

MANKIND

FDR. EDR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

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AN OPENING STATEMENT : 45

Exe. Edr.

HARI SINGH, JAWAHAR AND LORD LOUIS CANNOT DETERMINE THE FATE OF KASHMIR FOREVER

We have repeatedly written about Kashmir in *Mankind*.

Basically Kashmir is a ploy to thwart and control India by the neo-colonial powers of the world organised as G - 7/8, EU, NATO and OECD.

Maharaja Hari Singh may have had 20,000 misgivings and reservations about the Instrument of Accession to India that he signed in 1947. With his accession, India acquired an external frontier which cannot be subject to any plebiscitary provision to be exercised by any taluka or desert or forest area on the borders of India.

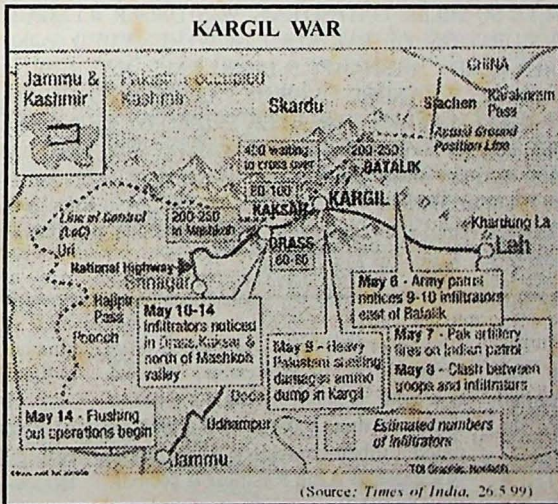
Instead of driving out the Pakistani infiltrators from the so-called POK, Jawahar, as instructed by Lord Louis Mountbatten, then Governor-General of India, referred the Kashmir imbroglio to the UN where it has festered for the last five decades.

Let us make a few things clear.

The support to Pakistani demand for Autonomy for Kashmir is a continuation by the Muslim League of Pakistan and the Communist Parties of India of their pre-Partition policies of support to British imperialism and to Division of India.

The pro - Autonomy Kashmir movement has nothing to do with secularism. The Muslim League, the Indian National Congress and the two Communist Parties have all been

totally communal in the context of 1947 when all these parties accepted the British divide and rule policy and welcomed the Partition of the country.



In any case Britain was never secular. Its monarch has always been head of the Anglican Church and is the authority that appoints all the Bishops of the church including those in India. (from the time of Henry VIII, all the English monarchs have been heads of the Anglican Church, a Protestant sect autocephalous in nature).

Further, secularism has nothing to do with the scientific temper. Britain which carried out the first Industrial Revolution of the world from 1765 to 1860 was never secular, and Japan

which carried out the first Industrial Revolution in Asia from 1868 onwards was equally non-secular. Japanese emperors have been all through the heads of the Shinto religion.

The demand for Kashmir Autonomy is also not based on any linguistic or cultural objectives. The official language of Kashmir is Urdu just as much as Urdu is the official language of POK, called Azad Kashmir and Pakistan.

The demand for an affiliation of Kashmir to either POK or Pakistan or both is not a secular demand since both POK and Pakistan are fundamentalist Islamic entities.

Kashmir autonomy is not being demanded by those interested in the development of Kashmiri culture. It is being demanded by those who have surrendered all culture to the US-UK led "globalisers."

The Pandits of Kashmir who are the repositories of the Kashmiri unified Sufi culture have been driven out of their homes and are covering in refugee camps in Delhi and Jammu.

The demand for Autonomy for Kashmir or the demand for a loose or hard affiliation of Kashmir with Pakistan, or the demand for an acceptance of UN mediatory rule in Kashmir is a demand for appeasement and surrender to neo-colonial, principally Anglo-American interests.

Thus, there is not the slightest reason why Kashmir should have a separate constitution or why India and Kashmir should have distinct Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers or why Article 370 should govern the relations between Kashmir and India.

Kashmir is an integral part of India and has the same rights as any other state of the Indian Union.

THEREFORE ARTICLE 370 OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION MUST BE ABROGATED AND POK MUST BE REOCCUPIED BY THE INDIAN ARMY AND THE AREA

CLEARED OF ALL PAKISTANI INFILTRATORS AND TERRORISTS AND FINALLY INDIAN ARMY MUST "HOT PURSUE" ALL PAKISTANI INTRUDERS TO THEIR BASE CAMPS AND DESTROY THEM AND THEIR SUPPORT BASES.

In a discussion in a Star News on 26.5.99 Ved Marwah, a comprador rascal who was formerly Police Commissioner of Delhi, when the Executive Editor was tortured by the Delhi police in 1987, and one Lt. Gen. Raghavan of the Indian Army pleaded for a self - contradictory strategy:

Both wanted the Indian Army to clear the Kargil area of hostile intruders if necessary by even air attacks.(which commenced on 26.5.99), whilst at the same time not carrying out "hot pursuit" measures. They wanted Indian Army to hit back but not wound the enemy! These comprador simpl- etons were idiotic enough to advocate that India must accept all its international commitments and at the same time not appease the neo-colonial powers, especially the Anglo-American bloc which has continuously supported Pakistan in all its nefarious manoeuvres since the formation of Pakistan in 1947.

In the world today, EITHER YOU APPEASE US AND UK OR FIGHT PAKISTAN TO THE BITTER END. YOU CANNOT DO BOTH AS THE INDIAN COMPRADOR DALALS HAVE BEEN TRYING FOR THE LAST FIFTY YEARS. IF YOU DECIDE TO COMBAT PAKISTANI INTRUSION INTO INDIAN TERRITORY, WHETHER IN JAMMU AND KASHMIR, IN PUNJAB, IN HIMACHAL PRADESH OR IN UTTAR PRADESH HILL DISTRICTS YOU HAVE TO COMBAT US-UK INTERESTS WHICH HAVE ALWAYS STOOD BEHIND PAKISTAN.

In short,

1. The only thing that stands in the way of Kashmir's total integration with India, is the reference to the UN made by Jawahar under pressure from Lord Louis and Maharaja Hari Singh.

2. But governments change and new governments must implement new policies. They cannot be forever bound by the actions of their predecessors.

OTHERWISE THE WORLD MUST COME TO A STANDSTILL.

3. Autonomy for Kashmir is not

KASHMIR'S GEOGRAPHIC AREA

INDIAN NATIONAL INTERSET DEMANDS AN URGENT REPUDIATION OF JAWAHAR'S POLICIES ! OF THE 218, 779.89 SQ.KMS. OF TOTAL JAMMU AND KASHMIR TERRITORY (1952 HMSO Survey, p.12). OR 84,471 SQ.MILES: 78,114 SQ.KMS. WAS UNDER ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF PAKISTAN, NOW RENAMED POK OR AZAD KASHMIR: 5,180SQ.KMS. HAS BEEN ILLEGALLY HANDED OVER BY PAKISTAN TO CHINA AND 37,555SQ.KMS. HAS BEEN SEIZED BY CHINA AT THE END OF THE INDIA-CHINA WAR OF 1962. Thus, the total territory under Chinese occupation is 42,735sq.kms. and under Pakistan occupation is 78,114sq.kms. as aforesaid.(Total alien occupation 120,849 km², i.e. more than half of J & K total of 218,779 km²).

Source: India, A Reference Annual, 1993, p.758

a secular demand. Neither is it a linguistic or cultural demand. If Israel is secular, if South Africa is secular, if Saudi Arabia is secular, if Pakistan aided Taliban-controlled Afghanistan is secular, if Azad Kashmir is secular, then the BJP government of India is DOUBLY SECULAR.

4. Secularism has nothing to do with the scientific temper as the examples of Britain and Japan prove.

5. India must leave the British Commonwealth whose head is a religious figure belonging to the Anglican Church.

6. Indian national interest demands that all states of the Indian Union must be placed on an equal footing and Article 370 granting special privileges to Kashmir be immediately abrogated.

7. INDIAN NATIONAL INTEREST DEMANDS AN URGENT

REPUDIATION OF JAWAHAR'S POLICIES! OF THE 218, 779.89 SQ.KMS. OF TOTAL JAMMU AND KASHMIR TERRITORY (1952 HMSO Survey, p.12). OR 84,471SQ. MILES: 78,114 SQ.KMS. WAS UNDER ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF PAKISTAN, NOW RENAMED POK OR AZAD KAHMIR: 5,180 SQ.KMS. HAS BEEN ILLEGALLY HANDED OVER BY PAKISTAN TO CHINA AND 37,555 SQ. KMS. HAS BEEN SEIZED BY CHINA AT THE END OF THE INDIA-CHINA WAR OF 1962. Thus, the total territory under

Chinese occupation is 42,735sq.kms. and under Pakistan occupation is 78,114sq.kms. as aforesaid (Source: India, A Reference Annual, 1993, p.758). Thus, apart from the crores that Jawahar and his cronies filched from the Indian treasury and the crores that Sardar Patel gave away to the Indian princelings as Privy Purces and Personal Properties, India lost more than half of Kashmir due to Jawahar's dual policy of HINDI-ANGREZ BHAI-BHAI AND HINDI-CHINI BHAI - BHAI. Jawahar

pursued both these policies from 1947 to his death in 1964.

INDIA MUST TAKE THE STAND THAT JAWAHAR'S POLICIES DIED WITH JAWAHAR IN 1964.

JAWAHAR'S POLICIES CANNOT BIND INDIA FOREVER ! EVEN CONGRESS RULE IN THE CENTRE CAME TO AN END IN 1977 with the elections to the 6th Lok Sabha. This repudiation of the Congress was repeated in 1989 in the elections to the 9th Lok Sabha, in 1996 to the 11th Lok Sabha and in 1998 to the 12th Lok Sabha and all Non-Congress governments are entirely and totally free to formulate new policies and initiatives as sanctioned by their electoral victories in 1977, 1989, 1996 and 1998. Of the 12 general elections held in India after 1952, four have gone against the Congress and

against Jawahar's "dynastic policies".
Of the last seven general elections, sixth to the twelfth, four have gone against the Congress and Jawahar's legacy stands repudiated and rejected.

8. INDIA IS A VERY LARGE COUNTRY WITH A POPULATION OF ALMOST 100 CRORES AND A HISTORY OF ALMOST 10,000 YEARS. Many countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin America and Australasia have had multiple constitutions in the last one hundred years. Our Dominion Status constitution of 1946-49, formulated by an entirely unrepresentative Congress coterie is overdue for drastic revision. In any case, even within the framework of this ridiculous and farcical constitution, it is eminently just and fair that the policies of Jawaharlal Nehru and Maharaja Hari Singh and Lord Louis Mountbatten, of more than 52 years ago, be repudiated and rejected.

9. INDIA MUST MAKE A FRESH START AND BREAK OUT OF THE CLUTCHES OF ANGLO-AMERICAN AND WESTERN NEO-COLONIALISM. JAWAHAR, HARI SINGH AND LORD LOUIS BELONG TO THE DUSTBIN OF HISTORY. THE INDIAN PEOPLE MUST MARCH FORWARD TO A NEW FUTURE FREE FROM ITS FEUDAL AND COLONIAL PAST.

INDIA A LAND OF TEN SCAMS A DAY

India is a land of ten scams a day. Our dominion status constitution of 1946-49 which carried forward the criminal legacy of British colonialism, and has provided for Bureaucratic Supremacy, Total Unaccountability, Complete Non-Transparency and Gross Corruption. The current constitution has created the right ambience for collusion between politicians, *naukarshahs* and gangsters.

Let us take the classic case of Bihar first:

"The special Vigilance Court today issued arrest warrants against a minister of the Rabri Devi government and 26 others, including an IAS officer, for allegedly manipulating records and making money by issuing fake teacher

STOP PRESS

(On the morning of May 29, 1999)

The Gandhian Bania strategy of Passive Resistance has led to disastrous results. The Nehruvian addition of day - dreaming, dithering and dalalgiri *vis a vis* the neo-colonial powers, has compounded our losses. In three days of air strikes on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday, the Indian Air Force has lost three aircrafts. Two of the aircrafts were MIG-21 and MIG-27 and the third was a MI-17 helicopter gunship. Two were brought down by shoulder - fired SAM missiles.

Pakistani infiltration was massive, as many as 1,000 intruded into our side of the LOC as far back as January 1998. They were noticed only in May 1999 by which time they had built concrete bunkers and other protective fortifications. It was a massive failure of intelligence on the part of the Indian Army. Thereafter Pakistan has been at its aggressive best and now missiles are being fired from across the LOC.

Passive Resistance and such other bania tactics are of no use either in politics or in warfare. We cannot just wait till Pakistan takes the initiative to infiltrate our borders. OUR AIR FORCE MUST NOW CLEAR AT LEAST THE POK AREA OF THE 40 CAMPS THAT

ACT AS TRAINING CENTRES AND SUPPLY BASES FOR THE PAKISTAN TERRORIST GANGS! APPEASEMENT OF UK AND USA MUST CEASE! WE MUST BE FREE TO OPERATE WITHIN OUR SOVEREIGN AIR SPACE WHICH NATURALLY INCLUDES THAT HALF OF KASHMIR WHICH IS TEMPORARILY UNDER PAKISTANI OCCUPATION. (see details of areas given in a box alongside).

OUR SOVEREIGN AREA INCLUDES SWAT, DIR AND GILGIT AGENCIES ON THE BORDERS OF (i) NWFP PROVINCE OF PAKISTAN, (ii) AFGHANISTAN'S PROVINCE OF WAKHAN, AND (iii) SINKIANG PROVINCE OF CHINA.

WE MUST DESTROY THE BASE CAMPS OF THE TERRORISTS LYING WITHIN POK!

Gandhian Passive Resistance will not do. Jawahar has hidden behind Edwina's skirts for far too long. We have already suffered in three days of war more than 100 casualties and more than several million dollars loss of equipment.

Ultimately, how much are we going to allow Gandhi and Nehru, Hari Singh and Lord Louis to cost us? For how many centuries must we be made to pay for the follies committed by this quartet? ■

training certificates.

"According to the FIR lodged with the police, the Secretary of the Education Department, SK Negi IAS along with the Vice Chancellor of Lalit Narayan Mithila University and the Registrar are "primarily responsible." The Vigilance Department however, has named the principal of the State Government Training College in Turki, Ramji Singh, as the "brain" behind the scam.

"In 1997, Singh had allegedly recommended that seven minority institutions be granted recognition with retrospective effect from 1993. Vice Chancellor M.S. Abdul Mogni, without getting the senate's approval, granted recognition to these colleges.

Director General of Vigilance, D. P. Ojha, said that all these seven institutions were running merely on paper and that Rs. 60 crore had been swindled from teachers so far. An estimated 40,000 certificates had been issued, he said, to teachers mainly from Rajasthan, Haryana and Delhi. These teachers used to pay anything between Rs. 1.5 lakh to Rs. 2.5 lakh for a fake degree, he said."

We may next take up one more money laundering scam:

"In the coming elections to the 13th Lok Sabha the BJP government has succeeded in adding the B for Bofors to the earlier tally of four Bs, namely, the Bomb, Bihar, Budget and Bus (to Lahore).

"Two cases pending with the

Prime Minister's office since 1997 were activated suddenly. Then CBI director Joginder Singh had sought sanction to

prosecute Gopi Arora, S.K. Bhatnagar, Win Chadha, Ottavio Quattrocchi and others in the Rs. 64 crore Bofors

kickback case and Solanki for obstructing the probe. Rajiv Gandhi was also named as an accused in the first case." ■

GEORGE FLOATS TOY BALLOONS

As Madhu Limaye and Kishen Pattnayak, both old Lohiaites, noted long ago, George Fernandes "Likes to play with toy balloons for short spells". He tires of the game very quickly. Ideas and concepts are just games to him! The game is not entirely childish, for he often floats these as **trial balloons** with his disarming smile and a mischievous glint in his eye, as he waits for reactions.

If I remember the dates right, George floated two toy and trial balloons in the early nineties.

It was also a gesture on his part. He had built up a few connections in the South since the Internal Emergency of 1975 - 77, when he had been given shelter by the DMK Chief Karunanidhi, and amongst the Naxalites. When the Seminar on Eclam and other LTTE demands was not allowed to be held in a public hall in Delhi, George made available his own residence for the purpose.

Thereafter, a second conference or seminar was organised in two instalments. One session was held in Hyderabad and another in Bihar. Naxalite factions and cells had been invited along with numerous Lohiaite elements in order to project a united Socialist force.

Nothing happened! George got tired of playing with coloured balloons whether red and black, or various shades of pink and saffron, and forgot all about his lengthy orations delivered at the various venues.

But no doubt they gave him a feel of the undercurrents animating the radical left. They were also pre-election preparatory gatherings. There is a shrewd careerist lurking just under the skin in George Fernandes. To those who have known him through the last three or four decades the mask has already worn thin. I think Kishen and I, along with many others, by now know what makes George tick. He has once again floated the idea of bringing together all the Socialists and Regional parties together in a front ("George plans to

reunite all Socialist groups". *Times of India*, 6-5-99, and "BJP scoffs at George's grand plan". *Indian Express*, 7-5-99").

We do not doubt the sincerity of old - timers like Hari Keval Prasad, a senior Samata Party leader, who wanted to bring together all the old Lohiaites (*Times of India*, 26-3-99).

We ourselves belong to the quintessential Lohia legacy of Revolutionary Nationalism and Socialism, but we do not believe that all the Lohiaites can come together.

On what ideological basis can they get together? Let us first consider George, Nitish Kumar and other Samata Party stalwarts.

The first element of a new economic orientation is resistance to the Terrible Trimurti of IMF, WB and WTO. No people - friendly New Economic Policy can be evolved without total rejection of the Structural Adjustment Programme of the Terrible Trimurti in favour of Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation and Westernisation (LPGW).

THERE CAN BE NO FREE FLOAT OF THE RUPEE!

THERE CAN BE NO FURTHER DEVALUATIONS!

Indian corporations must have the same rights as American corporations who are allowed to protect **not only their industrial but also their commercial interests**. For instance, in the Banana War with Europe, American corporations asserted their basic right to undersell preferentially imported bananas from the Caribbean and Africa by European merchants. In effect, the Americans wanted to raise the price of banana imports into Europe!

Similarly any Indian corporation dealing in steel, textiles, chemicals, pharmaceuticals and agricultural produce, or anything else, should be entitled under strict *Swadeshi* laws to eliminate all foreign competition within the Indian market.

IN EVERY WAY EMPLOYMENT IN INDIA MUST BE

PROMOTED AT THE EXPENSE OF NEO-COLONIAL GLOBALISATION!

This means an immediate break with the BJP which has accepted a slightly modified version of the LPGW.

Secondly the wretched, rubbishy and rotten feudal relic Maharaja Hari Singh cannot prescribe **for ever in history** a special status for Kashmir.

KASHMIR IS NOT MORE EQUAL THAN OTHER STATES!
ATRICLE 370 MUST BE ABROGATED.

If lack of development becomes the reason for secession of any part of India, **THERE WILL BE NOTHING LEFT! THERE HAS BEEN NO DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA FOR THE LAST 50 YEARS! THERE WILL BE NONE. TILL THE STRANGLEHOLD OF G7, EU, NATO AND OECD IS BROKEN!**

The Pakistan Occupied part of Kashmir must be liberated.

The terrorist gangs financed by CIA, ISI and Taliban must be given **hot pursuit** into their base camps, and every one of the camps must be destroyed.

INDIA CANNOT FIGHT THE KASHMIR WAR WITH HANDS TIED BEHIND!

This is only the first step. In the interests of the poor peoples of the sub-continent, India must be reunited with Pakistan and Bangladesh into **A NEW CONFEDERATION OF THE SOCIALIST STATES OF INDIA, PAKISTAN AND BANGLADESH!**

As George and Nitish Kumar very well know, the BJP despite all its bogus rhetoric, does not stand for a reunified India. Like the LPGW programme of the Terrible Trimurti, *accepted by the BJP in the form of the coalition document Agenda for Governance*, the BJP is merely the more liberal face of the Indian comprador bourgeoisie. It is **not as mean and cussed and vicious as the Congress party of the *naukarshahs*, but it is equally narrow-minded, short sighted and cowardly. The BJP merely projects the world - view, of the Indian**

shopkeeper, trader and money - lender.

It may be therefore, contended by the wisecracks that *objectively India is not yet ripe for a socialist overturn*. Their recipe is silly and stupid! Marxism cannot be applied so mechanically in the Stalinist -Progressivist fashion.

