pakistan so long as America and Britain are constantly egging on Pakistan to commit the most blatant crimes against India.

**America must be publicly humiliated before Pakistan can be made to behave.**

However USA is a very powerful country and is right now carrying on armed conflicts with Iraq, Sudan, Afghanistan and Yugoslavia. It had recently sent its troops against General Aidid of Somalia, and bombed a particular military camp in Libya to

kill Gaddafi and his family.

America's genocidal massacre of millions of Red Indians has been converted by its apologists and spokesmen into a Western cinematic saga of cowboys and bandits! According to America, it was all adventure on the Frontier and march of civilisation to the West!

America must meet a major military reverse in its dealings with either Iraq or Iran or Libya or Somalia or Sudan or Afghanistan or Yugoslavia or a combination of any of these countries.

Russia has sent part of its Black Sea Fleet to the Adriatic to keep a watch on Yugoslav events from close quarters. However Russia under Yeltsin's private capitalisation programme is economically prostrate. It is not in a position to militarily intervene against the NATO forces attacking Yugoslavia. America has bypassed UN where Russia and China hold veto-wielding seats in the Security Council.

That is why Russia has proposed a triangular alliance among Russia, China and India. But three weak powers getting together may only represent a beginning of the end of the American supremacy of world affairs! Somehow Japan and Europe must also be made to join the proposed triangular alliance.

There is another possibility. The Structural Adjustment Programme promoted by the terrible *trimurti* of WB, IMF, and WTO must visibly fail. **There are recent indications that this is actually happening.**

China has refused to devalue. Malaysia's Mahathir has succeeded in stabilising his economy with a strong nationalist programme. Japan has moved powerfully to assist the ASEAN countries with more than \$ 30 billion rescue package.

**AND PAKISTAN HAS SUFFURED A SHARP DECLINE BETWEEN 1995 AND 1997 BY TRYING TO FOLLOW**

**FAITHFULLY THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME OF THE WB, IMF AND WTO. THE PER CAPITA INCOME IN PPP TERMS HAS FALLEN FROM \$ 2209 IN 1995, TO \$1590 IN 1997 (SEE WORLD DEVELOPMENT REPORT, 1998-1999). THIS IS A FALL OF OVER 28% IN JUST TWO YEARS! In contrast, the Malaysian Ringgit has been stabilised at 3.8 to the Dollar. THAT IS WHY PERHAPS THE COMMON MAN IN PAKISTAN IS IN A MOOD TO EXPLORE WAYS AND MEANS OF DEVELOPING FRIENDSHIP WITH INDIA. THE AMERICAN ECONOMIC PROGRAMME HAS FAILED.**

If Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia and Singapore can be persuaded to follow Malaysia's example, India - Pak friendship can develop much faster!

American and European media are building up Anwar and his photogenic wife, Azizah who has formed a new National Justice Party to oppose Mahathir's UMNO. However the neo-colonialists are reconciled to a long prison sentence for Anwar.

America has suddenly promoted a trio of women in South East Asia, Azizah Won Ismail in Malaysia, Aung-San Suu Kyi in Myanmar and Meghawati Sukarnoputri in Indonesia. The reason may be that prominent men have become very sceptical of American patronage in these countries.

Another possibility, though remote, is that of establishing a Muhajiristan in Pakistan ( On the east bank of the Indus upto the Punjab, Rajasthan and Gujarat borders) which will be a free trade zone for the nationals and non-residents of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, who will use Kandala and Karachi as free ports.

Or perhaps the building of the Ten Degree Canal across the Isthmus of Kra will galvanise the peoples of the subcontinent to a great effort at bringing about amity among all the

SAARC and ASEAN nations. **The Ten Degree Canal can become a Great Unifying Force!**

### III

Thus, I see only the following eleven alternative routes for developing Indo-Pak amity:

(1) USA is militarily checked by Iraq, Sudan, Afghanistan, Iran, Somalia, Libya or Yugoslavia.

(2) Russia ceases to accept US military hegemony and challenges US supremacy over the world.

(3) The WB, IMF, WTO economic programme receives a serious set-back.

(4) China and Japan take steps to cut US to size.

(5) India liberates that part of Kashmir which is under Pakistani occupation

(6) A Free Trade Zone called Muhajiristan is established on the East Bank of the Indus, in Sindh.

(7) A Ten Degree Canal across the Isthmus of Kra is built as a joint venture by ASEAN and SAARC nations.

(8) Mahathir's nationalist programme is accepted and implemented by Thailand, Philippines, Indonesia and Singapore.

(9) A Latin-American debacle of American policy takes place in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina or Chile.

(10) The Euro becomes the first currency in the world and the American Dollar is pushed down to the second or third place by the Euro and the Japanese Yen.

(11) An autonomous state of Eelam is established in Sri Lanka with or without the help of India. The formation of Eelam will alter the entire balance of geo-politics in South Asia in India's favour.

We should not think of holding talks or negotiations with Pakistan in order to seek to build up friendship with Pakistan. Talks with Pakistan are useless because Pakistan's masters reside in America and Europe.

The masters of Pakistan have to be tackled and this can be done along the lines suggested above. ■

# WAH, KYA KAHEN !

Mankind Research Bureau

## MONSANTO'S INDIAN GOLD MINE BASED ON EVIL DESIGN OF BUILT - IN REDUNDANCY

The Indian government has given the US multinational, Monsanto, permission to conduct field trials of its "genetically improved" pest intolerant variety of seeds in 40 locations in nine states-- Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan, for the last three years. This MNC is collaborating with the Maharashtra Hybrid Seed Co. (Mahyco) for these trials.

At present Mahyco sells these seeds at Rs.400 / kg. But once the Bollgard variety is released to the market, the cost is expected to escalate to Rs.1200 / kg.

These field trials which began in March 1998 are scheduled over a period of three years. Monsanto has claimed that it is introducing genetically improved bollgard cotton seeds in India containing a gene acting against bacterium called *bacillus thuringiensis* (BT) which protects the crop from bollworm, the most common pest that attacks cotton crops.

Karnataka has the largest area under hybrid cotton cultivation (68.8%) followed by Andhra Pradesh (62.5%), Gujarat (47%) and Madhya Pradesh (41%).

Apart from cotton, Monsanto is conducting trials also with sunflower crop in India. Monsanto is also acquiring companies like Pro-Agro, Delta and Pinc, and E. I. Parry which are selling hybrid seeds in India, and has the potential to monopolise the entire seed market.

The results of these field trials in Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh have led to serious misgivings. Farmers in the Harapanahalli taluk of Davangere

district in Karnataka have reported that the BT cotton seed distributed by Monsanto-Mahyco is incapable of regermination. The Agriculture Extension officials in the district have confirmed that **the crop grown over trial fields cannot be used as seed for regermination.** An expert at the Univeristy of Agriculture Science in Bangalore has said that they are not able to detect the reason for the failure of the seeds to re-germinate. In 1996 and 1997, the Kharif crops of maize and sorghum failed in the Kollegal area of Mysore district where hybrid seeds sold by multinational companies were used.

The experiences of the farmers in Andhra Pradesh have also led to questions about the exact nature of what is being tested in these field trials conducted with seeds supplied by Monsanto-Mahyco. In the sunflower-growing belt of Aland in Gulbarga district, the rabi crop has failed as a result of use of hybrid seeds which did not germinate fully. Farmers confronted the dealers who had sold them the seeds belonging to Monsanto and its subsidiary companies. There were attempts to bribe the farmers not to register official complaints of crop failure. Investigations by the Karnataka Directorate of Agriculture have confirmed that the seeds did not germinate fully. There are reports of similar failures of rabi sunflower crop in Bijapur district. The Karnataka Agriculture Minister C. Byre Gowda initially said that no Monsanto field trials were being conducted in Karnataka. When confronted with concrete evidence of such trials going on in the state, he issued another statement that he did not have much

information about these field trials. The Indian government at the Centre has also admitted that India was not equipped with the technology to monitor the imports of genes by multinational seed companies into the country.

The Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR) which consists of 16 research organisations world over to improve the world's food production, has banned 'terminator technology' that prevents regermination of seeds. The research centres supported by the CGIAR will not incorporate any genetic system which prevents seed regermination into their breeding materials.

Another disturbing aspect of this controversy is the neglect by the Indian government of the research in cotton seeds containing the pest-resistant BT gene being carried out by the Central Institute for Cotton Research (CICR). Dr. M. S. Kairon, the director of CICR, has stated that with its intimate knowledge of Indian environment and soil conditions, the CICR would provide additional characteristics in its BT gene cotton seeds and would give Monsanto's Bollgard cotton seeds stiff competition. Other Indian laboratories like the National Chemical Laboratory, Pune, Bose Institute, Calcutta, Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi and the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre, Mumbai are also conducting transgenic experiments. But while giving complete freedom to Monsanto to conduct trials in India, the Indian government is providing very poor funding to the indigenous research by our laboratories.

Farmers in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka are organising protests against this onslaught of a multinational on their centuries-old right to make their own seeds. The spontaneous anger of the farmers first found expression in the burning of the experimental fields in Warangal, A.P and Raichur and Bellary in Karnataka. In Warangal, 500 farmers have committed suicide last year as a result of debts incurred to buy hybrid seeds. This year in 200 villages, over an area

of 36,000 acres has been under cotton seeds sold by private corporations.

The Andhra Pradesh Ryot Sangha (APRS), the Deccan Development Society, the Karnataka Rajya Raittha Sangha (KRRS), Bharatiya Kisan Sangh and many other organisations have now taken the lead in channelising the farmers' protest against the stranglehold of the MNCs over their livelihood. The Andhra Pradesh Assembly has been

## CRIMINAL COLLUSION IN CRICKET

The World Cup Cricket in May 1999, has brought out into the open the murky goings-on in the government-owned Doordarshan (DD).

Sports events have become mega business for television. **The normal advertising from sports events gives DD Rs.150 crore and the Cricket World Cup is expected to earn for DD an additional Rs.100 crore in advertising.** But these big earnings never reach DD's coffers. It was alleged that a small budget of Rs.14 crore was responsible for DD's poor earnings and its marketing was also not aggressive and efficient. Therefore, in March 1998, DD got together with Stracon, Creative Eye, UTV and Nimbus Communications to improve its sports coverage and to increase its ad revenues from sports events.

But in less than a month, Nimbus Communications, one of the partners to the consortium set up by DD, has lodged a complaint with the Prasar Bharati Board that Stracon, another member of the consortium, has cheated the DD in the World Cup deal. One Deputy Director-General of DD has been asked to go on a

## BHATIA ON RIGHT

Arun Bhatia, the Municipal Commissioner of Pune who was recently reinstated by a Mumbai High Court order, stated in the course of a speech delivered in the city that the general public should change its attitude to IAS officers. Most citizens regard the bureaucrats as qualified, brilliant, efficient and good men. Bhatia asked the audience, "Why is

pressurised to **ban all trials and to uproot the BT crop** in Rentachintala, Manganur, Dendukar, Nagarur, Kothagodhi and Ponnari.

In Karnataka, the KRRS has planned to file criminal cases against the Central and the State governments under the Union Seed Act for permitting BT cotton trials by Monsanto.

In February 1999, the Supreme Court has issued notices to the

month's leave for his suspected links with Stracon. The Prasar Bharati has also appointed a capital market expert to examine DD accounts and submit a report in a month. An internal audit to look into specific cases of irregularities has also been set up. But the attempts by the Acting Chief Executive of Prasar Bharati to get Stracon to give a **minimum guarantee fee of Rs. 35 crores** to DD as well as a better share of revenues generated, **have failed.**

There was a similar squabble between DD and World Tel during the last World Cup which led to the **DD having to pay \$7.5 million in damages to World Tel as ordered by the courts.**

The chief managing director of Stracon Siddhartha Ray, is a former employee of DD. Stracon has asked the Delhi High Court to stop Prasar Bharati from breaking the consortium agreement. The court has ordered DD and Stracon to reach an out-of-court settlement.

A number of incidents have strengthened the impression of a collusion between some DD staff members and Stracon.

1. Stracon was handed the

## TO INFORMATION

**the government machinery so slow, inefficient and corrupt if the IAS officers were good.?"**

He also highlighted the **absence of the provision of right to information in India, a so-called democracy. He said that freedom of expression has no meaning if citizens have no access to information.** He cited the example of

Ministries of Science and Technology, Agriculture, and Forests as a result of a public interest litigation which challenged the permission given to Monsanto to conduct field trials of genetically engineered cotton seeds.

The organisations which have mobilised the farmers are planning to **intensify the campaign against Monsanto over the next three months in all the nine states.** ■

exclusive marketing of the Football World Cup last year. This was done in violation of an agreement which specifies that the consortium (Stracon, Creative Eye, UTV and Nimbus Communications) would handle the event jointly. In addition to getting exclusive marketing of the Football World Cup, Stracon was also given unlimited free commercial time (FCT) without fixing the advertising rates.

2. For the ICC knockout Cricket Tournament in Dhaka in October 1998, DD asked Nimbus Communications to withdraw its bid and signed an agreement with Stracon on the same day. Stracon bought the rights to this event on DD's behalf for \$11 million in spite of a \$8 million limit fixed by DD. **Nimbus had offered a profit of \$6 million to DD, but Stracon was preferred which yielded DD just \$3 million.**

3. A similar favour was done to Stracon in September 1998 Indian tour of Zimbabwe.

Doordarshan seems to be steadily the loser in these **collusions between its ex-staffers representing MNC interests, and its current officers.** ■

the American constitution where any citizen can seek official information and any official denying such information can go to jail. In the developed countries, citizens' groups are demanding the right to information on defence-related and foreign policy issues as well as matters related to the national security. ■

# HAWA KA EK JHONKA

## DAYLIGHT THEFT BY RELIANCE AND ENRON

● When we say that this government is run for the benefit of the Tatas and the Birlas, we also include the Ambanis and the remaining members of the 59 monopoly houses listed by us in *Mankind*, April 98. One of the favourite methods of built-in bureaucratic bungle is to privatise the oil exploration industry with deliberately underestimated reserves. Once the tenders have been opened and the fields allocated to private parties, then the reserves are rapidly raised to the true figure.

For instance the Mukta Panna oil fields allocated to Enron-Reliance venture experienced the sharpest increase. In the case of the Mukta field estimates of in-place reserves of oil shot up from a mere eleven million metric tonnes to ninety million metric tonnes. Recoverable reserves went up from one million to 14 million metric tonnes.

Reserves of oil at Panna went up from 94 million to 136 million metric tonnes. Mukta-Panna fields are run by Enron Oil and Gas-Reliance Petroleum combine with 30% stake of each partner and 40% held by the GOI.

It may be contended by apologists that since the governments stake is 40%, India also benefits. But it should not be forgotten that the old tenders were judged on a lower reserves figure and 60% of the additional benefit will go to Enron and Reliance.

In case of the Enron-Reliance Tapti gas field, it is now estimated that the in place gas reserves are around 132 billion cubic metres as against the original estimates of 67 billion. The ultimate recoverable reserves are currently 96 billion cubic metres or three times the original estimate of 31 billion cubic metres.

An idea of the bureaucratic theft may be had from the following table:

Gas Field	Original Estimate	Current Estimate
Panna (Enron-Reliance)	94.2	136.6
Mukta (Enron-Reliance)	10.9	89.9
Tapti (Enron-Reliance)	67.0	131.7
Ravva (Videocón)	34.8	55.2
PY-3 (Hardy Oil)	22.3	8.5
Kharsang (Geo Enpro)	19.1	18.8

All figures for in-place reserves in million tonnes for oil and in billion cubic metres for gas.  
Source: *Indian Express*, 11.2.99

## GEORGE SOROS IS THE LATEST TO SEE A MIRAGE IN THE DESERT OF CAPITALISM

● George Soros, the Hungarian adventurer who made £900 million in a coup against the Bank of England, is the latest to join the ranks of the hundreds who have been mystified and stupefied by capitalism. In his latest book, *The Crisis of Global Capitalism*, Soros sees a drugged vision: "I do not want to abolish capitalism. In spite of its shortcomings, it is better than the alternatives. Instead, I want to prevent the global capitalist system from destroying itself".

Because Soros is not used to serious thinking, he blames, what he calls *market fundamentalism* for the current crisis of the global economy. "Market fundamentalism sees society solely in terms of its transactional relationships held together only by the dominating factors of money and

profit". (*Indian Express*, 21.2.99).

The simple truth is that if every producer marked up the price of the product to take care of his personal profits, it is impossible for the total purchasing power distributed as wages and salaries to absorb the total annual output. Therefore, periodic crisis of overproduction and underconsumption are inevitable, which often manifest themselves as wars, bankruptcies and destitution.

There have been hundreds before Soros who have sought to make capitalism work. It is like squaring a circle. It just can't be done! ■

## MARK TULLY IS ALSO DOUBLE-FACED

● On the one hand, Mark Tully, the former BBC correspondent in India, has correctly judged that "India must drastically reform its bureaucracy and judiciary to get rid of the 'colonial hangover' and flourish to its full potential."

On the other hand, as a typical damn fool Briton, Tully has also declared that "if a country is to be colonised it is always better to be colonised by the British".

Unfortunately the damn fool Briton has not understood the significance of 1765 when the *Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was acquired by the E.I. Company; and from which year the Drain of Wealth from India began and became a flood-tide. This drain resulted in the Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation of India and created a regime of permanent Famines of Purchasing Power that killed off over 85 million poor and dalit Indians.

However, when Amartya Sen chooses to investigate the Famines of Purchasing Power in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 20th century, rather than in the classic case of India between 1765-1947, why should we be angry with Mark Tully alone. There are many more Bengali *bhadralok* and Indian compradors generally, who are equally guilty with Tully of closing their eyes to the

reality of British colonialism in its operations in India! ■

### **TWO CHIRKOOTS BECOME CONSTITUTIONALLY ELEVATED !**

● It is galling for old freedom fighters like me to see the media give so much importance to pure careerist *chirkoots*. Neither Narayanan, the President nor Gill, the Election Commissioner deserve the amount of public attention they have drawn. They have never done a day's work in their lifetimes without drawing salaries from the public exchequer.

**They have served India in the sense that they have made India serve their personal ends.**

Who are they to decide about the dates of the elections to the 13th Lok Sabha?

Why should they consult various political leaders and parties? Who are they to judge?

**It should be the exclusive privilege of the resigning Prime Minister to set the dates for the next General Elections!**

**AS WE HAVE REPEATEDLY SHOWN, OUR PRESENT DOMINION STATUS CONSTITUTION OF 1946-9 IS A FRAUD, A TRAVESTY, A JOKE AND A FARCE !**

Its contours were framed by a Congress coterie of compradors who were one-third nominated by the princelings, two-thirds indirectly selected by Provincial Assemblies of 1937 vintage with a franchise of 12 to 14% fractioned into about 70 communal electorates.

**THE PROVISIONS OF THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION CAN NEVER BE SACROSANCT.**

The present constitution has elevated Narayanan and Gill, the two *chirkoots*, to positions of eminence which they do not deserve.

The first constitution of free India is yet to be drafted. The present constitution is a disreputable horror and an unmitigated disaster. ■

### **NARMADA NEEDS TO BE SAVED ONCE AGAIN**

● After almost five years the Supreme Court has given the green signal to resume the construction of the Narmada dam. As per the stay order granted on June 5, '95 construction had been halted. As per the order of Chief Justice A.S. Anand and Justices B. N. Kirpal and S. P. Bharucha, the government of Gujarat has been permitted to raise the height of the dam from 80.3 metres to 85 metres.

The court has also instructed the Gujarat government to file an affidavit indicating the status of further relief and rehabilitation measures which have been taken for the dam height to be raised to three higher levels --- 90, 95 and 110 meters.

The government of Gujarat claimed that R and R work had been satisfactorily done for dam height upto 90 meters.

The contention of the Madhya Pradesh government that the dam height should be limited to 436 ft.(132.89 mts.) and not 455ft.(138.69 mts.) as proposed by the Gujarat government was ruled out by the bench: "No concrete proof had been provided as to how the profile of the dam would irrevocably change after 80.3 mts. where it stands now."

**WE BELIEVE THAT LARGE DAMS ARE A MENACE TO ENVIRONMENT AND SOCIETY.** We agree with the Narmada Bachao Andolan that **India should first exhaust the entire potentiality for small scale irrigation before attempting gigantic dams.** Already the Gokhale Institute of Pune has estimated that **irrigation potential of a stupendous 8.75 million hectares is lying unutilised** due to an absence of a canal network in the country at the end of the 8th plan period in 1995 (*Times of India*, 29.4.99). Since the total irrigation potential created at the end of the Eighth plan was 89.44 million hectares, the shortfall is almost 10%. ■

### **INDIA ENTERS THE DEBT TRAP**

● India has entered a debt trap with total debt servicing during the year amounting to Rs. 1,75,253 crore and actual non-debt receipts expected to be well below the target of Rs. 1,76,902 crore. This indicates that the country is spending almost its entire income on servicing old debt commitments.

India's external debt is projected to touch \$98.4 billion (around Rs.4,17,708 crore) by March 1999, an increase of \$4 billion from the level reported in March 1998.

Of the total expenditure of Rs.2,68,000 crore in fiscal year 1998-99, Rs.75,000 crore was spent on interest payments, over Rs.41,000 crore on defence, Rs.50,000 crore on salaries of *babus* and over Rs.22,000 crore on subsidies. (ICICI Securities, Weekly Report).

Of the remaining Rs.80,000 crore (after interest, defence, salaries and subsidies), Rs.58,000 crore was spent on capital expenditure and the remaining on revenue expenditure. (*Times of India*, 23.2.99). ■

### **GHOLAP DEFENDS HIMSELF**

● Babanrao Gholap, Maharashtra's Social Welfare Minister, was crowing all over the place a few weeks ago for having sent social activist Anna Hazare to jail for defaming him.

It was a shameful exercise by the judiciary of legalism, which resulted in the incarceration of Anna Hazare for a few hours on a technicality.

Now Gholap is eating his own crap and has been forced to resign for having accepted Rs.40 lakhs in kickbacks from the Awami Bank.

This is what happens to the funds allocated for the benefit of the poor in our country. They lie unutilised in various bank accounts for years. From some of these accumulated idle funds, Gholap diverted 5 crores to the Awami Bank, which was then under liquidation. **Naturally, Rs.40 lakhs flowed back to the minister as kickback.**

The case is before the courts and we hope that Gholap receives exemplary punishment for having seriously defamed Anna Hazare apart from the just punishment due to him for the scam. ■

### **DRUGS CONTROLLER REMOVED FOR SLOWING DOWN EXPORTS**

● For the first time in a long while, the drugs controller P. Dasgupta has been removed from his post, with the government holding him responsible for the sharp slowdown in pharmaceutical exports since July last year.

Apparently drugs worth Rs.1,500 to Rs.2,000 crores piled up awaiting export clearance which Dasgupta decided to delay. His contention was that product patents under WTO rules had come into force and India being a signatory to the WTO "it was not clear to him" that "new molecules could be exported".

**Dasgupta is a neo-colonial mandarin who wanted to err on the side of the foreign MNCs even beyond the call of normal duty.**

We are very happy that he was punished for his exercise of leaning over backwards.

These are the *naukershahs* who keep India enslaved. Dasgupta had blocked the export of Indian anti-impotency drugs that would have competed with the viagra molecule *sildenafil citrate*.

Obviously Dasgupta must have received huge contributions from the giant foreign pharmaceutical MNCs who were threatened by the 14 or 15 new drug molecules, including Trovofloxacin (an anti-infective) and Atorvastapin (a cardiovascular drug) and similar formulations. ■

### **BUREAUCRATIC FINAGLING**

● It may be further noted that the then Union Petroleum Minister, Satish Sharma's private secretary B.

M. Safaya had given a statement to the CBI, which was then investigating the JMM MPs' bribery case, alleging that his minister had received 4 crore from Reliance Industries Ltd. in 1993.

The Supreme Court has admitted an appeal against the Narasimha Rao government's controversial decision to transfer the Mukta-Panna oil fields from the Oil and Natural Gas Corporation (ONGC) to a joint consortium of Reliance, Enron and ONGC at a suspected loss of over Rs. 7,500 crore to the exchequer. (*Times of India*, 24.4.99).

### **TATA ZINDABAD**

● We have always maintained that this government is run by "the Tatas and the Birlas". This was once again proved by the Maharashtra government's grant of sales tax exemption to the Indica model of Telco.

Typically the Maharashtra government is said to be cash strapped.

The per car relief in sales tax amounts to Rs.6,000. (On a sale of 10,000 cars, the benefit to Telco will be Rs. 6crores). Telco has made no announcement that it would pass on the sales tax benefits to the consumer. ■

### **MAFIA HATAO, CHILKA BACHAO**

● The *Times of India* reports on 26.4.99 from Bhubaneshwar:

"It looked like a mini naval exercise, when over 5,000 armed fisherman shouting slogans from about 300 country boats, started racing in the placid waters of Chilka lake on Saturday. Few could then imagine that it was an operation launched to free Asia's largest brackish water lagoon spread over 1,100 sq km from the ravages of the illegal prawn mafia, an act which the state

government all along dithered to take up.

"The operation lasted about 5 hours and an estimated 5,000 acres of prawn gheries were demolished while the police and district officials watched helplessly. They threatened even to shoot the fishermen. But it hardly moved them, as they began destroying gheries one after another chanting "Mafia Hatao, Chilka Bachao".

"Nearly one lakh traditional fishermen depend on the lake for their livelihood. The large-scale presence of illegal prawn gheries however has made their life miserable by not only reducing the catch drastically but turning the lagoon a veritable ground of violence and bloodshed.

According to an official estimate, annual catch from Chilka lake has fallen from 4,273 ton in 1990-91 to 1,652 by 1997-98. The prawn gheries have also become a great threat for the native and lakhs of migratory birds, who come from distant countries to spend the winter here. Over 50 per cent of Chilka area is at present covered under illegal prawn cultivation.

"Ironically, the state government has done precious little to remove the prawn mafia from the lagoon, despite the continuing public out-cry and court orders ostensibly to appease the ghery owners who are ministers, senior bureaucrats and influential people doing the trade in benami names." ■

### **TRUTH IS DOUBLE - FACED**

● Independent MLA, and former Congress Minister of Maharashtra, Arun Mehta, told the Bombay High Court on Thursday that the two contradictory statements which he had made in his written statement and deposition during his examination-in-chief were both correct. (*Times of India*, 24.4.99). ■

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*The INA Story will continue in June 1999 issue.*

# INDIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN:

TO COMMEMORATE MAY DAY 1999

## THE PROFILE OF THE INDIAN WORKER

### I

We have been repeatedly writing in *Mankind* that the working class movement is at a very low ebb all over the world. We have said that the world has changed dramatically after 1975. We had shown that the international situation had undergone a sea-change since 1975. Bangladesh was liberated by India in 1971, thus partially reversing the imperialist division of 1947; the long Vietnam War had ended (1945-75) in total defeat of USA; and the last imperialist colonies in Africa, held by Portugal, had been liberated, with the help of Cuban armed volunteers, in 1975.

From the latter half of the seventies, capitalism had received its second breath. In 1978, Deng Xiaoping announced his retreat from socialism and his acceptance of the new economic policy of 'Market Socialism'. Following him Mikhail Gorbachev announced a new direction in Soviet Union. Gorbachev modelled his new departure called *glasnost* and *perestroika* on Deng's concepts of *gaige* and *kaifeng*. In 1989, the USSR withdrew from its East European Empire which had at one time included 8 countries: Poland, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Albania. By 1991, the USSR itself disintegrated into 15 constituent republics. Three on the Baltic Sea: Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, three in East Europe; Belarus, Ukraine, and Moldova; three in the Caucasus; Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan and finally five in Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan,

Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan. Old USSR was reduced to just the Russian Federation. East Germany united with West Germany to form the new FRG (Federal Republic of Germany)

In 1993, Czechoslovakia disintegrated into the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic.

Yugoslavia followed suit and broke up into five: Slovenia, Bosnia - Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia - Montenegro, and Macedonia FYR (Civil war is still going on in Yugoslavia).

At the same time, India was reconquered from mid-1991. The minority government of Narasimha Rao implemented the Structural Adjustment Programme of the terrible *trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO under the guise of Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation and Westernisation (LPGW).

### II

The retreat of the international revolutionary movement is reflected in the above events: the partial conquest of China by capitalism (partial because China remained staunchly nationalist and repulsed complete takeover by private US capitalism); the complete conquest of Russia by private capitalism after the removal of Gorbachev by Yeltsin in 1991-93, and the reconquest of India from mid-1991, should have brought about total American dominance over the entire planet.

Fortunately for the world, this did not happen, and a Tri-Polar World

has emerged as documented in *Mankind* (See, *MK*, Nov. 1995, Aug -Sept 1996, Nov. 1996).

The retreat of the Revolutionary Movement was naturally reflected in the situation of the Indian working class. The Nationalist and Socialist struggles waged by the Indian workers first become defensive struggles. Then the employers became more and more aggressive. Strikes became less frequent and more and more short-lived. Lockouts were increasingly resorted to by the employers.

We present herewith tables showing the ebb-tide of elemental working class struggles in India between 1951 and 1997.

Contrary to middle class public opinion which in India means the *dvija* opinion of the higher castes of *Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas*, who consider themselves to be "twice-born" — contrary to this widely prevalent petty bourgeois view, the Indian working class had always been beset by great poverty, high unemployment and very low wages. For the last 50 years, it has never been able to wage long-lasting battles. By strikes or lockouts or both together the number of mandays lost per year, per worker has never exceeded 3.25. By strikes alone the mandays lost has never amounted to more than 0.89, i.e. less than one working day.

The remarkable fact that emerges from the table is that from 1973, the mandays lost due to lockouts began to exceed the loss through strikes regularly. In 1975, the 1973 situation was almost repeated: One fifth of the mandays lost were due to strikes and four fifths due to lockouts. In 1985-86, the losses by strikes or lockouts were more or less balanced. After 1986, every year, the losses due to lockouts outnumbered those by strikes by 2:1.

The aggressive tactics adopted by the owners of factories are there for all to see.

Today hardly half a day or so is lost per worker, per year, due to strikes and lockouts. Even of this insignificant quantum, the loss exclusively due to strikes, is hardly



Table 1: A PROFILE OF THE INDIAN WORKER : 1951 - 97

Year	Estimated Employment (in Lakhs)			Out of 100 Employed	No. of Mandays Lost (in '000s.)			Proportion of Mandays Lost due to Strikes : Lockouts	T o t a l Mandays Lost per Worker per year	Mandays Lost by Strikes only per Worker per year	Mandays Lost only by Lockouts per Worker per year
	in Public Sector	in Private Sector	Total		PUB : PRI	Due to Strikes	Due to Lockouts				
1951	-	-	-	-	-	-	3.819	-	-	-	-
1955	-	-	-	-	-	-	5.698	-	-	-	-
1960	-	-	-	-	-	-	6.470	-	-	-	-
1961	70.50	50.40	120.90	58:42	2.969	1.950	4.919	60:40	0.41	0.24	0.17
1962	-	-	125.77	-	5.059	1.062	8.121	62:38	0.65	0.40	0.25
1963	-	-	134.03	-	2.229	1.040	3.269	68:32	0.25	0.17	0.08
1964	-	-	142.34	-	5.724	2.001	7.725	74:26	0.54	0.40	0.14
1965	89.57	60.40	149.97	61:39	4.617	1.853	6.470	71:29	0.43	0.31	0.12
1966	93.79	68.13	161.92	58:42	10.377	3.469	13.846	75:25	0.86	0.64	0.24
1967	-	-	163.14	-	10.565	6.583	17.148	61:39	1.05	0.65	0.40
1968	-	-	163.22	-	11.078	6.166	17.244	64:36	1.06	0.68	0.38
1969	-	-	166.25	-	15.477	3.571	19.048	81:19	1.15	0.93	0.22
1970	103.74	66.65	170.39	61:39	14.749	5.814	20.544	72:28	1.20	0.87	0.33
1971	107.31	67.42	174.73	61:39	11.803	4.743	16.546	71:29	0.97	0.69	0.28
1972	112.09	67.69	179.76	62:38	13.748	6.796	20.544	67:33	1.14	0.76	0.48
1973	119.71	68.49	188.20	64:36	3.862	6.764	20.626	18:82**	1.10	0.21	0.89
1974	124.80	67.94	192.74	66:34	33.643	6.619	40.262	83:17	2.09	1.75	0.34
1975	128.83	88.08	196.91	65:35	16.706	5.195	21.901	76:24	1.11	0.85	0.26
1976	133.22	68.44	201.66	66:34	2.799	9.947	12.746	22:78**	0.63	0.14	0.49
1977	137.66	68.67	206.33	67:33	13.410	11.910	25.320	53:47	1.23	0.65	0.58
1978	142.00	70.43	212.43	67:33	15.423	12.917	28.340	54:46	1.33	0.73	0.60
1979	146.76	72.08	218.84	67:33	35.804	8.050	43.851	82:18	2.00	1.64	0.36
1980	150.78	72.27	223.05	68:32	12.018	9.987	21.925	55:45	0.98	0.54	0.44
1981	154.84	73.95	228.79	68:32	21.208	15.375	36.563	58:42	1.60	0.93	0.67
1982	-	-	234.93	-	52.113	22.502	74.615*	70:30	3.18	2.22	0.86
1983	164.56	75.52	240.08	72:28	24.921	21.937	46.858*	53:47	1.93	1.04	0.89
1984	168.69	73.45	242.14	70:30	39.957	16.068	56.025	71:29	2.31	1.63	0.68
1985	172.69	73.09	245.78	70:30	11.487	17.753	29.240	39:61**	1.19	0.47	0.72
1986	176.83	73.73	250.56	67:33	18.824	13.925	32.749	57:43	1.31	0.75	0.56
1987	180.25	73.64	253.89	71:29	14.026	21.332	35.358	40:60**	1.37	0.55	0.82
1988	183.21	73.92	257.12	71:29	12.530	21.417	33.947	37:63**	1.32	0.49	0.93
1989	184.44	74.53	258.97	71:29	10.700	22.000	32.700	33:67**	1.26	0.41	0.85
1990	187.72	75.82	263.53	71:29	10.600	13.500	24.100	44:56**	0.91	0.40	0.51
1991	190.57	76.77	267.33	71:29	12.400	14.000	26.400	47:53**	0.99	0.46	0.53
1992	192.10	78.46	270.56	71:29	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1993	193.26	78.51	271.77	71:29	5.600	14.700	20.300	28:72**	0.75	0.21	0.54
1994	194.45	79.30	273.75	71:29	6.700	14.300	21.000	32:68**	0.76	0.24	0.52
1995	194.66	80.59	275.25	71:29	5.700	10.600	16.300	35:65**	0.60	0.21	0.39
1996	194.29	85.12	279.41	70:30	7.800	12.500	20.300	38:62**	0.73	0.28	0.45
1997	195.59	86.86	282.45	69:31	5.000	9.900	14.900	34:66**	0.52	0.18	0.34

\* 41.40 and 13.38 mln. mandays lost due to Bombay Textile Strike. \*\* Mandays lost due to Lockouts exceed those lost due to Strikes.

two and a half hours per worker in the whole year.

The Great Bombay Textile strike of 1982-83 which resulted in a loss of 41.40 million mandays in 1982 and 30.38 million mandays in 1983, was led by a Congress scoundrel and MLA named Dr. Datta Samant. Instead of practising harmless medicine, Samant became a post-graduate in thuggery and gangsterism. Encouraged by the Bombay mill owners whose warehouses were overflowing due to a recession in the market and millions of bales of finished cloth were getting piled up due to a slow off-take. At this juncture, ill-advisedly Datta Samant led the Bombay textile workers into a prolonged strike of over one year. The workers lost their savings and all their possessions. The Marwari money-lenders of Girangaon in Central Bombay made millions out of the pawned jewellery, utensils and clothing of working class families, who ultimately failed to redeem their goods. They lost everything. Each Congress goonda became a multi-millionaire owner of multiple housing properties in the city. Samant was made much of by the mill-owners and their reformist and Stalinist stooges. Ultimately Samant was gunned down outside his home. He perished as he had lived, by skulduggery and banditry.

But the events of 1982-83 were a sequel to the retreating forces of the working class which had already in 1973 and 1976 experienced the loss of morale, when lockouts exceeded strikes.

After 1986 there has not been single year in which working class action and initiative played a role that was greater than that of the aggressive and domineering employers.

### III

We do not know when the night will end for the Indian working class! We cannot guess when the new dawn will light up their dark hovels. Of course, we await with bated breath the arrival of new militancy amongst them.

That is why the trade union movement and the left parties are in shambles. The wretched Stalinists of the CPI and CPM are continuing their anti-nationalist games. They are promoting their pre-Partition policies which helped to bring about the division of the country. They want a part of India, the Kashmir Valley, to be handed over to the fundamentalist forces ruling in Pakistan, Azad Kashmir and Afghanistan. In accordance with Anglo-American design under the pretext that Kashmir is not a part of sovereign India and that secularism is to be defined by American imperialism, the Stalinist-Communists are advocating a sell out.

The socialists are in total disarray. Even if we leave aside the contemptible ex-PSP-ers like Chandrashekhar, and Madhu Dandavate, ex-Finance Minister, and consider the militant wing of yore, among Lohia Socialists, we find that George Fernandes, Laloo Prasad Yadav, Mulayam Singh, Sharad Yadav, Ram Vilas Paswan, Ram Dhan, Janeswar Mishra, Kalpanath Rai and so on, are all competing with one another for the prize of being the most complete turn-coat. Their status as victims and villains is a sequel to

the data on the retreat of the Indian working class that we have projected in the table alongside. As we have said in another article in this issue, **we revolutionary nationalists and socialists must keep our powder dry! We must not waver! We must sharpen our ideological weapons!**

The day is not far off when the people of India will sound the death-knell of the world bourgeois order! We are a hundred crores. We are Humanity! When India is liberated, the World will be liberated! The day cannot be far off! The red dawn is about to break out!

O, Revolutionary Tide! Come and free us from this bondage! The illusions of free market and globalisation, we have already shed! Now let the last shackle fall! **LET THE NATIONALISTS OF THE ENTIRE WORLD TRIUMPH AGAINST AMERICAN TUTELAGE!** Let every nation achieve its liberation at its own pace! O, for the end to this capitalist night! Let every child receive its rightful *panchabhutas*! Let everyone in the world have enough to eat, enough to clothe themselves, adequate shelter and education and minimal health care!

These are the *panchabhutas* which are our birth right. Let war between nations end forever! Let the peace dividend propel the entire world into a socialist future.

### IV

Let us now examine the overall economic context within which the Indian worker earns his pittance.

Of the total population of 687 millions in 1980, the age group 15-65 made up 395 millions or 57 percent. Of this number, 300 million are said to form our Labour Force, 44%, as per some Participation Rate formula worked out by ILO. In 1997, the population was divided as follows: Total population 761 million, age group 15-65, 587 millions (61%) and labour force 416 million (43%) [Thanks to the ILO's fictitious Participatory Rate, and rounding, the total exceeds 100 by a small margin].

The employment in the organised sector, both public and private, was 22.31 million in 1980 and rose to 28.25 million in 1997. In other words, employment in the organised sector was hardly 6.79, of the Labour Force.

In 1981, 76% of the people of India were dependent on Agriculture, 11% on Industry and 13% on Services. In 1990, the proportion changed to 64% for Agriculture, 16% for Industry and 20% for Services. In 1981, the structure of production was: 37% of GDP was generated by Agriculture, 26% by Industry and 37% by Services. **Thus in 1981, though, 76% of the people were dependent on Agriculture, it provided only 37% of the G D P. In 1990, 64% , of the Indian people were dependent on Agriculture, but Agriculture provided just 27% of GDP, whilst Industry created 30% of GDP and Services accounted 43% of GDP.** Let us note that in 1997 the same structure of production prevails: 27% Agriculture, 30% Industry and 43% Services.

We may throw a backward glance and present a small table of changes in Structure of Production in India from 1960 to 1997.

**STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION IN INDIA (1960-97)**

YEAR	AGRICULTURE	INDUSTRY	SERVICES
1960	50	20(15)	30
1965	44	22(16)	34
1970	45	22(14)	33
1980	38	26(18)	36
1990	27	30(19)	43
1997	27	30(19)	43

(Figures in brackets in the column Industry, give the proportion attributed to Manufacturing.)

The per capita income of an Indian was \$ 617 in PPP terms in 1960. It rose to \$ 1072 in 1990, to \$ 1477 in 1995, and to \$ 1650 in 1997.

The distribution of this per capita income was highly askew. The lowest 10% of the people in India received a mere 4.1% and the top 10% received as much as 25% of the

national GDP (*World Development Report*, 1988/99, p. 198). The number of people living below the poverty line in 1992 were 40.9%. In 1994, it was claimed that they have come down to 30%. However the same *World Bank Report* reveals that in 1992, 52.2% of the people lived below a poverty line drawn at \$ 1 per day and 88.8% of Indians lived below the poverty line of \$ 2 per day. (*Ibid.*, p. 196).

The extent of unemployment in our country has never been properly estimated. Various guesstimates are constantly being publicised. We have seen above that out of 416 millions in the labour force, only 28.25 millions are employed in the organised sector. Therefore, there is a lot of room for jugglery of data regarding Employment and Poverty. The Eighth Five Year Plan document reads as follows (vol. I p 117): "In 1977-78, 71 per cent of the workers were engaged in agriculture and allied occupations, but by 1987-88, the proportion had declined to 64 per cent (Table 6.5).

**Table 2: Growth of Employment\* 1977-78 to 1987-88**

	Rural			Urban			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
<b>Employment (million)</b>									
1977-78	136.2	59.8	196.0	36.1	7.7	43.8	172.3	67.5	239.8
1983	147.9	65.9	213.8	45.4	9.6	55.0	193.3	75.5	268.8
1987-88	157.7	70.5	228.2	51.7	11.0	62.7	209.4	81.5	290.9
<b>Annual Rates of Growth (%)</b>									
1977-78 to 1983	1.51	1.77	1.59	4.23	4.18	4.22	2.11	2.06	2.10
1983 to 1987-88	1.43	1.52	1.46	2.97	2.95	2.96	1.80	1.71	1.77
1977-78 to 1987-88	1.48	1.66	1.53	3.66	3.62	3.66	1.97	1.90	1.95

\* Usual Principal Status (UPS)

M - Male F - Female T - Total

Source: NSSO (32nd, 38th and 43rd Rounds) and Estimates of Population based on 1971 and 1981 Census population and provisional population totals of 1991 Census.

**Table 3: Percentage Distribution of Workers\* by Category of Employment**

	Rural			Urban			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
<b>Self Employment(Owner / Cultivators in Rural Areas)</b>									
1977-78	62.2	56.3	60.4	39.9	42.2	40.3	57.9	54.8	57.0
1983	59.5	54.1	57.8	40.2	37.3	39.7	55.0	52.0	54.1
1987-88	57.5	55.1	56.7	41.0	38.6	40.5	53.8	53.1	53.6
<b>Regular Salaried Employment (i.e. Organised Sector)</b>									
1977-78	10.9	3.7	8.6	47.2	30.8	44.2	17.9	6.6	14.6
1983	10.6	3.7	8.5	44.5	31.8	42.2	18.5	7.3	15.3
1987-88	10.4	4.7	8.6	44.4	34.7	42.7	18.0	8.3	15.2
<b>Casual Wage Employment(Mainly Landless Labourers in Rural Areas)</b>									
1977-78	26.9	40.0	31.0	12.9	27.0	15.5	24.2	38.6	28.4
1983	29.9	42.2	33.7	15.3	30.9	18.1	26.5	40.7	30.6
1987-88	32.1	40.2	34.7	14.6	26.7	16.8	28.2	38.6	31.2

\* Usual Principal Status (UPS)

M - Male F - Female T - Total

Source: *Ibid.*

Table 4: Unemployment Rates \* by Sex, Residence and Status

Sector	1972-73			1977-78			1983			1987-88		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
<b>Rural</b>												
UPS	-	-	-	2.22	5.52	3.26	2.12	1.41	1.91	2.87	3.52	3.07
UPSS	1.16	0.48	0.92	1.28	2.01	1.54	1.41	0.66	1.13	1.81	2.27	1.98
CWS	3.02	5.51	3.86	3.57	4.13	3.74	3.72	4.26	3.88	4.16	4.27	4.19
CDS	6.83	11.22	8.21	7.12	9.18	7.70	7.52	8.98	7.94	4.58	6.91	5.25
<b>Urban</b>												
UPS	-	-	-	6.48	17.76	8.77	5.86	6.90	6.04	6.07	8.77	6.56
UPSS	4.79	6.05	5.03	5.40	12.40	7.01	5.08	4.85	5.02	5.16	5.93	5.32
CWS	5.96	9.09	6.53	7.12	10.93	7.86	6.69	7.46	6.81	6.71	8.93	7.12
CDS	8.02	13.67	8.99	9.40	14.55	10.34	9.23	10.99	9.52	8.79	12.00	9.36
<b>Total</b>												
UPS	-	-	-	3.07	7.01	4.23	3.02	2.14	2.77	3.60	4.19	3.77
UPSS	1.90	1.02	1.61	2.09	3.19	2.47	2.28	1.16	1.90	2.56	2.72	2.62
CWS	3.61	5.87	4.32	4.29	4.97	4.48	4.44	4.70	4.51	4.75	4.92	4.80
CDS	7.07	11.46	8.35	7.59	9.86	8.18	7.93	9.26	8.28	5.54	7.61	6.09

\* Unemployed as percentage of labour force.

M - Male F - Female T - Total

UPS : Usual Principal Status;

CWS: Current Weekly Status;

UPSS:Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status;

CDS:Current Daily Status.

Source: NSSO: 27th, 32nd, 38th and 43rd Rounds.

Corresponding figure revealed by the 1991 census, though not strictly comparable with NSS estimates, is 64.9 per cent showing a marginal decline from 66.5 per cent in 1981. Second, there is a change in the structure of the workforce by employment status. The proportion of casual labour increased while that of the self-employed declined over the period 1977-78 to 1987-88 (Table3) --- a change which is largely a reflection of the occupational shifts from agriculture to non-agriculture, in rural areas. Third, the share of the unorganised sector in non-agricultural employment has increased from 72 percent in 1977-78 to 77 percent in 1987-88, although the share of unorganised sector in overall employment has remained more or less stationary at 90 percent."

We also give above tables 2, 3 and 4 to supplement the above quotation from the Eighth Plan.

One other index of the terrible unemployment situation in the country is available from the statistics of the number of applicants on the Live Register of 916 Employment Exchanges in country (*Statistical Outline of India*, Tata Diary, p.165). Thus the total number of applicants on the Live Register of Employment Exchanges were 39 million, i.e. the number exceeded by 15.9 per cent the total employed in the organised sector.

An extraordinary bureaucratic verbal legerdemain prevails in our country. The employed in our benighted bureaucratic land, fall into various classes:

UPS = Usual Principal Status.

UPSS = Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status.

CWS = Current Weekly Status.

CDS = Current Daily Status.

## V

The first National Labour Commission was appointed in 1966. Its Chairman was Justice P.V. Gajendragadkar. It reported 3 years later in 1969. Of its 300 recommendations, 204 were wholly or partially acted upon.

Three existing acts were amended namely, the Industrial Disputes Acts 1947; the Factories Act, 1948, and the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1923. At the same time, 3 new acts were enacted the Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 1970; the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act 1986 and Equal Remuneration Act, 1976.

It is futile to record that it took upto 1986 to enact and amend legislation as per the recommendations of the First National Labour Commission, whose report was published in 1969. In other words, our *naukershahs* merrily allowed 17 years to pass whilst doing nothing, twiddling their fingers and drawing fat salaries.

All the newly enacted acts were allowed to be violated by whosoever was so inclined.

Bonded Labour called Contract Labour has flourished vigorously and in fact during the recent LPGW drive, all sorts of activities have been thrown open for contractual

exploitation and mismanagement. Port services have been thrown open to private racketeers. Cross-country highways are to be built by bandits who will levy tolls for years, if not decades, on the BOO principle (Build Own Operate). Municipal Services are to be handed over to fly-by-night operators under the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) formulated by the terrible *trimurti* of WB, IMF, and WTO (The SAP is called LPG in our country.) All essential services are to be performed by private profiteers.

Thus the *naukershahi* regime run by bureaucrats is to be perpetuated and in the not distant future the citizens of India will have to pay a fee for being allowed to breathe! They are right now being asked to pay for water, sanitary services, road use, education and health care. Why should air be allowed free?

The 1966 First National Labour Commission was set up as a result of illusory radicalisation of our politics. Indira Gandhi had come into power after the unexpected death of Lal Bhadur Shastri in Tashkent, Russia. She was very anxious to project a radical image of herself, in order to emulate and outshine her father's image, completely bogus, as a Great Socialist.

The Congress Party had shattered the illusory trust placed upon it by the people of India. In 1967, in nine,

out of the fifteen major states of the Indian Union, *Samyukta Vidhayak Dal* or United Opposition Front Governments had come into power (Bihar, Haryana, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, West-Bengal). In Kerala the CPI had virtually formed an opposition front, just as in Tamil Nadu the DMK had done the same (Actually, in Orissa, the Swatantra Party had formed an opposition government and in Punjab the Shiromani Akali Dal had come to power).

Anyway, the First Labour Commission had arisen under Leftist pressure.

A Second National Labour Commission is now being formed in the year 1999, under pressure from the terrible *trimurti* of WB, IMF, WTO.

An attempt will be made to bring the Labour Laws of the country in alignment of the SAP / LPG dispensation. More freedom will be sought by the terrible *trimurti* to hire and fire employees, at the sweet will of the employers; more areas of the economy will be opened up for contract labour and privatisation; the past benefits, however small they may have been, will be further whittled away.

We can only hope that the recommendations of the Second Labour Commission to be appointed very soon, will lead to a working class revolt and will cause radicalisation of Indian politics. ■

(contd. from p.13)

### Opening Statement

creatures who were to provide sexual comfort to Serbian soldiers and officers. The same ethnic cleansing in identical horrific manner is going on today in Kosovo, a Serbian province.

Occasionally, one hears of air-crashes in the Alps or the Andes when surviving passengers have partly fed themselves on the corpses of their dead fellow-travellers.

Clinton's understanding of Eric and Dylan may be very penetrating and genetically insightful.

**I don't think any people in the world have ever practised barbarism and savagery on such a scale as the European White Christians from 1492-1498!** They have literally devastated the world and left a legacy of bloody crime, rape, murder and loot in the remotest corners of this globe.

Other cultures have flourished in the world, notably, the Indian, the Chinese, the Persian, the Mongol, the Turk, the Arab and the African, but never have we seen any parallel to the European ethnic brutality.

**It may be said that Capitalism was responsible for the extreme development of European barbarism.**

**It is true that Capitalism carries self-aggrandisement and selfish greed to the extreme. But this cannot be the entire reason. There must be prepossessing factors.**

**PERHAPS CAPITALISM COULD DEVELOP INITIALLY AND TO THE FULLEST EXTENT PRECISELY IN THOSE REGIONS AND COUNTRIES WHERE NEANDERTHAL ANCESTRY**

### PROVIDED THE RIGHT GENETIC BREEDING GROUND.

Anyway those are the larger theoretical issues on which we in the Third World can deliberate at length and at leisure.

The urgent problem is to pin-point the precise psychological predisposing factors in the shoot-out in Columbine High School at Littleton, Colorado. Who were these "Trench Coat Mafia" members? Which were the terribly violent TV serials to which Eric and Dylan and their colleagues were addicted? What was the kind of music that they were crazy about? From where did they acquire the arms? Who helped them to wire the entire school campus with explosive devices? Did the local dealers in arms and ammunition encourage the young men of the two thousand strong student community of the Columbine High to stock up? What role did the local adults play in this scandalous episode? What kind of minds were the teachers of the Columbine High nurturing? Why were the "Trench Coat Mafia" celebrating Hitler's birthday?

For the health and safety of the rest of the world, this shoot-out must be thoroughly investigated. **Pending the publication of a proper investigative report into the incident, Americans must be quarantined.**

Let us remember that USA has attacked Sudan, Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia, Libya, Grenada, Panama and several other countries of the world in recent years. The role model provided by American free-enterprise society is an obnoxious one. How is the world to free itself from this American incubus? ■

# 25 TURNING POINTS IN WORLD HISTORY : IX

## HISTORY OF MODERN ASIA

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

The History of World as a connected and continuous story is confined to the three contiguous continents of Asia, Europe and Africa.

Amerindians are genetically descended from the Mongolian ethnic element. They crossed the Bering Straits many thousands of years ago from Asian Siberia and remained isolated from the rest of the world till 1492 when Columbus discovered the trade route from Europe to the Caribbean. But Europe had nothing to trade with until the Americas had been devastated and depopulated by genocidal massacres and slaves could be hunted and captured from Africa and a triangular Trans-Atlantic slave traffic could be set up later in the 16th and 17th Centuries. (The slave trade lasted well into the 19th century and even slave-breeding farms were set up in USA, Canada and Brazil on the lines of "Human Baby Exports advocated for Ireland to earn valuable Income", by Jonathan Swift in his *Modest Proposal of 1729* reproduced in *Mankind*, March 1998, pp.61-64.