We cannot await the dawn of industrial bourgeois rule in the country. **We have to take over now from the bureaucratic compradors as well as from the commercial compradors.** We will carry through the industrial revolution in India in the interests of the Indian working masses! THERE ARE MANY DEMOCRATIC TASKS TO BE CARRIED THROUGH BY SOCIALIST INDIA. A uniform civil code for all Indians must be enacted. Article 370 must be abrogated. All states are equal, just as all citizens are equal. A new

constitution must be drafted. FOR THE FIRST TIME BY A NEW CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTED ON THE BASIS OF A UNIVERSAL DIRECT EQUAL ADULT FRANCHISE.

THIS CONSTITUTION MUST PROVIDE FOR RIGHT TO WORK AND EMPLOYMENT, RIGHT TO INFORMATION AND TRANSPARENCY, RIGHT TO OFFICIAL INCORRUPTIBILITY, AND ACCOUNTABILITY.

Let us return to our point of departure.

George is incapable of bringing together old Lohiaites and old Socialists on any ideological basis.

Without ideology it is not possible, nor is it desirable, to unite the

old socialists. .

It seems that not only old -timers like me, Kishen Pattnayak and the late Madhu Limaye, but also many others have come to know the cheap careerist lurking within George!

In the last 13 months, many BJPers have learnt all there is to know about George.

That is why, the BJP has scoffed at the idea of George projecting himself as spokesman for the Old Socialists and for the Regional Parties. They took George's ambitious plan as a challenge to Vajpayee! Quite correctly. I should say. Because this is precisely what Vajpayee is attempting to do! Unite Leftist and Regional forces under the leadership of the Indian commercial bourgeois compradors. ■

A NEW METHODOLOGY OF INTERNATIONAL COMPARISONS: THE POOR IN INDIA NEED NATIONALIST DEFENCE

Mankind has pioneered a new methodology of International Comparisons right from the start of the revived *Mankind*. In November 1995, in the second issue of the revived *Mankind*, we had presented a three-dimensional picture of over two hundred nations of the world. We had tabulated the Area, the Population and the GDP-PPP of each of the two hundred odd countries and their proportions to the world totals for the years 1960, 1989 and 1994.

Our methodology was quite clear. We had taken the GDP-PPP of each country as a proportion of the world total and compared the proportions over a period of time.

Hitherto countries were being compared with each other on PER CAPITA terms calculated AT THE OFFICIAL EXCHANGE RATE. The OER was a built - in neo-colonial distortion.

The first step we took was to shift the comparison to a GDP-PPP basis. This has now been more or less universally accepted. Even the World

Bank has shifted its GDP-PPP estimates from Table 31, in their annual *World Development Reports*, to the principal Table 1.

Two further steps need to be

1999 (Incomplete data)			
	Per Cap. GDP-PPP US \$	Population (millions)	National GDP-PPP \$ trillion
1. USA	-	-	7.783
2. China	3.070	1.227	3.767
3. Japan	-	-	3.070
4. Germany	-	-	1.737
5. India	1.660	962	1.598

Source: *World Bank Report '99*, reported in *Times of India*, 27.4.99

taken. Instead of the present practice of ranking countries in the order of their per capita incomes, even if recalculated at the more correct PPP basis, the true comparison between countries will only appear, if the per capita incomes are multiplied by the national population totals, and we get a true confrontation between an average American or European or Japanese, and an average Indian or Chinese or Third World national.

Secondly, the national aggregates must be converted into proportions to the world total.

Thirdly, a time series should display the variations in national proportions over the recent decades.

When we had started in 1995, we had to argue with both the *London Economist* and Prof. M.L Dantwala

about the merits of the GDP-PPP comparative data. The traditional comprador Indian methodology was to accept the Official Exchange Rate to the dollar as sacrosanct. We need not argue today in favour of GDP-PPP figures, since the artificiality of the OER figures has been thoroughly exposed.

As yet the World Bank, the *London Economist* and other institutions have not taken two additional necessary

steps:

1. They must compare national aggregates and proportions for better understanding of the dynamics of the world economy.

2. They must make comparisons of national proportions over time.

Recently, the *Times of India* of 27-4-99 has published World Bank data showing national aggregates on PPP terms for USA, China, India, Japan and Germany:

It is good that the world is finally catching up with our analysis of the dynamics of the world economics. India stands fifth in the world after USA, China, Japan and Germany, but ahead of Canada, United Kingdom, France and Italy.

However India has not been vigilant enough. It has not taken steps to prevent continuous devaluation of its currency! No country can make economic progress if the official exchange rate of its currency keeps plunging downwards as compared to the dollar. Whatever may be gained by our superhuman export effort, everything is lost and eroded, if the exchange rate

keeps moving down. We can never catch up with the world, if the rupee keeps falling to 43 per dollar and still lower.

WE URGE OUR BOURGEOISIE AND OUR ELITE TO PAY SOME RESPECT TO OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS. Every Indian is humiliated and stands dwarfed when a tourist comes and splurges in front of our eyes. Why should our garments, spices, oil seeds, pulses and leather goods become dirt cheap when McDonald's burgers, Nike shoes and Domino's Pizzas fetch fabulous prizes? We must not allow Coca-Cola and Pepsi-Cola to rob us. WE MUST PREVENT ANY FURTHER INCREASE IN OUR

FOREIGN DEBT. WE MUST NOT BORROW IN ORDER TO PAY INTEREST ON PREVIOUSLY - INCURRED LOANS. WE MUST NOT ALLOW THE RUPEE TO FLOAT. WE MUST RIGIDLY CONTROL OUR IMPORTS AND BRING THEM DOWN TO ATLEAST A POINT JUST BELOW OUR EXPORTS AND RE-EXPORTS.

The poor in India urgently need nationalist protection against the vultures of the neo-colonial West.

Socialism will never be realised in India, if India ceases to be a nationalist bastion against world capitalist inroads. ■

WHY IS THE COST OF A GENERAL ELECTION A WASTE?

Middle class opinion is horrified that we should have had three General Elections in the last four years, in 1996, 1998 and 1999 (imminent).

It has been estimated that the cost to the public exchequer of the 1996 polls to the 11th Lok Sabha was Rs.5,000 crores; to the 12th Lok Sabha in 1998, Rs. 700 crores, and will be Rs.900 crores to the 13th Lok Sabha in 1999.

Nobody knows the exact amount spent by the candidates and their parties. But let us shrewdly estimate that the total overall expenditure of all candidates of all parties to the elections in 1996 was Rs.5,000 crores, in 1998 was Rs.6,000 crores and this year it will rise to about Rs. 7,000 crores.

The overall picture can be summarised as alongside.

Why is this astronomical amount of Rs.20,100 crores supposed to be a waste? Let us first consider the expenditure by the state. A minor proportion is spent on ballot boxes, erection of booths, printing of ballot papers and electoral rolls, indelible ink, stationery and such other materials.

The overwhelming bulk of state expenditure is on account of DA and TA to thousands and lakhs of babus, and to the police who guard the babus and

the ballot boxes. A part of this DA /TA is on account of transportaion to and fro the polling booths. Why is this so disastrously wasteful? The *naukarshahs* make merry, the printing presses flourish. Hundreds of crores are injected into the economy in just a few weeks!

Of course it is not planned priority expenditure that will supposedly benefit the poor. But hardly any category of government expenditure is so well - directed! According to Rajiv Gandhi, of every hundred rupees spent on poor relief and social welfare, just about fifteen reaches the target!

Whatever may be the division between the legitimate and the illicit, the entire amount oils the economy and keeps the bureaucratic wheels turning!

The same goes for the unofficial expenditure by the candidates and the parties. At most fifty percent of the amount collected by the candidates is

actually spent on their campaigns. The other fifty percent is salted away by them and lifts up the national savings rate.

It may be giving a powerful fillip to the cash economy of black money. But so what?

Black money economy is powerfully bolstered by the current rulers and their parties.

Ultimately there will be one or several Voluntary Disclosure of Income Schemes (VDIS) and a large proportion of the "personal profits" and savings will return to the mainstream.

Quite a large amount is immediately consumed in hiring of cycle rickshaws, jeeps and trucks and helicopters. A fair amount goes for the DA and TA of "Volunteer Workers" who are really hired hands.

And another part goes to publicity, from leaflets and posters to videotapes.

So what is waste?

Thousands of crores have been poured into the market and lakhs of unemployed youth have received subsidies and industrial growth has been promoted especially in the printing industry and the transport industry!

In a poor country like India elections assist the private free market economy.

Bourgeois hypocrisy being what it is, the candidates

	Official Govt.	By Parties & Candidates	Cost Total (Rs. Crores)
1996 Gen. Elections to the 11th LS	500	5,000	5,500
1998 Gen. Elections to the 12th LS	700	6,000	6,700
1999 Gen. Elections to the 13th LS	900	7,000	7,900
	2,100	18,000	20,100

lament the costs of campaigning. ACTUALLY EVERY GENERAL ELECTION IS A GOLDEN GOD-SENT OPPORTUNITY FOR EVERY PARTY CANDIDATE TO COLLECT AND MAKE MONEY!

Objectively the more frequent the elections, the greater the degree of democratic control exercised by the people. Also the more frequent the opportunities for aspirants to mint money.

After all, the money spent by individuals and parties is in the final analysis collected from the total body of citizens. Some loans may be taken and may not be repaid. But that is a risk which

loan-givers have voluntarily assumed.

We don't want to go into the hypocritical details and minutiae of the matter.

ACTUALLY THERE IS NO HARM IN HAVING GENERAL ELECTIONS EVERY YEAR.

The people can throw out the rascals in quick rotation.

In the Benighted States of America, the House of Representatives is elected every two years! So what is wrong in electing a new Lok Sabha every year, of course we will not solve the problem of poverty, unemployment, forced undernourishment, lack of

adequate housing, absence of universal education, and health care, and similar macroeconomic problems of industrial and technological development by recourse to General Elections.

Colossal amounts will be individually expended in a chaotic unplanned manner.

But chaos and unplanned expenditure is the norm in a free market economy.

So what is the objection to the vast sums being spent on General Elections to the 11th, 12th and 13th Lok Sabha in 1996, 1998 and 1999? ■

SHEKHAR GUPTA, AMITABH BACHCHAN, RAHUL BAJAJ ALL SHOUT CHARLATANISM ZINDABAD!

Compradors have a fatal fancy for charlatans. The best of them suffer from the foot-in-the-mouth disease.

● Shekhar Gupta who has become the editor-in-chief of the *Indian Express*, in a centre page editorial on 6-5-99, applauds the crudely camouflaged commercial pitch of the multinationals with the astoundingly opaque and dense statement:

"Welcome now to cricket's new world without borders. You and I or the SJM (Swadeshi Jagran Manch) may worry about how the MNCs will subvert our system. But look at the sports pages and see how the MNCs are cheering the Indian team."

Is it not a part of the game of the subversive forces to ingratiate themselves with Indians and to cheer their cricket team whilst extracting at least \$50 billion from the Third World each year? (See *UNDP Report 1992*).

I remember, Shekhar Gupta being interviewed by Malavika Singh on the TVI and his confession that he was a "globaliser". Is it necessary for every globaliser to be a light-minded fool and to equate cricket with the lethal games played by the MNCs all over the world, especially by the MNCs of the armament industry?

● Amitabh Bachchan became a big shot in the eighties when he became an MP, when it was deliberately publicised that his wife Jaya, his brother

Ajitabh and Ajitabh's wife Romola, were bosom friends of Rajiv and Sonia. Their vacations with the Mainos were much talked about, especially an encounter with the shark in the Lakshadweep. Later, Amitabh, a Congress MP from Allahabad, was forced to resign under a thick cloud of corruption and *hawala*.

Ajitabh and Romola with their brats had chosen to emigrate to Switzerland and the RBI had to issue predated permits to enable the brothers to escape prosecution.

The brothers had also started a pharmaceutical venture in Dadra and Nagar Haveli. My friend Pyare Shivpuri of the BBC Hindi Service had suffered long imprisonment during the Emergency for talking loosely about "the plain salt" airlifted to India from the West on account of the A and A brothers' drug company! I don't remember all the details but I am sure the cognoscenti will pick up the hints.

Amitabh's ABCL has just gone bust. In 1992-93, '93-'94 and '94-'95 its net profits stood at Rs.3 crore, Rs 19 crore and Rs 14.40 crore respectively. The profits were wiped out the following fiscal when the ABCL ran up losses of Rs.36.08 crore. For the year ended September 30 1998, ABCL reported accumulated losses of Rs.70.82 crore well above its Rs.60.52 crore net worth. The company's total liabilities to its various creditors as on 31-3-1999 were about

Rs.80 crore.

"Matters came to a head when Canara Bank approached the Bombay High Court seeking permission to attach 'Pratiksha' (valued at Rs.8 crore) to recover its dues. The bank has charged Amitabh Bachchan and his wife Jaya with non-payment of funds to the tune of Rs.10 crore, advanced by way of open cash credit facility, overdraft against book debts and guarantee facility". (*Times of India*, 6.5.99).

How have the mighty fallen! The past one dozen "superhits" by the Big B have bombed at the box office. There are no takers for the "angry young man", who was actually a con-man in real life. Another fly-by-night operator Sahara India, the current favourite of Amar Singh, deputy to Mulayam in the Samajwadi Party, has stepped in to help out ABCL with its management expertise. In February this year the ABCL board passed a unanimous resolution:

"In view of the accumulated losses being in excess of the company's net worth, based on the audited accounts for the year ending September 1998, the company has *prima facie* become a sick industrial company within the meaning of section 3(1) (0) of the Sick Industrial Companies (Special Provisions) Act 1985". (*Times of India*, 6.5.99).

So now the BIFR is seized of the ABCL. What an industry, that needs Sahara management expertise! After all, let us recognise that compradors can only create such wonderful institutions as ABCL and Sahara!

● I hesitate to place Rahul Bajaj in the company of Shekhar Gupta and Amitabh Bachchan.

Rahul is the son of my old friend and school - mate Kamalnayan Bajaj. Kamalnayan was a true Gandhian industrialist. He never promoted any industrial activity related to liquor, leather or mill-made textiles. It may be all outdated but Kamalnayan observed certain parameters and held fast to identifiable moral values.

Rahul is of the new breed. He supported Indira who recognised no values, either old or new. Rahul has

recently taken over as President of the Confederation of Indian Industry from Rajesh Shah, son of Viren Shah, who, was Kamalnayan's partner and one of the earliest industrialist - backers of the BJP.

Rahul doesn't want to start new banks. He wants five of the profitable state - owned banks to be immediately denationalised. On what grounds ? If they are profitable why shouldn't the State keep them ?

Shouldn't Rahul be a little patient? In the fairly short run, the bureaucrats of India are bound to ruin all the Public Sector enterprises!

Why can't Rahul wait till all the banks have been ruined by accumulated Non-Performing Assets. (NPA) i.e. in simpler language. Bad Debts.

Why is Rahul not demanding the privatisation of five loss-making banks? After all the comprador businessmen of India have themselves induced these banks to incur Bad Debts. (NPA), and the comprador class should be happy to pick up what they themselves have ruined ! At the end I can only say :

CHARLATANISM ZINDABAD! ■

YES, SONIA IS A CRYPTO - FASCIST OWNER OF SECRET FOREIGN ACCOUNTS AND IS A WORTHLESS FOREIGNER !

It was very timely on our part to have picked up the issue of foreigners in India in our last issue of May 1999.

We had made three main points :

● Former Muslim dynasts ruling in different regions of India were not foreigners.

● The British were the first true foreign rulers of India, who Drained India of Wealth to build up British Industry and Commerce.

● British Imperialists had spread the canard that Muslims were foreigners in pursuit of their divide and rule policy.

Contrary to Vajpayee's *dwija* opinion, the Muslim kingdoms of India did not drain wealth out of India. They promoted public works within India and spent the entire state surplus on luxurious living, warring and public works which promoted employment and circulation of commodities inside the country.

We had indicted British imperialists on five major counts.

One: They stopped bringing precious metals to India from 1765.

Two: They Drained India of Wealth.

Three: They Deindustrialised, Ruralised and Pauperised India.

Four: They created a regime of permanent Famines of Purchasing Power from 1765 to

1947 that killed at least 85 million Indians.

Five: They carried out the Industrial Revolution in Britain 1765 - 1860 on the basis of this Primitive Accumulation of Indian Loot.

We had stated in our May article that the criterion is simple:

He who Drains India of Wealth, blocks India's economic development, promotes business and industry outside India is a foreigner.

BY THIS CRITERION, SONIA IS DEFINITELY A FOREIGNER. She has maintained Swiss and Italian bank accounts even before the commissions that Rajiv collected on the Bofors gun deal, the HDW submarine deal, the Westland Helicopter deal and similar scams. She started her business career as an insurance agent appointed by Sanjay Gandhi to receive agency

A FOREIGNER DEFINED !

Neither Muslims, nor Syrian Christians, nor Zoroastrians are foreigners and they are not foreigners for the same reason.

They have spent their entire earnings in India and promoted employment and circulation of commodities within India.

ONLY THAT PERSON IS A FOREIGNER WHO SENDS HIS SAVINGS ABROAD, PROMOTES EMPLOYMENT ABROAD AND BLOCKS OR HURTS THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY.

commissions on Maruti Udyog Limited. After that she went into an export business to supply cedar coffins to foreign corporations.

HER FOREIGN BANK ACCOUNTS AND DEALINGS ARE A CLOSELY GUARDED SECRET. But it is known that she operates foreign bank accounts. Earlier she used to send her savings to her Italian family. After her father's death, she is said to have inherited some money under his will. We do not know what she did with this legacy. Just before Mulayam Singh vetoed her elevation to the PM's *gaddi* in April 1999, almost the entire Maino clan had gathered at 10, Janpath, in Delhi, flying in from all over the world to be present at her grand inauguration. The florists had received their orders, and Rahul had specially come to garland his mother.

SHE HAS NEVER DECLARED HER WEALTH, AND HER FOREIGN ASSETS ARE UNKNOWN. Whether she operates in her own name or in the name of Lotus Corporation, the Hinduja's or in the name of Ottavio Quattrocchi or in the name of her father and other family members, and how many accounts she holds in Switzerland, Italy, Channel Islands or elsewhere, is a mystery cocooned within a puzzle. She has never been forthcoming. All that is known is about her real estate holdings in India and the eight major trusts which she controls as chairperson. SHE IS NO DOUBT THE RICHEST LANDHOLDER IN

INDIA. (See our article "The Richest Landholder in India is Sonia Maino Gandhi". *Mankind*, April '98, pp.25-7).

Yugoslavia, Tito was leading his *partisan* armed bands. **All over Europe there was an active anti-fascist underground**

fascist ideals held dear by her father.
She calls herself "non-political". but actually she has been a crypto-fascist.

What is pertinent is that throughout her life Sonia has been a rotten semi-fascist. Her father was a fascist gauleiter - a local boss. There was a **v a s** underground anti-fascist movement in Europe during the years that Hitler and Mussolini were in power. Mussolini did not die a natural death. He and his mistress, Clara Petacci, were killed by partisans in North Italy and their bodies were hung upside down in a public square in Milan, in April 1945.

In France the underground movement was led by **A l b e r t** Camus, Jean Paul Sartre, David Rousset, Andre Malraux and many others known as *maquis*. In Austria, Denmark, Norway and Netherlands there were many guerrilla bands fighting for overthrow of Hitler and restoration of democratic institutions. In Poland, there was the famous Warsaw Uprising in 1943. In

PARTITION OF INDIA RETROSPECTIVELY DISCOVERS FOREIGNERS

It is silly on the part of British imperialists to allege that Muslim Dynasts were foreigners.

Apart from everything else, the Muslim Dynasts of India were too many ! Let us take the most prominent:

The Mughals (1556-1765) were in no sense foreigners. Their predecessors in the north west of India were the Delhi Sultans, whose dynasties are commonly named as follows:

The Gulams or slaves; the Khaljis; the Tughlaqs; the Sayyids; the Lodis; and the Suris. The Delhi Sultanate's rule is usually ascribed to 1290-1556 AD. Apart from the above rulers who claimed to be emperors of India, with varying degrees of reliability, there were numerous independant kingdoms ruled by Islamic families and courtiers. The independant kingdoms were in Gujarat, Khandesh, Malwa, Jaunpur, Ajmer, Bengal, Sindh, Multan and the five Bahamani kingdoms were Bijapur, Golconda, Bidar, Ahmednagar and Gulbarga.

In addition there were Nawabs or Subedars of the Delhi government in Bengal and Hyderabad and also a short - lived independant kingdom in Mysore ruled by Hyder and Tipu.

The English imperialists never clarified their reasoning behind designation of particular Islamic rulers as foreigners and of all other Muslim rulers as Indians. Why only ten or fifteen Muslim rulers of Delhi should be considered by the English as foreigners and why one hundred other Islamic rulers in the rest of India should be thought of as native Indians by them was never made clear.

By their definition, all the Christian rulers of hundreds of large and small kingdoms in Europe would be Palestinians; and Syrian Christians who had been christianised long before Britons, as well as Zoroastrians settled in Gujarat from the 9th and 10th centuries AD would become foreigners.