Prior to the institution of the Transatlantic Slave Trade, all that Spain and Portugal could do was to loot the treasures of the Inca and Aztec Empires. And England, Holland, and France could only loot the looters, as the gold-laden fleets returned to Europe along the Great Circle route whose path ran close to the British isles. Walter Raleigh, Francis Drake, John Hawkins and Martin Frobisher and not forgetting their sleeping partner Elizabeth I, shared every bit of the loot carried out by these famous buccaneers, privateers, brigands, bandits, pirates and searovers.

Similarly Australasians had migrated from the Asiatic mainland to reach Australia and New Zealand several thousand years ago and had remained isolated from the main

currents of human history till the 18th and 19th centuries A.D. The European White racialists carried out genocidal massacres in Australia and New Zealand in the same by now well-established American routine. The last Tasmanian was killed off in the early 19th century, sometime between 1817 and 1836. All the land and properties of the Australian aborigines and New Zealand Maoris were forcibly appropriated by the White criminal convicts and free settlers who had migrated to the southern continent in search of rapine and plunder in the so called "Black Wars."

In fact, the White man was on a rampage over the entire planet. Many wars against local populations were unleashed in Africa. Famines of Purchasing Power were organised against deindustrialised, ruralised and pauperised India to wipe out 85 million poor Indians between 1765 and 1947, and Opium Wars were forced upon China in 1839-42 and 1856-60 so that the world was in real danger of being peopled by exclusively Whites. However the imperialist need for agricultural products and captive colonial markets compelled the European imperialists to stop just short of total elimination of all the non-White peoples of the world.

Thus events in the Americas and Australasia fall outside the mainstream of world history.

Out of the African, European and Asian segment, we will pick up Asian History first.

Asian History is the oldest, the richest and the most varied in world history.

Asia, as we have said, is the largest continent on earth, extending over 44 million km<sup>2</sup> encompassing about a third of the land surface of the planet. Geographically the world is divided into

seven continents, as follows :-

Continent	mln. km <sup>2</sup>	% of World	bln. Pop.	% of World
1. N. America	24.0	16	0.40	8
2. S. America	17.8	12	0.30	5
3. Europe	10.4	8	0.70	11
4. Africa	30.1	20	0.60	10
5. Asia	44.0	30	3.50	65
6. Australasia	8.5	6	0.20	1
7. Antarctica	13.9	9	-	-
	148.7	101	5.70	100

In our series on *Origin of Humankind*, we have published two boxes on Bipedalism and Pastoralism. We have shown therein that the human species *Homo sapiens*, originated in Africa, as proved by Richard L. Leakey in the above-mentioned work and as per the authorities quoted by him. After attaining *bipedalism* in the African Rift Valley with its consequences, namely tool-making and other technological triumphs; speech-making and socialising behaviour patterns; and finally, art output and artifact-making, our species migrated across the Ethiopian-Yemen Straits to reach North-West India or the Sapta-Sindhu region of the *Rigveda*. Here were to be found, all the valuable cereals, pulses and oil seeds; proteinous fruits, seeds, spices and herbs as well as the most important domesticable animals, cattle (zebu, yak, gaur, gayal, mithun, buffalo etc.) Indian elephants, Bactrian camel, Sindh horse, all the wild pigs, goats, sheep, asses, jungle fowl and the rest of the familiar companions of mankind who have provided our species with milk, meat, egg, leather, bone, horn, feather, fur, etc.

Thus the scenario may be quickly recapitulated. *Homo sapiens* originated in Africa. Having attained bipedalism, he migrated to North-West India to find all the cultigens that man needed for a pastoral and agricultural forward leap. The sudden augmentation of proteins in his diet brought about an expansion of his brain. Thus reinforcing his speech making, tool making, technology-forming, art-making and socialising processes.

Each step forward by our species had multiple implications. Tool-making reinforced nutrition; speech and art

helped socialisation: both nutrition and socialisation promoted further technological advance.

India was a unique geographical concatenation. Two thirds of the country was located in temperate latitudes lying to the North of the Tropic of Cancer. But tropical monsoon winds circulated upto 36°N where Himalayas, Hindu Kush, Kara Koram and Pamirs met. Cold winds from Siberian Asia and Tibet were blocked by the five mile high wall of the Himalayas. North-East monsoon actually showered upon the coastlands of the Bay of Bengal, thus prolonging the agricultural season and enabling India to reap multiple harvests. Altitudinal changes paralleled the conditions to be found in higher latitudes. The pulsation of the south-west and north-east monsoons promoted hydraulic engineering. This technology penetrated far into Farther India, reaching Cambodia, Champa, Bali and Borneo. Indeed, Indian irrigational technology became co-terminus with the spread of Indian culture in South East Asia.

Thus Asian history is made up of several gigantic strands. The first is Indian, beginning with the *Rigvedic* culture of the Sapta-Sindhu region in 6000 B.C. Two great wars broke out in North West India. The first was *Dasarajna* which is the central event of the *Rigveda* and the *Jaya* which was later expanded into the *Bharata* of 40,000 verses, and the *Mehahharata* with 100,000 verses. As a result of these two internecine wars, many Indo-Aryan speaking tribes travelled westwards, northwards, and round the Hindu Kush- Himalayan junction, north eastwards. The Westwards movement of pastoralist bands is attested to by the *Iranian Avesta* which is a mirror image of the *Rigveda*. The *Devas* and *Asuras* of the *Vedas* are the *Ahuras* and *Devas* of the *Avesta*. The respective role-models are exactly reversed. The good spirits of one are the devils of the other, and vice-versa. However libations in both the cases are of *Soma* or *Hoama* (*Cannabis Sativa*). Fire or *Agni* is worshipped, in both *Vedas* and *Avesta*.

Further West, the Mittani signed a solemn treaty with a foreign power, calling upon Indra, Varuna, Mitra and the Na-Satyas to bear witness to the occasion. The Kassites, Hurrians and Hittites developed a manual of chariot-racing in which are enumerated the familiar *Eka-Chakra*, *Dwi-Chakra*, *Tri-Chakra* and so on upto *Sata Chakra*. The Hyksos, familiar to Egyptians, invaded their land as horse-riding charioteers. The Indo-Aryans brought the horse, the chariot and iron along with rice, wheat, barley, sugar, olive, grape, fig, lemon and cotton to West Asia. All the spices, incenses, pulses and oilseeds reached Fertile Crescent from India, for onward transmission to Europe. That is how Europe accepted Hindu numbers from 0 to 9 and the decimal system of counting from India and called their borrowings Arabic numerals. That is how *Bijaganit* "Seed Arithmetic" became algebra to Europe. Pythagoras learnt from Indian gymnosophs (naked philosophers) and freely borrowed Indian musical forms to construct his "music of the spheres". That is how, Indian *Bijaganit* became Arabic '*al jabr w'al-muqabala* and Greek-Latin-English 'Algebra'.

Thus the first strand of Asian History, and the first and the biggest of World history is Indian history. After Indian

history, the next important strand is that of Chinese history from about 3000 B.C. and then follows Persian history from about 700 B.C.

There are several other strange themes, Byzantine, Turkish, Palestinian, Arabian, South East Asian, Japanese-Korean etc., which have been woven into the broad canvas of Asian history.

Considering that world history has to be the history of human beings living on earth, about 61 per cent of them being found in Asia, most of world history has to be Asian history which we shall divide into four large sub-regions as follows :-

1. South-Asia, focussing upon the seven countries of the Indian sub-continent (members of SAARC) plus Afghanistan making a total of 8 countries.
2. Pacific Rim of Asia consisting of :
  - (a) Japan and the two Koreas
  - (b) China including Hong-Kong and Taiwan and
  - (c) Ten ASEAN members plus Papua New Guinea making a total of 11 countries.
3. West Asia comprising of the Fertile Crescent, the Middle-East and the Persian Gulf consisting of 16 countries.
4. Constituents and satellites of the former U.S.S.R. including Mongolia, making a group of ten countries.

Thus, Asia is currently divided into about fifty nation-states. We have presented the essential three dimensional data (area, population, GDP-PPP) as proportions of the world totals on these fifty nation-states in a table attached herewith.

#### SUMMARY OF CURRENT INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF SOUTH, EAST, WEST AND CENTRAL ASIA

	No. of Countries	% of World Area	% of World Pop. 1997	% of World GDP-PPP, 1997
I. Current International status of 7 SAARC members and Afghanistan.	8	3.67	22.11	5.47
II. Current international status of Pacific Rim of Asia.				
a) Japan, S. Korea, N. Korea	3	0.46	3.34	9.92
b) China including Hong-Kong -Taiwan	2	7.20	21.53	12.95
c) 10 members of ASEAN and Papua New Guinea	11	3.72	8.64	4.67
		11.38	33.31	27.54
III. Current International status of States of the Middle Eastern Persian Gulf	16	4.83	3.87	3.50
IV. Current International status of constituents & satellites of former USSR	10	4.32	1.30	1.39
<b>Total for Asia</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>24.20</b>	<b>60.79</b>	<b>37.90</b>

To sum up,

Asia, excl. Russ. Fed, accounts for

1/4 of world's area, almost 24%, 2/3 of world's pop. in 1997 almost 61% and 1/3 of world's GDP-PPP in 1997, 38%.

I. CURRENT INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF SOUTH ASIA						
Country	Area '000 km <sup>2</sup>	% of World Area	Population in millions	% of World Population	GDP/PPP in billion\$	% of World GDP/PPP
1. Afghanistan <sup>1</sup>	652	0.50	24.84	0.43	17.00	0.05
2. Pakistan	771	0.59	137.00	2.35	218.00	0.59
3. India	2,973	2.28	961.00	16.49	1,587.00	4.29
4. Nepal	143	0.11	23.00	0.39	24.00	0.07
5. Bhutan <sup>2</sup>	47	0.04	0.74	0.01	100.00	0.00
6. Bangladesh	130	0.10	124.00	2.13	129.00	0.35
7. Sri Lanka	65	0.05	18.00	0.31	45.00	0.12
8. Maldives	0.3	0.00	0.26	0.00	0.22	0.00
		3.67		22.11		5.49

II. CURRENT INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF PACIFIC RIM OF ASIA						
Country	Area '000 km <sup>2</sup>	% of World Area	Population in million	% of World Population	GDP/PPP in billion\$	% of World GDP/PPP
1. Japan	377.0	0.29	126.00	2.16	2,950.70	7.99
2. S. Korea <sup>2</sup>	99.0	0.08	46.00	0.79	621.00	1.68
3. N. Korea	120.0	0.09	22.77	0.39	92.40	0.25
		0.46		3.34		9.92
4. China & H.K.	9,327.0	7.17	1,234.0	21.17	4,542.1	12.29
5. Taiwan <sup>4</sup>	36.0	0.03	21.2	0.36	241.9	0.65
		7.20		21.53		12.95
6. Philippines	298.0	0.23	73.00	1.25	269.20	0.73
7. Indonesia	1,812.0	1.39	200.00	3.43	690.70	1.87
8. Papua N. G <sup>2</sup>	453.0	0.35	5.00	0.09	12.50	0.03
9. Singapore	1.0	0.01	3.00	0.05	89.60	0.24
10. Brunei Sult. <sup>2</sup>	5.3	0.00	0.30	0.01	9.30	0.03
11. Malaysia	329.0	0.25	21.00	0.36	229.30	0.62
12. Thailand	511.0	0.39	61.00	1.05	399.30	1.08
13. Laos	231.0	0.18	5.00	0.09	6.30	0.02
14. Cambodia <sup>2</sup>	177.0	0.14	11.00	0.19	0.10	0.00
15. Vietnam	325.0	0.25	77.00	1.32	128.30	0.05
16. Myanmar	687.0	0.53	46.68	0.80	1.22	0.00
		3.72		8.64		4.67
		11.38		33.51		27.53



### III. CURRENT INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF MIDDLE EAST AND PERSIAN GULF STATES

Country	Area '000 km <sup>2</sup>	% of World Area	Population in million	% of World Population	GDP/PPP in billion	% of World GDP/PPP
1. Turkey	770.00	0.59	64.00	1.10	409.70	1.11
2. Cyprus	9.20	0.01	0.75	0.01	10.03	0.03
3. Lebanon	10.00	0.01	4.00	0.07	24.90	0.07
4. Syria	184.00	0.14	15.00	0.26	44.50	0.12
5. Jordan	89.00	0.07	4.00	0.07	15.20	0.04
6. Israel	21.00	0.02	6.00	0.10	99.00	0.27
7. Egypt <sup>3</sup>	60.32	0.05	-	-	-	-
8. Saudi Arabia <sup>2</sup>	2,150.00	1.65	19.00	0.33	161.80	0.44
9. Yemen	528.00	0.41	16.00	0.27	11.80	0.03
10. Oman	212.00	0.16	2.00	0.03	20.10	0.05
11. UAE <sup>2</sup>	84.00	0.06	2.60	0.04	41.18	0.11
12. Bahrain	0.70	0.00	0.62	0.01	10.39	0.03
13. Qatar <sup>2</sup>	11.00	0.01	0.68	0.12	13.44	0.04
14. Kuwait	17.80	0.01	1.63	0.03	38.58	0.10
15. Iraq <sup>2</sup>	437.40	0.34	21.97	0.38	69.64	0.19
16. Iran	1,622.00	1.25	60.97	1.05	352.63	0.95
		<b>4.83</b>		<b>3.87</b>		<b>3.50</b>

### IV. CURRENT INTERNATIONAL STATUS OF FORMER CONSTITUENTS AND SATELLITES OF THE USSR

Country	Area '000 km <sup>2</sup>	% of World Area	Population in million	% of World Population	GDP/PPP in billion	% of World GDP/PPP
1. Russian Federation (in Asia) <sup>5</sup>	9,883.0	7.59	-	-	-	-
2. Mongolia <sup>2</sup>	1,567.0	1.20	3.0	0.05	1.17	0.00
3. Kazakstan	2,671.0	2.05	16.0	0.27	53.7	0.15
4. Turkmenistan	470.0	0.36	5.0	0.09	6.6	0.18
5. Uzbekistan	414.0	0.32	24.0	0.41	58.0	1.00
6. Tajikistan	141.0	0.11	6.0	0.10	5.6	0.02
7. Kyrgyzstan	192.0	0.14	5.0	0.09	9.5	0.03
8. Azerbaijan	87.0	0.07	8.0	0.13	11.6	0.03
9. Georgia	70.0	0.05	5.0	0.09	10.7	0.03
10. Armenia	28.0	0.02	4.0	0.07	8.6	0.02
		<b>11.91</b>		<b>1.30</b>		<b>1.39</b>

Notes: 1: For Afghanistan the figure of GDP-PPP relates to the year 1993 and is from UNDP Report, 1996.

2: Data for GDP-PPP for Bhutan, Cyprus, Saudi Arabia, UAE, Qatar, Iraq, Mongolia, North Korea, Cambodia, Papua New Guinea and Brunei relate to the year 1995, and are from UNDP Report, 1998.

3: The area is of Sinai only, which is in Asia, the rest of Egypt is a part of Africa.

4: For Taiwan, the GDP is taken from *Hutchison Encyclopedia*, and is at OER and probably relates to early 1990s.

5: Population of Russian Fed. as a whole in 1997 was 147 mlns. which was 2.52% of the world. The division of this population between European and Asiatic parts of Russia was not available. Similarly the GDP-PPP of the Russian Fed. as a whole was \$618.4 bln. which was 1.68% of the world. The division between European and Asiatic part of Russia was not available.

**HISTORICAL CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES, ON THESE  
FIFTY NATION STATES, FOLLOW:**

<b>DATE</b>	<b>COUNTRY</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION OF EVENTS</b>
1765	The 'Diwani' of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.	1) Drain of wealth from India. 2) Deindustrialisation, ruralisation and pauperisation. 3) Famines of Purchasing power, that kill off 85 million poor and low-caste landless labourers and share-croppers, who were former artisans and craftsmen.
1782	Thailand	Reunification of Siam after Civil war under general Phraya Chakri who founded New Capital at Bangkok and proclaimed himself King Rama I. <b>Thailand becomes a buffer state</b> between the British Imperialist forces advancing from the West via Myanmar and Malaysia, marching along the gigantic island arc of Indonesia, and the French occupation armies advancing from the east, through Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.
1795-1815	Malaysia	Britain occupied the Dutch possessions in Malaysia after France conquered the Netherlands in Europe.
1868	Meiji Restoration	<b>Feudal Institution of Tokugawa Shogunate overthrown</b>
1895-1910	Japan	Japan occupied Korea and Taiwan after a brief war in 1895 and formally annexed Korea in 1910.
1902-38	Saudi Arabia	Following the standard imperialist practice, Ibrahim Saud was put up by the American oil giant Standard Oil to take over the Arabian territories where oil was discovered in 1938. The world's largest oil fields are to be found in Saudi Arabia.
1906	Papua New Guinea	Britain transferred its rights to Australia which renamed the island Papua.
1911	China	The Ch'ing Dynasty rule (1644-1911) ends and a Republic of China is proclaimed. However a struggle for supremacy ensues amongst provincial warlords. Advantage is taken by Japan of this internecine warfare in China to invade Manchuria in 1931. The war with China merges into the general conflagration of the Second World War in the Pacific (1941-45).
1917-25	<b>Bolshevik Revolution in Russia led by Lenin and Trotsky</b>	<b>The seizure of power by Bolsheviks in 1917 in Moscow and Petrograd, results in a chain of events in the Asiatic parts of the old USSR. Outer Mongolia, lying between China and Russia, liberates itself in 1921 with Russian help. The Caucasian Republics of Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan federate themselves with Soviet Union. Also five Central Russian Republics of Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan become autonomous but constituent parts of Soviet Union.</b>
1919	Afghanistan	After many wars, British Imperialism admits failure and recognises the independence of Afghanistan to be followed by other Western powers.
1920-41	Lebanon	Administration by France after Ottoman withdrawal.
1920-42	Papua New Guinea	Papua was originally a German colony in the Pacific taken over by Australia at the outbreak of the First World War in 1914. From 1920 to '42 Australia held the country under a League of Nations Mandate.
1921-23	Turkey	Mustafa Kamal Atatürk seizes power from the last relics of the Caliphate that had propped up the vestigial Ottoman Empire.

DATE	COUNTRY	DESCRIPTION OF EVENTS
1924-39	Stalinist Counter-Revolution in Russia	1) The bureaucracy takes over the state and state capitalist counter - revolution is carried through by the Stalinists. 2) Stalinist leadership in Communist International facilitates the rise to power of Hitler and Mussolini. 3) Betrayal of Chinese workers and peasants leads to coup by Chiang Kai-shek in Canton and Shanghai (1927).
1929	Brunei	The discovery of oil leads to virtual colonisation by the multinational oil giant Burmah Shell. A puppet Sultan is placed in power, who is considered in the 1990s to be the richest man in the world. The Brunei Sultan was associated with Adnan Khashoggi, the Saudi Arabian arms dealer; Mohammad Fayad, the Egyptian billionaire owner of Harrod's Department store in London and Khashoggi's brother-in-law; the Indian god-man Chandraswami and his call-girl Pamela Bordes, in a conspiracy to assassinate Rajiv Gandhi the Indian Prime Minister in 1991. The reason was the elimination by Rajiv of the agents of Adnan Khashoggi and the Brunei Sultan from India's lucrative defence deals.
1931-45	Japanese conquest of China and South-East Asia.	1) Japanese attack on China (1931) and S.E. Asia (1941-45) leads to gigantic nationalist power in China in 1949; Ho Chi Minh in Vietnam in 1945; Aung San in Burma in 1948. Pibul Songgram in Thailand in 1943 and Aguinaldo in Philippines in 1942.
1941-43	Lebanon	After withdrawal of France, independence is finally achieved.
1941-45	Vietnam	Japanese occupation of Vietnam.
1941-45	Thailand	Japanese occupation. Field Marshall Pibul Songgram is the nominal head of war-time Thailand.
1941-45	Singapore	Japanese occupation.
1942-45	Myanmar	Occupation of Burma by Japan.
1942-45	Singapore	Japanese occupy the country.
1945-65	South-East Asia	Following the Japanese victory over European powers, beginning with Japanese triumph over Russia (1904-05) followed up with successful invasions of Philippines, Indo-China, Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia and Burma. Various National Movements, drive out French, American, Dutch and British imperialists (1942-45). Following Japanese withdrawal in 1945, nationalist regimes assume power in South East Asia.
1945-75	Vietnam Freedom Movement	With Japanese help in the initial stages, Vietnam frees itself from the clutches of French Imperialism (1945-54). A second Vietnam War begins with U.S. intervention in South Vietnam, which is liberated along with Laos and Cambodia in 1975 by Ho-Chin-Minh's guerrilla Vietnamese army.
1945-1999	Taiwan Province of China	In 1949 Mao's red army triumphs in China. But Chiang Kai-shek manages to escape to Taiwan with the remnants of his army. Taiwan occupies the Chinese seat on the Security Council till 1971 when People's Republic of China is admitted to the United Nations as a veto-wielding permanent member of the security council.
1946	Philippines	Philippines achieves independence but United States retains military bases in Philippines.
1946-54	Vietnam	First Vietnam war fought against France by Ho-Chi-Minh and his party the Viet Minh.

DATE	COUNTRY	DESCRIPTION OF EVENTS
1947	British Imperialism	The trifurcation of India results in communal riots sponsored by imperialist police which kill 6 lakh Indians and make 17 mln. of them refugees in their own country.
	to India and partitions the country into West Pakistan, India and East Pakistan (Bangladesh).	
1947-57	Thailand	A military coup places Pibul in power. He is deposed in 1957.
1948	Korea	Democratic People's Republic of Korea declared after pro-US Republic of Korea is founded in the South. Soviet troops withdrawn.
1948	Myanmar	British re-occupation of Burma 1945-48 ends as independence is achieved.
1948-72	Sri Lanka	Though Sri-Lanka became technically independent in 1948, it preferred to retain strong links with Great Britain. The Head of State remained Governor - General appointed by Britain upto 1972. Upto 1954 the Governor-Generals were Englishmen. To call such a country free is to make a mockery of the word independence.
1948-82	Israel	In 1948 United Nations partitions Palestine. 55% of territory given to Israel and 45% to Arabs. By a series of five wars (1948, 1956, 1967, 1973, 1982), Israel supported by Anglo- American imperialist powers, seizes almost the whole Palestine. The Palestinian Liberation Organisation (PLO) becomes government in exile in its own country, with 4% of the total territory of old Palestine, scattered in enclaves of Gaza and the West Bank.
1949	China	A nationalist wave sweeps over China from 1931 when Japanese attempt an invasion of Manchuria. Ultimately, Mao's Red Army triumphed in 1949 and Chiang Kai-shek's gang of compradors are driven out of the mainland into Taiwan.
1949	Indonesia	Indonesia becomes free. But Dutch occupation of West New Guinea continues till 1963 when Irian Jaya is merged with Indonesia. The last Portuguese possession in Indonesia known as East Timor merges with Indonesia in 1975.
1949	Bhutan	Under an Indo-Bhutanese Treaty limited freedom is granted to Bhutan. Most of the territory seized by India in 1865 is returned to Bhutan.
1950-53	Korea	North and South Korea engage in a proxy war. American intervention in this civil war leads to Chinese participation. Ultimately an armistice agreement is signed in 1953 which divides the country permanently into North-South along the 38th parallel. The Korean war of 1950-53 resulted in a loss of 2 million lives. The Sino-Soviet split of 1960 and the collapse of the USSR in 1989-91 leads to heightened tensions along the North - South divide in Korea.
1951	Nepal	The rule of pro-British Ranas, as prime ministers of Nepal, ends and King Tribhuvan seeks accession to India which Anglophile J.Nehru turns down. Thus Nepal becomes reluctantly free.
1952	Turkey	Becomes a member of NATO. But its application for the membership of the European Union is rejected in 1989.
1953	Cambodia	Independence achieved from France and Kingdom of Cambodia formed.
1954	Laos	Independence achieved from France under the Geneva agreements.