Furthermore, since the principal Greek settlements of the first millenium BC were all situated in Anatolia, all the Greeks of Europe should be considered as Anatolians or Turks !

But these queries are irrelevant. The British imperialists did not wish to define anything accurately or even approximately. All they wanted to do was to rouse communal passions on the basis of some obscure religious prejudices. Aurangzeb and Akbar, the Tughlaqs and the Khaljis, the Ghaznavis and the Ghorids were foreigners entirely because the British wanted to create a Pakistan centered upon north-west India.

If they had decided upon a Pakistan centered upon Carnatic or Bengal, I am sure, many other Muslim kingdoms would have acquired "foreign" rulers.

The entire imperialist concept of "foreigner" was a camouflage to cover simultaneously the British Drain of Wealth from India for the first time, and to mask their Divide and Rule Policy.

PEOPLE WHO LIVE THEIR ENTIRE LIVES IN INDIA AND SPEND ALL THEIR SAVINGS AND WEALTH TO PROMOTE INDIAN INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE FOR MANY CENTURIES CAN NEVER BE FOREIGNERS.

movement.

No member of Sonia's Maino family is known to have participated in any kind of anti-fascist pro-democracy movement or to have aided this movement in anyway. Throughout her life Sonia has never spoken against Mussolini or repudiated any of the

record as a member of an Italian fascist family of thugs, her own career as holder and operator of foreign accounts and her disgusting biographical record as a person who did not become an Indian citizen for 15 years after marriage, *all go to show that she is unfit to be Prime Minister of India.* It was entirely improper

As we know from the example of Kurt Waldheim, who was an active supporter of Hitler's armies in Yugoslavia during WW II, it is always possible to hide a part of one's criminal past. Waldheim actually became a Secretary-General of UN.

Therefore, the simple rule that could be followed is that no person can become President, Vice-President, Prime Minister or Chief Minister of any state in India who is not a natural born Indian, born of parents who were Indians. Thus Sonia's

(contd. on pg.13)

WAH, KYA KAHEN !

Mankind Research Bureau

PRINCES OF THE SWAMINARAYAN SECT

We are publishing in this issue a portfolio of four rationalist contributions: Taslima Nasrin, Dr. Abraham Kovoor, Dr. Jayant Narlikar and Dr. H. Narasimhaiah.

To balance this, we are including a report on "Tainted Brotherhood" carried by the *Indian Express* of 28.4.99.

The Swaminarayan sect was started about 200 years ago in Gujarat. Its headquarters is located at Vadtal village on the Ahmadabad - Vadodara Highway in Kheda district, central Gujarat.

As usual with such religious sects, the disciples are divided into two bitterly divided factions: The Dev group and the Acharya group.

The differences between the two groups are so obscure that we will not attempt even a summary of the issues.

Anyway, lots of money is involved. Last year, the London branch of the sect built a multicore edifice for the sect's NRIs, which was visited by Charles, Diana before her death and sundry members of the British royal riff-raff, as well as by Tony Blair's cronies. For the appointment of a guru in one of the sect temples, a bribe of many millions of rupees is usually paid to the headpriest at Vadtal.

"The simmering tension between the two factions became apparent some 30 years after Lord Swaminarayan set up

base at Vadtal in 1878. His fourth successor, Shreepatiprasad, had sold off a huge piece of land on his own, much to the chagrin of the *sants* and *haribhaktis*. The latter challenged the move arguing that the Acharya couldn't sell off the property because it belonged to God; they contended later in the Privy Council that the temple, meaning them, had to be consulted. The Dev group won the case, leaving the Acharyas bruised. In 1962, when the fifth successor, Anandprasad, sold off land at Sarangpur in Ahmadabad (controlled from Vadtal), the Dev group followers moved the City Civil Court and won. Two appeals by the Acharya group in the High Court were rejected.

"The High Court, in a decision on December 4, 1976, spell out a management scheme for the temple that would have three Dev group members, three Acharya members, a chairman and a chief executive Kothari (manager) in the board of trustees. During this case, came the allegation of huge amounts of money changing hands in transfers of Kotharis to different temples. So the High Court ruled that the chief executive Kothari would have no voting powers in transfer cases.

"Transfers are not only a major bone of contention, but are also believed to have triggered the events leading up to the murder of Gadadharananda. Temple

sources peg the current rate of a transfer at Rs.20 lakh to Rs.25 lakh. About a month before his kidnapping, Gadadharananda reportedly had switched loyalties from the Acharya to the Dev faction to become the trust chairman. By 'winning' over Gadadharananda, the Dev group broke the Acharya majority on the trust.

"In his first meeting as chairman last April, Gadadharananda had stirred a hornet's nest by broaching the delicate issue of transfers of Kotharis, aiming at appointing persons aligned with the Dev group. But the decision could not be taken because one member was absent. The Acharya faction meanwhile, tried to raise objections, but Gadadharananda was in no mood to relent.

"On the same night, Acharya Ajendraprasad, the powerful head of the Vadtal sect and the eighth descendant of the Lord, came rushing, cutting short a visit to Nashik to prevent Gadadharananda from getting the transfers cleared in the next meeting. But the swami still did not budge. About a fortnight later, Gadadharananda was kidnapped and reportedly done in.

"Acharya Ajendraprasad, one of the CBI suspects who has been informally interrogated several times, denies any role in the Gadadharananda episode."

Acharya Ajendraprasad had not only murdered Gadadharananda but is also unashamedly enjoying the fruits of his crime. He himself had two Tata Estates, one Tata Sierra and a Sumo which were parked in front of his palatial bungalow that lurked behind a thick foliage of ornamental trees.

The CBI inquiry against the Acharya was continuing, when last reports came in. ■

FAMINE RELIEF BY MOHAMMAD TUGHLAQ (1343 A.D.) AND SHAH JAHAN (1630-32 A.D.)

"IN INDIA BEFORE THE ADVENT OF ENGLISH RULE, THE NATIVE RULERS AND THE WEALTHIER FARMERS MAINTAINED RESERVE SUPPLIES IN GOOD YEARS. PROBABLY THE FIRST TO INTRODUCE VIGOROUS FAMINE RELIEF IN INDIA WAS MUHAMMAD TUGHLAQ, WHO IN 1343 DISTRIBUTED SIX MONTHS' SUPPLY OF GRAIN TO THE INHABITANTS OF DELHI, MADE GRANTS FROM THE TREASURY FOR FARMING AND WELL-DIGGING AND UNSUCCESSFULLY ATTEMPTED TO INTRODUCE COMPULSORY LABOUR. SHAH JAHAN, WHO IN 1630 MADE EXTENSIVE DOLES OF FOOD AND MONEY AND REMITTED TAXES, INITIATED THE EXTENSION OF RELIEF TO RURAL DISTRICTS. IRRIGATION WAS THE MOST IMPORTANT PREVENTIVE EFFORT AGAINST FAMINE IN THIS EARLY PERIOD."

(Frank A. Southard, Jr., *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, vol. VI under 'Famine', 1949)

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS THANKS BRITONS IN 1898 FOR ORGANISING FAMINES OF PURCHASING POWER IN INDIA

In general the Congress did not take interest in any issue that affected the lives of the masses in India.

They met annually and demanded all sorts of things that interested the elite in India, like raising of the age of admission to ICS examinations, fixity and permanance of land revenue settlements, holding of examinations simultaneously in England and India for Indian Administrative Services, etc. etc.

The classic case of Famines of Purchasing Power was provided by India from 1765 to 1947, when foodgrains were being exported on a massive scale, when warehouses, godowns and *mandis* were full of foodgrains within the country and when **85 million poor Indians were killed by the British policy of deprivation of purchasing power.** The Indian National Congress which projected the worldview of the compradors actually thanked the British people for unleashing devastating famines upon the country.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya writes in the *History of the Indian National Congress*, vol. I (1885-1935), 1935, on p. 38: "In the meantime generous aid came in aid of famine from Britain and the USA and the Congress resolved to send a £1,000 to the Lord Mayor of London to put up a Memorial in some conspicuous part of London expressing India's gratitude for help rendered. This was in 1898."

By a policy of Drain of Wealth and a strategy of Deindustrialisation, Ruralisation and Pauperisation, British imperialism was killing 85 million poor and *dalit* Indians who were former urban craftsmen working in kharkhanas attached to temples and palaces, and who had accepted sharecropping terms that spelt ruin for the farmers' families.

And the INC wants the Lord Mayor of London to erect a memorial to those who helped in organising the famines that ravaged India !

The Congress attitude which is commended by Pattabhi Sitaramayya is like that of Amartya Sen, Nobel Economics Prize Winner in 1998, who found Famines of Purchasing Power in Africa and who ascribed their cause to "lack of democracy". **AMARTYA SEN WHO WAS DEATHLESS FOUND 85 MILLION INDIAN DEATHS TO BE DUE TO "LACK OF DEMOCRACY" AND NOT BECAUSE OF BRITISH IMPERIALIST POLICY OF DEINDUSTRIALISATION, RURALISATION AND PAUPERISATION AND NOT AT ALL BECAUSE OF THE PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION NEEDED FOR THE FIRST INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN GREAT BRITAIN IN 1765-1860.**

That is why the Indian comprador is so comical. He not only sees no villains in Great Britain but actually thanks the British people for killing off the surplus overpopulation of the poor in rural India !

(contd. from pg. 11)

Opening Statement

on the part of the Indian National Congress to elect her as President of the party and as leader of the INC Parliamentary Party without her being a member of either house of parliament. The BJP, the Samajwadi Party of Mulayam Singh, Sharad Pawar, P. A. Sangma, Tariq Anwar and others are entirely correct in raising the issue of Sonia's antecedents. In fact, once Sonia is disqualified, her progeny also stands automatically disqualified. Thus Priyanka and Rahul are tarnished by their political surroundings and are entirely unfit to hold any public office in India.

Going one step further, we should enact laws that prevent Sonia and her progeny from being chairperson, member or beneficiary of any trust, public or private, that enjoys tax benefits from the State. Public money, i.e., money collected from tax-paying citizens of India, should not be available to any foreigner, once the foreigner avails of tax exemptions granted by the Indian State !

Conclusion

Sonia Maino Gandhi is not fit to be a Prime Minister of India for the following principal reasons:

1. She is an ignorant woman with no intellectual achievements whatsoever. She was an *au pair* girl or waitress in Cambridge, when she enticed Rajiv Gandhi.

2. She and her family never helped in any way the vast

underground anti-fascist guerrilla movement that flourished in Europe during the rule of Hitler and Mussolini.

3. She never condemned the fascist ideals of her father and her father's boss Mussolini.

4. She has owned and operated foreign bank accounts with commissions and other *hawala* transactions about which she has never come clean.

5. Her claim to Prime Ministership is based entirely on her dynastic connection.

6. She did not become citizen of India when she married Rajiv in 1968. She became an Indian citizen 15 years later in 1983, when her husband was being groomed for dynastic succession, and it was feared that her foreign citizenship would become an embarrassment to her husband's political prospects.

7. She has modelled herself entirely on her authoritarian mother-in-law, Indira. Sonia may be suitable as a character in an Italian comic opera, i.e. *operabuffa*, but completely out of place as PM of India.

8. She is an immensely rich woman, managing thousands of crores worth of property on behalf of the eight trusts which she heads. (MK, Nov: 96 and April 98, pp.25-27).

9. Congress sycophants have gathered round her as vultures collect around a juicy carcass. They want to share a part of the dynastic hoard and become lackeys and managers of her wealth even if only of a small portion and for a short period. ■

INFORMATION FACT SHEET
THE INTERNATIONAL ROCKET RACE PROMOTED BY THE
WORLD ARMAMENT INDUSTRY : 1994-99

SAUDI ARABIA
CSS-2(DF-3A): 2,000 kg
warhead / Range: 2,400 km

NORTH KOREA
NUDONG-1 Range: 1,500 km
NUDONG-2 1000 kg
warhead/ Range: 1,500 km
TAEPODONG-1 details not available
TAEPODONG-2 Range: 5,600 km

INDIA
PRITHVI Version-A (SS-150) 1,000 kg
warhead/Range: 150 km
Version-B: 500 kg/Range:250 km
AGNI-1 1,000 kg/Range: 2500 km
AGNI-2 1,000 kg/Range: 2500 km
AKASH (Surface-to-air) Range: 25 km
NAG (Anti-tank) Range: 5 km

PAKISTAN
HATF-1 500 kg warhead/Range: 80 km
HATF-2 500 kg warhead/Range: 300 km
HATF-3 500 kg warhead/Range: 600 km
M-11 (CSS-7/DF-11) Range: 280 km
GHAURI-1 700 kg warhead/Range: 1,500 km
GHAURI-2 1000 kg warhead/Range: Over 2000 km
SHAHEEN-1 1000 kg warhead/Range: 600 km
BAKHTAR SHIKAN (Anti-tank) Range: 10 km

CHINA
DF-3/CSS-2 (IRBM) 1.3 tonne warhead/Range: 2,800 km
DF-4/CSS-3 (IRBM) 2 tonne warhead/Range: 4,700 km
DF-5/CSS-4 (IRBM) 1-5 tonne warhead/Range: 13,000 km
DF-21/CSS-5 (IRBM) 250 KT warhead/Range: 1,800 km
DF-15/M-9/CSS-5 (IRBM) 90 KT warhead/Range: 300 km
M-7/CSS-8 (SRBM) 10 kg high explosive (HE) warhead. Range: 150 km
JL-1/CSS-N-3 (SLBM) 500 KT warhead/Range: 1,700 km
JL-2/JULANG-2 (SLBM) 700 kg warhead/Range: 8,000 km
M-18 (IRBM) HE warhead/Range: 1,000 km
DF-31 (ICBM) warhead/Range: 8,000 km
DF-41 (ICBM) warhead/Range: 12,000 km
M-11 500 kg warhead/Range: 300 km

IRAN
MUSHAK 120 CSS -unguided. 500 kg warhead/ Range:130 km
MUSHAK 160 Range: 160 km
SHABAB-1 (Scud-B) Range: 300 km
SHABAB-2 (Scud-C) 700 kg warhead/Range: 500 km
SHABAB-3 (Nodong-1) 750-1,000 kg warhead/Range: 1,500 km
SHABAB-3 (Nodong-2) 1,000 kg warhead/Range: 2,000 km
SILKWORM (HY-1) Pirouzi. 400 kg Nucl/Chem/Range: 400 km
SEERSUCKER (HY-2) 500 kg warhead/Range: not available
Some reports indicate development of a Shabab-2 based on the Korean Taepodong 2 with a range of 5,600 km.

CHALO, DUNIYA DEKHEN !

Exe. Edr.

OUR PLANETARY NEIGHBOURS

In our vast universe there are about 100 billion galaxies. Of these some 24 galaxies form a cluster around us which is called the "Local Group". Within this local Group lies the Milky Way known to us Indians as *Akashganga*.

Within the Milky Way hundreds of millions of stars rotate about its centre in a stately average period of 230 million years.

We are a spiral galaxy. The galactic nucleus is about 32 thousand light years away from the Sun. We are in one of the long spiral arms of our galaxy. The main disc of the galaxy is about 100,000 light years across and 2,000 light years in thickness. We are 16,000 light years away from the centre in one of the spiral arms.

Our local sun possesses a planetary system which is the norm in the universe. There are trillions of suns, which are average Main Sequence stars, also called white dwarfs, in this universe of 100 billion galaxies. Naturally most of these average stars possess planetary systems but the distances are so colossal that the detection of these planetary systems is very difficult.

In 1990, a satellite carrying a facility called the Hubble Telescope was lofted into the sky.

Within the Local Group of 24 galaxies we have a near neighbour. The galaxy nearest to us has been named Andromeda. It was called *Devayani* by Indian astronomers. *Devayani* is the brightest of the spiral nebulae in the universe. It is about 2 million light years away. It can be seen with the naked eye. It is apparently of smaller size than our own galaxy. Most galaxies are moving away from us. *Devayani* is one of the exceptional systems of approaching galaxies, its velocity in the line of sight being 300 kms. per second.

We are ourselves moving, along with our local sun, around the galactic centre at the rate of 250 kms per second.

A fortnight ago three large planets revolving around Upsilon Andromedae, a solar-type star 44 light years away were detected.

One light year is equal to 6 trillion miles or 9.66 trillion kilometers. Thus, our nearest planetary neighbours are 44×9.66 trillion kms i.e. about 425 trillion kms away.

POOR LITTLE QUEEN ELIZA II

Poor little Queen Eliza II deserves a wage rise !

"Britain's Queen Elizabeth II has asked for an annual pay rise of three million pounds (Rs.2.1 crores) a year, starting from 2001, the *Sunday Times* newspaper reported.

"The increase would raise the monarch's benefits from the civil list

by 12 per cent. She currently receives 8.9 million pounds (Rs. 62.3 crores) a year from the state coffers.

"Besides her income from the civil list, Queen Elizabeth II was paid 34 million pounds (Rs. 238 crore) last year for travel expenses, and the upkeep of palaces and other properties." (Source: *Indian Express*, 4.5.99).

Even if we had a space craft that could travel at the speed of light, it would take 44 years to reach the nearest planet belonging to another sun in a galaxy within the Local Group. But if our spacecraft travelled at one-tenth the speed of light i.e. at 30,000 kms per second (the speed of light being 3 lakh kms/sec) it would take 400 years or something like 25 generations of life within the spacecraft to reach our nearest planetary neighbour.

Hitherto, the maximum speed attained by spacecrafts has been in the region of 8km/sec as in the case of the Sputnik in 1957. The minimum escape velocity needed for getting out of the earth's gravitational field is 11 kms/sec.

All in all, it appears that the nearest planetary system that may possibly support life or a system that already has intelligent life resident upon it, is so far away that no travel between the two possible life carrying planetary systems is conceivable at the currently attainable velocities of spacecrafts. Thousands of generations of humankind will have to be passed within "shuttling spacecrafts".

In short, the only possibility is that we send messages to and from these possible planetary systems at the speed of light or at velocities approaching such rates.

Since such goals are virtually unattainable and appear unrealistic let us leave them to sci-fi writers.

LET US CONCENTRATE ON THE SIMPLE TASK OF CREATING A PARADISE ON EARTH !

(See Back Cover) ■

Once upon a time, Old Labour Party leaders like Keir Hardy and HM Hyndman had stood for the abolition of the Privy Purse to the British Crown. But New Labour under Tony Blair wants to lick the ground on which Eliza walks. Therefore poor Eliza's just demands for a wage rise will surely be met ! ■

DOW JONES PIERCES 11,000

The Dow Jones Index of the New York Stock Exchange, indicating price fluctuations on the biggest stock exchange of the world and comprising thirty of its most prestigious industrial and financial share prices, has pierced the 11,000 mark for the first time.

The world economy is in a very bad shape with crisis after crisis engulfing Latin America, South Korea and other Asian Tigers, and most recently, Japan and Brazil. It is in the fitness of things that when the world is down, things should be looking up in the commercial capital of the Benighted States of America.

We are forcefully reminded of the apt lines written by John Dos Passos in *Nineteen Nineteen* about the house of Morgan:

Wars and panics on the stock exchange,

*Machine gun fire and arson,
Bankruptcy, warloans,
Starvation, lice, cholera and*

typhus:

Good growing weather for the house of Morgan.

(We had reproduced these lines in an earlier issue of *Mankind*, Feb. '97).

Since the world is doing so badly, and millions are crying out in pain, it is bound to be wonderful for American capitalists. They are rejoicing in New York.

Incidentally also smaller celebrations are going on in London, Paris, Berlin and Milan. Stockbrokers are jubilant the world over.

We don't know about lice, cholera and typhus. Perhaps we could replace the trio with AIDS, tobacco induced lung cancer and alcohol-induced heart ailments!

Proudhon's precept that "PROPERTY IS THEFT" has been literally exemplified by the Americans who coolly massacred hundred and ten million Red Indians to acquire the

properties that they are bidding and counter-bidding to push up the Dow Jones index on the New York Stock Exchange. That is why in Diego Rivera's famous mural for the New York School of Social Sciences, the Rockfellers, the Carnegies, the Morgan - Rothschilds and the Du Ponts were shown to be drinking and dining off the ticker-tape! We have no personal animus against the New Yorkers. We wish them joy! Let them bask in the sun whilst NATO bombs Kosovo to soft pulp. After all excesses committed by the ruling classes are going to impel inquiry and propel the world towards a revolutionary denouement. Therefore let us shout with John Dos Passos:

Wars and panics on the stock exchange,

**Machine gun fire and arson,
Bankruptcy, warloans,
Starvation, AIDS, Lung
Cancers and Cardiac Arrests:
Good growing weather for
American Capitalism. ■**

OIL PRICES AT A HIGH

Oil prices are climbing record heights since the last two months and Jardine Fleming India Broking Ltd., analyst Sandeep Dhingra, said:

"Our net import figure, including crude and products, could

go up to \$7.9 billion from the existing \$5.9 billion.