DATE	COUNTRY	DESCRIPTION OF EVENTS
1957	Malaysia	Federation of Malaya becomes independent.
1957-73	Thailand	Military dictatorship continued under General Sarit Thanarat (1957-63) and general Thanom Kittikachorn (1963-73).
1958	Myanmar	General Ne Win seizes power. Ne Win replaced by Gen. Saw Maung who in turn is replaced by Gen. Than Shwe.
1962	Middle East, North Africa, S.E. Asia and Latin America	OPEC (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries with membership spread all over the Third World. Members in 1997 were : Algeria, Ecuador (left in 1992), <i>Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Nigeria, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, UAE</i> and Venezuela (Asian members shown in italics).
1963	Malaysia	Malaysia combines with Singapore. Sarawak and Sabah to become the Federation of Malaysia.
1963-65	Singapore	Singapore becomes part of Malaysia but leaves the Federation in 1965 to become an independent Republic.
1964-75	Vietnam	The second Vietnam war fought against US imperialism.
1965-1985	Maldives	Maldives becomes independent, opts out of the British commonwealth and SAARC formed with 7 members: India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives.
1968	Persian Gulf	Britain announces its intention of withdrawing troops from the Persian gulf.
1968	Sabah	Philippines claims sovereignty over Sabah.
1970	Cambodia	Prince Sihanouk overthrown by US-backed General Lon Nol who is overthrown by Khmer Rouge.
1971	Bangladesh Liberation	Indian Army liberates East Pakistan with the help of Mukti Bahini guerrillas. The new country assumes the name of Bangladesh.
1971	Lebanon	Palestine Liberation Organisation led by Yasser Arafat expelled from Jordan, establishes head-quarters in Lebanon.
1971	Malaysia	Bumiputra policies proclaimed by UMNO, the ruling party of Malaysia.
1973	OPEC	Price increases forced by the OPEC, lead to sudden enrichment of many Arab and non-Arab Third World countries. It causes a brief recession in the West, and devaluation of the US Dollar.
1973	Thailand	Military government overthrown by student riots.
1974	Turkey	Turkey occupies the northern part of Cyprus.
1975	Thailand	Military rule re-established by General Kriangsak Chomanan and General Prem Tinsulanonda.
1975	Laos	Communists seize power with Vietnamese support.
1975	Papua New Guinea	Independence from Australian rule proclaimed.
1978	China	The rightist leader Deng Xiao Ping proclaims the theory of "market socialism" and

DATE	COUNTRY	DESCRIPTION OF EVENTS
		advances the concepts of <i>gaige</i> and <i>kaifeng</i> which were picked up by Mikhail Gorbachev in 1985 and translated into Russian as <i>glasnost</i> and <i>perestroika</i> .
1979	Iran	A stooge of British Imperialists, Reza Shah Pehlvi is driven out of Iran and Ayatollah Khomeini, who had been in exile in France, returns to assume power.
1979-89	Iran-Iraq	Iran-Iraq war promoted by Western arms dealers.
1979-89	Afghanistan	Soviet troops occupy Afghanistan in an attempt to impose a stooge government. USA and Pakistan thereupon build up a drug mafia called Taliban which gradually assumes power in the country (1989-99). The people of Afghanistan find themselves jumping from the frying pan of Russian rule, into the fire of American-sponsored mafia rule by a drug syndicate called Taliban.
1981	Lebanon	A part of southern Lebanon declared as its Security Zone by Israel.
1983-99	Sri Lanka	Tamil guerillas especially those belonging to LTTE (Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam) led by Prabhakaran, commence liberation war in 1983 for Eelam, which movement is supported by India till 1987. An Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF) was sent to Sri Lanka to help LTTE guerillas but <b>blackmail of Rajiv Gandhi by foreign armament dealers like BOFORS results in a complete about turn by the IPKF which occupied Jafna held by LTTE</b> . IPKF is forced to return ignominiously to India, in 1991. The struggle for Eelam continues.
1986	Philippines	After the assassination of the opposition leader Benigno Aquino in 1983, his wife Corazon Aquino forces Marcos to flee the country in 1986.
1987-89	Cambodia	Vietnamese troops withdraw from Cambodia.
1989-99	Afghanistan	Civil war rages in Afghanistan sponsored by CIA from USA and ISI from Pakistan. A drug mafia called Taliban seizes 80% of Afghan territory.
1990-99	Persian Gulf	Iraq invades Kuwait in 1990. USA, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, UK and a few other Gulf states join in a war against Iraq. The Gulf War leads to Trade Sanctions against Iraq as well as to imposition of No Fly Zones against Saddam Hussein within his own country. USA and UK inflict further air raids upon Iraq on flimsy grounds from air bases in the Indian Ocean, and warfare continues in the '90s.
1991	Asian Republics of USSR	The three Caucasian Republics and five central Asian Republics of former USSR attain independence.
1992-96	Thailand	Uneasy coalitions of civilian and military elements continues to rule the country
1995	Vietnam	Becomes a full member of ASEAN.
1996	Indonesia	The corrupt military dictator Suharto, who had been in power since the overthrow of Sukarno in 1965, is ousted in a popular movement. Vice-President Habibie replaces Suharto. But an uneasy calm prevails in Indonesia as the popular movement led by students is unable to decide on its next course of action.
1996-99	Cambodia	Political uncertainty continues.
1997	China	Hongkong reabsorbed by China. British imperialist occupation ends after 156 years.
1998	Malaysia	The South-East Asian economic crisis engulfs Malaysia. However <b>Mahathir bin Mohammed</b> adopts a vigorous nationalist programme which stabilises the Ringgit at

DATE	COUNTRY	DESCRIPTION OF EVENTS
		3.8 to the Dollar and repulses the speculative drive launched by George Soros, the Anglo-Hungarian currency dealer who had been encouraged by the IMF to beat down Malaysia's nationalist resistance to globalisation.
1998	Myanmar	Burma becomes a member of the ASEAN.
1998	Lebanon	The war between Syrian-supported Hezbollah and Israel continues in South Lebanon.

## THE PLACE OF INDIAN LOOT IN WORLD HISTORY

The history of the modern world as well as that of India and Asia, begins with the year 1765, the year in which East India Company acquired the *Divani* or revenue collection rights for Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Northern Circars from the Mughal Emperor in Delhi.

THIS WAS THE MOST MOMENTOUS EVENT IN WORLD HISTORY AND HAD FAR REACHING CONSEQUENCES FOR THE FUTURE OF MANKIND.

As a result of the acquisition of the *Divani*, a) flow of treasure (Gold and Silver) from England to India which was needed to finance each voyage of E.I.Co., ceased and Indian land-revenues became available for investment to purchase Indian commodities, especially, textiles, spices and other specialities. Thus, the further conquest of India was financed by Indian men, materials and money.

b) Francois Bernier (1656-1668) had noted in his *Travels in Moghul Empire* (1914) ed. by V.A. Smith, p. 202: "It should not escape notice that gold and silver after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, came at length to be swallowed up in 'Hindustan'."

Even Clive, one of the founders of British Empire in India, had to bring gold from United Kingdom in order to pursue his personal trading activities in India (*Mankind*, Nov. 1997, pp. 5-6). Until 1799, all employees of E. I. Co. were allowed to trade on their personal accounts. Even after 1799, they could trade on personal account under certain conditions. Furthermore, the British evolved the Managing Agency system, unique to its colonies to accommodate the personal trading activities of its officials and to facilitate corrupt deals by them.

Prior to 1765, rather during 1708-1767, from England alone, India imported £ 22 mln. worth of bullion (Balkrishna *Commercial Relations between India and Great Britain*, 1600-1757, pp. 37 and 208).

Terry estimated that in those days, 'An Indian ship returning from Red Sea was usually bringing in £200,000 sterling, most of it in gold and silver' (*A Voyage to East India*, 1777).

It was a famous saying by Peter the great that 'World trade is centred on Indian Ocean and he who controls Indian ocean, controls the world'.

b) Drain of wealth from India commenced as surplus from Indian revenues became available for exports of goods for which there was no return (see R.C. Dutt : *Economic History of India* (1901) vol. I, *Early British Rule*, contents

sect. I - BRITAIN'S INDUSTRIAL SUPREMACY DUE TO INDIAN WEALTH BEING 'APPROPRIATED', IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY AND ACCOUNT OF WEALTH TRANSFERRED TO UNITED KINGDOM, etc.)

c) As a result of Drain of Wealth, employment opportunities declined in India and grew in England, where the unrequited exports were converted into capital investments in ports, shipping, canal building, railways, ship-building, textile machinery and other industrial enterprises. Thus, India was deindustrialised, ruralised and pauperised for the greater glory and profits of British mercantile and industrial enterprise as noticed by William Digby (see above) and Brooks Adam's *Law of Civilisation and Decay 1895*).

d) The Drain of Wealth from India and the De-industrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation of India caused an endless series of Famines of Purchasing power from 1765 to 1947 which took a toll of 85 mln. Indian lives, mainly of poor, low-caste landless labourers who were former urban craftsmen, who had returned to villages in order to subsist and who accepted share-cropping terms of the most horrendous kind in order to eke out a bare living (See Wadia and Merchant: *Our Economic Problem* (1959, pp. 87-88 for a table of 62 mln. killed due to starvation between 1775-1944, plus the estimated 23m. killed in the Great Bengal famine of 1770, estimate by W. W. Hunter).

e) It is this Primitive Accumulation and Drain of Wealth from India that triggered the First Industrial Revolution in Great Britain which spanned the years 1765-1860.

The history of the entire world changed as a result of British conquest of India. India was literally the 'Jewel in the British Crown' (Kohinoor Diamond stolen from India forms the centre-piece of British Crown Jewels). As a further consequence, it became an imperial obligation for Britain to police and guard the sea-lanes to India, from Suez and Aden in the West to Busra in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea areas as well as the Colombo-Singapore-Yokohama and the Colombo-Sumatra-Australia-New Zealand shipping lanes. The end of the British rule in India, virtually spelt the end of the British Empire in the entire world and rapid changes in the politics of Asia occurred after 1947-48 when India became an individual member of the British Commonwealth.

Readers of *Mankind* will appreciate that we have been using the phrase "Twenty-Five Turning Points In World History" as a mnemonic device without actually counting the

exact number of 'Turning Points'. It is like the phrase "Sixteen Mahajanapadas" used for the 7th/6th century first territorial kingdoms of North India. They were actually many more but somehow, with most historiographers and students of Indian History, the phrase 'Sixteen Mahajanapadas,' has found favour and has become a convenient appellation for those early feudal states that gradually become subsumed under the Mauryan Empire ( 4th century B.C. onwards)

*Mankind* readers will also notice that, in our opinion, battles and wars do not determine the course of history whether termed Great and Decisive or not. *Socio-Economic forces shape the course of history*. However, in class societies, it is often found that around the turning points, the socio-economic programmes projected by the mutually antagonistic class forces, do clash in battles and wars and thereby the latter acquire a semblance of being determinants of the course of history.

In the series of histories of continents which we have taken up, Asian History is the first. We have demonstrated how 1765 was a 'Great Turning Point' in Indian, Asian and World History. '*Acquisition of Diwani*' by British Imperialism in 1765 set in motion and sustained the First Industrial Revolution that occurred in Great Britain in 1765-1860. This Industrial Revolution was immediately emulated by other capitalist nations of the Euro-America and ensured the triumph of capitalism globally.

When we consider the history of the 'Continent of Europe', we shall enumerate the specific concatenation of circumstances that led to the establishment of British leadership in European history in the 18th and 19th centuries. Here, we shall examine the set of conditions that promoted British Supremacy over the Indian Sub-continent. **First of all, Maratha defeat in the Third Panipat War of 1761 was the first stroke of luck for the puny little Britons.** Maratha Confederacy had overrun Orissa and had reached Circular Road, then called Maratha Ditch, in the city of Calcutta. **The setback at Panipat cleared the way for English acquisition of *Diwani* in Bengal.**

Maratha advance had reached Attock in the North-West and Madras and Madurai in the South-East. Therefore, a weakening of the Maratha Confederacy signalled by the defeat in the Third Panipat War of 1761 facilitated British infiltration everywhere.

In the South, the English were competing with the French who were led by Dupleix (active in India 1720-54). Lally (active in India 1756-63) and Bussy (active in India 1751-58). It was Dupleix who set the precedent for European interference in quarrels of 'Native Princes' and for recruitment of Indian troops to carry out alien designs. Clive had emulated Dupleix in the battle of Plassey (1757) which was not a battle at all, but a skirmish and intrigue where Mir Jafar and Mir Kasim fell out with each other. The Plassey Battle resulted in hardly twenty casualties and was much inflated by imperialist writers almost exactly like the border incursion of Alexander III in 327 B.C. As a matter of fact, Alexander in 327 B.C. had been beaten and his successors thrown out of Bactria and flung back to the West of the

Persian Empire in Syria. Similarly, Plassey was a childish affray. The 1765 Diwani ensured Drain of Wealth from India as well as further critical consequences.

The Anglo-French wars were a part of the world wide Seven Years War, 1756-63. We shall review those wars when we will take up European Continental History. Here we will merely mention that **the Maratha-Pathan clash at Panipat in 1761 resulted in a weakening of Maratha hold over the entire country.** Though the British had played no part in the Maratha - Pathan quarrel, they became accidentally the principal beneficiaries of that quarrel.

Similarly, whilst the French were promoting rival feudal claims in South India, the rise of Hyder-Tipu dynasty in Mysore and the loss of power by the Hyderabad Nizam and his agents accrued to the benefit of the English E. I. Co.

Thus a bunch of battles appear to surround the critical and climactic events of 1765: Battle of Plassey 1757, Battle of Panipat, 1761, Battle of Buxar 1764, the first Anglo-French War, also called the War of Austrian Succession (1744-49), the second Anglo-French War (1751), the third-Anglo-French War, also called the Seven Years War (1756-63), defeat of Khanderao by Hyder Ali (1763), Defeat of Hyder Ali and then the Nizam (1767).

**The next Great Turning Point in Asian History occurred in 1868 in Japan with the Meiji Restoration.** In 1853-54, one Mathew Perry who called himself Admiral (*Ency. Brit. 1983 edn., Micropaedia*, vol VIII, p. 887) forced his entry into Tokyo harbour and compelled Japan to establish trade and diplomatic relations with U.S. The Tokugawa Shogunate which had been in power from 1603, was completely humiliated and the roaming Samurai, known as *Ronin* in Japan, overthrew the Shogunate and restored the power of the emperor Meiji (the Shogunate was like the Peshwa amongst the Marathas, or like the Ranas amongst the Nepalis). It was equivalent to a *vazir* seizing power from the king.

The humiliation of Tokugawa enabled the trading and mercantile bourgeoisie of Japan to overthrow feudalism and elevate itself under the protective umbrella of Emperor Meiji.

This was the first independent act by an element of the traditional Asiatic Society. It established the classical case of an independent initiative by an Asiatic Social Class quite at variance with the feudal elements which were being propped up by the imperialist armies of Europe. In India, though mercantile capitalist interests were quite powerful and substantial (Jagat Seth and Omichand in Eastern India, Virji and other merchants in Western India and Chettiars in South India), in the 18th Century, the foreign powers, English, French, Portuguese, Dutch and Danish had intervened to prop up the crumbling feudal edifice. Nepal and Afghanistan which could not be conquered, were left to continue as independent feudal kingdoms. In addition 40% of the area and 25% of the population were placed under the domains of Native princes. Furthermore, under the land settlement policies pursued by the British Imperialism within the territories of the so-called British India, every possible intermediary was granted land-ownership rights by the



colonial administration and all feudal privileges claimed by any local dignitary were accorded full protection by the British Viceroy and the Governors.

In China, the same technique was pursued and after two Opium Wars (1839-42 and 1856-60) and the opening of more than seventy ports under various treaties granting extra-territorial rights and privileges to foreigners, a comprador warlord regime was set up in 1911 following the overthrow of Ch'ing or Manchu Dynasty (1644-1911).

Everywhere in Asia, the same pattern was followed. Feudal regimes were set up by the various capitalist, imperialist powers, much as slave regimes were established in the Southern states of the United States. It was a gigantic step backward sponsored by the imperialist powers. Palestine to the Pacific, only in two places were independent initiatives taken by local forces. The first was in Japan in 1868 via the Meiji Restoration, the second was at the other end of Asia, in Turkey, where Kamal Ataturk overthrew the Ottomans and abolished the theocratic institution of the Caliphate (1922-24).

The Third Independent Turning Point was provided by Russia, which had overthrown the Czarist regime in 1917 under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky.

Thus, so far, we have established and enumerated five major turning points :-

- 1) 1765- India (*Diwani* of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa)
- 2) 1868- Japan (Meiji Restoration)
- 3) 1917- Russia (Bolshevik Revolution)
- 4) 1922- Turkey (Abolition of Caliphate)
- 5) 1949- China (Triumph of Mao's Red Army)

We will briefly refer to some of the interrelationships between these turning points.

After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan was able to advance rapidly and emulating the West, was able to initiate an imperialist war against China in 1895, at the end of which it occupied Korea and Taiwan. (Japan renamed the island as Formosa). In the same war, it enforced humiliating terms on China (which was in control of Korea) and also occupied a part of Shantung Peninsula, surrounding Shanghai.

Japanese advance aroused the envy of other imperialist powers, particularly Russia, which sought to curtail Japanese influence in China. This led to the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5, in which Japan, an Asiatic Power inflicted a crushing defeat on Russia a European Power. This was considered all over Asia as a Great Victory and Triumph and led to the rise of Young China, Young Iran, Young Turkey movements in the respective countries.

We have already seen that Young China movement very soon led to the eclipse of Ch'ing, the Manchu Dynasty and the foundation of a comprador war-lord regime of republican China in 1911.

Kamal Ataturk was a part of Young Turk movement which was finally victorious in 1922-24 and which abolished the Caliphate in 1923.

The Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05 was the direct cause of 1905 revolution in Russia which has often been termed as the "Dress Rehearsal" for the events of 1917

(Trotsky had been elected President of the Petrograd Soviet in 1905 itself).

The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution had a direct impact on the events in Turkey. In 1921, Lenin signed a Russo-Turkish Treaty, which gave up all the imperialist privileges that had been claimed by the Czars under the previous unequal Russo-Turkish Treaties. Many of the secret clauses of the previous Turkish treaties with the Czars became public for the first time and fuelled Ataturk's rebellion against the decrepit Ottoman Regime.

We have seen the consequences of the Young China and the Young Turk movements. However, Young Iran movement led nowhere. At the end of the of the First World War, the imperialists were able to impose a friendly autocratic feudal regime on Iran. The Pahlavi Shah's regime was so unpopular that he was forced to abdicate during World War II by the occupying Allied Imperialist Powers themselves. He was succeeded by his son, Mohammed Raza Pahlvi. In 1951, Mohammed Mossadeq seized power for a short-while (1951-53). This radical regime did not last long. However, it had sown the seeds of a future nationalist takeover. In 1979, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, living in exile in France, organised a movement that led to the abdication by Mohammed Reza. In 1988, after Khomeini's death, Ayatollah Ali Khameni was elected interim leader of the revolution. In 1990, peace terms were arranged with Iraq and in 1998 Khatami was elected President. He appears to be a moderate and seems to be building bridges with the West.

Events in Iran must not distract us from the continuing tragedy in India. After 1765, the next great calamity to visit India, was the Partition of the country in 1947, on the basis of a frivolous demand made by the Muslim League just six years earlier. The consequences of Partition were momentous! Six lakh innocents of all communities were murdered in cold blood in riots and 17 million Indians became refugees in their own country. The Muslim League was recognised as the authoritative spokesperson for Indian Muslims, though it had never won an election to any provincial assembly that was later included in Pakistan.

The Indian tragedy which had commenced in 1765, was a continuing one because the leadership of the national movement was in the hands of compradors. The 1947 Partition compounded crimes of imperialism against the people of India. As a result of Partition, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh were burdened with immense defence budgets, much to the delight of the armament industry of the world. India fought three wars with Pakistan in 1948, 1965, and 1971 all of which were won by India on the battlefield but lost at the conference tables as orchestrated by the neo-colonial powers. (For summary of India's wars with Pakistan since 1947, see. *Mankind*, Nov. 98, pp. 34-43).

At about the same time, Palestine was being partitioned by the same British Imperialists and a racist regime was installed in the shape of the Jewish state of Israel. Israel was founded by terrorist gangs who drove out innocent Arab villagers from their homes. Money and war materials were provided by Jewish bankers of the West and men to carry the arms were provided by Eastern Europe and Russia under the

aegis of the United Nations. Suddenly in 1948, Palestine was partitioned and 55% of Palestine territory was given to the new Jewish State of Israel.

There have been so far five Arab-Israeli wars :-  
I. May 1948 --- March 1949.

II. October --- November 1956, this was actually an attempt by Britain and France to recover the Suez Canal, nationalised by Nasser. USA and Russia joined hands to frustrate attempts of the triple alliance of Britain, France and Israel.

III. 1967--- also called Six-Day War of 1967. It resulted in capture of Golan Heights from Syria, Eastern Half of Jerusalem City and West Bank from Jordan and in the South of the Gaza strip and Sinai Peninsula from Egypt.

IV. 1973 --- also called October War or Yom Kippur War. The Israelis were caught by surprise. There were 19,000 casualties in the war.

V. 1978 --- led to the Israeli occupation of a 'Security Zone' in South Lebanon.

As in the case of Indo-Pakistani quarrels, the entire Middle - East has been pawned to Western arms suppliers and all the participants have been placed at logger-heads with each other to the eternal delight of neo-colonial powers.

Thus our list of Turning Points in World History includes not only forward marches like the Russian Revolution of 1917, Yugoslav Revolution of 1948, Chinese Revolution of 1949, Cuban Revolution of 1959 and the Vietnamese War of Independence 1945-75, but also stark tragedies like the 1765 transfer of the *Diwani* to E.I. Co., the 1947 Partition of India and the 1948 partition of Palestine and also counter-revolutionary Stalinist seizure of power in Russia 1924-39, and the Russo-Finnish War of 1941-2.

Seizure of power by the counter-revolutionary Stalinist state capitalist gang in Russia between 1924-39, was to have fatal consequences all over the world. In 1925, Stalin promoted the coup by Chang Kai-shek to liquidate the leadership and cadres of the Chinese Communist Party in Shanghai and Canton.

The restoration of private capitalism was made easy under Gorbachev (1985-1989) and Yeltsin (1989-99), since the capitalist restoration had already been carried out in all essentials under the State Capitalist Programme implemented by Stalin between 1924 and 1939. Stalin also established Gulag Archipelago of concentration camps between 1936-53.

As a matter of fact, Gorbachev had picked up his notions of *glasnost* (opening up) and *perestroika* (restructuring) from Chinese leader Deng Xiao Ping's '*gaige* and *kaifeng*' in which Deng introduced 'Market Socialism' in China in 1978.

### Conclusion

The decisive import of 1765 in World, Asiatic and Indian History can hardly be overemphasised.

The Drain of Wealth from India which commenced in 1765 led to De-industrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation of the country which found expression in the formation of a permanent regime of Famines of Purchasing Power (1765-1947).

The second most important development in Asia was the institution of feudal regimes under imperialist aegis all over Asia from Jordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia to Indian Native States; and kingdoms in Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and various little kingdoms in Myanmar, Malaysia and Indonesia.

Everywhere the imperialist pattern was the same. Initially the old well-established, powerful and wealthy feudal kingdoms were overthrown and in their place small, weak divided and petty feudal princelings were propped up with imperial support (British, French, Dutch, etc.).

These princelings were handicapped from their birth. They became totally dependent on alien support of various European powers (in Philippines, America joined from 1898 the old European rogues).

No serious economic development was to be permitted. No significant industrialisation was to be allowed. No technological progress was contemplated. Therefore no new bourgeois class was to be countenanced which would create local competition for the imperialists. Everything was to be frozen at a backward, medieval, feudal level. In fact religious reactionary forces were to be built up everywhere so as to push back the Asian societies, that were in turmoil due to armed European interventions.

The first break or disruption in this pattern occurred in Japan in 1868. The local middle classes led by the unemployed Samurai, projected Emperor Meiji as an absolute monarch. A bourgeois revolution occurred in 1868 without much mass participation. In 1789 in France the poor people of Paris and the ordinary farmers of the provinces had participated in the socio-revolutionary process; or as in England of 1640-80, the Cromwellian peasant armies had overthrown for a while the monarchy and established a Republic. In Japan, by contrast the class conflict was confined to the Tokugawa Shogunate and its hirelings against Emperor Meiji to whom the roving *samurai* had pledged their support. Hemmed in by the alien "commander" Perry, the feudalists of the Tokugawa Shogunate surrendered.

Had the Peshwas not fought on till the end of their rule in the third Maratha war of 1818 and had the old Satara Kolhapur rulers become supreme with the support of the local townspeople of Sangli, Satara and Kolhapur, we might have had a situation in India similar to that which prevailed in Japan in 1868.

Similarly, if Virji of Surat, Omichand and Jagat Seth of Calcutta and Banaras, Anandaranga Pillai and some of the Chettiars of South India and Jain merchants of Rajasthan had seized power displacing the local feudal lords, the English imperialist conquest and consequent drain of wealth from India might have been prevented. Not only 85 mln. famine deaths might have been avoided, but other momentous consequences might have then followed. The two daughters of Aurangzeb, Jahanara and Roshanara were actively engaged in the India-Mecca trade in association with Surat merchants. They might have imprisoned Aurangzeb and taken over control of state affairs in the same manner that Aurangzeb had adopted towards his father Shah Jahan.

Our speculation in the above paragraph is merely intended to show that Marx was completely wrong in assuming that India was destined to be conquered by either the British or the Russians or the Turks. There were several other possibilities. Had the affluent Vaishtyas of India joined hands with some of the Rajputs and Kshatriyas bearing arms and possessed of retinues, we might have had a Japanese development in India and world history could have taken a new direction.

However, that was not to be. On the basis of Indian Loot, Great Britain completed the First Industrial Revolution (1765-1860). Since the development of London, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, New Castle and other industrial towns and cities of the British Isles demanded the destruction of craft industries of India and the dispersal of these craftsmen into villages of India, and the acceptance by these landless dalits of share-cropping terms of the most uneconomical nature, it was possible for England and Europe to become the dominant capitalist imperialist powers of the world.

Finally this dominance of the 18th and 19th century AD petered out in the late 20th century, and a tri-polar world of America, Europe and East Asia has emerged.

The contours of this Tri - Polar World and the Second Breath of Capitalism we have analysed in detail in various issues of *Mankind* over the past three and a half years.

(from *Mankind*, Sept. 1998)

## INDIAN HISTORY IS THE PRODUCT OF MATERIAL CAUSES THAT ENSURED ITS PRIMACY AND GREATNESS

Indian history, as part of World History, has been one of the four fortes of *Mankind*. Over the last 3 years, in the revived *Mankind* from Oct. 1995 to the present Sept. 1998, the overwhelming bulk of its pages have been devoted to a study and discussion of :

- a) The contours and dynamics of World Economy;
- b) The sequence and duration of the Modes of Production in Indian History, and the relation of Indian History to World History;
- c) The Theory and Philosophy of Scientific Socialism and Dialectical and Historical Materialism;
- d) The Social History of Art and Aesthetics.

Since history has been one of the four pillars, so to speak, of the revived *Mankind*, and since we have devoted hundreds of pages to it over the last 3 years, we expect our old subscribers like P. R. Ram to be at least aware of our major historical contributions.

We do not expect everyone to agree with us, but we surely expect our ordinary readers, who have been ill-educated by our colonial and comprador educational system, to know that Hindutva-biased history of India is

not the only alternative to Neo-Colonialist history. The latter variety of fraudulent recital of the past is no more valid than the former. WE STAND FOR A REVOLUTIONARY, NATIONALIST AND SOCIALIST REINTERPRETATION OF INDIAN HISTORY WHICH IS AT VARIANCE WITH BOTH THE BJP AND STALINIST-COMMUNIST VERSIONS OF THE PAST.

We cannot here even adequately summarise the hundreds of pages that we have devoted to the study of Indian history.

We will request the interested reader to refer to the following major theoretical and historical monographs which we have published :

- *Sangha Feudalism* c. 700 B.C. — c. 300 A.D. (MK, Oct. 95, pp. 63-91)
- *Samanta Feudalism* c. 300 A.D. — c. 1300 A.D. (MK, Nov. 95, pp. 62-85)
- *Fallacy of the Asiatic MOP* (MK, Dec. 95, pp. 44-64)
- *Pastoralist Class Society*, c.4500 B.C. — c.700 B.C. (MK, Jan.-Feb. 96, pp. 68-85)
- *The Gazetteers as Records of the Indian Bourgeoisification Process* c.1820 — c.1947 A.D. (MK, March 96, pp. 47-55).

Those who want to discuss the subject may refer to these studies which give all the sources upon whom we have either relied or which we have chosen to refute.

Our Schema of Periodisation and Phasisation is as follows :

**THE SEQUENCE AND DURATION OF THE MOPs IN INDIAN HISTORY.** (Regional Variations in Timing not considered)

**I. TRANSITION FROM HUNTING-FISHING-AND FOOD-GATHERING (HFFG) CHIEFDOMS TO PASTORALISM** c.7000 B.C. — c.4500 B.C.

This may be also called the Mehrgarh Horizon. (See Jarrige and Meadows, Excavation Reports, as summarised in *Manorama Yearbook*, 1985, pp. 336-8)

**II. PASTORALISM : PASTORALIST CLASS (OR VEDIC SOCIETY)** the later phase of which has been misnamed Indus Valley or Mohenjodaro-Harappa Culture by Western imperialist historians. **The correct designation for this culture is Sapta-Sindhu or Saraswati Culture. It is the same as Vedic culture)** c.4500 B.C. — c.700 B.C.

**NOTE :** We will not go into the phases of this historic period of Pastoralism, but it is obvious that the *Dasrajna* and *Mahabharata* wars of c.3100 and possibly c.2000 B.C. respectively, weakened the fabric of the Grand Indian Pastoralist Order. The *Dasrajna* was the primary focus of the *Rig Veda*. The *Dasrajna*, which led to some expulsions from India of the Irano-Hittite-Kassite-Mittani-Scythian-Hunnic-Celtic-Gothic-Teutonic-Slavic hordes was rather quickly followed by the *Mahabharata* war in which the same tribes, and their clan divisions, along with a few additions, were involved. The Second Great War further weakened the Indo-Aryan Pastoralist Order and led to more expulsions from India. These two great wars, *Dasrajna*

and *Mahabharata*, possibly caused the first attempt at feudalisation which is represented by the Saraswati or Indus Valley sites numbering over 1400. This first attempt at feudalisation failed. (Of over 1400 Vedic or Sapta Sindhu or Saraswati Culture sites, 917 are to be found in India. See Map on back cover and *India Today* summary, January 26, 1998, pp. 78-85)

### III. TRANSITION TO FEUDALISM c.2750 B.C. — c.1250 B.C.

An abortive attempt was made by certain *Vedic* tribes early in the 3rd millennium B.C. to utilise the waters of the Sapta Sindhu System or the Saraswati Valley (present day Ghaggar - Hakra) to agriculturise and feudalise themselves. As aforesaid, this abortive attempt, which failed, has been misnamed Indus Valley Non-Aryan Culture. Indus Valley language and script have now been decisively proved as Indo-Aryan by Dr. S. R. Rao (see another box alongside). In their blind racist, imperialist and Christian antagonism towards any admission that the European ethnic groups migrated from their original Indo-Aryan home in India, the Westerners have propagated a ridiculous thesis that in the same Sapta-Sindhu region, two cultures, according to their own admitted chronologies, partially or wholly overlapped with each other and flourished splendidly. The *Vedic* with no material remains, but possessing the oldest and vastest Indo-Aryan literature of the world; and the so-called Indus Valley Culture, which had no literature whatsoever (the Indus script being either "undeciphered" or merely indicative of short ownership markers), but possessed immense quantities of material remains at Mohenjodaro, Harappa and 1400 other sites.

In fact, the Westerners have been totally blinded by their capitalist and colonialist prejudice. They have lost all sense of proportion in their blind fury and anger. Since the bulk of the speakers of the Indo-Aryan languages are distributed from Ireland to Bengal-Assam (and to Tocharian speakers in Sinkiang-Tibet) the imperialist historiographers and ideologues insist that the Indo-Aryans must have originated at some geographical mid-point in the Middle East or S. Russia. However, there is no rational basis for such a belief in a geographical centrality.

Secondly, India is a very large subcontinent and Europe is a mere peninsula, westward, extending from Asia. Therefore the distance from the Sapta-Sindhu region to the Brahmaputra-Ganges delta (or, for that matter, to the oases Kuchā-Kashgar-Yarkand etc., within the Sinkiang-Tibetan deserts of Djungaria, Takla Makan, etc.) is enormous, over 1500 miles. The same distance northwestwards from the Kabul river which is a part of the Sapta-Sindhu System, would take us beyond the Caucasus and the Urals into the East European steppes, thus partially meeting the Western argument in favour of "a geographical centre."

French, English, Dutch, Portuguese, Danish and other European text-book writers could not believe that when their armies were entering India, these armies were

actually re-entering their own linguistic mother-country ! They did not want to believe that their own European culture had originated in India; that their science and technology had their birth in India ! That is why, a frantic effort was made to somehow prove that the "Aryans had invaded India" ! Such a belief was necessary to the imperialist ego ! How could they claim to be superior to Indians if it was proved, or if they were made to believe, that the entire West European culture was a mere offshoot of the Indo-Aryan !

But we are no longer necessarily blinded by imperialist prejudice and exasperation. Without at all falling prey to any religious ideology, and from a completely atheistic standpoint, we can very well accept that because of a strange, unusual and unique concatenation of circumstances, geological, meteorological, physiographic, ecological and floro-faunal, India became the original home of all the significant cultigens that mankind needed: Cereals, oilseeds, spices, fibres, fruits, nuts, vegetables, dyes and chemicals, gums and resins, sugar, seasonings, garnishes, bamboos, canes, incenses, rubbers, latexes, varnishes, lacquers, timbers, woods, papers, waxes, seeds, cattle, sheep, goats, camels, horses, asses, pigs, buffaloes, elephants, chickens, etc. **In a separate monograph to be published in near future we shall present all the evidence and reasoning we have employed in order to show how India became the original centre of the most important cultigens that mankind needed.** This has nothing to do with any damn Hindutva ideology or with any silly pseudo-Marxist notion that attributes a progressive role to British imperialism ("unconsciously", as Marx wrote). For completely materialist reasons, India happened to possess historically the privilege of generating the much needed cultigens. **MANKIND ASSERTS THIS PRIMACY OF INDIA ON COMPLETELY ATHEISTIC, RATIONALIST, ANTI-HINDU GROUNDS. WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT INDIA PREDATES RELIGION. RELIGION DID NOT MAKE INDIA. INDIAN PEOPLE MADE RELIGIONS AS THEY MADE AND UNMADE HISTORY. INDIA WAS NOT ONLY NOT HISTORYLESS, AS MARX, IN A LIGHTMINDED ABERRATION, MADE OUT TO BE. INDIA HAD THE LONGEST AND THE GREATEST HISTORICAL RECORD OF ALL THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, AND THAT FOR VERY GOOD, SOLID, CONCRETE, MATERIAL REASONS ! THE PALAEO-ARCTIC, THE ARID-ZONE-DECIDUOUS, AND THE TROPICAL EVERGREEN RAINFOREST BELTS AND FLORO-FAUNAL REGIONS CRISSCROSSED AND OVERLAPPED EACH OTHER ON THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT, THAT WAS WHY INDIA GAVE CIVILISATION TO THE WORLD!**

Even if I wanted to, for some reason, belittle and marginalise India, how can I fly in the face of historical facts and maintain that cotton did not originate in India? That cattle did not have its original home in India? That sugar, chicken, many species of wild goats and sheep, four

different species of silk-producing worms, an immense variety of palms, sugarcanes, bamboos and other grasses, 96 mutations of wheat, hundreds of varieties of rice, teak, sal, ebony, Mahogany, deodar, sandalwood, pepper, cardamom, cinnamon, several varieties of mustard, and an immense pharmacopoeia of medicinal roots and herbs, garlic, ginger, onion, turmeric, taro, all originated in India? Why should I forget that the two-humped Bactrian camel is hardier and sturdier though the Arabian camel is a little faster in its strides? Why should I overlook the fact that the elephant was domesticated in India millennia ago, for forestry and warfare? Why should I not be amazed at the extraordinary combinations of cultigens that are found in India? Even today, India has the highest cattle population in the world, though per head yields of milk, meat, hide, etc. may be low! It has an immense variety of domesticated and wild cattle. Its jungles give shelter to many kinds of honey bees, the lac insect makes its colonies on the branchlets of the *peepal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*), under which the Buddha attained enlightenment and of which tree a cutting survives to this day in Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka. Why is the jungle fowl of South India that was domesticated to make possible the common chicken, why should it not be considered as a great gift of India to the world? What has Hinduism to do the Indian jungle fowl origin of the common chicken? Supposing there was no Hinduism, will the jungle fowl then cease to be Indian? Supposing the BJP says that the numbers which form the basis of all science are of Indian origin, therefore are we to reject all the BJP claims? What kind of nonsense are these Stalinist-Communists propagating?

We believe that there was a Ram Mandir in Ayodhya and that it was probably located where later the Babri Masjid was put up by some subedar of the Mughals. Whether the Ram Mandir should be now built in 1998 is a separate issue! But why should we be expected to stupidly deny that there was a Ram Mandir at or near the site of the Babri Masjid as admitted by the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* of 1881? We do not think that the heavens are going to fall if a Ram Mandir is erected at Ayodhya, or at any other place in Central Asia or Europe or America. We are of course atheists, and would deplore the wastage of public money on construction of religious monuments. But why are we expected to give earth-shaking importance to such trivialities?

In any case, we refuse to believe that there was no Ram Mandir at Ayodhya! Why should there not be? In all probability there were several Ram Mandirs, constructed in different centuries, at Ayodhya, and at a 100 other places in India! Why not? The Hindus had plenty of time to build such temples from the Gupta period onwards (4th century A.D. onwards) till the advent of the Pathan adventurers (14th century A.D.).

**We do not believe that it is necessary to deny the existence of the crow, or the palm tree, in order to prove that the palm tree did not collapse because the crow alighted on one of its fronds.**

Let us now return to our historical chronology. We have already noted that **there were no two isolated separate cultures in the same period and in the same Sapta-Sindhu region, one called Vedic with only literary remains; and one called Indus Valley, with only material remains! This is absurd and ridiculous!**

We believe that basically the same *Vedic* culture was cultivated by those Sapta-Sindhu Aryan tribes, which focused upon Saraswati-Ghaggar-Hakra. They had built feudal citadels upon its banks, and on the banks of the tributaries to this ancient stream that lay between the Sutlej and the Jamuna, which dried up in the historical period as per the scientists attached to our Arid Zone Research Centre in Rajasthan (See report on research findings of the scientific team in *Manorama Yearbook* 1993, p. 408 : "*Saraswati Flowed via 'Thar'*")

We also invite the readers' attention to an adjoining box, in this article, in which we have dealt with a few (more details of the Sapta-Sindhu-Vedic-Indus Civilisation c.3000 B.C. — c. 1250 B.C.)

#### IV. FEUDAL PERIOD c.700 B.C. — 1820/60 A.D.

We had a feudal period which extended over 2,500 years. Indian feudalism was the most prosperous, the richest in export surpluses and the most powerful that the world had ever known. **It was precisely because it was so overwhelmingly strong that capitalism could not win against such an adversary. Capitalism triumphed in Europe from the 11th century onwards precisely because European feudalism was petty, divided, weak and poverty-stricken. The International Feudal Chain broke at its weakest links in Europe!**

As we have described in the set of monographs quoted at the beginning of this article, the phases of Indian feudalism were as follows :

- a) Sangha or Ecclesiastical-Monastic Feudalism c.700 B.C. — c.300 A.D.
- b) Samanta or Classical Feudalism c.300 A.D. — c.1300 A.D.
- c) Iqta or Militaristic Feudalism c.1300 A.D. — c.1556 A.D.
- d) Mansabdari or Bureaucratic Feudalism c.1556 A.D. — c.1720 A.D.
- e) Pendhari or Bandit Feudalism c.1720/65 A.D. — c.1820 / 60 A.D.
- f) Relic Feudalism, or Native States under British Paramountcy, c.1860 A.D. — c.1948 A.D.

We have described all these phases of feudalism in great detail and even compared various phases in tabular form in the aforesaid monographs, noted at the beginning of this article.

#### V. TRANSITION FROM FEUDALISM TO CAPITALISM c.1720/65 A.D. — c.1820/60 A.D.

We have already referred in the foregoing, to the decisive significance of 1765 in the economic history of India. As a matter of fact, the two Childs, John and Josiah, had made an abortive attempt, at the end of the 17th

century, at Surat, to overthrow Aurangzeb's restrictive rule. However, this abortive attempt was speedily and thoroughly crushed by Aurangzeb, so that the English had to sue for peace in the most humiliating and apologetic terms. That blow had paid put to English ambitions for more than 50 years. It was only in 1765 that Clive managed to get a *firmān* from the Delhi mughals, granting the E.I. Company revenue rights for the *subas* of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

Clive became a Mughal minion as *Sabat Jung* (Victorious in Battle).

We have already described this transitional period elsewhere in this article.

#### VI. CAPITALISM c. 1765/1860 A.D.— c. 1998 A.D.

- a) The first phase of capitalism in India was the Colonial Phase (1860-1947 A.D.) This was followed by
- b) Comprador phase (1947-1999 A.D.) ongoing. ■

### ALL HISTORY IS PARTISAN

The Stalinist communists are attacking the nationalist Hindu ideology. We are not interested in the exact truth of this allegation. We do not know much about the current incumbents at the ICHR. Not all of them, may be to the same extent, partisans of the Hindutva point of view. That is not important.

THE POINT IS, NO HISTORY CAN BE WRITTEN WITHOUT AN IDEOLOGICAL STANDPOINT! THERE IS NO HISTORY FROM ZERO VIEWPOINT. THERE IS NO SCIENTIFIC OR RATIONAL HISTORY IN THE ABSOLUTE SENSE! ALL HISTORY IS CLASS HISTORY FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE RULING CLASSES (i.e. IN THE SERVICE OF RULING CLASSES), OR FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE RULED (AND REVOLTING) CLASSES. THERE IS NO SUCH THING AS NEUTRAL HISTORY!

THOUGH THE STALINIST-COMMUNISTS WOULD BE LOATHE TO ADMIT IT, THEIR HISTORIOGRAPHY HAS ALSO TO BE CONDEMNED. IT IS WEST-ORIENTED. IT IS FROM THE EUROPEAN VIEWPOINT. IT WAS WRITTEN IN THE SERVICE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM!

British imperialism was not a progressive force in world history, as Marx supposed. It was not a progressive force even "unconsciously", as Marx asserted. It did not carry out any revolution in India. It perpetrated genocide upon the Indian people. British imperialism promoted famines of purchasing power. From 1765 to 1947 these famines of purchasing power were the inevitable consequence of the regime of Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation & Pauperisation instituted by imperialism. These famines carried away 85 millions of Indians. Foodgrains & oilseeds remained the biggest items of Indian export (1860-1947) right through.

*Mankind* is not ashamed to say that its viewpoint on world history is that of a revolutionary socialist. *Mankind* proclaims that is how history is shaping itself. Socialism is the salvation for the whole of humanity, and therefore a revolutionary socialist viewpoint which seeks to overturn class relations in India in favour of the Indian masses is a viewpoint that is IN ALIGNMENT WITH THE MOVEMENT OF WORLD HISTORY.

That is why *Mankind* is with the people. It boldly asserts WE SHALL OVERCOME! WE SHALL PREVAIL! It is stupid and disingenuous on the part of P.R. Ram to claim that there is such a thing as neutral, non-partisan history. The history written by the former bosses at the ICHR was Stalinist-Communist history written to serve the purposes of the comprador bourgeoisie of India which is functioning under the tutelage of its neo-colonial masters. The new history to be written by the new bosses at the ICHR will be the same history written to serve the same masters, but with a slight Hindu slant. ■

### MAX MULLER'S RACIALIST IMPERIALIST CHRONOLOGY

The Western neocolonialists go on endlessly about "the Aryan invasion of India" which is supposed to have occurred around 1500 BC. The Stalinist - Communist P.R Ram repeats parrot-like and thoughtlessly this starting point of 1500 BC!

THIS IS UTTERLY RIDICULOUS! THERE IS NO BASIS WHATSOEVER FOR THE WHITE CHRISTIAN RACIALIST BIGOTED GERMANIC MAX MULLERIAN CALCULATION OF 1200 OR 1500 BC!

M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, 1927 makes the following points very clear:

1. "The Vedic literature consists of the Sanhitas, the Brahmanas, Aranyakas and Upanisadas." (M. Muller)
2. Now it is clear that the supposition of 200 years for each of the different literary epochs in the origin of the Vedas is purely arbitrary. (M. Winternitz, p.292)
3. "It is at the fixing on these purely arbitrary dates that the untenable part of Max Muller calculations begin". (M. Winternitz) (*Ibid*)
4. Muller himself states in his Gifford lectures in 1859 that "Whether the Vedic hymns were composed 1000 or 1500 or 2000 or 3000 years B.C., no power on earth will ever determine".
5. Finally, Winternitz concludes, "It is remarkable however, how strong the power of suggestion is even in science. Max Muller's hypothetical and really purely arbitrary determination of the Vedic epoch in the course of years.

(contd. on next pg.)

(contd. from previous pg.)

received more and more the dignity and the character of a scientifically proved fact, without any new arguments or actual proofs having been added". (M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, 1927, pp. 292-93)

P R Ram has swallowed lock, stock and barrel the imperialist lies of the late 19th century which were propagated under the leadership of Max Muller and company.

Let us remember that the earlier Indologists and Vedic scholars in the West led by Jacobi had freely acknowledged that the earliest verses of the *Rig Veda* date from a period anterior to 4500 B.C. (Winternitz, p.295-299)

Ram is fond of propping up straw-men for the purpose of knocking them down. In his piece he is fond of quoting K C Sen, M S Golwalkar, Sitaram Yechury, N Raja Ram, etc. These are not serious historians of India.

Especially heinous is P. R. Ram's conduct in elevating imperialist historiography represented by the Orientalists and the Utilitarians. Both James Mill and Max Muller were consummate scoundrels who were promoting the interests of British imperialism in India. There was no shade or tint of difference between them which was at all worth noticing, from the Indian revolutionary point of view.

See also adjoining boxes on Aryan Invasion Theory and Sapta-Sindhu Script.

## S. R. RAO AND THE INDUS SCRIPT

The theory that Aryans invaded India stands exploded.

Nobody believes in this theory except imperialists, racialists, Christian bigots and Stalinist-Communists.

Dr. S. R. Rao's decisive decipherment of the Indus script proving the language and the script to be Indo-Aryan has been accepted by an ever-increasing number of scholars in India and abroad.

**Rao's methodology itself is most fascinating.**

"The oldest extant inscription of the Indus Brahmi script dated to around 450 BC or so while the Indus sites excavated came down to the mid-2nd. millenium, leaving a gap of a thousand years.

"However, in West Asia, the South Arabic and Old Aramaic alphabets had come into prominence by the beginning of the 1st millenium BC, and the Ahirom Sarcophagus (1300 B.C.) and Gezer Potsherd (1600 B.C.) provided the earlier stages of these Asiatic scripts. And here Dr. Rao struck gold. He found that many of the basic letters of the Indus script bore resemblance to the letters of these two West Asian alphabets.

"He decided to assign to each Indus basic letter the same sound-value as the West Asian letter which closely resembled it. After assigning these values to the Indus letters, he proceeded to try to read the inscriptions on the Indus seals. The language that emerged turned out to be an "Aryan" one.

"The above is a rather simplistic narration of the procedure adopted by Dr. Rao, which is given in detail in the two relevant books by him. (*Lothal and Indus Civilisation* and *The Decipherment of the Indus Script*)

"Among the many words yielded by Dr. Rao's decipherment are numerals *aeka, tra, chatus, panta, hapta, sapta, dasa, dvadasa and sata* ( 1,3,4,5,7,10,12 and 100) and names of Vedic personalities like *Atri, Kasypa, Gara, Manu, Sara, Trita, Daksa, Druhu, Kasu*, etc.

"While the direct connection between the late Indus script (1600 B.C.) and the Brahmi script could not be definitely established earlier, more and more inscriptions have been found all over the country in the last few years, dating 1000 B.C., 700 B.C., and so on, which have bridged the gap between the two. Now it is evident that the Brahmi script evolved directly from the Indus script.

"The decipherment of the Indus script by Dr. Rao is being increasingly accepted all over the world. Some of the prominent people and institutions who have accepted the decipherment of Dr. Rao are :

1. Prof. S. H. Ritti (President, Epigraphical Society of India)
2. Prof. P. B. Desai (President, Indian History Congress, Epigraphy Society, and Head, Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Karnataka University)
3. Prof. K. D. Bajpai (Chairman, Epigraphical Society of India, President Archaeological Survey of India, former Professor of Archaeology, Sagar University)
4. Dr. B. C. Chhabra (President, First Epigraphical Congress, retired Joint Director General of Archaeology, Government Epigraphist for India)
5. Prof. Ajaya Mitra Shastri (Head, Department Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University)
6. **Dr. David Diringer (Founder Director of the Alphabet Museum, Cambridge and Tel Aviv)**
7. Prof. W. W. de Grummond (Florida State University, USA)
8. Prof. F. N. Souza
9. Dr. Katschen
10. Prof. Mrs. Anleu Kammenhuber (Munich University, West Germany)

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11. The American Journal of Oriental Studies (in a review)
12. University of California, Berkeley (which announced the acceptance of the decipherment in September 1986)

"The decipherment is being increasingly accepted by more and more scholars all over the world. However the acceptance of the decipherment by the late **Dr. David Diringer, mentioned above, is particularly noteworthy. Dr. Diringer is considered one of the leading authorities on scripts and alphabets.**

"The decipherment of the Indus script by Dr. Rao is of great significance for Indian culture in another way. It proves that the South Arabic and old Aramaic alphabets of West Asia, as well as Indian Brahmi, are all derived from the Indus script. Between themselves, these alphabets are the ancestors of every single alphabet and script in use in the world today with the sole exception of the Chinese script.

**"This means that India's contributions to the world include not only the zero based decimal system without which modern scientific progress would have been impossible, but also the Alphabet, without which, also progress would have been very greatly hampered indeed.**

"Dr. Rao's decipherment has demolished the Aryan invasion theory." (S.G. Talageri. *The Aryan Invasion Theory, A Reappraisal*, 1993, pp. 60-63).

After the publication of the above list by Talageri in 1993, David Frawley has written as follows in 1994 :

"Four main points have emerged

1. The main centre of Harappan civilization is the newly rediscovered Sarasvati river of Vedic fame, while the Indus river has about three dozen important Harappan sites, the Sarasvati has over five hundred. The drying up of Sarasvati brought about the end of the Harappan civilization around 1900 B.C. The Harappan culture should be renamed "the Sarasvati culture".

2. "No evidence of any significant invading populations has been found in ancient India, nor have any destroyed cities or massacred peoples been unearthed. The so-called massacre of Mohenjodaro that Wheeler, an early excavator of the site, claimed to find, has been found to be only a case of imagination gone wild. The sites were abandoned along with the ecological changes that resulted in the drying up of Sarasvati.

3. The so-called Aryan cultural traits like horses, iron, cattle-rearing or fire worship have been found to be either indigenous developments (like iron) or to have existed in Harappan and pre-Harappan sites (like horses and fire-worship). No special Aryan culture in ancient India can be differentiated apart from the indigenous culture.

4. **A more critical reading of Vedic texts reveals that Harappan civilisation, the largest in the ancient world, finds itself reflected in Vedic literature, the largest literature of the ancient world. Vedic literature was previously not related to any significant civilisation but merely to "the destruction of Harappan".**

"Based on such new evidence an entire group of scholars has arisen from both India and the West who reject the Aryan invasion theory on various grounds considering the evidence of archaeology, skeletal remains, geography, mathematics, astronomy, linguistics and so on. Such individuals include Navaratna Rajaram, Subhash Kak, James Schaffer, Mark Kenoyer, S. P. Gupta, Bhagwan Singh, B. G. Siddharth, K. D. Sethna, K. D. Abhyankar, P. V. Pathak, S. Kalyanaraman, B. B. Chakravorty, George Feverstein and myself, to name a few" (David Frawley, *The Myth of the Aryan Invasion of India*, 1994, pp.5-8. Unfortunately, Frawley doesn't give any information about the individuals named by him. Four of them are obviously foreigners and non-Hindus, as are quite a few in Talageri's list.)

## SAPTA-SINDHU CULTURE ALSO KNOWN AS SARASWATI OR VEDIC CULTURE

Let us sum up the position from the dialectical and historical materialist point of view.

1. Due to a peculiar and unique geographical position India happened to stand at the crossroads of several flora-faunal regions and thus became the centre of origin of the most significant cultigens needed by humankind.

2. Vedic culture was centred around the banks of the Sarasvati river, where hundreds of sites have been found. Sarasvati river before it dried up flowed between the rivers Sutlej and Jamuna, and *debouched* at the eastern end of the Rann of Kutch. It is conjectured that the remains of the Sarasvati culture are to be found in the bed of the dried up streams of Ghaggar or Hakra.

3. It is ridiculous to suggest that two separate and distinct cultures flourished in the same region at about the same time, namely the Vedic Aryan with the greatest and oldest literature of the world, and the "Indus Non-Aryan" with no literature whatsoever. It is idiotic on the part of Stalinist-Communists to maintain such an absurdity out of sheer cussedness and perversity.

4. The Sarasvati sites are spread-over a vast area of over 1 million sq. miles from Shortu-Ghai on the Amudarya (Oxus) on the Soviet-Afghan border (Uzbekistan-Pakhtoonistan border) in the North; to Lothal at the

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head of the Bay of Cambay, Bhagatrap at the mouth of the river Narmada, and Daimabad in Ahmednagar District of Maharashtra in the South, and from Sutkagen Dor on the Makran coast near the ancient Indo-Iranian border; to Alamgirpur across the Yamuna in Western UP in the East. The extent of this Sapta-Sindhu or Saraswati culture is larger than all the riparian civilisations centred upon the river Nile, the river Jordan, the rivers Euphrates-Tigris and the rivers Huang Ho-Yangtze.

5. It has now been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that Aramaic and all the scripts of the Western world were derived from the Saraswati script, from which was also derived Brahmī, the source of all Indian scripts (and also the scripts of Myanmar, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia, Tibet and Sri Lanka)

6. This makes historical materialist sense, because why would an ethnic group which has borrowed from India the signs for numerals, not borrow the signs for alphabetic letters? Why would they write "5 horses", after borrowing "5" from India and "horses" from some Semitic source? Why would they do such a perverse thing?

7. Similarly, the Greek Modes in music were borrowed obviously from Indian *Grama-Jati-Murchhana-Raga* system. Why would an ethnic group in Southeast Europe, the Greeks, borrow numbers and musical concepts from India and not borrow the alphabet signs? It doesn't make sense!

8. All the symbols of ancient Indian culture are common to both the Vedic and so-called Indus Valley Civilisations. The *peepul* leaf; the ithyphallic *vogi*; the fire altars; the priest kings; the *swastika*; the game of *pachisi* or *chaupat*; the camel, the horse and the chariot, the elephant and the foot soldier as the four wings of the army apart from the King and his *Vazier*, in the miniaturised game of war, known as *shatranj* (literally the play of six forces); and hundreds of other tell-tale features are common to the two cultures of the same Sapta-Sindhu region, which everybody admits had overlapped in time.