"International crude prices have risen by \$6 to over \$16 per barrel in the past two months, driven by oil output cuts by the OPEC. Prices

hit 25 year lows below \$10 a barrel in 1998.

"Our trade deficit will widen to \$8.25 billion in 1998/99 (April-March) from \$6.37 billion in the previous year." (Source: *Indian Express*, 4.5.99) ■

ANNOUNCEMENT

Subscribers of *Mankind* are requested to note that the next issue of *Mankind* will be a joint number Vol. IV, 10 / 11, Jul-Aug, 1999.

The last few issues of *Mankind* have been slightly delayed and often we managed to post them only in the third week of the month. The inconvenience is regretted, but our team is a very small one. We will try to pull back and restore the posting schedule to the 1st week of the month, so that *Mankind* subscribers get their copies by the middle of the month, as soon as we can.

**THE HIDDEN STORY OF THE CORRUPT DEALS THAT LED TO
ADMIRAL BHAGWAT'S OUSTER**

GORSHKOV With the de-commissioning of *Vikrant*
YEAR: 1993 in 1997 and the imminent retirement of
VALUE: Rs. 2,100 *Viraat*, the navy needs a replacement
crore for refit, like carrier. While the Government has
sum for air wing dilly-dallied with the project to build
NUMBER: One one at Kochi, the navy is eyeing the
Gorshkov, a relatively young carrier
retired by the Russian Navy.

155 MM TOWED / Three-part deal; replace the barrels of
SP ARTILLERY 750 155 mm medium artillery guns by a
YEAR: 1986 155 mm barrel; make up for the 500
VALUE: Estimated more Bofors guns that never came; and
at Rs. 2,500 crore a self-propelled (SP) 155 mm artillery
NUMBER: 1,500 system to give armoured columns the
(approximately) punch they need.

MIRAGE 2000 Forty Mirage 2000s that came in the
YEAR: 1997 '80s provide air defence for Delhi.
VALUE: Rs. 1,800 Plans to manufacture the aircraft in
crore but Rs.600 India never took off. The Mirage2000
discount asked for is a good fighter but not in the Su-30s
NUMBER: 10 league. With problems in Russia, the
deal is seen as an insurance for the fu-
ture.

A-50 AWACS AIR- CRAFT An aircraft with a Radar fitted on its
YEAR: 1988 fuselage is a formidable force-multiplier
VALUE: Rs. 2,520 since it can look far into enemy skies
crore for the air- and track aircraft in their bases as well
craft as cruise missiles in flight. It will
NUMBER: Four synergise the capabilities of fighters
like the Su-30MKI.

ADVANCED JET TRAINERS Report after report has recommended
YEAR: 1983 the purchase of the AJT since pilots
VALUE: Rs. 900 have been compelled to train on the
crore for the air- MiG 21U, an unforgiving and danger-
craft ous aircraft for rookie combat pilots. A
NUMBER: 66 fighter trainer aircraft has weapons
systems and doubles up as a close-
support fighter.

S-300 PMU-1 BATTERIES Will replace obsolete surface-to-air
YEAR: 1995 missiles. The system can detect sev-
VALUE: Rs. 6,100 eral targets and engage them simulta-
crore. anti-ballistic nously. This is what the DRDO's
missile configura- Akash and Trishul were supposed to
tion costs more do but they have not yet reached user
trials.
NUMBER: Six

The ship comes free but refurbishing costs a packet: An MOU was signed with the Russians during the visit of Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov in December 1998. The carrier comes free. But doing it up could cost more than Rs 2,100 crore. The air wing comprising fighters and helicopters could cost a similar amount. The Sukhoi and MiG bureaus are in the running for the naval fighter to be used.

Upgrade costs the sky while the SP choice not final: Frontrunner for the upgrade is Soaltem, an Israeli company, but at Rs. 4.2 crore per gun, it is too expensive. DRDO's claim to make a 155mm Bofors clone being considered. South African T6 turret mounted on an Arjun chassis heads the shortlist for the SP gun deal but the British, Russians and Slovaks are also in the race.

Cabinet approves but price quoted must come down: Government suspects that some insider information has encouraged the French to hold out at unacceptable prices. The MOD is also examining a proposal for getting 10 more aircraft which could form an entire new squadron would be useful if Su-30MKI deliveries are delayed.

MOD approval through but political decision needed: The IAF proposal is to acquire the Russian A-50 derived from the Il-76 fitted with Israeli electronics. The Cabinet will carefully think this through because there will be pressures from the US on India not to acquire such so-called force-multiplier systems. A DRDO prototype system ended in a tragic crash last year.

The final decision could come 'within months': Air headquarters is full of smiles even though the Cabinet has yet to give its approval. Indeed, the IAF has itself yet to evaluate new proposals. With the British Aerospace Hawk out of the running because of their post-Pokhran embargo, the MiG-AT seems to be the frontrunner. The Czech L159 could emerge as a dark horse. But, as they say, there is many a slip 'twixt cup and lip.

Officially 'deferred' due to political considerations: Concern over a DRDO proposal to configure the S-300 into an anti-ballistic missile system using Israeli electronics has stymied the project. That could lead Pakistan to enhance its ballistic missile force. One report says that two batteries have already arrived. China has acquired 12 batteries to protect Beijing.

(contd. on next pg.)

(contd. from previous pg.)

T-90 TANKS The Arjun MBT's problem have compelled the army to seek its '90s main battle tank from the Russians again. The T-90 has low weight, small size, powerful weapons and high mobility. It also has a new automated fire-control system. Older T-72s are to be upgraded.

KRIVAK CLASS CRUISERS In 1997 India signed a deal for the supply of three modified Krivak or Type 1135.6 ships over the next four years to replace retiring ships. The lack of orders for new ships from the Indian yards in the '90s created a gap that has to be filled through imports.

Cabinet approves deal on army's recommendation Summer trials are expected to take place this year. The army does not foresee problems since the tank is a successor to the T-72M which has served India well. It has rejected the contention made by former prime minister H. D. Deve Gowda that another derivative, the T-72S, is a superior and cheaper option.

If all goes well the first ship will arrive in 2002: Disquieting reports from Russia suggest that this deal, along with many other high-profile Indian projects, may be in trouble because of mismanagement of funds by Russian companies, including the yard which handles this contract.

(Source: *India Today*, 8.3.99)

INFORMATION FACT SHEET

JAYA SCAMS

Colour TV Scam: Arrested briefly in December 1996 for allegedly receiving a Rs. 8.53 crore kickbacks from TV manufacturing firms. Case before Special Court.

Tansi Land Case: Accused of misusing position as CM to acquire 3.1 acres of land for Jaya Publications from Tamil Nadu Small Industries Corporation. Witness trials on.

Pleasant Stay Hotel Case: Charged with exempting the Kodaikanal hotel from Hill Area Development Rules. Witness trials on.

Disproportionate Wealth: Under investigation by Vigilance Directorate for alleged acquisition of over 100 properties and assets worth Rs 66.65 crore. Case before Special Court.

Granite-quarry Scandal: Accused of receiving Rs. 39 crore for granting quarry licences to private exporters. Under investigation.

US dollar Scam: CBI still probing money-laundering charges against Jayalalitha receiving a birthday cheque of \$300,000 from Bankers Trust.

Income-tax irregularities: Chargesheeted by the Economic Offences Department for concealing income of Rs. 1.04 crore in 1993-94 from tax authorities. Inquiry on.

Meena Advertisers' Case: Allegedly waived Rs. 2 crore rights fee to be paid by the agency to the government during the 1995 SAF Games. Under investigation.

Coal-import Scam: Accused of causing a loss of Rs. 6.5 crore to the government in the import of 20 lakh tonnes of coal from Australia for TNEB. Probe still on.

Grape Scam: Allegedly earned a tax free Rs. 60 lakh from '87-'93, through sale of grapes grown on a 30 acre Secunderabad farm, where IT evidence show no grapes have been grown till '97. The farm had also not been in her possession until '91.

Foreign Accounts: Documents indicating Jaya and associates have Rs. 600 crore invested in tax havens, including Switzerland, Cayman Islands, Canary Islands and Luzano.

Source: *India Today*, April 12, 1999, p.20

HAWA KA EK JHONKA

KASHMIR IS MORE EQUAL THAN OTHER STATES OF THE INDIAN UNION AND RAZAKARS ARE TRUE INDIAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS: BASU

● Jyoti Basu has just come out with his *Memoirs* which makes one reviewer write:

"One may justifiably wonder as to what to make of this leader whose political career was built on half-a-century of anti-Congressism, but who now sees the only hope for the country in the Congress." (Ashish Chakraborty in *Indian Express*, 2-5-99).

The turncoat Basu was born in 1914 and has been the Chief Minister of West Bengal since 1977.

He was very unhappy with his left wing which prevented him from becoming the Prime Minister of India in 1996, and with Sonia Maino Gandhi for brushing him aside in 1998. The second time around, the CPM had overwhelmingly agreed to Basu's name being projected as PM for the same United Front that had earlier promoted HD Deve Gowda and IK Gujral as Prime Ministers.

However India was spared the tragic exercise that would have made a man the Prime Minister of the Third United Front, who had been a former collaborator of British imperialism (1941-45): a former betrayer and police agent during the 1942 Freedom Movement; a promoter of Pakistan (1941-47); and a former ardent supporter of the Razakars of Hyderabad who resisted the Indian army (1948).

Basu with Surjeet has become a great "secularist" and supporter of a further partition of the country. He wants Kashmir to have greater rights than any other State in the Indian Union, since the feudal relic Hari Singh forever decided on a "Special Status" for Kashmir and the brain-washed, Edwina - enamoured Anglophile dalal Jawahar consented to UN interference in Kashmir.

Basu believes that ground realities have changed to favour the Congress but does not think that the

ground realities can change to repudiate the legacy of Maharaja Hari Singh, Viceroys Mountbatten and deluded dalal Jawaharlal Nehru. ■

NAUKARSHAH WITH PRINCELY WEALTH

● The Income-Tax department has assessed the income of former Tamil Nadu Minerals Limited (TAMIN) Chairman and Managing Director, A.N. Dyaneswaran, IAS, at Rs. 41 crore. The department has asked him to pay a tax of Rs. 25 crore.

"The former bureaucrat who was compulsorily retired by the Tamil Nadu Government, had received the money as illegal gratification while awarding licences for mining contracts to various companies.

"When the Income-Tax department raided his premises, they found many slips which mentioned survey numbers of the area, the acreage, amount paid, and were marked one-third and two-thirds. The amount, the details of which were written in his own handwriting on the slips, totalled Rs. 39 crore, and the department inferred that one-third was the money retained by him and two-thirds went 'else where'.

"The IT department could account for the one-third money from searches conducted in Dyaneswaran's premises. The IT believed that he was close to AIADMK general secretary and former chief Minister J.Jayalalitha. Dyaneswaran had no explanation to offer for the slips which were in his own letterhead and in his own handwriting.

"Dyaneswaran also explained that the cash found in his office during the raids were donations to the Tamil Nadu Basketball Association.

"With regard to the jewellery recovered, he explained that most of it belonged to his mother, who had retired as a civil surgeon in the early 1970s. However, she had paid no IT assessment. Dyaneswaran stated that she had got the jewellery from her husband

Namasivayam. Dyaneswaran has also so far not paid any money as tax."

"Meanwhile, the department is also making enquiries about a villa in Paris, France, reportedly owned by Dyaneswaran." (*Indian Express*, 3.5.99) ■

COLONIALISM DIES HARD IN INDIA!

● On Monday 3rd May 1999 Courts in England and Wales, by order of the Lord Chancellor's department shed some of the jargon that had for centuries clouded legal transactions and began to use a language that people could understand.

"Hardev Singh, former secretary of SCBA had in 1973, moved a resolution asking for the term 'Lordship' to be done away with.

"Incidentally the former chief justice of the Delhi High Court, Rajinder Sachar, had lobbied for such a move even earlier. 'In 1971- I was at the time a judge in the Delhi High Court - I had written to the chief justice of the Supreme Court, arguing for discarding the expression, 'your lordship.' A little later, the Supreme Court had also passed a resolution on the need to do this.

"Sachar points out that in no democratic country is such a term used. In the US, judges are addressed as 'your honour' or 'sir'." (*Indian Express*, 3-5-99).

It is typical *dwija* double speak!

The Supreme Court judges record the need to reform but they don't do it!

Their conscience is clear. They have recorded the need to reform.

But the rottenness remains. ■

BOFORS WON'T GO AWAY

● New documents have surfaced in the Bofors imbroglio, when Rajiv Gandhi parted with Arun Singh, "choosing to defend the Bofors contract rather than follow the advice of his old-time friend."

Arun Singh, Minister of State for defence wrote a note to K.C.Pant, then Defence Minister, on June 10th, 1987:

"It is my understanding that the (Swedish) national audit bureau has confirmed unequivocally that payments have been made and I stand by my

statements in the Rajya Sabha that such payments are grossly violative of all stated policy as communicated to and understood by both Bofors and the Swedish Government. It must therefore follow that we as the Government of India must pursue this matter to its logical conclusion. and

"The logical conclusion", he said, "was to inform both the Swedish Government and the company that unless they give us the information we want, we will have no alternative but to cancel the contract".

"In my view we must be prepared to go to the extent of cancellation because our very credibility as a government is at stake and what is worse, the credibility of the entire process of defence acquisitions is also at stake."

Gandhi's handwritten reply to Arun Singh, dated July 15, 1987 "was knee jerk reactions and stomach cramps will not serve any purpose." (*Indian Express*, 2.5.99) ■

NO GROUND BENEATH HIS FEET

● Salman Rushdie who is a suitable candidate to join the ranks of charlatans like Vikram Seth, Jyoti Basu, Shekhar Gupta, Amitabh Bachchan, and Rahul Bajaj, has come out with a fascinating characterisation:

"Q. What is the *Ground Beneath Her Feet* about?

A. I always said that my subject is everything. It's as much material as I can get in to my work. It is not India or England, or family or loss or migration or transformation or cosmopolitanism." (*Times of India*, 25-4-99)

Since Salman Rushdie prefers the magic realistic style borrowed from Latin America, his writing is so turgid and involved that it is almost totally unreadable. As he puts it himself:

"I keep telling myself, one of these days I must write a clear short book."

MANKIND INTENSELY DISLIKES THIS POMPOUS RICH BRAT WHO PRETENDS TO HAVE PRODUCED "WRITING SUPERIOR TO THAT IN ANY INDIAN LANGUAGE DURING THE LAST FIFTY YEARS!"

WE CAN ONLY SAY THAT WE ARE NOT WAITING FOR THE

"SHORT CLEAR BOOK THAT RUSHDIE HAS PROMISED HIMSELF. THERE IS NOTHING TO WAIT FOR! IT IS ALL CHARLATANISM, COMPOUNDED, MULTIPLIED, CHURNED, RECONCOCTED AND VAPOURISED!■"

A SUITABLE CONFESSION

● Vikram Seth, the millionaire NRI author, has come out with a strange confession:

"I have never read my books from beginning to end after I have finished writing them." (*Indian Express*, 2-5-99). Since the books are finished only when Seth has finished writing them, the confession actually means that *he has never read any of his books from end to end.*

He of course displays good sense and taste, because the books are quite unreadable!

Seth wrote *The Golden Gate* in doggerel. Next he wrote a voluminous *The Suitable Boy* which was so long-winded that it exceeded in length all the five and half novels of Jane Austen on which it was modelled. Seth's latest is *An Equal Music* which is pure cacophony!■

THE POOR PAY FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF BEING ROBBED BY THE RICH

● Sucheta Dalal who first came into the limelight by exposing the Security Scam perpetrated by Harshad Mehta and gang has come out with a new revelation:

"The new telephone tariffs which became applicable on May 1 have socked ordinary telephone users an incredible four blows --- a hike in rental charges (from Rs. 190 to Rs. 250); reduction in free calls (from 150 to 75); increase in call charges (from Rs. 0.80 paise to Rs. 1 - 1.25 per call); and finally the reduction in call time from five minutes to three minutes. **The last bit - the reduction in call time alone is equal to a hike of anywhere between 268 per cent to 105 percent.**

"Yet newspaper editorials have without exception focussed exclusively on the reduction in long distance and international call charges and have praised the TRAI's new tariffs which benefit large corporate users.

"The question is where are the consumer groups? The long silence of consumer organisations reflects the state of consumer activism.

"The protests of consumer groups against the telecom tariff hike have largely been ignored, even by TRAI. This is a symptom of this problem.

"Consumer groups around the country are now getting together to step up the pressure and even file litigation. Last Friday, the Consumer Guidance Society of India, United Consumers of India and the Bombay Telephone Users Association called a press conference to voice their protest against the hike in telecom charges and to announce their plan of action which, if necessary includes litigation against the hike. A few days earlier, the Mumbai Grahak Panchayat which with 18,000 members, is the largest voluntary consumer organisation in the country, has written to the prime minister and the telecom minister protesting against the 'harsh and unjustified hike in telecom charges'. The Grahak Panchayat, in its latest protest has focussed mainly on the incredible 265 percent increase in tariff through the reduction in the call pulse rate from five minutes to three.

"Telecom Users Group of India -- an all India body headed by former Videsh Sanchar Nigam Ltd. Chairman T.H. Chaudhary -- have also protested against the hike. This group has pointed out, with statistics that 50 to 60 per cent of phone users have their STD/ISD facilities blocked and have no benefit from the cut in long distance charges. **The TRAI proposal benefits a mere 0.5 million subscribers while it adversely affects a huge 17 million.**

"It is probably for the first time in India that corporate consumers and the affluent classes are given huge concessions, and ordinary users are socked with draconian and extortionate increase in the costs." (*Indian Express*, May 9, 1999).

It is a scandalous state of affairs! In poor India, the poor pay for the privilege of being robbed, oppressed and exploited by the native big business houses, by the NRIs and by the MNCs.

THE INDIAN POOR PAY FOR THE PRIVILEGE OF BEING ROBBED BY THE RICH.■

JANE ON AGNI III

●The prestigious British journal which acts as the spokesperson for the world armament industry, *Jane's Reference Weekly*, has come out with a country defence profile on India:

"Together with the just test-fired two-stage, solid fuel, 2,000 - km range Agni - II, designed to carry nuclear warheads, Agni-I already test-fired three times, and short range surface-to-surface missiles Prithvi one and two, surface-to-air Akash and Trishul missiles, and to-be-acquired Russian 300V anti-tactical ballistic missiles, the under development Agni III will form India's Minimum Nuclear Deterrent (MND). Agni - III with 3,500 km reach is capable of engaging targets deep inside China." (*Indian Express*, 7-5-99)

Elsewhere in this issue we are publishing data on the missile race that is on between India, Pakistan, China, Iran, North-Korea, and Saudi Arabia. The above may be taken as a further comment. ■

TURKMENISTAN AND AFGHANISTAN SHOULD BE MADE ASSOCIATE MEMBERS OF SAARC

● *Mankind* has for long advocated a complete re-orientation of our foreign policy. *We must give up the Nehruvian style of "preaching morality, ideals and ethics" to world leaders. We must concentrate entirely on immediate economic issues of accelerated development.* We must cease interfering in any matter which is not of immediate economic benefit to the poor people of India. In fact we should exclusively concentrate on developing trade and commercial relations with our neighbours and **only residual economic relations with the West as would serve our developmental needs.** As a corrective to the Nehruvian nonsense which has gone on for the last half century, for the next five years at least we should stop expressing any opinion about any political issue in the world.

We do not have the economic strength to enforce our advice on anyone! Let every country in the world look after its own interests and let us look after our narrow selfish economic and

development agenda.

That is why we should concentrate upon the ambitious two billion 1,280 kilometres long gas pipeline, project that is being discussed between Turkmenistan, Pakistan and Afghanistan.

A high level tripartite meeting was held in Islamabad on 29th April 1999.

The plan envisages that the pipeline will start from Daulatabad in Turkmenistan and after running through Afghanistan will end at the Pakistan town of Multan, barely 200 kms from the Indian border.

WE MUST DEMAND THE IMMEDIATE EXTENSION OF THIS PIPELINE TO BATALA ON THE INDIAN BORDER.

The envisaged pipeline is of 48 inch diameter with an annual output of 20 billion cubic metres of gas.

Our links with the old USSR were pretty strong. Since Taliban - occupied Afghanistan and US-friendly Pakistan are likely to be hostile to our intervention, we must employ whatever leverage we have in Turkmenistan to ensure that the pipeline ends not in Multan, West Punjab, but at Batala on the Indian side of the Punjab border or at Ganganagar in Rajasthan.

We should simultaneously try to persuade both Afghanistan and Turkmenistan to join SAARC as associate members. Pakistan is already a full member of SAARC and should have no objection to an expansion of SAARC! ■

NOT SANGH PARIVAR BUT LIQUOR MAFIA!

●The All India Federation of Organisations for Democratic Rights (AIFODR) has stated that the Sangh Parivar was not involved in the recent rape of four runs in Jhabua in M.P., nor was the motive for the attack communal. "The attackers appear to be part of a criminal gang linked to the liquor mafia and a local Congress leader". (*Times of India*, 1-5-99). ■

LAW MAKERS ABOVE LAW AND LIVE BEYOND INCOME

●Members of Parliament are habituated to living beyond the law and beyond their incomes. The Mahanagar

Telephone Nigam Limited (MTNL) has just discovered that sitting MPs of the dissolved 12th Lok Sabha have chalked up dues of **Rs.3.2 crores** over the last 13 months and Rajya Sabha MPs owe another **Rs.1.6 crore**. **Another Rs. 8 crore** is the carried forward outstandings from the previous Lok Sabhas.

The MTNL is currently fighting a Public Interest Litigation in the Bombay High Court relating to recovery from MPs (*Indian Express*, 1-5-99). ■

ENDLESS CBI INQUIRY

●This is the middle of 1999. The CBI is still probing the payment of kickbacks to Indian middlemen and foreign companies in the **Rs. 420 crores HDW submarine deal of 1987**. It has just informed the Delhi High Court that some fresh information about the scam was recently sent to the Government of Germany and Switzerland as sought by them. (*Times of India*, 1.5.99) ■

NEO-COLONIALISM HAS NO SHAME

●United States shamelessly admitted on 30.4.99 in Washington that Indian charges of Pakistani aid to Kashmiri militants *were credible*.

As usual in spite of this admission US tilt towards Pakistan continues (*Indian Express*, 1-5-99). ■

WHITE DEEDS OF THIEVERY

●The Metropolitan Museum in New York which has been long known as the repository of stolen art, just returned a stolen 14th century Buddha statue last year to the Archaeological Survey of India.

This year a 10th century stone sculpture of *Krishnajanam* stolen from a MP museum in 1968 is being returned. The statue has been valued by the *New York Times* as worth \$ 100,000 in the international market or about Rs.43 lakhs. The statue was stolen in 1968 from a museum in Dhubela in MP (*Times of India News Service*, 1-5-99).

Some years ago a Nataraja idol of the Chola period stolen from Tamil Nadu was returned to India after a protracted court case. ■

GOLD ONCE AGAIN IN THE LIME LIGHT

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

We are extremely sensitive to neo-colonial treachery and trickery in relation to Third World economies.

In the last few months a number of Central Banks of the world have been preparing to sell off their Gold Reserves. The Bank of England has announced that some of its currency Reserves in gold will be replaced by foreign currency assets split roughly 40% in US dollars, 40% in Euros, and 20% in Yen. (*Times of India*, 11-5-99).

Recently three important developments have occurred which affect the gold prices the world over.

- The UK treasury which holds 715 tonnes of gold as reserves, wants to bring down its gold holding to 300 tonnes thus selling off 415 tonnes of gold.

- The Swiss National Bank is also in the process of a legislative procedure which will enable it to sell 1300 tonnes out of its 2590 tonnes of gold reserves.

- The International Monetary Fund is in the process of selling 311 tonnes of its own reserves.

Thus in the coming months the gold market will be flooded with 315 + 1,300 + 311 = 1,926 tonnes of gold. Naturally, the price of gold has come down too, to around \$285 per ounce.

We give alongside a graphical picture of gold prices from 1834 to the present.

From the time of our Rigvedic Pastoralist society of 6000 B.C. India has enjoyed a trade surplus with the world which necessitated constant importations of gold.

As Francois Bernier noted in his *Travels in the Mogul Empire* : AD 1656-1668, 1914, p202 :

"It should not escape notice

that gold and silver, after circulating in every other quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up, lost in some measure, in Hindustan."

Just as there were complaints in the time of Pliny, the Elder about loss of precious metals to India, similarly East India Company was faced with local opposition in England which complained of the continuous drain of treasure to India. We had written in our October 1997 issue:

"India continued to be a sink of precious metals. Van Twist writing on the wealth of the kings of Hindustan says that although there were no gold or silver mines in India, large quantities of both were imported from foreign countries, and it was forbidden to export them. (Brij Narain, *Indian Economic Life*, Lahore, 1929, pp.56-7) 'India is rich in silver.. writes Hawkins. 'For all nations bring coyne and carry away commodities for the same; and this coyne is buried in India and goeth not out.' (*Ibid*, p57). Terry estimates that 'an Indian ship returning from the Red Sea was usually worth two hundred thousand pounds sterling most of it in gold and silver.' (*Ibid*). He adds, 'Many silver streams runne thither as all rivers to the sea, and there stay, it being lawful for any nation to bring in silver and fetch commodities, a crime not less than capital but to carry any great summe thence.' From England alone India imported in 50 years from 1708 to 1757 twenty-two million pounds worth of bullion. (Balkrishna, *Commercial Relations between England and India*, 1600-1757, *op. cit.*, p. 208) Only a fraction of the large imports of specie was used for coinage, the rest went into private hoards and manufacture of jewellery".

At the beginning of 1997 the aboveground stocks of gold in the world

were 1,32,300 tonnes. South Africa produced about 495 tonnes of gold followed by the US 329 tonnes, Australia 289 tonnes and Canada 164 tonnes. World production in ounces (1 tonne = 32.15 ounces) is given in a table as part of March 98 article which we have reproduced here.

Since India produces hardly 2 tonnes of gold per year, our insatiable demand for gold is almost entirely met by imports.

01. In 1997, we imported 7,36.7 tonnes costing us \$ 7.41 billion and in calendar 1998, we imported 8,15.0 tonnes paying out \$771 billion. The cost was \$ 10.65 million per tonne in 1997 and \$9.46 million per tonne in 1998. The price per ounce had already come down between '97 and '98 by 11.23%. Of the total stock of gold in the world, the official GOI estimate is that India owns 9,500 tonnes.

Another recent estimate is that : "India owns 1/4 of the world's gold of 1,22,400 tonnes". (N. Chandramohan, in *Times of India* of 9.3.99.)

D. R. Pendse in his booklet *The World of Gold*, 1997, writes:

Some commentators think that the stock of gold in India is close to 30,000 tonnes.

'Whatever be that stock, the annual imports are valued at US \$ 6 billion. We spent about US \$7 billion on imports of crude oil and petroleum products in 1997 and 1998.

Another way of looking at it is provided by *Economic Survey* (1998-99) Table 7.2 (b) Share and Percentage change of major imports item VI.16 which indicates that the gold and silver imported into India were of the value of 2.5% of the total in 96-97 and 7.2% in 97-98 (total imports were Rs. 1,38,920 in crores in '96' - 97 and Rs. 1,51,553 in crores in '97' - 98). Thus imports of gold and silver were worth Rs. 3,473 crores in '96' - 97 and Rs. 10,912 crores in '97' - 98.

Of the total stocks of gold in the world about 32,800 tonnes were held by the Central Bankers.

The RBI is at present holding \$ 3 billion in gold.

Whilst D. R. Pendse's estimate is of the Central Bankers' holding of 32,800

tonnes, ex-RBI governor S. Venkitaramanan estimates the holding by the Central Banks of the world at only 18,000 tonnes. (*Times of India*, 16.5.99) There is a nearly one and a half year gap between Pendse's estimate of Dec. 1997 and Venkitaramanan's estimate of May 1998. Could it be that the Central Bankers of the world have disposed off 14,000 tonnes of gold in just 18 months between Dec. 97 and May 99?

Anyway, all over the world the Central Bankers are selling off gold as we have shown at the beginning of this article. U.K., Switzerland and IMF are currently planning to offload nearly 2,000 tonnes of gold.

As per the last budget, we have placed gold on the open general license and also announced a Gold Deposit Scheme. It is not necessary to examine the details of this scheme when the inherent value of gold is being questioned by the world.

According to S. Venkitaramanan:

"When we consider the future of gold, we have also to reckon with the phenomenon that the actual cost of production of gold has been going down sharply over the years. Indeed, new methods of mining and extraction are reported to have brought down the cost from \$ 250 per ounce in 1991 to \$201 in 1997 although gold producers acting as a cartel have kept up their realisations through 1998 - 99. But this cannot hold for too long. The situation does not augur well for the price of gold remaining high" (*Times of India*, 16.5.99)

So what is the upshot?

The world's Central Bankers are selling off their stocks of gold.

THE FIRST THING THAT WE WOULD LIKE TO DEMAND IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD ISSUE IMMEDIATELY A STATUS PAPER ON THE INTERNATIONAL GOLD SITUATION.

Secondly, the Ministry of Finance must urgently launch an Education and Enlightenment Drive.

For centuries our people have accumulated gold. We had a surplus trade balance, which the world was forced to liquidate by exports of gold to India. Our pastoralist past has predisposed us towards a form of asset that is compact, that does not corrode and that which is easily transportable. In India quite a few poor people hold their entire lives' savings in the form of gold.

Over the last 200 years of British colonial rule, the craze for gold was promoted both by the blocking of economic growth and by diversion of wealth to unproductive uses (land mortgage, moneylending and jewellery)

The British also mulcted the poor in India by promotion of vast smuggling networks, that were based on Dubai and Singapore. The internal price of gold was pegged at a rate that utilised the desperation of the people of India to cheat them of their lives' savings.

Another aspect that needs immediate attention is that of hallmarking. Every buyer of gold in India should be certain of the purity of his purchase (See *MK*, Jan-Feb 1996).

We had a very sad and humiliating experience in the last days of Chandra Shekhar's government in 1990. It was made once again clear to us that gold must be pledged by the RBI to our foreign creditors and further that this gold must be actually transported to London as guarantee for our pledge.

(Our semi-colonial status became absolutely clear at that time.)

Once again we seem to be approaching a crisis. This time the crisis is not about our gold holdings or about our ability to meet our obligations. This time the crisis is about the inherent value of our gold reserves.

Since the cost of production is about \$ 200 per tonne and the current market price is \$ 280 per tonne the spread is around \$ 80 to take care of transport and insurance costs plus the middleman's commission. This margin is certainly excessive at around 40% of basic value.

However it should not happen that the world totally withdraws from the gold market and we in India remain wedded to a depreciating asset. IT SEEMS THAT WE SHOULD PUT MORE AND MORE OF OUR INTERNATIONAL RESERVES IN SDRS AND OTHER INSTRUMENTS RATHER THAN IN A DEPRECIATING ASSET LIKE GOLD.

Of the Current RBI - held total reserves of \$ 32.54 billion, \$ 2.91 billion are held in the form of gold (*Times of India*, 11.5.99).

02. The *World Bank Report* 98 - 99, table 15, pp. 218 - 9 gives data on gross international reserves held by 133 countries of the world. This reserve amounted to \$912, 194 million in 1980, and \$27, 816, 319 million in 1997. If we take the average price of gold as \$ 300 per ounce and at about \$ 10 million per tonne, and if the total gold reserves held by Central Bankers of the world are only 18,000 tonnes, as reported by Venkitaramanan, then the value of this gold stock would be \$180 billion. Thus, the total world reserves are nearly \$ 28 trillion, and \$180 billion would represent an insignificant portion, less than 1%.

However double standards prevail in this bourgeois world. European Central Bankers would like to dispose off their gold reserves and at the same time insist that India must back up its obligations by pledges of actual gold holdings by the RBI and that too they must be transported in London as Chandra Shekhar was compelled to do in early 1991.

Thus, it is obvious that we will be taken for a ride by the G - 7 and the OECD. Taking advantage of the craving for gold in India, they will force India to invest its limited wealth in a depreciating asset. At \$ 200 per tonne cost of production the market price can only fall further from \$ 280 per tonne, to \$ 250 per tonne and still lower.

The central bourgeois principle is not to be just and fair but to rob as much as one can from the poor Indian, for whom gold has always glittered!

We reproduce below the article on gold which we had published in our March '98 issue, as the article seems to sum up the situation quite neatly.

GOLD SMUGGLING PROMOTED BY BRITISH IMPERIALISM !

AN INFAMOUS RECORD 1834 - 1989

The London Bullion Market Association (LBMA), which fixes gold prices with very fine details, twice every day, issues a list of approved refineries. These refineries handle much of the gold that is annually produced in the world. That is why the central market place for gold is neither the producing centres, nor the consuming countries, but the imperialist control points, where gold is refined to the purity and standards laid down by the LBMA, and these alone qualify for "good delivery" in transactions.

Thus the LBMA standards form a self-perpetuating system. The London Association prescribes the standard for "good delivery" and therefore, gold produced the world over, must move through the London market in order to attract the stamp of "good delivery".

D. R. Pendse writes in December 1997 : "A top executive of the LBMA, whom I happened to know from earlier years, was recently in Delhi to participate in an international gold conference. He explained the LBMA functioning, only to leave me wondering, why much of it could not have been developed in India itself."

Exactly ! Continuance of LBMA dominance in "free" India is a Colonial-Comprador legacy and anomaly !

As we have suggested in our writings on the Pastoralist Mode of Production in Indian History, the lure of gold in India is millenia old. Our Vedic Pastoralist culture needed a store of value and a medium of exchange, which was compact, easily transportable and conveniently divisible. Hence gold and silver, though not mined in the country to any significant degree, were imported from all over the world.

The imports were facilitated because of the perpetual favourable balance of trade, that India enjoyed from times immemorial till the beginning of the 19th century AD

As Francois Bernier noted in his famous *Travels in the Mogul Empire, 1636-38* : "that gold and silver, after circulating in every quarter of the globe, come at length to be swallowed up, lost in some measure, in Hindoustan. Of the quantity drawn from America, and dispersed among the different European states, a part finds its way, through various channels, to Turkey... and a part passes into Persia... and the productions of the Indies are equally necessary to Turkey, Yemen, and Persia. Thus it happens that these countries are under the necessity of sending a

portion of their gold and silver to... Hindoustan by the vessels that arrive every year, in the mausem, or the season of the winds, at those celebrated ports, laden with goods from that country. Let it also be borne in mind that all the Indian vessels, whether they belong to the Indians themselves, or to the Dutch, or English, or Portuguese... bring back to Hindoustan from those countries a large quantity of the precious metals." (pp. 202-203)

We must emphasise that export of bullion from India was prohibited upto the end of the 18th

century, whilst imports of precious metals were always freely permitted. An Indian ship returning from the Red Sea usually brought in gold and silver worth 200,000 pounds sterling. "From England alone, India imported in fifty years from 1708 to 1757, 22 million pounds worth of bullion." (Balkrishna, *Commercial Relations between England and India, 1600-1757*, p. 208)

Nobody knows how much gold has been sunk into India. The official guess is that the total stock of gold in India is about 9,500 tonnes. Some commentators think it is close to 30,000 tonnes.

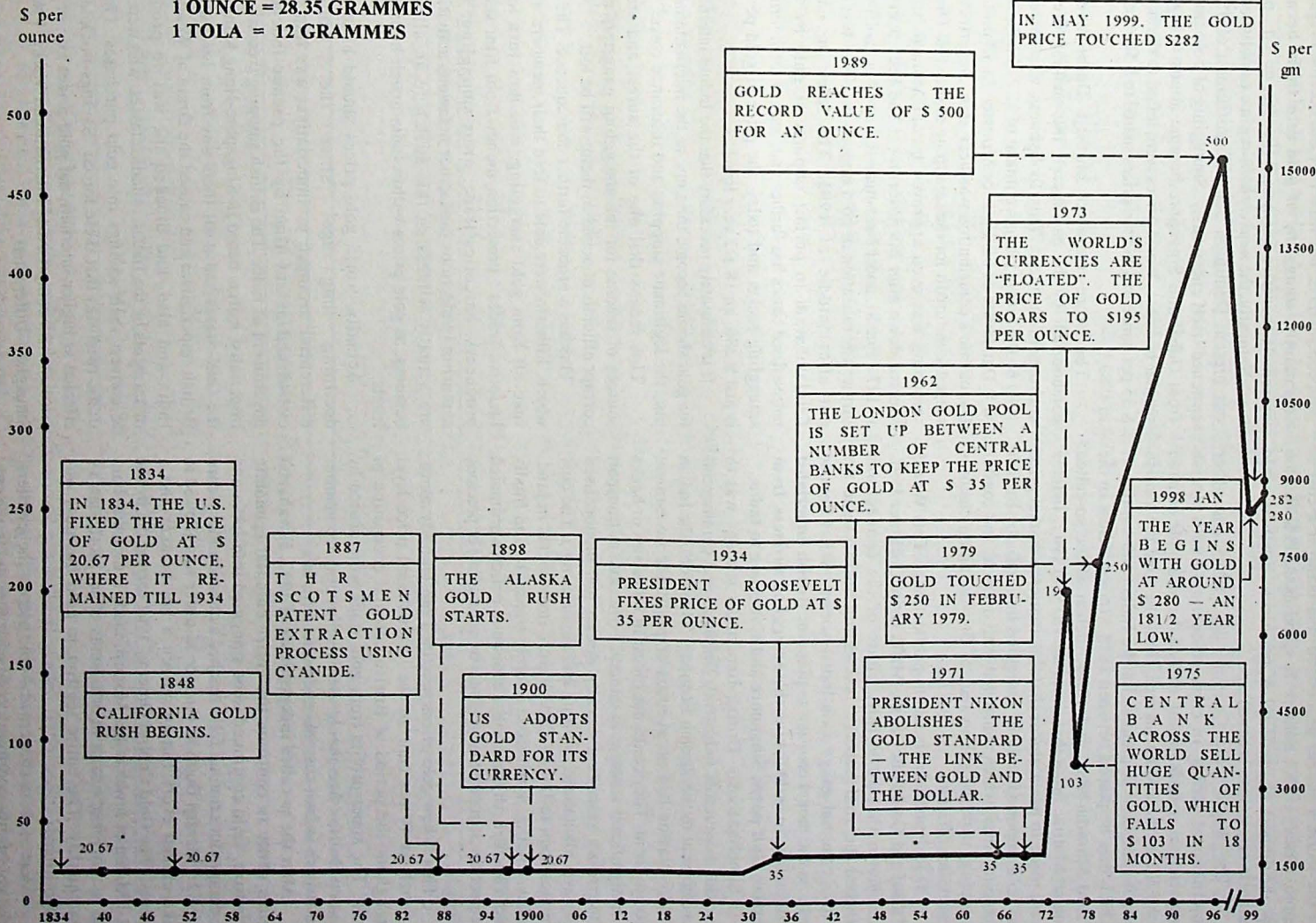
The import of 407 tonnes in 1996, or about 17 per cent

WORLD GOLD PRODUCTION (in 000 ounces)					
	1965	1967	1969	1970	1996
South Africa	33,521	33,520	34,314	35,289	17,325
U.S.S.R.*	5,518	6,253	6,857	7,131	
Canada	3,956	3,250	2,792	2,566	5,740
U.S.	1,871	1,738	1,901	1,913	11,515
Ghana	828	837	775	772	
Australia	963	879	767	677	10,115
Philippines	478	539	627	661	
Rhodesia	597	549	527*	549*	
Japan	291	278	270	281	
Columbia	350	283	240	221	
Mexico	237	181	198	198	
Brazil	170	189	194	198	
Zaire (Congo)	99	169	193	194	
Korea, North *	176	176	176	176	
Nicaragua	217	195	132	126	
Peru	115	105	144	114	
India	144	112	120	114	70
Fiji	120	122	100	114	
Total **	49,651	49,375	51,046	51,956	82,110***

* Estimate ;
 ** Includes other minor producers ;
 *** equal to 2,346 tonnes (1 tonne = 32,151 ounces)
 (Encyclopedia Britannica — 1983, Vol. 8, p. 234, D.R. Pendse, *This World of Gold*, and *Gold Policy and The Mafia Grip*, December 1997)

GOLD : RISE AND FALL : 1834 - 1999

1 OUNCE = 28.35 GRAMMES
1 TOLA = 12 GRAMMES



of the world's annual production was made at a cost of approximately US \$ 6 billion (We spend about US \$ 7 billion on the import of crude oil & petroleum products, gold imports are a close second).

The World Gold Council, the LBMA and other International bodies, in close co-operation with British Imperialism, systematically milked the insatiable demand for gold in the Indian market, from the time the British established their supremacy in the Indian sub-continent, which may be placed between 1818 : Indian defeat in the Third Maratha War; and 1860 : defeat of the so-called Indian Mutiny. From that time, say 1835, to 1947, Indians were made to pay a higher than International market price for gold imported and / or smuggled into India by British shipping lines, which controlled both overseas and coastal shipping, with the connivance of British Indian customs and police officials.