9. The need to pretend to cultural superiority did exist in the 18th and 19th centuries when India was being conquered by the Britishers who represented a degraded and derivative form of ancient Indian culture. It may be a great and valid puzzle for the European mind to ponder over the question: how did we come to migrate and live so far away from India and yet have so much that is derived from India? I do not care about the detailed itineraries of the tribal groups that were expelled or which dispersed after the *Dasrajna* and *Mahabharata* wars. If some European scholars wish to trace their origins from the Scythian-Hunnic-Teutonic-Celtic-Gothic-Slavic hordes via the Hittite-Kassite-Mittani-Hyksos intermediate stages I have no objection. But I have no time for such an indepth inquiry of essentially minor matters. Let them try to trace the wanderings of the expelled and dispersed Indo-Aryan tribes across Central Asia, the Middle East, and Eastern Europe. It is strictly their problem and let them solve it.

10. I know that the Indo-Aryan home was spread over 1 million sq. kms of Northwest India, the Sapta-Sindhu Region. India happened to be uniquely gifted by geography and meteorology and geology.

After all, civilisation had to originate somewhere and nobody invents the wheel seventy-three times!

How the script developed in China is a very well-documented event of world history. We can trace each step of the scriptological evolution over the last 3 or 4 thousand years.

That is a separate story. But once the Sapta-Sindhu people had found a way of marking numbers, alphabetic letters and musical notes, it became unnecessary for scores of tribes in touch with the Indo-Aryan nomadic pastoralists, to rediscover them again and again.

The Sapta-Sindhu or Saraswati, or Vedic society, was a class society. There were herd-owners and field-owners who had their herds tended and their fields tilled by the common people. They warred amongst themselves. They built cities in which there were elevated citadels reserved for the residences of the elite or the upper castes or *dwijas*. In all the important and bigger Indus Valley urban centres, Mohenjodaro, Harappa, Kali Bangan, Dholavira, Surkotada, Lothal etc., such citadels have been found. Unfortunately there was a great earthquake, and the Saraswati river that had flowed between the Sutlej and the Yamuna, dried up. The urban centres situated on its banks were dependent upon basin and flood irrigation. These cities then decayed and agriculture as an alternative to pastoral practices declined, for the time being.

Many centuries later, the *Kshatriyas* raised a banner of revolt and organised themselves as followers of various *Upanishadic* dissenting thought systems termed Buddhism, Jainism, Ajivikism, and so on. This time the forces promoting agriculture and feudalisation triumphed. The *Sixteen Mahajanapadas* came into existence and after an internal struggle, the Magadhan Empire was formed extending from Afghanistan to Karnataka and Sri Lanka, and from Gujarat to Orissa.

We have outlined and explained this scenario in great detail in the pages of *Mankind*. (Please consult the particular references cited at the beginning of this article). ■

# THE ORIGIN OF HUMANKIND

Richard Leakey

## CHAPTER 4

### MAN THE NOBLE HUNTER?

At least some lines of evidence support the notion that the physique of early *Homo* reflected an active pursuit of meat --- that is, as a hunter in search of prey. It is salutary to reflect on the fact that, as a means of subsistence, hunting and gathering persisted until very recently in human pre-history: only with the adoption of agriculture a mere 10,000 years ago did our forebears begin to abandon a simple foraging existence. A major question for anthropologists has been, when did this very human mode of subsistence appear? Was it present from the beginning of genus *Homo*, as I have suggested? Or was it a recent adaptation, having emerged only with the evolution of modern humans, perhaps 100,000 years ago? To answer these

questions, we have to pore over clues in the fossil and archaeological records, searching for signs of the hunting and gathering mode of subsistence. We will see in this chapter that theories have shifted in recent years, reflecting a change in the way we view ourselves and our ancestors. Before we see how the evidence of prehistory has been scrutinised, it would be helpful to have a picture in mind of the foraging lifestyle, as we know it from modern hunter-gatherers.

The combination of hunting meat and gathering plant foods is unique to humans as a systematic subsistence strategy. It is also

spectacularly successful having enabled humanity to thrive in virtually every corner of the globe, with the exception of Antarctica. Vastly different environments were occupied, from steamy rain forests to deserts, from fecund coastal reaches to virtually sterile high plateaus. Diets varied greatly from environment to environment. The Native Americans of the Northwest harvested salmon in

#### 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 archaeological research in East Africa in 1924. He was later aided by his archaeologist 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 *Zinjanthropus*, that is now regarded as an australopithecine, and believed to be 1,750,000 years old. Leakey later theorised that *Zinjanthropus* 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 *Origin of Humankind* and has made several documentaries for BBC World Television. Richard was also for a while, the Minister in charge of National Parks. His wife, Meave Epps, is

prodigious quantities, for example, while the Kung San of the Kalahari relied on mongongo nuts for much of their protein.

Yet despite the differences in diet and ecological environment, there were many commonalities in the hunter-gatherer way of life. People lived in small mobile bands of about twenty-five individuals --- a core of adult males and females and their offspring. These bands interacted with others, forming a social and political network linked by customs and language. Numbering typically about five hundred individuals, this network of bands is known as a dialectical tribe (See Box

on Rigvedic Pastoralism). The bands occupied temporary camps, from which they pursued their daily food quest.

In the majority of surviving hunter-gatherer societies that anthropologists have studied, there is a clear division of labour, with males responsible for hunting and females for gathering plant foods. The camp is a place of intense social interactions, and a place where food is shared, when meat is available, this sharing often involves elaborate ritual, which is governed by strict social rules.

To Westerners, the eking out of an existence from the natural resources of the environment by means of the simplest of technologies seems a daunting challenge. In reality, it is an extremely efficient mode of subsistence, so that foragers can often collect in three or four hours sufficient food for the day. A major research project of the 1960s and 1970s conducted by a team of Harvard anthropologists showed this to be true of the Kung San, whose homeland in the Kalahari Desert of Botswana is marginal in the extreme. Hunter-gatherers are attuned to their physical environment in a way that is difficult for the urbanised Western mind to grasp. As a result, they know how to exploit what to modern eyes seem meagre resources. The power of their way of life lies in this exploitation of plant and animal resources within a social system that fosters interdependence and cooperation. (See Box on Rigvedic Pastoralism).

The notion that hunting was important in human evolution has a long history in anthropological thought going back to Darwin. In his 1871 book *The Descent of Man*, he suggested that stone weapons were used not only

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important in human evolution has a long history in anthropological thought going back to Darwin. In his 1871 book *The Descent of Man*, he suggested that stone weapons were used not only

for defence against predators but also for bringing down prey. The adoption of hunting with artificial weapons was part of what made humans human, he argued. Darwin's image of our ancestors was clearly influenced by his experience while on his five-year voyage on the *Beagle*. This is how he described his encounter with the people of Tierra del Fuego, at the southern tip of South America:

"There can hardly be any doubt that we are descended from barbarians. The astonishment which I felt on first seeing a party of Fuegians on a wild and broken shore will never be forgotten by me, for the reflection at once rushed into my mind --- such were our ancestors. These men were absolutely naked and bedaubed with paint, their long hair was tangled, their mouths frothed with excitement, and their expression was wild, startled and distrustful. They possessed hardly any arts, and like wild animals lived on what they could catch".

The conviction that hunting and late Pastoralism was central to our evolution, and the conflation of our ancestors' way of life with that of surviving technologically primitive people imprinted itself firmly on anthropological thought. In a thoughtful essay on this issues, the biologist Timothy Perper and the anthropologist Carmel Schrire, both at Rutgers University, put it succinctly: "The hunting model ... assumes that hunting and meat-eating triggered human evolution and propelled man to the creature he is today." According to this model, the activity shaped our ancestors in three ways, explain Perper and Schrire, "affecting the psychological, social, and territorial behavior of early man." In a classic 1963 paper on the topic, the South African anthropologist John Robinson expressed the measure of import the science accorded to hunting in human prehistory:

[T]he incorporation of meat-eating in the diet seems to me to have been an evolutionary change of enormous importance which opened up a vast new evolutionary field. The change, in my opinion, ranks in evolutionary importance with the origin of mammals --- perhaps more appropriately with the origin of tetrapods. With the relatively great expansion of intelligence and culture it introduced a new dimension and a new evolutionary mechanism into the evolutionary picture, which at best are only palely foreshadowed in other animals.

Our assumed hunting heritage took on mythic aspects, too, becoming equivalent to the original sin of Adam and Eve, who had to leave Paradise after eating of forbidden fruit. "In the hunting model, man ate meat in order to survive in the harsh savanna, and by virtue of this strategy became the animal whose subsequent history is etched in a medium of violence, conquest, and bloodshed," observe Perper and Schrire. This was the theme taken up by Raymond Dart in some of his writings in the 1950s and, more popularly, by Robert Ardrey. "Not in innocence, and not in Asia, was mankind born," (The European bias is evident, Exe. Edr.) is the famous opening to Ardrey's 1971 book *African Genesis*. The image proved to be powerful in the minds of both the public and the profession. And, as we shall see, image has been important in the way the archaeological record has been interpreted in this respect. A 1966 conference on "Man the Hunter" (Herder would

have been more appropriate, Exe Edr.) at the University of Chicago was a landmark in the development of anthropological thinking about the role of hunting in our evolution. The conference was important for several reasons, not least for its recognition that the gathering of plant foods provided the major supply of calories for most hunter-gatherer societies. And, just as Darwin had done almost a century earlier, the conference equated what we know of the lifeways of modern hunter-gatherers with the behavior patterns of our earliest ancestors. As a result, apparent evidence of meat-eating in the prehistoric record --- in the form of accumulations of stone tools and animal bones --- had a clear implication, as my friend and colleague the Harvard University archaeologist Glynn Isaac observed: "Having, as it were, followed an apparently uninterrupted trail of stone and bone refuse back through the Pleistocene it seemed natural ... to treat these accumulations of artifacts and faunal remains as being 'fossil home base sites.'" In other words, our ancestors were considered to have lived as modern hunter-gatherers do, albeit in a more primitive form.

Isaac promulgated a significant advance in anthropological thinking with his food-sharing hypothesis, (called Yagna in *Rigveda*) which he published in a major article in *Scientific American* in 1978. In it he shifted the emphasis away from hunting *per se* as the force that shaped human behavior and toward the impact of the collaborative acquisition and sharing of food. "The adoption of food-sharing would have favoured the development of language, (See Box on Rigvedic Pastoralism) social reciprocity and the intellect," he told a 1982 gathering that marked the centenary of Darwin's death.

Five patterns of behavior separate humans from our ape relatives, he wrote in his 1978 paper: (1) a bipedal, mode of locomotion, (2) a spoken language, (3) regular, systematic sharing of food in a social context, (4) living in home bases, (5) the hunting of large prey and (6) Pastoralism - Exe Edr. These describe modern human behavior, of course. But, Isaac suggested by 2 million years ago "various fundamental shifts had begun to take place in hominid social and ecological arrangements." They were already hunter-gatherers in embryo, living in small, mobile bands and occupying temporary camps from which the males went out to hunt prey and the females to gather plant foods. The camp provided the social focus, at which food was shared. "Although meat was an important component of the diet, it might have been acquired by hunting or by scavenging," (scavenging disappears after pastoralism, Exe. Edr.) Isaac told me in 1984, a year before his tragically early death. "You would be hard pressed to say which, given the kind of evidence we have from most archaeological sites."

Isaac's viewpoint strongly influenced the way the archaeological record was interpreted. Whenever stone tools were discovered in association with the fossilised bones of animals, it was taken as an indication of an ancient "home base," the meagre litter of perhaps several days' activity of a band of hunter-gatherers. Isaac's argument was plausible, and I wrote in my 1981 book *The Making of Mankind* that "the food-sharing hypothesis is a strong candidate for

## TREE CLIMBING VS LAKE-WADING

We differ from Richard Leakey on two important questions:

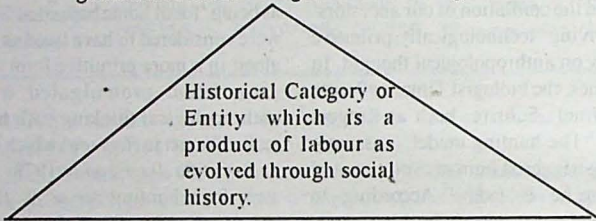
Leakey rightly considers BIPEDALISM as a fundamental departure in the evolution and development of humankind, leading to LANGUAGE, TECHNOLOGY and ART. We reproduce hereinbelow a digram of THREE MOMENTS OF HISTORIC CATEGORY with which we had illustrated our study, *The Arts of Transitional India: 20th 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 tree climbing or brachiation. 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.



Historical Category of Entity which is a product of labour as evolved through social history.

#### 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 ideological 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 brachiation 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 Djibouti (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 HIND 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, rhinoceroses, giraffes, big antelopes of many species, etc.) who would have made life very hazardous for man, 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 beings 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, brachiation road.

explaining what set early humans on the road to modern man." The hypothesis seemed consistent with the way I saw the fossil and archaeological records, and it followed sound biological principles. Richard Potts, of the Smithsonian Institution, agreed. In his 1988 book titled *Early Hominid Activities at Olduvai*, he observed that Isaac's hypothesis "seemed a very attractive interpretation," noting:

The home-base, food-sharing hypothesis integrates so many aspects of human behavior and social life that are important to anthropologists --- **reciprocity systems, exchange, kinship, subsistence, division of labour, and language.** Seeing what appeared to be elements of the hunting-and-gathering way of life in the record, in the bones and stones, archaeologists inferred that the rest followed. It was a very complete picture.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, however, this thinking began to change, prompted by Isaac and by the archaeologist Lewis Binford, then at the University of New Mexico. Both men realised that much of prevailing interpretation of the prehistoric record was based on unspoken assumptions. Independently, they began to separate what could truly be known from the record from what was simply assumed. It began at the most fundamental level, questioning **the significance of finding stones and animal bones in the same place.** Did this spatial coincidence imply prehistoric butchery, as had been assumed? And if butchery could be proved, does that imply that the people who did it lived as modern hunter-gatherers do?

Isaac and I talked often about various subsistence hypotheses, and he would create scenarios in which bones and stones might finish up in the same place but have nothing to do with a hunting-and-gathering way of life. For instance,

a group of early humans might have spent some time beneath a tree simply for the shade it afforded, knapping stones for some purpose other than butchering carcasses --- for example, they might have been making flakes for **whittling sticks, which could be used to unearth tubers.** Some time later, after the group had moved on, a leopard might have climbed the tree, hauling its kill with it, as leopards often do. Gradually, the carcass would have rotted and the bones would have tumbled to the ground to lie amid the scatter of stones left there by the toolmakers. How could an archaeologist excavating the site 1.5 million years later distinguish between this scenario and the previously favoured interpretation of butchering by a group of nomadic hunters and gatherers? My instinct was that early humans did in fact pursue some version of hunting and gathering, but I could see Isaac's concern over a secure reading of the evidence.

Lewis Binford's assault on conventional wisdom was rather more acerbic than Isaac's. In his 1981 book *Bones: Ancient Men and Modern Myth*, he suggested that archaeologists who viewed stone-tool and bone assemblages as the remains of ancient campsites were "making up 'just-so' stories about our hominid past." Binford, who has done little of his work on early archaeological sites, derived his views initially from study of the bones of Neanderthals, who lived in Eurasia between about 135,000 and 34,000 years ago.

"I became convinced that the organisation of the hunting and gathering way of life among these relatively recent ancestors was quite different than that among fully modern *Homo sapiens*," he wrote in a major review in 1985. "If this was true then the almost 'human' lifeways depicted in the 'consensus' view of the very early hominids

stood out as an extremely unlikely condition." Binford suggested that **systematic hunting; of any kind began to appear only when modern humans evolved, for which date he gives 45,000 to 35,000 years ago.** (Leakey's European bias in favour of Neanderthals is quite evident. Exc Edr.)

None of the early archaeological sites could be regarded as remains of living floors from ancient campsites, argued Binford. He reached this conclusion through analysing other people's data on the bones at some of the famous archaeological sites in Olduvai Gorge. They were the kill sites of nonhuman predators, he said. **Once the predators, such as lion and hyena, had moved on, hominids came to the site to pick up what scraps they could scavenge.** "The major, or in many cases the **only usable or edible parts consisted of bone marrow,**" he wrote. "There is no evidence supporting the idea that the hominids were removing food from the locations of procurement to a base camp for consumption. . . . Similarly, the argument that food was shared is totally unsupported." This idea presents a very different picture of our forebears, 2 million years ago. "They were not romantic ancestors," wrote Binford. "but eclectic feeders commonly scavenging the carcasses of dead ungulates for minor food morsels." (Scavenging disappears after Pastoralist MOP. Exc. Edr.)

In this view of early human prehistory, our ancestors become much less humanlike, not just in their mode of subsistence but also in other elements of behavior: for instance, **language, morality, and consciousness would be absent.** Binford concluded: "Our species had arrived --- not as a result of gradual, progressive processes, **but explosively in a relatively short period of time.**" This was the philosophical core of the debate. If early *Homo* displayed aspects of a humanlike way of life, then we have to accept the emergence of the essence of humanity as a gradual process --- one that links us to the deep past. If, however, truly humanlike behavior emerged rapidly and recently, then we stand in splendid isolation, disconnected from the deep past and the rest of nature.

Although Isaac shared Binford's concerns about past overinterpretation of the prehistoric record, he took a different approach to rectifying it. Where Binford worked largely with other people's data, Isaac decided he would excavate an archaeological site, looking at the evidence with new eyes. Although the distinction between hunting and scavenging was not crucial to Isaac's food-sharing hypothesis, it became important in reexamining the archaeological record. Hunter or scavenger? This was the crux of the debate.

In principle, hunting should imprint itself in a different way on the archaeological record from scavenging. The record of the difference should be evident in the body parts left behind by the hunter and the scavenger. For instance, when a hunter secures a kill, he has the option of carrying the entire carcass, or any part of it, back to camp. A scavenger, by contrast, has available only whatever he might find at an abandoned kill site: the choice of body parts he can take back to camp will be more limited. The variety of bones found at the camp of a hominid hunter should therefore be wider --- including, at times, an entire skeleton --- than that at the

camp of a hominid scavenger.

There are, however, many factors that can confound this neat picture. As Potts has observed: "If a scavenger finds the carcass of an animal that has just died of natural causes, then all the body parts are available to the scavenger, and the bone pattern that results will look just like hunting. And if a scavenger manages to drive a predator off its kill very early, the pattern will again look like hunting. What are you to do?" The Chicago anthropologist Richard Klein, who has analysed many bone assemblages in southern Africa and Europe, believes the task of distinguishing between the two subsistence methods may be impossible: "There are so many ways that bones can get to a site, and so many things that can happen to them, that the hunter-versus-scavenger question may never be resolved for hominids."

The excavation Isaac embarked upon to test the new thinking was known as site 50, which is located near the Karari Escarpment about 15 miles east of Lake Turkana, in northern Kenya. During a period of three years, beginning in 1977, he and a team of archaeologists and geologists exposed an ancient land surface, **the sandy bank of a small stream.** Carefully, they unearthed 1405 pieces of stone artifacts and 2100 fragments of bone, some large, most small, which had been **buried some 1.5 million years ago** when a seasonal stream had flooded early in a rainy season. Today, the region is arid, with bush and scrub interspersed among badlands carved by eons of erosion. The goal Isaac and his team set themselves was to discover what had occurred 1.5 million years ago, when stone artifacts and many animal bones came to rest in the same place.

In his earlier critiques, Binford had suggested that many co-occurrences of bone and stone were the result of water action. That is, a fast-running stream can carry pieces of bone and stone along and then dump them at a point of low energy, such as where the stream widens or at the inside bank of a bend. In this case, the accumulation of bone and stone in the same location would be the result of chance, not hominid activity. The "archaeological site" would be no more than a hydraulic jumble. Such an explanation seemed unlikely for site 50, because the ancient land surface had been on the bank of a stream, not in it, and because clues from geology showed that the site had been buried very gently. Nevertheless, a direct association between bone and stone had to be demonstrated, not assumed. That demonstration came in a most unexpected way and formed one of the landmark discoveries in archaeology in recent times.

When an animal is dismembered or a bone is defleshed with a knife, either of metal or of stone, the butcher inevitably slices into the bone occasionally, leaving long grooves or cut marks. During dismemberment, the cut marks would be concentrated around the joints, while in defleshing they would be inflicted elsewhere, too. When the University of Wisconsin archaeologist Henry Bunn was examining some of the bone fragments from site 50, he noticed such grooves. Under the microscope, they could be seen to be V-shape in cross section. Was this a cut mark, made 1.5 million years ago by a hominid forager? **Experiments with modern bone and stone flakes confirmed it, proving conclusively 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 (antelopes, 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, barley, wheat, rice, millets, pulses, oilseeds, tubers and roots, spices and herbs, grasses and bamboos with domesticable animals. Here was an immense variety of vegetation. The great riverine plains of Sapta-Sindhu and Ganga-Jamuna-Saraswati stretched out to Brahmaputra-Meghna and the mountainous terrain held innumerable lakes of the Himalayas to steppe grasslands of Thar, Makran, Scistan 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 Sahtoosh 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 forests 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 paralleled 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 racist German Max Muller (we have covered this argument in our earlier contribution in *Mankind*, see box on pp. 46-47 in this issue), 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?

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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 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-thirds 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.

**causal relationship between the bone and the stone at the site: hominids had brought them there and processed them for a meal.** This discovery was the first direct demonstration of a behavioural link between bones and stones at an early archaeological site. It was the smoking gun in the mystery of ancient sites.

It often happens in science that important discoveries are made independently at about the same time. So it was with cut marks. Working with bones from archaeological sites around Lake Turkana and at Olduvai Gorge, Richard Potts and the Johns Hopkins archeologist Pat Shipman also found cut marks. Their methods of study were slightly different from Bunn's, but the answer was the same: **hominids close to 2 million years ago were using stone flakes to dismember carcasses and deflesh bones.** In retrospect, it is surprising that cut marks had not been discovered earlier, because the bones examined by Potts and Shipman had been studied many times by many people. A moment's reflection would have convinced the alert mind that, if the prevailing archaeological theory was correct, signs of butchery must be present on some fossil bones. But no one had looked assiduously, because the answer was assumed. Once the unspoken assumptions of prevailing theory were questioned, however, the time was right to look for and find them.

Site 50 yielded further evidence of hominids' using stone on bone as part of their daily life. Some of the long bones at the site were shattered into pieces, the result, it developed, of someone's placing the bone on a stone, like an anvil, and then delivering a series of blows along the bone, thus giving access to the marrow inside. This scenario was reconstructed from a paleolithic jigsaw puzzle, in which the fragments were assembled to form the entire bone and analysis made of the pattern of breakage, which included characteristic signs of percussion. "Finding the fitting pieces of hammer-shattered bone shafts invites one to envisage early proto-humans in the very act of extracting and eating marrow," Isaac and his colleagues wrote in a paper describing their findings. Of the cut marks they said: "Finding an articular end of bone, with marks apparently formed when a sharp-edged stone was used to dismember an antelope leg,

cannot but conjure up very specific images of butchery in progress."

Adding to these images of hominid activity 1.5 million years ago is a message from the stones themselves. When a stone-knapper strikes flakes from a cobble, the pieces tend to fall in a small area around him or her. This is just what the University of Wisconsin archaeologist Ellen Kroll found at site 50: stone-knapping was concentrated at one end of the site. Similarly, the bone pieces --- there were parts of **giraffe, hippopotamus, an eland-size antelope, and a zebra-like animal, as well as catfish spines** --- were concentrated in the same place. "We can only speculate what made the northern end of the site a favourite place to do things, but the observed pattern could, for example, imply the existence of a shady tree there," Isaac and his colleagues wrote. An even more remarkable aspect of the stone flakes was that, like the shattered long bone, some of these too could be reconstructed to form the original whole, a lava cobble.

I mentioned in chapter 2 that Nicholas Toth and Lawrence Keeley had performed microscopic analysis of several stone flakes and found indications of butchery, wood whittling, and the cutting of soft plant tissue. Those flakes were from site 50, and the results of the analysis add to the image of a scene of diverse activity 1.5 million years ago. Far from the hydraulic jumble image, the activity at site 50 must have involved hominids bring parts of carcasses there, which were then processed with stone tools made at the site. The demonstration of the deliberate transport of bones and stones to a central place of food-processing activity was a major step in realigning archaeological theory, after the theoretical turmoil of the late 1970s. But does this evidence imply that the hominids of site 50, *Homo erectus*, were hunters or scavengers?

Isaac and his colleagues put it this way: "The characteristics of the bone assemblage invite serious consideration of **scavenging rather than active hunting as a prominent mode of meat acquisition.**" Had entire carcasses been found at the site, a conclusion of hunting could be drawn. But, as I indicated earlier, the interpretation of patterns of bone assemblages is fraught with potential error.



Other lines of evidence, however, have been adduced to imply scavenging as the mode of meat acquisition in early *Homo*. For instance, Shipman examined the distribution of cut marks on ancient bones and made two observations. First, only about half were indicative of dismemberment; second, many were on bones that bore little meat. Furthermore, a high proportion of cut marks crossed over marks left by carnivore teeth, implying the carnivores got to the bones before the hominids did. This, Shipman concluded, is "compelling evidence for scavenging," an image of our ancestor she notes is "unfamiliar and unflattering." It is certainly far from the Man the Noble Hunter image of traditional theory.

I would expect that the meat quest in early *Homo* would have involved scavenging. As Shipman observed, "Carnivores scavenge when they can and hunt when they must." But I suspect that the recent intellectual revolution in archaeology has gone too far, as often happens in science. The rejection of hunting in early *Homo* has been too assiduous. I find it significant that Shipman's analysis of the distribution of cut marks shows so many on bones with little meat. What can be obtained here? **Tendons and skin. With these materials it is very easy to make effective snares for catching quite large prey.** I would be very surprised if early *Homo erectus* did not engage in this form of hunting. The humanlike physique that emerged with the evolution of the genus *Homo* is consistent with a hunting adaptation.

For Isaac the work at site 50 was salutary. Although it confirmed that hominids were transporting bone and stone to a central place, it did not necessarily demonstrate that the hominids used that location as a home base. "I now recognize that the hypotheses about early hominid behavior I have advanced in previous papers made the early hominids seem too human," he wrote in 1983. He therefore suggested modifying his "food-sharing hypothesis," making it the "central-place-foraging" hypothesis. I suspect he was being too cautious.

I cannot say that the results of the project at site 50 confirm the hypothesis that *Homo erectus* lived as hunter-gatherers, moving every few days from one temporary home base to another --- bases to which they brought food and where they shared it. How much of the social and economic milieu of Isaac's original food-sharing hypothesis might have been present at site 50 remains elusive. But in my judgment there is sufficient evidence from the work to dispense with the notion that **early *Homo* was little advanced beyond the chimpanzee grade of social, cognitive, and technological competence.** I'm not suggesting that these creatures were hunter-gatherers in miniature, but I'm sure that the humanlike grade of the primitive hunter-gatherer was beginning to be established at this time.