D.R. Pendse in his recent publications : **This World of Gold and Gold Policy & the Mafia Grip**, December 1997, has shown that he is fully aware of the connections between the gold import / smuggling business and the grip of criminal gangs upon Indian society. **What Pendse lacks, is the moral courage to pinpoint British imperialist criminality in establishing this smuggling business, from Persian Gulf ports, Singapore and Hongkong to India.**

Simultaneously, British Imperialist strategy was to deny all avenues of industrial, financial and commercial development to the Indian Economy. Therefore, the Indian middle classes had no avenues of profitable investment open to them. They could not invest in industries or banks or in significant ventures in mineral extraction, or transport (the British Managing Agency Houses had monopolised railways, plantations, mining and engineering). The only avenues open to Indian Capital were investments in land, money-lending, small-scale internal transport, and finally gold. Thus British imperialist economic policies promoted the pent up demand, that was met by smuggling of precious metals !

That is how gold prices remained substantially above, as much as 40 per cent, of the international price level throughout the period of British colonial occupation of India. The super-profits from gold trade were shared by London Bullion Merchants, British Shipping Companies and British Indian customs and police officials.

After the so-called independence of 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru chose to continue the entire colonial economic structure. Gold continued to be smuggled into India and the comprador criminal folly reached a climax under Nehru in 1962 ! Morarji Desai as Finance Minister was allowed to make almost every Indian citizen a law-breaker and a criminal. The Gold Control Order of 1962 carried out by the PM-FM duo of Jawahar and Morarji, made it illegal to hold gold in any form, except in ornaments of not more than 14 carat quality. The entire legitimate gold business was dubbed illegal.

"Most of those concerned — the people, the jewellers, or the goldsmiths continued to do what they did in the pre-

gold control days; but what they did became illegal: most importantly, **smuggling of gold into India became an extremely lucrative business.**" (Pendse, *op. cit.*, p. 9)

Naturally, the *naukershahi* regime established under our present Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49, enriched itself enormously. Smuggling of gold into India from Dubai and Singapore became almost a legitimate regular business. World prices were lofted to the sky. From \$ 35 per ounce in 1962 the prices soared to \$ 500 per ounce in 1989 !

The stern moralist Morarji Desai had been bamboozled by the bureaucrats into making illegal the entire gold business. This foolishness was corrected in 1989 by the Janata Dal government of V. P. Singh, who had M.R.Dandavate as his Finance Minister. In all probability, Dandavate's contribution was near zero. Nevertheless, he reaped some credit for the scrapping of the Gold Order, the scrapping was even approved by old Morarji, who had sobered down after his government had been overthrown in 1979. Finally, under Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh, further liberalisation of gold imports by NRIs was carried out after middle of 1991. The latest measure by Chidambaram to permit imports of gold by 8 or 9 nationalised banks has further undermined the international smuggling racket and today, the price of gold per ounce is just \$ 280, an 18 1/2 year low !

It is absolutely necessary that the Indian internal price for gold should become the same as the international price, plus the legitimate shipping and insurance costs.

This means that one of the surest and steadiest sources of income for the smuggling gangsters and the corrupt officials attached to them, will be lost.

This has a probable further consequence. The gangs, which, hitherto were able to feed their members with the rake off from gold smuggling, will now turn to other lucrative trades : protection money from film stars and producers; narcotics trade; arms smuggling; booth-capturing in elections; and other nefarious activities. We are actually witnessing this switch to an alternative business, as gold prices within India match international levels.

Actually, world gold prices should have started declining long ago. Since the "Smuggling differential" arranged by imperialism was likely to be overturned at any time by the pseudo-independent government of India. The British shipping tycoons and the imperialist mafias based in Singapore-Hong Kong and in the Gulf States had it all their way from 1860 onwards. British imperialism had caused the Drain of Wealth from India and also, had blocked the way to productive investments by the Indian middle classes, who were forced to convert their savings into gold purchases. The final ironic twist was that these forced "Savings-in-Gold" were effected at higher international gold prices i.e., at Indian prices, which comprised of International Market Price plus Smugglers' Differential.

However, neo-colonialism succeeded in pushing up

GOLD DEMAND IN KEY MARKETS WORLDWIDE (tonnes) 1993-1999

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	99-1st Quarter
<i>Gold Price(\$per Ounce)</i>	359.2	384.1	384.1	387.9	331.3	294.1	286.7
India	405.4	415.0	477.2	507.8	736.7	815.0	192.4
Pakistan	37.2	37.2	43.2	53.7	81.8	98.2	31.0
North Asia	420.0	433.8	427.3	374.4	406.9	314.6	87.6
-China	223.0	224.3	223.9	210.7	213.8	191.6	55.0
-Taiwan	160.6	162.0	160.2	123.3	142.1	91.2	25.3
-Hong Kong	36.4	47.5	43.2	40.4	51.0	31.8	7.3
SE Asia & S. Korea	340.8	410.7	445.7	455.1	318.4	-111.0	83.2
-Thailand	96.0	124.0	116.0	106.0	14.0	19.0	9.5
-Singapore	21.4	23.9	24.1	20.0	22.4	14.1	2.8
-S. Korea	90.0	106.0	121.0	125.5	114.4	-162.5	29.5
-Malaysia	22.4	24.8	29.6	33.6	30.1	14.4	3.4
-Indonesia	80.0	97.0	119.0	129.0	92.5	-40.0	23.0
-Vietnam	31.0	35.0	36.0	41.0	45.0	44.0	15.0
Saudi Arabia	200.0	174.0	193.1	184.9	199.0	208.4	63.1
Egypt	56.2	63.2	67.0	75.7	97.6	104.4	31.5
Gulf States	82.3	87.9	104.6	118.0	142.2	144.2	42.6
-UAE	32.7	33.2	39.2	52.6	71.6	79.4	26.6
-Kuwait	20.0	24.9	35.1	34.7	35.4	33.0	7.4
-Bahrain	7.2	7.4	7.8	8.0	10.6	10.5	2.7
-Oman	16.5	16.5	16.5	16.5	17.8	15.3	4.6
-Qatar	6.0	5.9	6.0	6.2	6.8	6.0	1.3
Turkey	159.9	80.8	139.4	153.0	202.0	172.0	28.0
Latin America	94.0	97.0	85.0	100.0	107.0	119.0	20.5
Brazil	52.0	50.0	54.0	59.0	58.0	64.0	10.5
Mexico	42.0	47.0	31.0	41.0	49.0	55.0	10.0
Europe	294.3	279.0	294.9	272.9	292.8	308.6	55.0
-Italy	125.0	116.1	110.0	105.3	110.8	112.1	16.7
-France	45.2	44.4	50.4	47.5	49.4	59.5	14.1
-Germany	85.5	77.4	88.3	73.0	73.8	70.2	12.3
-UK	38.6	41.1	46.2	47.1	58.8	66.8	11.9
USA	295.5	300.6	314.7	331.7	362.0	428.4	116.7
Japan	219.6	212.1	272.1	152.2	107.1	110.4	36.0
WGC Mkt Total	2605.2	2591.3	2864.2	2779.4	3053.5	2712.2	787.6

Some data may have been revised since the last issue of Gold Demand Trends

N.B. Figures may not add due to rounding

Source: World Gold Council, Gold Demand Trends, No 27, May 1999

Definitions: 1. Tonnes (mt) Metric ton = 1,000 kg or 32,151 ounces of fine gold

2. Council cannot track between 15% and 20% of global demand where it is not represented (Africa, parts of Latin America, the former Communist bloc and parts of the Middle East) or where demand is difficult to measure (investment demand in Western markets and dental demand)

OFFICIAL HOLDINGS OF GOLD - IMF STATISTICS

<i>Fine gold, oz million</i>	1995	1996	1997	1998	1998	1999
<i>End of period</i>	year	year	year	November	December	January
All countries	909.8	907.6	890.6	881.1	965.3	941.6
of which Industrialised countries	755.0	748.2	732.5	724.6	809.0	788.0
International Financial Institutions	204.4	202.0	199.1	197.1	109.8	133.8e
Total	1114.2	1109.6	1089.7	1078.2	1075.1	1075.4e

e= World Gold Council estimate

Note: The table covers all countries reported on in "International Financial Statistics" (IFS), published by the IMF. The item "International Financial Institutions" includes the IMF, the European Monetary Institute and the Bank for International Settlements. The statistics exclude: 1) a few member countries, 2) non-members of the IMF and 3) investment and monetary agencies of various national governments.

Indian demand and consequently, the International market price to unprecedented levels. The Indian bureaucracy was persuaded by their imperial masters to pass the Gold Control Order in 1962, which made all trade in gold and even possession of over 14-carat gold illegal.

It is like prohibiting the consumption of liquor and furthermore, even the possession of a certain quality of intoxicating alcohol liquid ! Such "Prohibition Policy" as imposed by Gold Control Order of 1962 by Jawahar Nehru and Morarji Desai had never been attempted or even contemplated anywhere else in the world.

Ultimately, neo-colonial control of our Gold Market and Gold Policy collapsed because of its own excesses. The mafia in India, which was ultimately related to the international mafia based on Singapore, Hong Kong and Persian Gulf states, and which was in turn chained to the World Gold Council that was a Den of Thieves, went too

far. Criminalisation of politics and corruption of the bureaucracy became obstacles to capitalist growth of the Indian economy, even under the aegis of WB, IMF and WTO !

Finally, V.P. Singh and Madhu Dandavate began dismantling the Gold Control regime from 1989. This signalled a collapse of the world gold market from around \$500 per ounce in the 1980s to the present price of \$280 / 290 per ounce in February 1998. The NRIs have been allowed to bring gold of any quality they like as baggage and some 8 or 9 nationalised banks have been allowed to import gold at the international price.

Unfortunately, economic growth within the country is still blocked by neo-colonial and comprador forces. Therefore, the pent-up demand for gold remains and mafia control over our capitalist, politician, bureaucrat nexus is still operative !

MANKIND

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CRICKET ELITISM

I provoked a violent reaction to Victor Banerjee's sarcastic remarks when I commended the article to my circle of upper income bracket acquaintances whom I meet everyday as I take my evening walk in the Pune University campus. The reaction was that, 1) Victor Banerjee was too sarcastic; 2) it was only a game; 3) the matter should be taken not too seriously.

I am appalled at the insensitivity of our upper caste higher income strata which does not understand and does not wish to understand the sentiments of the mass of our people.

That is why, on the one hand, we are immersed in the current multifaceted crisis, and on the other hand, the moral indifference of our elite to charlatanism that flourishes in our midst.

Cricket is a very expensive game. Apart from village and taluka schools, most town colleges would not be able to afford either a proper cricket kit or a suitable playing ground. As a cricket ball costs between Rs. 25 and Rs.75, how many balls would an average sized school need in a year, if cricket were accepted as a national game? (We give on the next page, a table of cricket kit items at current costs).

As we have implied in the above lines, only our public schools in big cities catering to the higher income families can afford to play cricket. Should we encourage a sport which is by its very nature oriented to serve the pleasure and interests of our elite? Do we need a sport which divides the people?

What is wrong with *kabhadi*, *kho kho*, *atya-patya* or even football, rugby, and volleyball or athletics which need very little equipment and can be introduced in every school of the entire country?

British imperialism consciously developed certain sports in order to cement the ties that unite an upper class elite group, whilst keeping a mass of spectators passively amused and entertained. There are a hundred expressions and idiomatic phrases which strengthen the bonding that is done by cricket for the benefit of the upper classes.

We do not wish to go for too deep in the sociology of sport but it is an absolutely undisputed fact that cricket is an upper class passtime. Till a few decades ago Gentleman playing cricket were distinguished from Players who were lower class professionals. There used to be an annual event in England, called Gentlemen versus Players. The professionals used to be looked down upon. The latter were not even admitted into the club houses of extremely prestigious clubs like MCC. Now of course the lower classes have had their revenge. Only professionals can afford to play cricket apart from the high class gentlemen!

Be that as it may, cricket is a part of our comprador legacy. In the last decade or two, cricket professionals have been encouraged to become multimillionaires by promoters of TV serials who are usually "great industrialists affiliated to MNCs." An unbearable hype has been created around our cricket stars just as it has been built up around movie stars, pop stars, designer dress models and many other varieties of riff-raff. The cricketers sponsored by soft drink - sellers, white goods-hawkers and cosmetic dealers have actually gone to the extent of fixing matches and have been embroiled in commercial rivalries between business houses.

There is a lot of money to be made out of brain - washed consumers and every capitalist bandit wants to

increase his share of the total stake by any means.

It is a frightful and frightening world of commerce, make believe and hysteria.

Even liberal bourgeois elements are repulsed by the scene, as Victor Banerjee proves. No decent middle class citizen can approve of the sheer chicanery and sham sportsmanship that masquerades these days as cricket mania.

Cricket is a part of a larger syndrome. You cannot demote cricket from the esteem that it enjoys among little children today without banishing English from our educational system, without eliminating the sycophancy with which foreign tourists are treated, without attacking the media hype that surrounds every high profit and high priced consumer product manufactured by MNCs and their Joint Ventures, without aborting the Structural Adjustment Programme of the Terrible Trimurti, without breaking out of the Debt Trap into which we have sunk, without refusing to devalue the rupee any further and in short without breaking the stranglehold of the neo-colonialist powers upon us, our children and our culture.

Cricket is only the tip of the ice-berg. At least Rs. 400 crores have been sunk by advertisers in commercials connected with the promotion of the World Cricket Cup.

This is not all! Actually thousands of crores are at stake in the whole network that surrounds cricket mania.

It is not a simple innocent game played by street children with a tennis ball and a plank! I will not go so far as to say that the entire comprador edifice of rotten politics, rotten economics and rotten culture rests upon the three cricket stumps, but I will say that the day cricket loses its star status in India, will be the beginning of the end of the dark night that has descended upon our country.

Cricket is merely the pleasant pretty face of the ugly reality that is India, that is Bharat!

WORLD CUP: CLASH OF GIANT COLONIAL DUMMIES

Victor Banerjee

Cricket is just the sort of game that lazy, slovenly, slothful, overfed morons can play and the best of the bunch emerge as deified heroes. It smacks of selfishness, narcissistic flamboyance, and like politics and the movies, cricket is a way to amass a fortune without ever going to college.

Those idiots in flannels (now more garishly painted and festooned with ads) have such a sense of self-importance and achievement, it would be impossible to explain to them, and millions of mediocre athletes aspiring to become like them, that no matter how Dalma & Co. might connive to increase the number of participant countries in a World Cup, the game remains the diet of British colonies only --- and one that more and more people are puking over.

Men have sports like rugby, football, hockey and everything from hurdles to the pole vault. Pampered sissies with snotty noses and oily hair who are kicked around the playing fields of Eton and bullied at boarding schools by their peers can ascend from their doldrums and become wielders of the willow.

Gosh, what a farce. How I, and an embarrassed Indian nation, agonised to watch Kapil (earlier a fine sportsman) being dragged onto the field as a virtual liability propped up on crutches of false national pride, till he finally broke the world record and received cheques, cars and free rail passes --- for air-conditioned travel no less --- for him and the family for a life-time. I watched Kumble blush Bangalorely as every other bowler bowled outrageously so yet another ineffectual milestone could be crossed by an Indian.

As for the current cricket hype, I have everything that anyone has to offer. I have a Hongkong Bank Credit Card to flash, an ANZ card to insure and ensure my travel. And somewhere, somewhat amidst all the trash in my living room, in the 17 crates of Pepsi, 44 cartons of Britannia goodies, is bound to be my ticket to a final that shall see a **clash of giant colonial dummies** (for England hasn't a hope in hell).

I sit by the door. The damn door-bell that usually made my home sound like Grand Central Station stays silent. I scream at every relative and friend who dares telephone and kept all lines clear for a last minute call to say I have won a free ticket to the final. It's all a bloody scam. No damn ticket. Only credit card bills to settle for friends who insisted on counting the chickens at five-star joints, before they were hatched. The World Cup of miseries overfloweth in our land.

CRICKET IS A RICH MAN'S GAME

1. Each Bat Rs. 1,000/- to 35,000/- (range according to quality).
2. Leather Ball Rs.45/- to 120/- (double stitch variety).
Tennis Ball Rs. 25 to 75/-
3. For Set of 6 Stumps Rs.260/-
4. Each pad Rs.350/- (Five needed for each match, a pair for batsmen, a pair for Wicketkeeper).
5. Thigh Guard Rs.80/-
6. Per pair batting gloves Rs. 500/- to Rs.1,500/- (Semi Leather: Fabric Leather).
7. Each Front Guard Rs.50/-
8. Helmet (Steel) Rs.750/- to Rs.2,000/-
9. Single Set Dress Rs. 1,800 - (approximate)(Chemise+Pant+Cap).
10. Each chest guard Rs.140/-
11. Boots per pair Rs.3,000/- (also Rs.800/- to Rs.1,600/- ordinary quality).
12. Each Wicket Keeper's gloves Rs.1,200/- to Rs.1,500/- (pure leather).
13. Pitch preparation Rs.25,000/- (minimum) (once in a year).
14. Per week Roller hiring cost Rs.800/- per week.
15. Score Board -
16. Umpire honorarium per match Rs.200/- to Rs.500/- (ordinary competition).
17. Ground Maintenance - Rs.2 lakhs (per year) (Fergusson College).
18. Coach Fee Rs.15,000/- p.m. (age group between 10 -17 at Nehru Stadium).
19. Basic pay Rs.2,275/- p.m. Coach / Instructor physical Education FC (Outdoor Events including cricket).
20. Miscellaneous Medical equipments: Bandage/paincellular spray/clot balm Rs.500/- per box (only for cricket).

* A team consists of 12+3-15 members (three spare members).

* Aforesaid information based on an enquiry with S. Sonawane (Director, Gymkhana Section, Fergusson College).

* Further Information can be availed from Nehru stadium (Pune Cricket Board).

* Cost of a team preparation minimum would be (without helmet, gloves, W. keepers) Rs.17,000/- (dress) + Rs. 2,000/- (2 bats) + Rs.200/- (2 balls)+Rs.400/- (6 stumps)+ Rs.1,000/- (guards) = Rs. 20,600/-

And Lord, if it be Thy will, let his cup pass. Jesus sweated uttering those words in the garden of Gethsemane, while I burn in the Garden of Eden in Calcutta. In almost 2000 years, never were greater words spoken. Never has the Cup loomed over our heads with a greater need for total abolishment or annihilation.

As for me, I am still hoping the game gets banned. Support me y'all, please. I beg you for the sake of our children and the country's future. Above all, for the future of genuine sports. ■

25 TURNING POINTS IN WORLD HISTORY : X

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

Dr. Vinayak Purohit.

Europe is the smallest continent of the world, barring Australasia (Australia and New Zealand). With 10.4 mln. km² it is just about 8% of the world area and at 0.17 bln. population it is just 11% of the world population (See our article on *History of Modern Asia* in our last issue, May 1999, pp.30-49).

We would also like our readers to refer to our contribution "Birth of European Nations", in *Mankind*, March 1998, pp.55-6

Etymologically Europe means an "area of darkness or of sunset", just as Asia means "The region of light and sunrise". This was how Europe came to be known, especially to the Seljuq Turks, who established the Sultanate of Rum in eleventh century A.D.

The Seljuqs were the ruling family of Oguz (ghuzz) Turkmen tribes, whose invasion of western Asia in 11th century A.D. marked the beginning of Turkish power in the Near and Middle East. The Islamic Seljuqs maintained a war-like nomadic existence in the 10th century. By 1092 the dynasty had established control over most of Iran, all of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine. Early in the twelfth century, its short-lived empire began to dissolve into numerous principalities. Of the smaller states, the Sultanate of Rum in Anatolia which survived until the late 13th century, became the foundation of the modern Turkish state (*Ency. Brit.*, 83 edn., *Micropedia*, Vol. IX, p. 44).

Europe was not only insignificant in extent, but was very poor in natural flora-faunal resources. Only about one-third of its area was cultivable and most of the region was covered with snow for many months in a year. Not only all the important

cereals, but also the grape, the olive and the fig were importations from South Asia. Similarly cattle, horse, goat, sheep, pig and chicken were all imported from Asia and India, as were sugar, silk, cotton and all sorts of other useful pulses and oil seeds (see, *Uniqueness of Geography, Climate and Cultigens Creates Indian Primacy in History*, *Mankind*, Dec. 98 pp.8-20).

Two further handicaps hindered European development.