Although we can never know for certain what daily life was like in the earliest times of *Homo erectus*, we can use the rich archaeological evidence of site 50, and our imagination, to re-create such a scene, 1.5 million years ago:

A seasonal stream courses its way gently across a broad floodplain on the east side of a giant lake. (See Box on Rigvedic Pastoralism). Tall acacia trees line the stream's

circuitous banks, casting welcome shade from the tropical sun. For much of the year the stream bed is dry, but recent rains in the hills to the north are working their way down to the lake, slowly swelling the stream. For a few weeks now, the floodplain itself has been ablaze with colour, with flowering herbs splashing pools of yellow and purple against the orange earth and low acacia bushes looking like billowing white clouds. The rainy season is imminent.

Here, in a curve in the stream, we see a small human group, five adult females and a cluster of infants and youths. They are athletic in stature, and strong. They are chattering loudly, some of their exchanges obvious social repartee, some the discussion of today's plans. Earlier, before sunrise, four adult males of the group had departed on a quest for meat. The females' role is to gather **plant foods**, which everyone understands **are the economic staple of their lives.** The males hunt, the females gather: it's a system that works spectacularly well for our group and for as long as anyone can remember.

Three of the females are now ready to leave, naked apart from an animal skin thrown around the shoulders that serves the dual role of baby carrier and, later, food bag. They carry short, sharp sticks, which one of the females had prepared earlier, using sharp stone flakes to whittle stout twigs. These are digging sticks, which allow the females to unearth deeply buried, succulent tubers, foods denied to most other large primates. The females finally set off, walking along single file as they usually do, toward the distant hills of the lake basin, following a path they know will take them to a rich source of nuts and tubers. For ripe fruit, they will have to wait until later in the year, when the rains have done nature's work.

Back by the stream, the remaining two females rest quietly on the soft sand under a tall acacia, watching over the antics of three youngsters. Too old to be carried in an animal-skin baby carrier, too young either to hunt or to gather, the youngsters do what all human youngsters do: they play games of pretending, games that foreshadow their adult lives. This morning, one of them is an antelope, using branches for antlers, and the other two are hunters stalking their prey. Later, the eldest of the three, a girl, persuades one of the females to show her, again, how to make stone tools. Patiently, the woman brings two lava cobbles together with a swift, sharp blow. A perfect flake flies off. With studied determination, the girl tries to do the same, but without success. The woman takes hold of the girl's hands and guides them through the required action, in slow motion.

Making sharp flakes is harder than it looks, and the skill is taught mainly through demonstration, not verbal instruction. The girl tries again, her action subtly different this time. A sharp flake arcs off the cobble, and the girl lets out of yelp of triumph. She snatches up the flake, shows it to the smiling woman, and then runs to display it to her playmates. They pursue their games together, now armed with an implement of adulthood. They find a stick, which the apprentice stone-knapper whittles to a sharp point, and they form a hunting group, in search of catfish to spear.

By dusk, the stream-side campsite is bustling again.

the three women having returned with their animal skins bulging with babies and food, including some birds' eggs, three small lizards, and --- an unexpected treat --- honey. Pleased with their own efforts, the women speculate on what the men will bring. On many days, the hunters return empty-handed. This is the nature of the meat quest. But when chance favours their efforts, the reward can be great, and it is certainly prized.

Soon, the distant sound of approaching voices tells the women that the men are returning. And, to judge from the timbre of excitement in the men's conversation, they are returning successful. For much of the day the men have been silently stalking a small herd of antelopes, noting that one of the animals seemed slightly lame. Repeatedly, this individual was left behind by the herd and had to make tremendous efforts to rejoin them. The men recognised the chance to bring down a large animal. Hunters who are equipped with the minimum of natural or artificial weaponry, as our group is, need to rely on cunning. The ability to move quietly and to blend into the environment and the knowledge of when to strike are these hunters' most potent weapons.

Finally, an opportunity presented itself and, with unspoken agreement, the three men moved into strategic positions. One of them let loose a rock with precision and force, striking a stunning blow; the other two ran to immobilise the prey. A swift stab with a short, pointed stick released a fountain of blood from the animal's jugular. The animal struggled but was soon dead.

Tired and covered in the sweat and blood of their efforts, the three men were exultant. A nearby cache of lava cobbles provided raw material for making tools that would be necessary for butchering the beast. A few sharp blows of one cobble against another produced sufficient flakes with which to slice through the animal's tough hide and begin exposing joints, red flesh against white bone. Swiftly, muscles and tendons yielded to skillful butchering, and the men set off for camp, carrying two haunches of meat and laughing and teasing each other over the events of the day and their different roles in them. They know a gleeful reception will greet them.

There's almost a sense of ritual in the consumption of the meat, later that evening. The man who led the hunting group slices off pieces and hands them to the women sitting around him and to the other men. The women give portions to their children, who exchange morsels playfully. The men offer pieces to their mates, who offer pieces in return. The eating of meat is more than sustenance; it is a social bonding activity.

The exhilaration of the hunting triumph now subsided, the men and women exchange leisurely accounts of their separate days. There's a realisation that they will soon have to leave this congenial camp, because the growing rains in the distant hills will soon swell the stream beyond its banks. For now, they are content.

Three days later the group leaves the camp for the last time to seek the safety of higher ground. Evidence of their evanescent presence is scattered everywhere. Clusters of flaked lava cobbles, whittled sticks, and worked hide speak

of their technological prowess. Broken animal bones, a catfish head, eggshells, and remnants of tubers speak of the breadth of their diet. Gone, however, is the intense sociality that is the camp's focus. Gone, too, are the ritual of meat eating and the stories of daily events. Soon, the empty, quiet camp is flooded gently, as the stream gently laps over its bank. Fine silt covers the litter of five days in the life of our small group, entrapping a brief story. Eventually all but bone and stone decay, leaving the most meagre of evidence from which to reconstruct that story.

Many will believe that my reconstruction makes *Homo erectus* too human. I do not think so. I create a picture of a hunter-gatherer lifestyle, and I impute language to these people. Both, I believe, are justifiable, although each must have been a primitive version of what we know in modern humans. In any case, it is very clear from the archaeological evidence that these creatures were living lives beyond the reach of other large primates, not least in using technology to gain access to foods such as meat and underground tubers. By this stage in our prehistory, our ancestors were becoming human in a way we would instantly recognise.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE ORIGIN OF MODERN HUMANS

Of the four major events in the course of human evolution which I outlined in the preface --- the origin of the human family itself, some 7 million years ago; the subsequent "adaptive radiation" of species of bipedal apes; the origin of the enlarged brain (effectively, the beginning of the genus *Homo*), perhaps 2.5 million years ago; and the origin of modern humans --- it is the fourth, the origin of people like us, that is currently the hottest issue in anthropology. Very different hypotheses are vigorously debated, and hardly a month passes without a conference being held or a shower of books and scientific papers being published, each of these putting forward views that are often diametrically opposed. By "people like us" I mean modern *Homo sapiens* - that is, humans with a flair for technology and innovation, a capacity for artistic expression, an introspective consciousness, and a sense of morality.

As we look back into history just a few thousand years, we see the initial emergence of civilisation: in social organisation of greater and greater complexity, villages give way to chiefdoms, chiefdoms give way to city-states, city-states give way to nation-states. This seemingly inexorable rise in the level of complexity is driven by cultural evolution, not by biological change. Just as people a century ago were like us biologically but occupied a world without electronic technology, so the villagers of 7000 years ago were just like us but lacking in the infrastructure of civilisation.

If we look back into history beyond the origin of writing, some 6000 years ago, we can still see evidence of the modern human mind at work. Beginning about 10,000 years ago, nomadic bands of hunter-gatherers throughout the world independently invented various agricultural techniques. This too was the consequence of cultural or technological, not biological, evolution. Go back beyond that time of social and economic transformation and you find the paintings, engravings, and carvings of Ice Age Europe and of

Africa, which evoke the mental worlds of people like us. Go back beyond this, however — beyond about 35,000 years ago — and these beacons of the modern human mind gutter out. No longer can we see in the archaeological record cogent evidence of the work of people with mental capacities like our own.

For a long time, anthropologists believed that the sudden appearance of artistic expression and finely crafted technology in the archaeological record some 35,000 years ago was a clear signal of the evolution of modern humans. The British anthropologist Kenneth Oakley was among the first to suggest, in 1951, that this efflorescence of modern human behaviour was associated with the first appearance of fully modern language. Indeed, it seems inconceivable that a species of humans could possess fully modern language and not be fully modern in all other ways, too. For this reason, the evolution of language is widely judged to be the culminating event in the emergence of humanity as we know it to be today.

When did the origin of modern humans occur? And in what manner did it happen: gradually and beginning a long time ago, or rapidly and recently? These questions are at the core of the current debate.

Ironically, of all the periods of human evolution, that of the past several hundred thousand years is by far the most richly endowed with fossil evidence. In addition to an extensive collection of intact crania and postcranial bones, some twenty relatively complete skeletons have been recovered. To someone like me, whose preoccupation is with an earlier period in human prehistory, in which fossil evidence is sparse, these are paleontological riches in the extreme. And yet a consensus on the sequence of evolutionary events still eludes my anthropological colleagues.

Moreover, the very first early human fossils ever discovered were of Neanderthals (everyone's favorite caricature of cavemen), who play an important role in the debate. Since 1856, when the first Neanderthal bones were uncovered, the fate of these people has been endlessly discussed: Were they our immediate ancestors or an evolutionary dead end that slipped into extinction some thirty millennia before the present? This question was posed almost a century and a half ago, and is still unanswered, at least to everyone's satisfaction.

Before we delve into some of the finer points of the argument over the origin of modern humans, we should outline the larger issues. The story begins with the evolution of the genus *Homo*, prior to 2 million years ago, and ends with the ultimate appearance of *Homo sapiens*. Two lines of evidence have long existed: one concerning anatomical changes and the other concerning changes in technology and other manifestations of the human brain and hand. Rendered correctly, these two lines of evidence should illustrate the same story of human evolutionary history. They should indicate the same pattern of change through time. These traditional lines of evidence, the stuff of anthropological scholarship for decades, have recently been joined by a third, that of molecular genetics. In principle, genetic evidence has encrypled within it an account of our evolutionary history.

Again, the story it tells should accord with what we learn from anatomy and stone tools.

Unfortunately, there is no state of harmony among these three lines of evidence. There are points of connection but no consensus. The difficulty anthropologists face even with such an abundance of evidence is a salutary reminder of how very difficult it often is to reconstruct evolutionary history.

The discovery of the Turkana boy's skeleton gives us an excellent idea of the anatomy of early man some 1.6 million years ago. We can see that early *Homo erectus* individuals were tall (the Turkana boy stood at close, to 6 feet), athletic, and powerfully muscled. Even the strongest modern professional wrestler would have been a poor match for the average *Homo erectus*. Although the brain of early *Homo erectus* was larger than that of its australopithecine forebears, it was still smaller than that of modern humans --- some 900 cubic centimetres compared with the average 1350 cubic centimetres of *Homo* today. The cranium of *Homo erectus* is long and low, with little forehead and a thick skull; the jaws protrude somewhat, and above the eyes are prominent ridges. This basic anatomical pattern, persisted until about, half a million years ago, although there was an expansion of the brain during this time to more than 1100 cubic centimetres. By this time, *Homo erectus* populations had spread out from Africa and were occupying large regions of Asia and Europe. (While no unequivocally identified *Homo erectus* fossils have been found in Europe, evidence of technology associated with the species betrays its presence there.)

More recently than about 34,000 years ago, the fossil human remains we find are all those of fully modern *Homo sapiens*. The body is less rugged and muscular, the face flatter, the cranium higher, and the skull wall thinner. The brow ridges are not prominent, and the brain (for the most part) is larger. We can see, therefore, that the evolutionary activity giving rise to modern humans took place in the interval between half a million years ago and 34,000 years ago. From what we find in Africa and Eurasia in the fossil and archaeological record of that interval, we can conclude that evolution was indeed active but in confusing ways.

The Neanderthals lived from about 135,000 to 34,000 years ago, and occupied a region stretching from Western Europe through the Near East and into Asia. They constitute by far the most abundant component of the fossil record for the period we are interested in here. There is no question that ripples of evolution were going on in many different populations throughout the Old World during this period of half a million to 34,000 years ago. Aside from the Neanderthals, there are individual fossils --- usually crania or parts of crania, but sometimes other parts of the skeleton --- with romantic-sounding names: Petralona Man, from Greece; Arago Man, from southwestern France; Steinheim Man, from Germany; Broken Hill Man, from Zambia; and so on. Despite many differences among these individual specimens, they all have two things in common: they are more advanced than *Homo erectus* --- having larger brains, for instance --- and more primitive than *Homo sapiens*, being thickskulled and robustly built (see figure 5.1). Because of

the varying anatomy of the specimens from this period. anthropologists have taken to labeling these fossils collectively as "archaic *sapiens*."

The challenge we face, given this potpourri of anatomical form, is to construct an evolutionary pattern that describes the emergence of modern human anatomy and behavior. In recent years, two very different models have been proposed.

The first of them, known as the **multiregional-evolution hypothesis**, sees the origin of modern humans as a phenomenon encompassing the entire Old World, with *Homo sapiens* emerging wherever populations of *Homo erectus* had become established. In this view, the Neanderthals are part of that three-continent-wide trend, intermediate in anatomy between *Homo erectus* and modern *Homo sapiens* in Europe, the Middle East, and western Asia, and today's populations in those parts of the Old World had Neanderthals as direct ancestors. Milford Wolpoff, an anthropologist at the University of Michigan, argues that the ubiquitous evolutionary trend toward the biological status of *Homo sapiens* was driven by the new cultural milieu of our ancestors.

**Culture represents a novelty** in the world of nature, and it could have added an effective, unifying edge to the forces of natural selection. Moreover, Christopher Wills, a biologist at the University of California, Santa Cruz, identifies the possibility here of an **accelerating pace of evolution**. In his 1993 book *The Runaway Brain*, he notes: "The force that seems to have accelerated our brain's growth is a new kind of stimulant: language, signs, collective memories -- all elements of culture. As our cultures evolved in complexities, so did our brains, which then drove our cultures to still greater complexity. Big and clever brains led to more complex cultures, which in turn led to yet bigger and cleverer brains." If such an autocatalytic, or positive feedback, process did occur,

it could help promulgate genetic change through large populations more rapidly.

I have some sympathy with the multiregional evolution view, and once offered the following analogy: If you take a handful of pebbles and fling them into a pool of water, each pebble will generate a series of spreading ripples that sooner

or later meet the oncoming ripples set in motion by other pebbles. The pool represents the Old World, with its basic *sapiens* population. Those points on the pool's surface where the pebbles land are points of transition to *Homo sapiens*, and the ripples are the migrations of *Homo sapiens*. This illustration has been used by several participants in the current debate; however, I now think it might not be correct. One reason for my caution is the existence of some important fossil specimens from a series of caves in Israel.

Excavation at these sites has been going on sporadically for more than six decades, with Neanderthal fossils being found in some caves and modern human fossils in others. Until recently, the picture looked clear and supported the multiregional-evolution hypothesis. All the Neanderthal specimens -- which came from the caves of Kebarra, Tabun, and Amud -- were relatively old, perhaps some 60,000 years old. All the modern humans -- which came from Skhul and Qafzeh -- were younger, perhaps 40,000 to 50,000 years old. Given these dates, an evolutionary transformation

in this region from the Neanderthal populations to the populations of modern humans looked plausible. Indeed, this sequence of fossils was one of the strongest pillars of support for the multiregional-evolution hypothesis.

In the late 1980s, however, this neat sequence was over-turned. Researchers from Britain and France employed new methods of dating, known as electron spin resonance and thermoluminescence, on some of these fossils; both techniques depend on the decay of certain radioisotopes common in many rocks -- a process that acts as an atomic

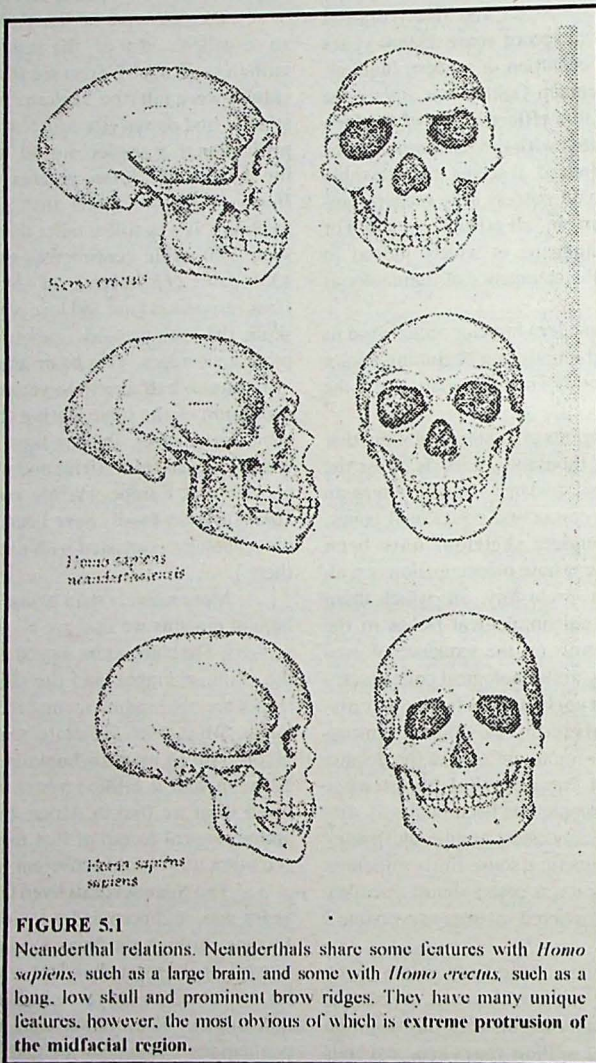


FIGURE 5.1

Neanderthal relations. Neanderthals share some features with *Homo sapiens*, such as a large brain, and some with *Homo erectus*, such as a long, low skull and prominent brow ridges. They have many unique features, however, the most obvious of which is extreme protrusion of the midfacial region.

clock for minerals in the rocks. The researchers found that the modern human fossils from Skhul and Qafzeh were older than most of the Neanderthal fossils, by as much as 40,000 years. If these results are correct, Neanderthals cannot be ancestors of modern humans, as the multiregional-evolution model demands. What, then, is the alternative?

Instead of being the product of an evolutionary trend throughout the Old World, modern humans are seen in the alternative model as having arisen in a single geographical location (see figure 5.2). Bands of modern *Homo sapiens* would have migrated from this location and expanded into the rest of the Old World, replacing existing premodern populations. This model has had several labels, such as the "Noah's Ark" hypothesis and the "Garden of Eden" hypothesis. Most recently, it has been called the "Out of Africa" hypothesis because sub-Saharan Africa has been identified as the most likely place where the first modern humans evolved. Several anthropologists have contributed to this view, and Christopher Stringer, of the Natural History Museum, London, is its most vigorous proponent.

The two models could hardly be more different: the multiregional-evolution model describes an evolutionary trend throughout the Old World toward modern *Homo sapiens*, with little population migration and no population replacement, whereas the "Out of Africa" model calls for the evolution of *Homo sapiens* in one location only, followed by extensive population migration across the Old World, resulting in the replacement of existing premodern populations. Moreover, in the first model, modern geographical populations (what are known as "races") would have deep genetic roots, having been essentially separate for as much as 2 million years; in the second model, these populations would have shallow genetic roots, all having derived from the single, recently evolved population in Africa.

The two models are also very different in their predictions of what we should see in the fossil record.

According to the multiregional-evolution model, anatomical characteristics that we see in modern geographical populations should be visible in fossils in the same region, going back almost 2 million years, when *Homo erectus* first expanded its range beyond Africa. In the "Out of Africa" model, no such regional continuity over time is expected; indeed, modern populations should share African characteristics, if anything.

Milford Wolpoff, the strongest proponent of the multiregional-evolution hypothesis, told an audience at the 1990 gathering of the American Association for the Advancement of Science that "the case for anatomical continuity is clearly demonstrated." In northern Asia, for instance, certain features, such as the shape of the face, the configuration of the cheekbones, and the shovel shape of the incisor teeth, can be seen in fossils 750,000 years old; in the

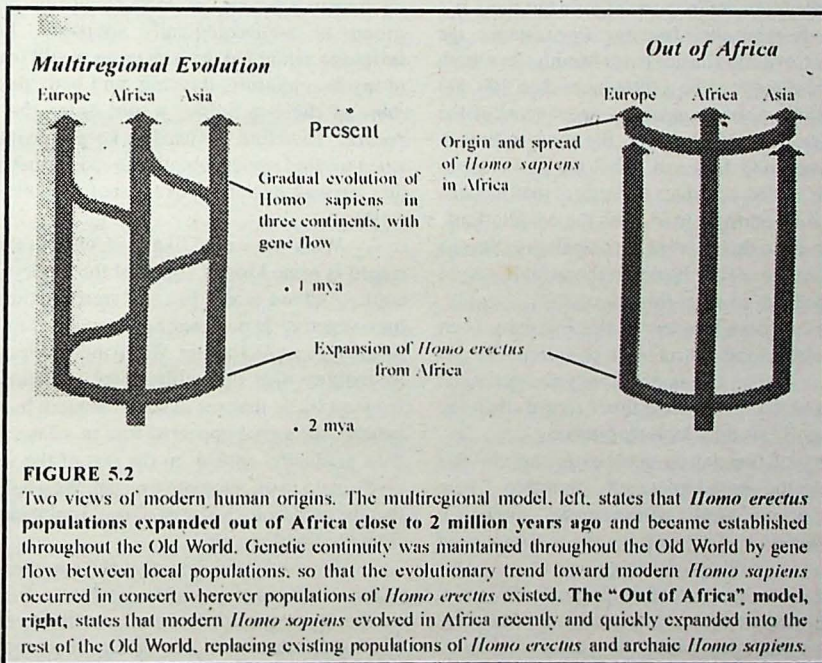
famous Peking Man fossils, which are a quarter of a million years old; and in modern Chinese populations. Stringer acknowledges this, but he notes that these features are not confined to northern Asia and therefore cannot be taken as evidence of regional continuity.

Wolpoff and his colleagues make a similar argument for Southeast Asia and Australia.

But, as Stringer points out, the supposed sequence of continuity is built on fossils dated at only three time points: 1.8 million, 100,000, and 30,000 years ago. This paucity of reference points, says Stringer, weakens the case in the extreme.

These examples illustrate the problems anthropologists face. Not only are there differences of opinion over the significance of important anatomical features, but, Neanderthals aside, the fossil record is much slimmer than most anthropologists would like (and than most non-anthropologists believe). Until these impediments are overcome, a consensus on the larger question may remain out of reach.

We can assess fossil anatomy from a different perspective, however. Neanderthals appear to have been stocky individuals with short limbs: This stature is an appropriate physical adaptation to the cold climatic



**FIGURE 5.2** Two views of modern human origins. The multiregional model, left, states that *Homo erectus* populations expanded out of Africa close to 2 million years ago and became established throughout the Old World. Genetic continuity was maintained throughout the Old World by gene flow between local populations, so that the evolutionary trend toward modern *Homo sapiens* occurred in concert wherever populations of *Homo erectus* existed. The "Out of Africa" model, right, states that modern *Homo sapiens* evolved in Africa recently and quickly expanded into the rest of the Old World, replacing existing populations of *Homo erectus* and archaic *Homo sapiens*.

conditions that prevailed throughout much of their range. The anatomy of the first modern humans in the same part of the world, however, is very different. These people were tall, slightly built, and long-limbed. A lithe body stature is much more suited to a tropical or temperate climate, not the frozen steppes of Ice Age Europe. This puzzle would be explicable if the first modern Europeans were descendants of migrants from Africa rather than having evolved in Europe, and the "Out of Africa" model therefore derives some support from this observation.

It receives further support from another direct observation of the fossil record. If the multiregional-evolution hypothesis is correct, then we would expect to find early examples of modern humans appearing more or less simultaneously throughout the Old World. That's not what we see. **The earliest-known modern human fossils probably come from southern Africa.** I say "probably" because not only are these fossils fragmentary parts of jaws but there is a degree of uncertainty about their true age. For instance, the fossils from Border Cave and Klasies River Mouth Cave, both in South Africa, are thought to be a little more than 100,000 years old, and are adduced as support by proponents of the "Out of Africa" hypothesis. However, the modern human fossils from the caves of Qafzeh and Skhul are also close to 100,000 years old. It is possible, therefore, that modern humans first arose in northern Africa or the Middle East, and then migrated from there. Most anthropologists favour a sub-Saharan origin, however, based on the overall weight of the evidence (see Back cover of this issue).

No fossils of modern humans of this age have been found anywhere else in the rest of Asia or Europe. If this reflects evolutionary reality and is not simply the perennial problem of a lamentably incomplete fossil record, then the "Out of Africa" hypothesis does look reasonable.

The majority of population geneticists support this hypothesis as being the most biologically plausible. These scientists study the genetic profile within species, and how it might change through time. If populations of a species remain in geographical contact with each other, genetic changes that arise through mutation may spread throughout the entire region, by means of interbreeding. The genetic profile of the species will alter as a result, but overall the species will remain genetically unified. There is a different outcome if populations of a species have become geographically isolated from each other, perhaps because of a change in the course of a river or the opening of a desert. In this case, a genetic change that arises in one population will not be transferred to other populations. The isolated populations may therefore steadily become genetically different from one another, perhaps eventually becoming different subspecies, or even different species altogether. Population geneticists use mathematical models to calculate the rate at which genetic change may occur in populations of various sizes, and can therefore offer suggestions about what might have occurred in ancient times. Most population geneticists, including Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, at Stanford, and Shahin Roulhani, of University College, London, who have commented extensively on the debate, are skeptical of the feasibility of the multiregional-

evolution model. They note that the multiregional model requires extensive gene flow across large populations, linking them genetically while allowing evolutionary change to turn them into modern humans. **And if new dates for Java Man fossils, announced early in 1994, are correct, *Homo erectus* expanded its range beyond Africa almost 2 million years ago.** Therefore, not only would gene flow have to be maintained over a large geographical area, according to the multiregional-evolution model, it would also have to be maintained over a very long period of time. This, conclude most population geneticists, is simply unrealistic. With premodern populations spread across Europe, Asia, and Africa, there is a greater likelihood of producing geographical variants (such as we indeed see among archaic *sapiens*) than a cohesive whole.

We'll leave fossils aside for a while, and turn to behavior by which I mean its tangible products, tools and art objects. We have to remember that the vast preponderance of human behavior in technologically primitive human groups is archaeologically invisible. For instance, **an initiation ritual led by a shaman would involve the telling of myths, chanting, dancing, and body decoration — and none of these activities would enter the archaeological record.** Therefore we need to keep reminding ourselves, when we find stone tools and carved or painted objects, that they give us only the narrowest of windows onto the ancient world.

What we would like to identify in the archaeological record is some kind of signal of the modern human mind at work. And we would like that signal to throw some light on the competing hypotheses. For example, if the signal appeared in all regions of the Old World more or less simultaneously, we could say that the multiregional-evolution model describes the most likely manner in which modern humans evolved. If, instead, the signal appeared first in an isolated location and then gradually spread to the rest of the world, this would give weight to the alternative model. We would hope, of course, that the archaeological signal would coincide with the pattern from the fossil record.

We saw in chapter 2 that **the appearance of the genus *Homo* coincides roughly with the beginning of the archaeological record, some 2.5 million years ago.** We saw, too, that **the increased complexity of stone-tool assemblages 1.4 million years ago, moving from the Oldowan industry to the Acheulean, followed soon upon the evolution of *Homo erectus*.** The link between biology and behaviour is therefore very close: simple tools were made by the earliest *Homo*, a jump in complexity occurred with the evolution of *Homo erectus*. That link is seen again with the appearance of archaic *sapiens*, some time after half a million years ago.

After more than a million years of relative stasis, the simple handaxe industry of *Homo erectus* gave way to a more complex technology fashioned on large flakes. And where the Acheulean industry had perhaps a dozen identifiable implements, the new technologies comprised as many as sixty. The biological novelty we see in the anatomy of the archaic *sapiens*, including the Neanderthals, is clearly accompanied by a new level of technological competence. Once

the new technology had become established, however, it changed little. Stasis, not innovation, characterised the new era.

When change did come, however, it was dazzling—so dazzling that we should be aware that we might be blind to the reality behind it. **About 35,000 years ago in Europe, people began making tools of the finest form, fashioned delicately struck stone blades. For the first time, bone and antler were used as raw material for toolmaking. Tool kits now comprised more than one hundred items, and included implements for fashioning rough clothing and for engraving and sculpting. For the first time, tools became works of art: antler spear throwers, for example, were adorned with lifelike animal carvings. Beads and pendants appear in the fossil record, announcing the new practice of body decoration. And—most evocative of all—paintings on the walls of deep caves speak of a mental world we readily recognise as our own.** Unlike previous eras, when stasis dominated, innovation is now the essence of culture, with change being measured in millennia rather than hundreds of millennia. Known as the Upper Paleolithic Revolution, this collective archaeological signal is unmistakable evidence of the modern human mind at work.

Now, I said that the archaeological signal of the Upper Paleolithic Revolution might be blinding us to reality. By this I mean that for historical reasons the known archaeological record in Western Europe is far richer than in Africa. For every archaeological site of this era in Africa, there are about two hundred such sites in Western Europe. The disparity reflects a difference in the intensity of scientific exploration in the two continents, not the reality of human prehistory. For a long time, the Upper Paleolithic Revolution was taken as an indication that the final emergence of modern humans occurred in Western Europe. After all, the archaeological signal and the fossil record coincided there precisely: both indicate a dramatic event about 35,000 years ago: modern humans appeared in Western Europe 35,000 years ago and their modern behaviour is immediately part of the archaeological record. Or so it was assumed.

Recently this view has changed. Western Europe is now recognised as something of a backwater, and we can discern a transformation sweeping across Europe, from east to west. Beginning about 50,000 years ago, in Eastern Europe, the existing Neanderthal populations disappeared and, were replaced by modern humans, the final replacement taking place in the far west by about 33,000 years ago. The coincidental appearance of modern humans and modern human behavior in Western Europe reflects the influx of a new kind of population, modern *Homo sapiens*. The Upper Paleolithic Revolution in Europe was a demographic signal and not an evolutionary signal.

If modern humans were migrating into Western Europe beginning 50,000 years ago, where did they come from? On the basis of the fossil evidence, we would say Africa, in all probability— or perhaps the Middle East. Despite the paucity of the archaeological record, it does support an African origin of modern human behavior. **Technologies, based on narrow blades begin to appear on that continent**

**around 100,000 years ago. This, remember, would coincide with the first known appearance of modern human anatomy, and could be taken as a third example of the link between biology and behaviour.**

The link here may, however, be an illusion, the result of happenstance. I say this because in the Middle East, where both the fossil and archaeological records are good, we see something that is clear and yet paradoxical. The application of new dating techniques shows that **Neanderthals and modern humans essentially coexisted in the region for as long as 60,000 years. (In 1989, the Tabun Neanderthal was shown to be at least 100,000 years old, making it a contemporary of the modern humans from Qafzeh and Skhul.)** Throughout that time, the only form of tool technology we see is that associated with Neanderthals. **The name given to their technology, is Mousterian, after the cave of Le Moustier, in France, where it was first discovered.** The fact that the anatomically modern human populations in the Middle East appear to have manufactured Mousterianlike technology rather than the innovation-rich tool assemblages so characteristic of the Upper Paleolithic means that they were modern in form only, and not in their behaviour. **The link between anatomy and behaviour therefore seems to break.** The archaeological signal of the earliest modern human behavior is weak and sporadic, and may be the victim of the poorly known record. Although blade-based technology is seen first in Africa, it isn't possible to point confidently to the African continent and say, "This is where modern human behaviour began," and then trace its expansion into Eurasia.

The third line of evidence bearing on the origin of modern humans, that of molecular genetics, is the least equivocal. It is also the most controversial. During the 1980s, a new model of modern human origins emerged. Known as the **mitochondrial Eve hypothesis, it essentially supported the "Out of Africa" model, cogently so.** Most proponents of the "Out of Africa" hypothesis are prepared to entertain the possibility that as modern humans expanded from Africa to the rest of the Old World they interbred to some degree with established premodern populations. This would allow for some threads of genetic continuity from ancient populations through to modern ones. The mitochondrial Eve model, however, refutes this. According to this model, as modern populations migrated out of Africa and grew in numbers, they **completely replaced existing premodern populations.** Interbreeding between the immigrant and existing populations, if it occurred at all, did so to an infinitesimal degree.

The mitochondrial Eve model flowed from the work of two laboratories --- that of Douglas Wallace and his colleagues at Emory University, and of Allan Wilson and his colleagues at the University of California, Berkeley. They scrutinised the genetic material, or **DNA, that occurs in tiny organelles within the cell called mitochondria. When an egg from a mother and sperm from a father fuse, the only mitochondria that become part of the cells of the newly formed embryo are from the egg. Therefore, mitochondrial DNA is inherited solely through the maternal line.**

For several technical reasons, mitochondrial DNA is

particularly suited to peering back through the generations in order to glimpse the course of evolution. And since the DNA is inherited through the maternal line, it eventually leads to a single ancestral female. According to the analyses, **modern humans can trace their genetic ancestry to a female who lived in Africa perhaps 150,000 years ago.** (It should be borne in mind, however, that this one female was part of a population of as many as 10,000 individuals; she was not a lone Eve with her Adam.)

Not only did the analyses indicate an African origin for modern humans, but they also revealed no evidence of interbreeding with premodern populations. **All the samples of mitochondrial DNA analysed so far from living human populations are remarkably similar to one another, indicating a common, recent origin.** If genetic mixing between modern and archaic *sapiens* had occurred, some people would have mitochondrial DNA very different from the average, indicating its ancient origin. So far, with more than 4000 people from around the world having been tested, no such ancient mitochondrial DNA has been found. **All the mitochondrial DNA types from modern populations that have been examined appear to be of recent origin.** The implication is that modern newcomers completely replaced ancient populations --- the process having begun in Africa 150,000 years ago and then having spread through Eurasia over the next 100,000 years.

When Allan Wilson and his team first published their results, in a January 1987 issue of *Nature*, the conclusions were stated boldly, provoking consternation among anthropologists and wide interest among the public. Wilson and his colleagues wrote that their data indicated that "the transformation of archaic to modern forms of *Homo sapiens* occurred first in Africa, about 100,000 to 140,000 years ago, and . . . all present-day humans are descendants of that population." (Later analyses produced slightly earlier dates.) Douglas Wallace and his colleagues generally supported the Berkeley group's conclusions.

Milford Wolpoff stuck to his multiregional model of evolution and denounced the data and analyses as unsound, but Wilson and his colleagues continued to produce more data and eventually stated that the conclusions were statistically unassailable. Recently, however, some statistical problems in the analysis were discovered, and the conclusions were recognised as being less concrete than had been asserted. Nevertheless, many molecular biologists still believe that the mitochondrial DNA data sufficiently support the "Out of Africa" hypothesis. And it should be noted that more conventional genetic evidence, based on **DNA in the nucleus, is beginning to reveal the same kind of pattern shown by the mitochondrial DNA data.**

Those who promote the notion of complete or even partial replacement of premodern by modern populations have an uncomfortable issue to face: How did that replacement occur? According to Milford Wolpoff, such a scenario requires that we accepted **violent genocide. We are familiar with killing of this nature in the decimation of Native American Red Indians and Australian aborigine populations in the nineteenth century.** And it may have

been true in ancient times, too, although as yet there is not a shred of evidence for this.

Given the absence of evidence, we are forced to look for possible alternatives to the proposed one of violence. If none exists, then that hypothesis becomes stronger, though unproved. Ezra Zubrow, an anthropologist at the State University of New York, Buffalo, has pursued such an alternative model. He has developed computer models of interacting populations, in which one has a slight competitive edge over the other. By running such simulations he is able to determine what kind of advantage might be required by the superior population in order to replace the second very rapidly. The answer is counterintuitive: **a 2 percent advantage can lead to the elimination of the second population within a millennium.**

We can readily understand how one population might destroy another through military superiority. But it is much less easy for us to understand how a slight advantage in, for instance, exploiting resources such as food can play itself out over a relatively short period of time, yielding cataclysmic consequences. **If modern humans had a slight advantage over Neanderthals, how are we to explain the apparent coexistence of these two populations for as much as 60,000 years: in the Middle East?** One explanation is that although modern humans had evolved in anatomical terms, modern human behavior followed later. A second, favoured by many, is that the coexistence is more apparent than real. It is possible that **the different populations occupied the region by turns, following climatic shifts. In colder times, modern humans moved south and the Neanderthals occupied the Middle East; in warmer times the reverse occurred.** Because the time resolution of cave deposits is poor, this kind of "sharing" of a locality can look like coexistence.

It's worth noting, however, that where we do know that **Neanderthals and modern humans coexisted --- in Western Europe, 35,000 years ago --- they did so for a millennium or two at most,** in accord with Zubrow's model. Zubrow's work does not demonstrate unequivocally that demographic competition was the means by which modern humans replaced premodern populations when they encountered them. But it does demonstrate that violence is not the sole candidate as the mechanism for replacement.

Where does all this leave us? The important issue of the origin of modern humans remains unresolved, despite the welter of information that has been brought to bear. My sense of it, however, is that the multiregional-evolution hypothesis is unlikely to be correct. I suspect that modern *Homo sapiens* arose as a discrete evolutionary event, somewhere in Africa, but I suspect, too, that when descendants of these first modern humans expanded into Eurasia, they intermixed with the populations there. Why the genetic evidence, as currently interpreted, doesn't reflect this, I don't know. Perhaps the current reading of the evidence is incorrect. Or perhaps the mitochondrial Eve hypothesis will turn out to be right, after all. This uncertainty is more likely to be resolved when the clamour of debate ebbs and new evidence is found in support of one or another of the competing hypotheses. ■



# JINA AMUCHA

(Our [Wretched] Lives)

## Baby Kamble

### Chapter 8

On the fourth day [of the wedding rituals], there would be the ceremony of taking off the bridal crowns. This would always be done in the morning. The people from both families gathered for the occasion in the specially built *pandal*. A brass plate would be put on the head of the bride's mother, and the other women held that plate in place. The men sat quietly at one side. Tears would stream from the eyes of the women. Weeping, sobbing, they sang "Zalu." ("Zalu" is a song sung on the fourth day of wedding festivities, before the bride leaves for the groom's house. The women from her household sit by the bride and her mother and sob as they sing the song. The men stay quietly in the background.)

Zalubai zalu, in front of the house  
There was a lovely jujube tree  
Then came a thief, the son-in-law  
He carried it off, for all to see  
But the tree was his, that's how it is  
How my poor love, helpless, weeps.

Zalubai zalu, in front of the house  
There was a jasmine vine  
Weep not O poor mama mine...

Zalubai zalu, in front of the house  
There was a champak white  
Weep not O poor papa mine...

Zalubai zalu, a flock of birds  
Weep not O my poor brother ...

Zalubai zalu, what's left behind  
Is a reflection in the mirror  
Weep not O my poor sister ...

While the women sang this song, everyone around started weeping and sobbing. After the crowns were taken off, the bride and the groom

would ultimately be freed from the weight. Marriage for the girl meant nothing but calamity. She went back to her people, but after a couple of days, her father-in-law went to fetch her. He would take with him gram, rice grains, and jaggery. The bride's mother prepared small sweetmeats with the material he had brought, and filled a basket with them. The girl carried this with her to her new home. And thus she would embark upon a really arduous life. She would be such a young child, a baby, still immature, yet the poor thing had to break all the ties of parental love and had to go to her in-laws' place to lead a married life, without even knowing what "husband" meant, or what it was to be given away. What would that child know of these things? Besides, in those days there were no vehicles. When the cock crowed early in the morning, the father-in-law started with his daughter-in-law on foot. It took two to three days to reach home. If the place was close by, they had to walk from morning till evening.

When the bride arrived at the in-laws' place, she would be required to cook *bhakris*. Two basketfuls of them. The child sat down to make them. But she wouldn't be able to pat the dough out into cakes bigger than her palm. When she put them on the pan to bake, they were so thick that they either got burnt in places, or remained uncooked. Then the mother-in-law would call all her friends and neighbours and hold an open exhibition of the tiny *bhakris*. "Atyabai, come and see what's happening here! Didn't you think that I'd brought the daughter of a 'good' woman into my house? Look at the *bhakris* this wench has made. She can't even make a few *bhakris* well.

Oh well, what can one expect of this daughter of a dunce!"

The child wasn't even allowed to sleep. When the cock crowed at three in the morning, the mother-in-law would pull her out of the bed, dragging her by her hair, make her clean the handmill in which the grain was ground, put in some jowar, and sit down at the mill herself with the daughter-in-law. But immediately after they had begun, the mother-in-law's newborn babe would wake up and start crying. So the father-in-law would call, "Come here, you. This Dhondya is awake. Come and stop his wailing. Leave the grinding to her. Otherwise when will she learn?"

The mother-in-law would promptly get up and, suckling her baby, go back to sleep. The young girl would have to continue the work alone. Her tiny hands often could not pull the heavy stones, and she had to stop frequently. Her palms would be blistered all over. Later they would harden. After the grinding was done, she would be sent to the river to fetch water, with a small vessel. When that was done, she had to sit down to make *bhakris*. If the *bhakris* weren't perfect, the mother-in-law examined the kneaded flour and slapped the girl on the face with the unbaked *bhakris*, pinched her cheeks, and showered a million curses on her.

Pinching her cheeks, she would say, "What's your mother really? Tell me that! Is she a good married woman at all? Or does she know only how to run after the potmaker's donkeys? Didn't she teach you anything? I pampered you a little, but you took advantage of that. Look what a nice mother-in-law I am! My own mother-in-law was a spitfire. A burning coal! Actually one could hold a burning coal in one's hand, but staying with her was a far more difficult thing." These speeches would be punctuated with loud wails. "In our time one had to be polite even to a dog in the in-laws' house before kicking him out. Where would you get a mother-in-law as nice as me? Is that why you're being such a pest?"

On and on it went. The poor girl had

to endure the curses of everybody in the household, including the snotty sister-in-law and the slovenly brother-in-law. By the time she had finished all the work in the house, it would be around one-thirty in the afternoon. Then she could wash. By then all the *bhakris* in the house would have been eaten up. And she had to eat the leftover blackened, half-baked *bhakris*. But what could she eat them with? She would steal some salt from the kitchen when the mother-in-law wasn't looking, and hide it in her sari. These daughters-in-law had, however, one comfort. There were no pots in the house to clean and no clothes to wash, because there weren't even any rags to wear. So the problem of washing clothes and cleaning pots was automatically solved. When the mother-in-law's period started, she went straight to the river to bathe, as she didn't have another sari to change into. There she took off half of her sari, keeping the other half wrapped around her. And that she washed first. Then when that portion was dry, she wrapped it around her, and washed the other half. She would dry that in the same manner. And that sari also was never in one piece. It would be patched in several places. It would be afternoon by the time she reached home. Till then, the daughter-in-law had to do everything.

This rigorous punishment at a young age, however, was far preferable to what she had to go through once she became mature. When the daughter-in-law got her period for the first time, the mother-in-law became terribly agitated and kept a close watch on the daughter-in-law and her son. She watched them with the eye of a hawk, and wouldn't let them even glance at each other. The husband of the bride kept hovering around, yearning to talk to his wife. But the mother-in-law was far too clever for him. She would not let them meet. She kept awake in the night for fear of their coming together. She would be terribly scared that her son would be snatched away from her and that he would forget his parents and begin pampering his wife.

Immediately after they went to bed, she would wake up the daughter-in-law to grind the grain. And the other women added fat to fire. "You are such a stupid one. Don't let her sleep with your son for a long time. Your delicate shoot will break. Beware of her!"

Then she would also listen to them and poison the son's mind against his wife. She would be worried all the time about his falling in love with his wife. The daughter-in-law was nothing but an enemy for her. She was terribly

jealous of her youth. She would constantly try to poison her son's mind against his wife. When the daughter-in-law finished grinding, she would send her off to fetch water. While she was away, the mother-in-law would grind some glass bangles and mix the glass powder with the flour. (It was not unusual for glass bangles to break when the handmill was being operated. A woman had to take care in that case to pick all the pieces out. A careful worker kept her bangles intact and mentioned with pride that she kept them from one Diwali festival to the next, when the old bangles were replaced with new ones.) When the daughter-in-law returned, she would be asked to make *bhakris* with that flour. When one *bhakri* was made, the mother-in-law would herself put one piece of it in her mouth and spit it out. Then she would go from house to house with that bread, showing it to all. "Just taste this *bhakri*! It feels as if glass is mixed in it."

The other women also loved such happenings. They would get excited. The whole village gathered in front of her door. "The witch! Wanted to kill off the whole house! Oh, she shouldn't have attempted such a stab in the back." Then the *sasubai* would moan loudly, beating her breast. She complained to any passers by. "See, master, how this witch tried to do away with my house and the kids as well." To make things worse, some women would get possessed by a goddess. They started chanting, "Ahhhh, it's because of my blessing that you were saved from this woman. This woman is an evil in your house. Don't ever trust her. But you, too, forgot God. Give away the firstborn baby of your son to the Madmalu." (The Madmalu is a local goddess.)

A fear that went deep into their bones would grip the women. They would put *kumkum* and turmeric on the possessed woman's forehead and fall at her feet. In this chaos, the poor daughter-in-law trembled with fear like a leaf. She just lost the power to protest against this injustice. The furious husband would beat her to a pulp with a stick, and drive her out of the house. Anybody could torture her as they wished. When she went to fetch water, the mother-in-law whispered in her son's ear, "Watch her, you fool! Look how she goes out all the time! That Sirangya follows her to the river and whistles at her. Keep her under your thumb. Otherwise you will be disgraced in public."

Translated from Marathi by Maya Pandit.  
(Source: *Women Writing in India*: vol. II, 1993.)

## BABY KAMBLE (b. 1929)

In the preface to her autobiography, which describes in detail her life as a woman in her community, Baby Kamble says she has taken care to document everything "to show my grandchildren the *agnidivya*, the immolation by fire, that Mahars have had to perform to gain what little status they have today." Formerly, the Mahars were untouchables and lived outside the boundaries of the main village, which housed the upper castes. They were responsible for guarding the village and keeping it clean. They also carried messages and assisted the village

headman. Since they were the principal sources of information about village and family history, they often settled disputes about land. The book concentrates on the period before Independence, and, in distinct contrast to earlier women's autobiographies (such as those by Lakshmi Bai Tilak, Ramabai Ranade, and Anandibai Karve) that focus on the writers' marriages and their husbands, Baby Kamble deals with the life of her people. She is the first *dalit* woman to have written an autobiography in Marathi.

She was born in Veergao, a village in western

Maharashtra. in her grandparents' house, where she lived until she was nine. Her grandfather and his two brothers worked as butlers in European households in the cities around. Since they sent money home each month, their family was somewhat better off than the others around it. Her father, Pandhrinath, was a contractor, and earned much more than he would have had he continued with his traditional work. (The dalit families which came in touch with the English rulers were the first to better their lot. Ambedkar's family also had links with the army under the British-Exe.Edr.) Baby Kamble speaks of him as a kind man, generous towards his poorer relations. It was from him, she says, that she learned many of the most valuable lessons of her life, such as a disinterest in materialism: "I have never tried to collect wealth, and was happy to earn just enough for my basic needs." But this was only one side of him. As a husband, he was stern and authoritarian, and kept his wife confined to the house, taking pride in not letting her go out. As a consequence, Baby Kamble feels, her mother grew bitter and harsh.

As Baby Kamble was growing up, the movement of the formerly untouchable Mang and Mahar castes started by Babasaheb Ambedkar (1891-1956) was at its height. In December 1927 Ambedkar began a *satyagraha* to establish

their civic rights and confront the tyranny of the upper castes. In what has been called an event of as great significance, hundreds of Mangs and Mahars gathered at the Chavdar Tale at Mahad, drew water and drank it. The Kalaram Mandir Satyagraha was another mass attempt, this time to gain entry into the temple. Similar movements arose all over India and Baby Kamble recalls how inspired she and her siblings were by Ambedkar and other activists. In her own village the Mahar community forced its way into the temples and eating places, and as a result, the whole atmosphere changed.

Also under Ambedkar's influence, her father sent Baby Kamble to school. In the sections of her autobiography about that period, she describes how fights would break out between the untouchables and the higher-caste Hindu girls. The Mahar girls became very insecure and were forced to form a close-knit group. There was no interaction between the castes, only a great deal of hostility. Baby Kamble has seven children, most of whom have had a university education. *Jina Amucha* (Our [Wretched] Lives), her autobiography, was serialised in the Pune women's magazine *Stree* shortly before it was published as a book in 1986.

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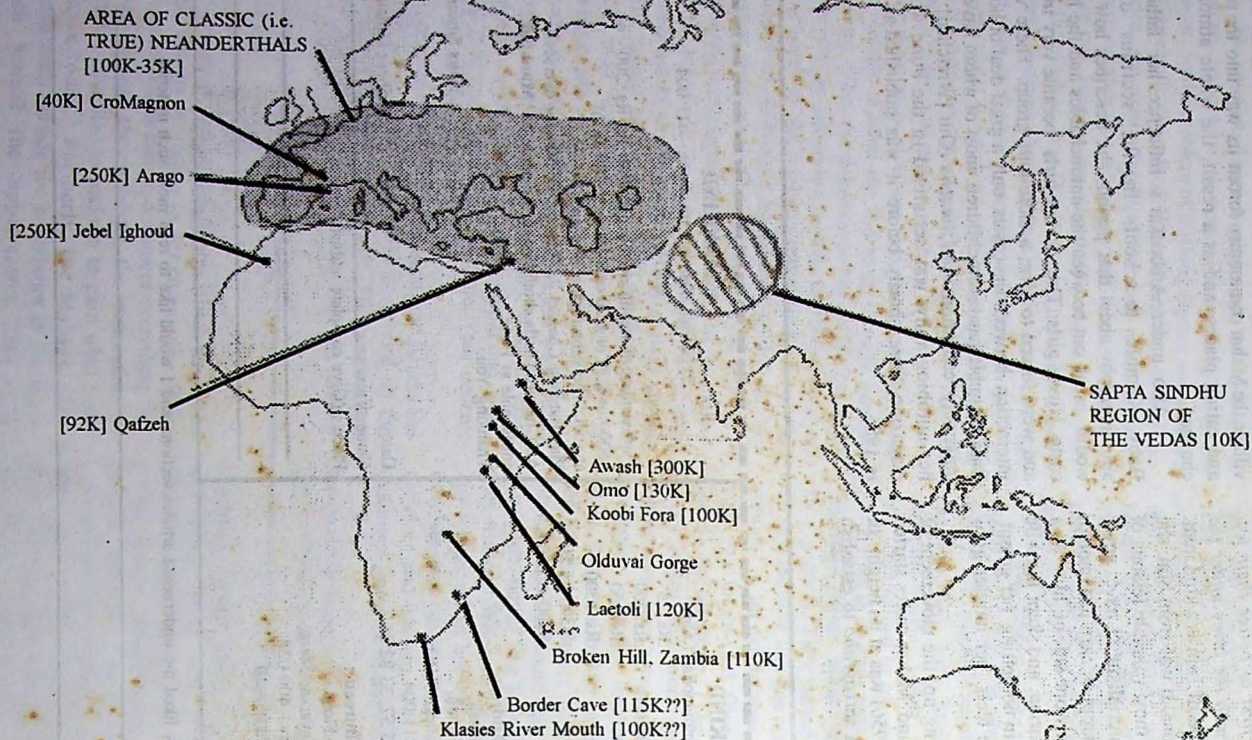
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1. A map of fossils from Richard S. Leakey, *The Origin of Humankind*, 1994, p.91.
2. The map shows the location (and age in thousands of years) of fossils that relate to the origin of modern humans. The Neanderthals were restricted to the shaded area. The earliest specimens of modern humans have been found in sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East.
3. The Pastoralist break-through occurred c.8000 B.C. in the Sapta-Sindhu region of Vedic India. The hatched area marked to the right of the neanderthalic zone in grey is of the Sapta-Sindhu region of the Vedas. The latest confirmation of the river Saraswati has been provided by Indian scientists attached to the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre (BARC) as reported in the *Indian Express* 9.5.1999. Report titled "Saraswati's No Myth".
4. The Western Christian Capitalist myth-makers are generally extremely pro-neanderthal. There is a good word for the neanderthal in James Hughes ed. *The World Atlas of Archaeology*, 1998, p.26 and also in National Geographic Society's *Peoples and Places of the Past*, 1983, pp.13-19. The latest example of misinformation was planted in the *Times of India* of 20.4.99: "Neanderthal was No Mean Man". Actually *H. neanderthalensis* was a savage cannibal and represented a blind alley that disappeared from the evolutionary chain of *Homo* about 35 thousand years ago.