One: Europe represented a genetic blind alley for the human species. In the remote past, when mankind had evolved only upto the Hunting, Fishing and Food Gathering (HFFG) stage, *Homo neanderthensis* had become concentrated in Europe (See map in Leakey, *The Origin of Humankind*, 1994, p. 91, see also James Hughes' Ed. *World Atlas of Archaeology*, 1988, pp. 26-9) In Europe an admixture of *Homo sapiens* and *Homo neanderthalensis* had occurred. *H. neanderthalensis* represented a genetic blind alley and this primordial admixture and hybridisation naturally retarded European societal development

Two: Apart from the comparatively hostile climate and the genetic blind alley, Europe experienced a prolonged period of SLAVERY, which may not be entirely unrelated to the overlapping and juxtaposition of the two *Homo* species. Anyway, be that as it may, classical slave MOP subsisted for many centuries in Greece and Rome (c 500 B.C. -380 A.D.) The slaves were in a constant state of rebellion and serious disaffection of the Roman Empire, which extended from the Anglo - Scottish border to the Balkans and the Levant. The northern frontier of the Roman Empire roughly

followed the course of the rivers, the Rhine and the Danube. Many pastoralist tribes of Ostrogoths, Visigoths, Teutons, Saxons, Angles, Jutes, Alemanni, Huns, etc. roamed along the northern frontiers of the Roman Empire and in the later days of its decline, Rome was forced to pay thousands of kilograms of gold as annual tribute to the marauding frontiersmen (some data on the annual tribute in thousands of pounds of gold given in *Mankind* Apr.1999, p.29).

Ultimately, Rome extricated itself from this grip of barbarians, by transferring its capital to Constantinople, now Istanbul, in 330 AD. Constantine the Great (c 285 AD -337 AD.) was the emperor who issued the edict for toleration of Christianity and feudalised the system which had been gradually coming into prominence with the growth of the *latifundia* (large estates with manor houses where the peasants were no longer slaves but had become agrarian serfs). Thus, **Christianity was a religion of the slaves of Rome till the 4th century A.D.** and flourished mainly amongst the labouring plebians who were in their majority, probably Semites.

This is the only solution to the central puzzle of European civilisation : how come an Indo-Aryan speaking people accepted an overwhelmingly semitic religious creed? The Jews had been slaves in Egypt and in their mythology had been led out of captivity by Moses in 1400 B.C. It is likely that this fraternity of slave-Jews extended from Egypt and the Levant via Crete to the Greek and Italian mainlands.

In short the major turning points in European History which were of significance in World History, so far in our recital, are as follows:

- c 30/ 10,000 *Overlap of Homo neanderthalensis* and *Homo sapiens* in B.C. Europe, which was a genetic blind alley.
- 1,400 B.C. Semitic slaves in Egypt led out of captivity by Moses.
- 0 B.C./ A.D. Some Jews led by Jesus Christ of Nazareth accept the new creed of Christianity, which leads an underground existence in Rome and its Empire through the three centuries of the current era.

C.330 AD. Constantine shifts the capital to Constantinople in Byzantium, legalises Christianity and liberates the slaves to convert them into agricultural serfs attached to manor houses.

The next significant turning point in European History came with the organisation of about eight Crusades in 11th and 12th centuries AD by the kings of Central and Western Europe who had succeeded to Charlemagne's Western Empire that had successfully halted the Islamic advance at Poitiers in Central France in 732 AD.

As we have noted in the last issue of *Mankind*, Europe had been beset by a three pronged Islamic onslaught in South and East Europe including the Iberian, the Italian and the Balkan peninsulas. Arab-Berber armies had occupied Spain, Portugal, Southern France, Corsica, Sardinia, Southern Italy, Sicily, Malta, Cyprus, Rhodes, the Greek Archipelago and the Mediterranean littoral of Turkey and the Levant.

From the 7th century, the Arab-Berber occupation of Southern Europe had lasted till 1492, when the last Islamic kingdom of Spain, namely Grenada, fell to Christian armies.

The second prong of the Islamic onslaught on Europe was formed by the Turks beginning with the Seljuq occupation of Turkey, as outlined above, in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Ottoman Empire which had conquered all of South-East Europe upto Vienna lasted till 1919, the end of the First World War. The Ottoman armies had conquered wholly or partly the following countries in South-East Europe: Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary and parts of Ukraine.

The third prong of the Islamic onslaught had been formed by the Mongols, who were called the Golden Horde. The Golden Horde had occupied the whole of European Russia and parts of Ukraine and Poland from the 12th to the 16th centuries. Ivan IV; the Terrible (1530-84) was the first Grand Duke of Muscovy who proclaimed his independence from the Mongols.

To counter this three-pronged Islamic invasion and occupation of Europe, the European feudalists mounted some eight Crusades between the 11th and 13th centuries AD. The first Crusade was launched in 1098-99 and the seventh and eighth in 1248-54 and 1270-72. All the eight military expeditions called Crusades totally failed and Saladin the Great (1138-93) and his successors recaptured all the lands and fortresses captured by the Crusaders.

"The most pathetic episode in the long story of these expeditions was the so-called Children's Crusade which was led by Stephen, a shepherd boy of Vendome, in 1212. Witnesses told of 30,000 children of twelve years old or less. Hardship, the perils of the road and shipwreck wiped out thousands, and five shiploads were sold into slavery by unscrupulous merchants. Soon after another army of 20,000 children led by Nicolas, a German boy, met an equally disastrous end." (*Longman Illustrated Encyclopedia of World History*, 1976, p. 217).

The two Children's Crusades led by Stephen and Nicolas in the 13th century illustrate the inveterate tendency of the Europeans to degenerate to barbarism and savagery at

the slightest provocation or opportunity. The world was to witness such reversions to neanderthalic ancestry and to barbarism and savagery by the Europeans time and again as illustrated on the back cover of *Mankind* of Jan-Feb 1999. In all more than 250 million people of the world perished between:

● 1492 from which year the Spaniards devastated the Americas:

● 1765 when the Britishers instituted a Terror Regime of Famines of Purchasing Power, in India, which killed off 85 million poor Indians between 1765 and 1947:

● The toll of at least 20 million taken by the Transatlantic slave trade:

● The millions of Chinese and other Asiatics decimated by the two Opium Wars of 1839-42 and 1856-60;

● All the miscellaneous genocidal massacres in Africa, Asia, Australia and the Pacific Islands which destroyed millions of lives.

To return to our recital of the **three-pronged Islamic Invasion and occupation of Southern, South-Eastern and Eastern Europe, between the 7th and 20th centuries**, the Europeans realised very early the futility of their efforts to recapture the lands lost to Islam by feudal methods. **European feudalism was too weak, poverty-stricken and divided, to confront and resist Asiatic feudalism**. As a matter of fact, the Caliphate (632-924 AD) was the weakest of the principal Oriental feudal empires. The Indian, the Chinese, and the Persian empires were far more powerful than the empire of the Caliphate which at its height in the early 8th century included most of the arid zones of South-West Asia, North Africa and Spain.

Thus, the weakest of the Oriental feudal empires was strong enough to repulse the attacks mounted upon it by the Europeans through the Crusades of the 11th to 13th centuries. Therefore, it is apparent, that the intellectual leaders of Europe thought of non-feudal, i.e. mercantile bourgeois strategy of overcoming European prostration. We do not know how consciously the new strategy was adopted by European religio-social leaders.

Anyway, consciously or otherwise, history records that **the Italian Communes** of Florence, Naples, Sienna, Padua, Milan, Genoa, and Venice came into prominence precisely in the 11th and 12th centuries as the Crusades were failing and meeting one disaster after another.

As Marx noted in the 19th century, the Italian communes were the first manifestation of bourgeois intervention in European politics (see *Ency. Brit.*, 73 Ed., vol.6 under Communes [medieval] pp. 197-203). These Communes were spread over the Mediterranean coastlands, France, Germany, England, the lowlands, and the Iberian Peninsula. Many Rhinish and Danubian river ports joined their ranks.

The Communes demanded toll-free movement of goods and the grant of many municipal privileges, especially weekly and annual market and fair days. They manoeuvred between feudal principalities and offered allegiance to the best bidders. Thus, increasingly greater privileges were secured from the hundreds of feudal kingdoms into which North-West Europe and Iberia stood divided.

The entire process of manoeuvring and bargaining and securing of commercial privileges culminated in the formation of the Hanseatic League. 85 cities joined the League including Lubeck, Cologne, Brunswick, Danzig, Bruges, Bergen, Hamburg and Bremen. The Hanseatic League extended from London in the west to Novgorod in Russia in the east. "The league's decline was due to the exploration of sea-routes to Asia and America by which Spain, Portugal, England and Holland became superior commercial powers, to the falling off of the Baltic fishing industry, and to the political emergence of the German Princedoms" (*Longman's Ill. Ency. Of World History*, p. 395)

This brings us almost to the turning point of the so-called European Renaissance in 15th century AD, which is really a peculiar European euphemism for the commencement of the onslaughts upon the non-European peoples of the world, marked by the twin dates of 1492 and 1498, when Columbus reached the Caribbean and Vasco de Gama reached Calicut respectively.

We have already dealt with the major events of these genocidal semi-neanderthalic attacks upon the *Homo sapiens* of the world by the hybridised and bastardised inhabitants of Europe in the foregoing paragraphs.

From this so-called European Renaissance of the 15th century, looted treasures from the rest of the world began to flow into Europe that soon turned from a trickle into a torrent and a flood-tide.

The American loot was for good and sufficient reasons frittered away by Spain and Portugal in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The English brigands, who preyed upon Iberian pirates and bandits, in particular the quintet of Elizabeth I, Walter Raleigh, Francis Drake, John Hopkins and Martin Frobisher, and their successors, was a little better organised to sustain the long-term interests of the English mercantile bourgeoisie.

The first bourgeois revolution occurred in England between 1640 and 1660 when the Cromwellian Republican armies overthrew the dynasty of the Stuarts and beheaded Charles II in 1649. However the Cromwellian revolution fizzled out and the monarchy was restored in England in 1660. In 1680 the crowns of England and Holland were amalgamated under William and Mary in a so-called "Glorious revolution".

The next major event in European history was that of 1765, when the Bengal loot arrived in England and fuelled the first industrial revolution (1765-1860). The French revolution of 1789 marks another turning point in continental European history. The Napoleonic armies carried out the liberation of European serfs upto the year 1812 when Napoleon invaded Russia and created the conditions for his own downfall, which occurred in Waterloo in 1815. From the Congress of Vienna in 1830 emerged the current disposition of the balance of power in Europe (for further details see Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 1988).

Two great wars were fought in the 20th century by European nations. The first in 1914-19 and the second in 1939-45. At the end of the Second World War, European leadership of the world disappeared and USA emerged as the supreme power, challenged momentarily and militarily by the USSR.

Ultimately economic might prevailed and the USSR declined and disintegrated (1991-93).

As noted in the columns of *Mankind*, following the middle of the seventies, a Tri-Polar World has emerged (see Table 1, reproduced from *Mankind* of Jan-Feb '99 p.36).

CONCLUSION

1. European history is marginal to world history from the beginning to 1492 to 1498 when the genocidal onslaughts upon Amerindians and the Real Indians commenced.

2. The crusades were a futile and last ditch effort by European feudalism to repulse the three - pronged Islamic invasion and occupation of Europe by the Arab-Berbers, the Turks, and the Mongols.

3. The Indian Ocean had been the centre of world trade from time immemorial upto the 19th century AD

4. Europeans fought with each other and with Islamic Empire of the Caliphate (7th to 20th centuries i.e. 632-1924 AD)

5. **Unable to meet the Asiatic feudal challenge, Europe evolved a bourgeois strategy** that was pursued from the time of the Italian, Rhinish and Danubian Communes, of the 11th and 12th centuries, to the mercantile bourgeois overturns in England, Holland, and France in the 17th and 18th centuries. This was closely followed by the Italian and German Unifications 1861 and 1871 respectively.

6. **The first industrial revolution occurred in England in 1765-1860 based on the Indian loot.** This was rapidly emulated by the other countries of the Europe and USA in latter half of the 19th century.

7. The two World Wars of 1914-19, and of 1939-45 destroyed the European hegemony over the world.

8. As explained in many places in the earlier issues of *Mankind*, **a Tripolar World has emerged after 1975 (MK., Nov. '95, Aug-Sep., Nov. 1996).**

As far as History of Europe is concerned, we are appending herewith three tables with the latest data on Area, Population and GDP-PPP of East, South and North-West Europe, in absolute terms as well as proportions of the respective world totals.

Basically European culture is of the brutal and savage HFFG type i.e., Hunting, Fishing, Food Gathering.

Since the Indian Ocean was the centre of World Culture and World Trade, **Europe had the ADVANTAGE OF BACKWARDNESS till the 18th century. In 1765, the English EI Company acquired the *Divani* of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Northern Circars, an event of momentous significance in world history.**

DRAIN OF WEALTH FROM INDIA'S DEINDUSTRIALISATION, RURALISATION, AND PAUPERISATION AND THE INSTITUTION OF A REGIME OF PERMANENT FAMINES OF PURCHASING POWER FROM 1765 TO 1947 BROUGHT ABOUT A TOTAL REVOLUTION IN INTERNATIONAL POWER EQUATIONS.

Europe could not combat Asiatic feudalism in a feudal manner as the Eight Crusades of the 12th and 13th centuries AD and the victorious battles waged by Saladin the Great (1138-91) proved.

THE INTERNATIONAL FEUDAL CHAIN BROKE AT ITS WEAKEST LINKS IN EUROPE.

Europe was able to overcome its backwardness and weakness by throwing up the Medieval Communes and the Hansa League sea-ports of the 11th to 17th centuries. The mercantile bourgeois forces which had rallied behind these centres of commerce that sprung up initially on the Mediterranean Coast and later along the Rhine-Danube frontier of the Holy Roman Empire and along the Baltic and Atlantic coastlines of North-West Europe, finally achieved a breakthrough in Cromwellian England in the year 1640-60 and Napoleonic France (1789-1850).

The Renaissance (15th century) and the Age of Discovery (16th to 18th centuries) are grossly inappropriate

labels for the barbaric genocidal massacres of the peoples of the Third World carried out by Europeans from 1492 and 1498 when Columbus and Gama discovered the trade routes to the Americas and the Indies. Amerindians were massacred by firearms and disease; real Indians were starved to death in British - made Famines of Purchasing Power; Africans were enslaved and decimated; the Far Eastern Orientals were forced to smoke and eat opium; and the Australasian aborigines were genocidally eliminated in a series of campaigns that the European barbarians carried out from the 15th to the 20th centuries.

The world will be able to breathe a sigh of relief only when the European shadow on our planet has been totally erased!

Table I : DISTRIBUTION OF WORLD ECONOMIC POWER : THE TRIPOLAR WORLD : 1960 TO 2010 A.D.

REGIONS	NO OF ECO-NOM-IES	PERCENTAGE OF WORLD GDP IN PPP TERMS			
		ACTUALS			PROJECTION
		1960	1987	1997	2010
NORTH AMERICA (USA AND CANADA) (USA was over 50% of World in 1945) —	2	29.90	24.01	22.59	c.15 (\$7.5 trillion)
EUROPE (EU + FORMER USSR & SATELLITES) (Europe was about 25% of World in 1945) —	37	35.09	33.86	26.64	c.20 (\$10 trillion)
PACIFIC RIM OF ASIA a) JAPAN AND S.KOREA - 2 b) CHINA AND HONGKONG - 2 c) ASEAN - 10 TOTAL FOR PACIFIC RIM OF ASIA	14	4.17 7.39 2.47 14.03 + Taiwan	9.29 5.98 3.84 19.11 + Taiwan	9.66 12.29 5.26 27.21 + Taiwan	c.35 (\$17.5 trillion)
REST OF ASIA (INCLUDING INDIA, WHICH GESTATES 4 % OF WORLD GDP-PPP TODAY)	31	7.86	8.04	9.07	c.10 (\$5 trillion)
REST OF WORLD (CARIBBEAN, LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA, OCEANIA AND AUSTRALASIA) (Asia and Rest of World were probably 25% of World in 1945) —	90	13.12	14.98	14.49	c.15 (\$7.5 trillion) ** c.5 (\$2.5 trillion)
TOTAL NUMBER OF COUNTRIES TOTAL SIZE OF WORLD ECONOMY IN PPP DOLLARS	174*	100 = \$6.5 trillion	100 = \$23 trillion	100 = \$37 trillion	100 = probably \$50 trillion

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

** - Errors and Omissions

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

TABLE II. EAST EUROPE: CONSTITUENTS AND SATELLITES OF FORMER USSR

Country	Year of foundation of state	Area in '000 km ²	% of World Area	Population 1997 in mlns	% of World Population 1997	GDP/PPP \$ blns. 1960	% of World GDP/PPP in 1960	GDP/PPP \$ blns. 1997	% of World GDP/PPP in 1997
1. USSR (till 1991)	1917	17.075	13.12	-	-	535.825	8.25	-	-
2. Russian Federation in Europe	1547	4.419	3.40	147	2.52	-	-	618.4	1.67
3. Finland	1919	305	0.23	5	0.09	20.901	0.32	97.6	0.26
4. Estonia	1991	42	0.03	1	0.02	-	-	7.3	0.02
5. Latvia	1991	62	0.05	2	0.03	-	-	9.1	0.02
6. Lithuania	1991	65	0.05	4	0.07	-	-	16.7	0.05
7. Belarus	1991	207	0.16	10	0.17	-	-	49.7	0.13
8. Ukraine	1991	579	0.44	50	0.86	-	-	109.3	0.30
9. Moldova	1991	33	0.03	4	0.07	-	-	-	-
10. Poland	1919	304	0.23	39	0.67	59.120	0.91	246.6	0.67
11. Czech Republic	1993	77	0.06	10	0.17	27.300	0.42	117.3	0.32
12. Slovak Republic	1993	48	0.04	5	0.09	-	-	42.0	0.11
13. Hungary	1919	92	0.07	10	0.17	19.960	0.31	71.1	0.19
14. Romania	1878	230	0.18	23	0.39	18.400	0.28	96.8	0.26
15. Slovenia		20	0.02	2	0.03	-	-	24.9	0.07
16. Croatia	1991	56	0.04	4	0.07	-	-	-	-
17. Bosnia Herzegovina	1992-7					-	-	-	-
18. Serbia-Montenegro	1991					-	-	-	-
19. Macedonia	1992	25	0.02	2	0.03	-	-	-	-
20. Albania	1912	27	0.02	3	0.05	1.640	0.03	-	-
21. Bulgaria	1908	111	0.09	8	0.14	15.740	0.24	32.0	0.09
Total			5.16		5.64	698.886	10.76		4.16

TABLE III. SOUTH EUROPE : MEDITERRANEAN LITTORAL

Country	Year of foundation of state	Area in '000 km ²	% of World Area	Population 1997 in mlns	% of World Population 1997	GDP/PPP \$ blns. 1960	% of World GDP/PPP in 1960	GDP/PPP \$ blns. 1997	% of World GDP/PPP in 1997
1. Turkey (in Europe)	1453	23.8	0.02	64.000	1.10	45.914	0.71	409.7	1.11
2. Cyprus	1975	9.2	0.01	.747	-	1.162	0.02	-	-
3. Greece	1829	129.0	0.10	11.000	-	15.735	0.24	137.5	0.37
4. Malta	1964	0.3	-	.376	-	.5	0.01	-	-
5. Italy	1860	294.0	0.23	57.000	0.97	219.712	3.38	1,152.1	3.12
6. Spain	1492	499.0	0.38	39.000	0.66	81.840	1.26	617.6	1.67
7. Portugal	1383	92.0	0.07	10.000	0.17	14.287	0.22	137.6	0.37
8. Gibraltar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total			0.81		2.90		5.84		6.64

TABLE IV. NORTH WEST EUROPE : BALTIC TO ATLANTIC

Country	Year of foundation of state	Area in '000 km ²	% of World Area	Population 1997 in mlns	% of World Population	GDP/PPP \$ blns. 1960	% of World GDP/PPP in 1960	GDP/PPP \$ blns. 1997	% of World GDP/PPP in 1997	Decrease / Increase in % points over 37 years of 1960-'97
1. Iceland	1944	100.3	0.08	0.247	-	0.963	0.01	6.13	0.02	-
2. Norway	1600	307.0	0.23	4.000	0.07	19.486	0.30	105.40	0.29	-
3. Sweden	1611 97 ²	412.0	0.32	9.000	0.15	48.493	0.75	168.40	0.46	-
4. Denmark	1660	42.0	0.03	5.000	0.09	27.022	0.42	120.00	0.32	-
5. Faeroe Islands	-	1.4	-	0.047	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Ireland	1921	69.0	0.05	4.000	0.07	9.096	0.14	60.70	0.16	-
7. United Kingdom	1536 1707 1921 ¹	242.0 0.6	0.19	59.000	1.01	334.807	5.15	1,208.90	3.27	-
8. Isle of Man	-	-	-	0.072	-	-	-	-	-	-
9. Channel Islands	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10. France	1789 ²	550.0	0.42	59.000	1.01	244.114	3.76	1,280.30	3.41	-
11. Netherlands	1648	34.0	0.03	16.000	0.27	64.139	0.99	332.80	0.90	-
12. Belgium	1832	33.0	0.03	10.000	0.17	47.644	0.73	227.30	0.61	-
13. Luxembourg	-	2.6	-	0.422	-	2.161	0.03	14.30	0.04	-
14. Germany	1871	349.0	0.27	82.000	1.06	369.166	5.68	1,748.30	4.73	-
15. Austria	1919	83.0	0.06	8.000	0.13	31.556	0.49	177.50	0.48	-
16. Switzerland	1815	40.0	0.03	7.000	0.12	49.918	0.77	186.20	0.50	-
Total			1.74		4.15		19.22		15.19	-
International Comparisons										
All Europe			6.71 ⁴		12.69		35.82		25.99	-09.83
All Asia			24.20		60.79		27.26		37.92	+10.66
Rest of World			69.09		26.52		36.92		36.19	-00.73
China			7.17		21.17		7.8		12.29	+04.01
Japan			0.29		2.16		3.91		7.99	+04.08
India			2.28		16.49		4.06		4.29	+00.23
USA			6.92 ⁴		7.04		27.76		21.35	-06.40 ³
Racialist Br. Commonwealth (Canada, S. Africa, Australia & New Zealand)			14.15 ⁴		1.55		4.27		3.74	-01.53 ³
East Europe			5.16		5.64		10.76 ^{**}		4.16 ^{***}	-06.60
South Europe			0.81		2.90		5.84		6.64	+00.80
North-West Europe			0.74		4.15		19.22		15.19	-04.03
All Europe			6.71		12.69		35.82		25.99	

Note: * England merged with Wales in 1536. Scotland joined in 1707. N. Ireland became part of UK in 1921.

** Includes Undivided USSR.

*** Includes Russian Federation only.

Source: 1. *Mankind*, Nov. 1996, pp. 58-65

2. World Bank - *World Development Report*, 1998-99, pp. 190-191.

3. The Western decline is perceptible, as is the Asian upsurge. Russian collapse accounts for decline of only 6.58% points. In other words West European decline exclusively is still substantial at 4.28% points. Western European decline of 4.28% points when added to US decline of 6.41% points and to the decline in the relative strength of 4 racialist British Commonwealth countries of Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand makes the overall Western decline since 1960 of 11.23% points excluding the Russian decline of 6.58% points. Thus, the total Western decline is of $10.69 + 6.58 = 17.27\%$ points in 37 years from 1960 to 1997.

4. The European total area was only 6.71% of the world. After the 17th century Europe led by Britain seized 6.92% of the world in USA, and another 14.15% of the world in Canada, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. So that now the Europeans possess a land area of $6.71\% + 6.92\% + 14.15\% = 27.78\%$, which is larger than the total land area of Asia which is merely 22.20% of the world. ■

FOUR RATIONALISTS: TASLIMA NASREEN, ABRAHAM KOVOOR, JAYANT NARLIKAR and H. NARASIMHAIAH

Indian Atheism

We have a very old tradition of materialism and rationalism in India. The teachers of this sort were known as Charvakas and Lokayats.

Not only that! Jainism and Buddhism were two religions with lakhs of followers which did not accept the concept of God. Adherents of both these religions considered, "Man to be the measure of all things". Both considered service to mankind as the highest good. The founders of these two religions were Gautam Buddha and Nigantha Nataputa. Parsvanata, the 23rd *thirthankar* was a historical figure of c. 700 BC, who had preceded Mahavira, the 24th *thirthankar* also known as Nigantha Nataputa.

There were five teachers of Gautam Buddha whose names were Purana Kassapa, Ajita Kesakambalin, Pukudha Kasccayana, Sanjaya Belathiputta and Makhali Gosala. The last named Makhali Gosala actually founded a religion that rivalled that of Gautam Buddha and Mahavira. It was called Ajevikaism, whose monastic establishment was to be found as far south as Sri Lanka in the 4th century BC (see A.L. Basham, *The Ajevikaists*, also see K.B. Krishna, *Studies in Hindu Materialism*, 1994).

In recent times, the name of E. Ramaswamy Naicker has come to the forefront. Ramaswamy Naicker became well-known under his honorific of Periyar. (see interview with

Periyar by V. S. Naipaul in *India A Million Mutinies Now*, 1990, pp. 216-75).

Periyar Naicker founded the Dravida Kazhagam which was a part of the Justice Party of Madras Presidency in the 1930s. Later the DMK came into existence as an offshoot of DK. The leaders of DMK, C.N. Annadurai and M. Karunanidhi became Chief Ministers of the new state of Tamil Nadu. It is said that outside the Soviet Bloc, the largest number of "Professed Atheists" were to be found in the state of Tamil Nadu, who were adherents of the DK, DMK and AIADMK. These parties have been continuously in power in Tamil Nadu from March 1967 to the present May 1999, except for brief periods of President's rule in 1976, 1980, 1988 and 1991.

Interested readers may also consult, *Indian Atheism* by D. P. Chattopadhyaya, and S. N. Dasgupta *History of Indian Philosophy*, 4 vols., 1922-55.

We have selected four rationalist contributions relating to the recent period. Taslima Nasreen is a very well-known Bangladeshi woman writer who has faced severe criticism from her contemporary Islamic obscurantists. They have gone so far as to sentence Taslima "to death", though the *fatwa* remains unexecuted. Taslima has sought and found asylum in distant Sweden for the last few years.

TASLIMA NASREEN

We are publishing in this issue a communication from Shalil Ghosh about Taslima Nasreen.

It is a crying shame that Taslima had to travel to far away Sweden in order to obtain asylum. She should have been afforded a secure refuge in India and in West Bengal from her fundamentalist persecutors, who have the temerity to threaten her with loss of life.

It is shameful that Jyoti Basu, a pseudo-communist, is in power in West Bengal and persecuted intellectuals from across the border are not welcomed by his government.

I was born in Calcutta and had my early schooling in the Bhawanipur Gujarati School whose founders were my father and mother and in St. Xavier's school, Calcutta. I have been an admirer of Bengali women and the non-*bhadralok* stream of Bengali culture for the last seven decades. I particularly admire atheists especially when they are women. In an interview with the *Statesman* of Calcutta Nasreen has sharply opined that many of the things included in the *Koran* need to be drastically revised.

If we can, we will try to include a summary of her work *Lajja* in a future issue of *Mankind*.

We consider Bangladesh to be a lost opportunity. The *Muktivahini* which helped the Indian army to liberate Bangladesh from Anglo-American and West Pakistani tutelage in 1971, was formed on Indian soil, not far from my birth place on 23 Ray Street, Bhawanipur. Indian revolutionary socialists should have joined the *Muktivahini guerrillas* in large numbers and helped establish a united socialist Bengal which would have renegotiated its terms of union with India.

Alas, this did not happen! However as a non-Congress government, Vajpayee's ministry in Delhi should make it clear to the neo-colonial rulers of the world, that is to Euro-America, that it will not tolerate persecution of intellectuals in any neighbouring country and that its frontiers are always open for the reception of Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Sinhalese (both Tamil or Buddhist) and other persecuted intellectuals.

All the members of SAARC and ASEAN stretching from Baluchistan to Vietnam and Sri Lanka to Philippines should know that every freedom fighter, every nationalist revolutionary, every revolutionary dissident will find a friend in India.

We applaud the efforts of Shalil Ghosh and his friends to form a SAVE TASLIMA NASREEN COMMITTEE. We call upon all readers of *Mankind* to join this committee and support its activities by contacting Shalil Ghosh directly. (See *Idda at Nukkad* in this issue).

Two recent poems from her exile in Sweden after she came to see her mother incognito and to be at her bed-side during her last days as a cancer patient at Mymensingh.

TASLIMA NASREEN: Two Poems

Amaar Ma : 1

Ma's eyes were getting yellowish
At the end, they were like the twin yolks of two big eggs.
Stomach was getting bloated so fast, as if a huge stone had sunk inside, rapidly
Or else, may be, it was a pond full of water - will burst out just now.
Ma could not stand.
Or sit
Could not move the fingers of her hands,
Nothing at all.
Ma could not be recognised as mother, at the end.
Relatives streaming in-out from sunrise to sunset, suggested Ma should get ready by selecting a sacred *Friday*¹
As if chanting *La-Ilaha-Ilallah*²
When *Munkar Nakir*³ comes for *Sawal-Jabah*⁴, should not be disappointed.
Everything should be in a pure condition. *Room-Door*⁵, *surma*⁶ and *altar*⁷ should be near at hand.
Open-mouthed disease was galloping in Ma's body that day
Even reducing the two whiffs of strength she had at last
Eyes were shooting out from the sockets.
Dry tongue like sand-paper
Ma's lungs like limp twin balloons.
She was under immense pain -
Forehead, eyebrows wrinkled with pain
Whole house at that time telling Ma loudly to send their *salams* to *Nobi-ji*⁸
Nobody had any doubt that Ma was going to *Jannatul Firdaus*.
She will walk holding the hands of *Nobi-ji* in the afternoon.
She too will take *grape juice*⁹ and *birds meat*¹⁰
Mother had such dreams, such wishes.
Strange! Even then Ma did not want to go one step anywhere
Wanted to feed me with cooked rice and over land *birai*¹¹ with *bharta*¹² of *Taki fish*¹³ and fried *Hilsa*¹⁴
Curry of fresh crop of *jaam-alu*¹⁵
One tender coconut she wanted to get for me from the coconut tree at the edge.
Waving a hand-fan, wanted to have my hair combed by her hand, the few curling ringlets on my forehead
She wanted to spread a new bed sheet on my bed
And to make a dress for me with embroidered flowers
Wanted to walk on the courtyard bare-feet
To give support to the bent down *Kamranga tree*¹⁶ with bamboo sticks
Also wanted to sing in the *Hasnaha* garden under glimmering moonlight and
Enchanting night, it seems, never came to her life ever... ■

1. *Friday* - Muslim holy day, preferred for death
2. *La-Ilaha-Ilallah* - God is one
3. *Munkar Nakir* - *Faishita*, *Angel*
4. *Sawal-Jabah* - Last interrogation by God's representative
5. *Room-Door*, *surma* and *altar* - Preparations for the last journey
6. *Nobi-ji* - Messenger of God (*paragon*)
7. *grape juice* and *birds meat* - Funerary Feast
8. *birai* - A variety of rice

Bangladesh, before her death are given below.

She had to leave her motherland again under great secrecy as the fundamentalists of her country issued a fresh *fatwa* increasing the remuneration for killing her.

These two recent poems are from the well-known Indian Literary Journal - *DESH Bengali Fortnightly* of the *Ananda Bazaar group*, published 20.3.99. This issue of *Desh* was banned from entering Bangladesh!

Amaar Ma : 2

I know there is nothing like "next life", no *Pulserat*¹⁷
I know these are the "incantations" from religion-mongers
All those *Behast*¹⁸, "Bird's Meat", "drinks" and "pink girls".
I know, Ma will not go to any *Jannatul Firdaus*¹³ named *Behast*¹⁴
She will not walk in any garden
Foxes of the area will eat the flesh of my Ma, penetrating the grave
Spreading her white bones.
The grave-digger one day will throw that too.
Ma will vanish forever.
Even then I feel like believing that over the seven skies somewhere there is something as *Behast*¹⁴
Some place as *Jannatul Firdaus*¹³
Looking wonderful, Ma has crossed the *Pulserat*¹⁷ very easily, almost gliding
One handsome man, from whom eyes cannot be taken away
Welcoming Ma
Standing at the main door of *Behast*¹⁴
Embracing Ma, Ma melting away like butter in the warm hairy chest of *Nobi*⁹
Ma feels like relaxing in the water of the stream
Ma feels like running
From one side of the *Behast*¹⁴ to the other
Ma is doing whatever comes to her mind.
Ma is bathing.
Jumping.
Full plate of *birds meat*¹⁰ has come. Ma is eating
*Allah Tayala*¹⁶, himself has come to see Ma, walking into the garden.
Fixing a red flower in my mother's hair
Kissing Ma.
Ma has gone to sleep on a feather-bed.
Seven hundred *Hurs*¹⁷ are fanning Ma
*Geleban*¹⁸ bringing drinking water for Ma in silver glasses
Ma laughing, her whole body laughing with joy.
Living on earth she had unbearable life. Ma has forgotten.
(Even for me, *die-hard atheist*, it is comforting to think that there is some place somewhere called *Behast*) ■

9. *bharta* - Roasted mash
10. *Taki fish* and fried *Hilsa* - Two types of fish
11. *jaam-alu* - Small round potatoes
12. *Kamranga tree* - A fruit tree in Bengal
13. *Pulserat* - The bridge to the other world
14. *Behast* - Heaven
15. *Jannatul Firdaus* - Heavenly Paradise
16. *Allah Tayala* - Respectful manner of calling Allah
17. *Hurs* - Male Angels
18. *Geleban* - Angels attending on souls in heaven

Taslima Nasreen: Bibliography

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3. Bahakar Gollachut	Vidya Prakash	1992	8. Dukhabati Meye	Mawla Bros.	1994
4. Nimantran	Dibya Prakash	1993	9. Post Card Album(10)	Farhan Bilkis	1993
5. Fera	Gyankosh	1994	10. Lajja	(Various)	1993

DR. ABRAHAM KOVOOR

The executive editor did not know Dr. Kovoov personally but like Kovoov he too had a long - standing contact with Sri Lanka.

In 1942-43 when Dr. Vinayak Purohit was a young freedom fighter who had joined the 1942 movement and had been imprisoned for his activities in 1943, he had befriended a bunch of Sri Lankan Trotskyists and members of the Lanka Sama Samaj Party. We had then formed the Bolshevik-Leninist Party of India, Burma and Ceylon and more than a score of Trotskyists had been imprisoned in India for participation in the Indian freedom struggle. Four of them had actually escaped from a prison in Kandy and lived underground in 1942-43. They had been picked up in mid-1943 along with Dr. Purohit.

In the post-script to his doctoral dissertation *The Arts of Transitional India: 20th Century*, 2 vols, 1986-88 Dr. Purohit had written:

"Last but not the least, is the group of Ceylonese comrades, the Gunewardenes (Phillip, Kusuma, Robert, Leslie and Vivi), Hector Abeywardene, Colvin R. De Silva, Bernard Soysa, Doric and Vivi D'Souza, William Silva, Esmond and Nalini Wickremasinghe, C. Karalasingham, M. Coorgye, N. M. and Celina Pereira, especially Harold and Peggy Peiris, and so many others. As a group, they convinced me that Marxism could be employed creatively. Alas, they did not always use it so themselves. Be that as it may, the fact remains that almost all those named fought for India's freedom on Indian soil, and any other government of free India, with a sense of history, would have honoured them long ago. But our rulers have been too busy accumulating kickbacks and commissions in foreign bank accounts and in any case, compradors do not possess a sense of history." (*Ibid.*, p. 1175)

Obviously some fairly high placed officer in our external affairs ministry read the above lines and successfully persuaded our *naukarshahi* comprador government to make amends. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the '42 movement, in 1992, three of the persons mentioned by me, Hector, Vivi and Bernard were invited to receive the *tamra patra* of the freedom fighter at the Red Fort in Delhi.

I am extremely proud of my personal roots in Bengal and my subsequent long intellectual connections with Ceylon. Calcutta and Colombo have together played a most significant role in my life.

Rahul is an old friend and was the Resident Editor of the *Reader's Digest* when we last met in the late seventies in Bombay. He and his manager, helped me with a few Punjabi

dialogues that I needed for a character in my play *Amina Ane Teno Jamano*, a play in Gujarati which I had then written and read at a Reading Session organised by the INT.

Sometimes personal biography merges with social and political history and I would crave the indulgence of my readers for appending these brief autobiographical notes. I do not know whether I will have the time to write a regular autobiography, hence this hurried note.

DR. ABRAHAM KOVOOR

Rahul Singh

The year that has just gone by was the 100th birth anniversary of one of the most remarkable Indians of our time: **Dr. Abraham Kovoov**. Sadly, except in his home state of **Kerala, the anniversary passed almost unnoticed.**

The country's "godmen", astrologers, palmists, and the like must have felt relieved. **Superstition, Kovoov liked to say, is the religion of the feeble-minded.** Alas, India is full of superstition and of feeble-minded people, more so perhaps than any other major nation in the world. Kovoov devoted a large part of his life to exposing the tricks and wiles of those he labelled "spiritual frauds", while bravely promoting rationalism and the scientific temperament.

Son of a prominent Syrian Christian priest in Tiruvalla, Kerala, Kovoov studied and later taught biology and zoology. When he was 30, he was offered a teaching assignment in Sri Lanka, where he spent many years as a **lecturer and researcher.** He also took up the study of parapsychology and became the first scientist in the world to be awarded a doctorate in psychic and para-psychic phenomenon (by the Minnesota Institute of Philosophy). By then, he had turned into a firm rationalist and atheist.

No Takers

He concluded that "nobody has and nobody ever had supernatural powers" and that these only exist "in the pages of scriptures and sensation-mongering newspapers." He went on to state unequivocally that all those who claimed to possess psychic or spiritual powers were either frauds or mentally deranged.

He challenged anyone to "demonstrate supernatural or miraculous powers under fraud-proof conditions." The prize he offered was a considerable sum in those days: Rs one lakh. The challenge also included anybody who could "read the serial number of a sealed-up currency note, produce an exact replica of a currency note, materialise from nothing an object I

ask, stand stationary on burning cinders for half a minute without blistering the feet, stop the heartbeat for five minutes by yogic powers"

There were no takers for his challenge, which still stands. One yogi who claimed to walk on water and announced that he would do so in front of the public in Mumbai, sank like a stone when he tried to do so. He later admitted that it was an elaborate trick, which had somehow failed on that particular occasion.

Kovoor did not spare astrologers and palmists. Claiming that they hoodwinked the gullible by saying that astrology and palmistry were scientific, he offered any of them the same award if they could pick out correctly (with a five per cent margin of error) from a set of ten palm prints or ten astrological charts, whether the persons concerned were male or female, living or dead, their time and place of birth. A relatively easy challenge, one would have imagined, for any self-respecting astrologer or palmist. But again, not a single astrologer or palmist took it up.

Scientific Fact

The entire basis of astrology can be refuted, said Kovoor, by one simple scientific fact. "Astrologers who claim that every second makes a difference in the correctness of the horoscope reading, fail to make the correction for light-time relativity," he wrote. "The authors of ancient books on astrology did not even know that the sun is a star and not a planet, that the radiant energy from heavenly bodies takes time to travel in space."

One of his favourite targets was B. V Raman, the late editor of the country's best-selling astrological magazine. Kovoor once listed the "predictions" made by Raman. Almost every single one of them proved wrong, including the prophecy that Indira Gandhi would lose out in her battle with the "syndicate".

Another well-known astrologer who used to write for India's most popular weekly magazine, predicted a long and successful career for Sanjay Gandhi. A couple of days before the prediction was due to be published, Sanjay Gandhi was killed. The astrologer rushed to the weekly's office and begged and pleaded with the editor to change the copy. Amused, the editor complied. The astrologer continues to thrive.

In the last decade of his life, Kovoor decided to undertake "miracle exposure campaigns". He travelled

extensively in Sri Lanka and India, mercilessly exposing "godmen" and explaining to the public how the "miracles" they performed were nothing but sleight of hand or clever tricks. He often took a professional magician along with him, to show how these tricks were done.

This writer was present at one such performance in 1976 in the courtyard of a Mumbai college. Seating for about 2,000 people had been arranged, but over twice that number turned up. Kovoor regaled the audience with true stories of how "godmen" and their ilk fooled the gullible public, while the magician accompanying him produced "holy ash" and a variety of other objects, including *murtis*, from thin air. How is it, asked Kovoor, that the famous Sai Baba --- one of his prime targets for ridicule --- could only produce something which could be conveniently hidden in the fist? Ask him to materialise a pumpkin or a watermelon, he said, to laughter.

"He who does not allow his miracles to be investigated is a crook," Kovoor once said in his typically combative style. "He who does not have the courage to investigate a miracle is gullible, and he who is prepared to believe without verification is a fool."

Great Work

Kovoor established rationalist associations in Sri Lanka and India. He also set up a Committee for the Scientific Investigation of the Claims of the Paranormal (CSICOP), on the lines of a similar body set up by the famous American magician, James Randi, the man who has exposed a number of charlatans in the West, including the Israeli, Uri Geller, who claimed he could bend spoons through "mind-power".

Kovoor's great work was taken up after his death in 1982 by B. Premanand, who also brings out a magazine called *The Indian Skeptic*, which, as its name suggests, questions and exposes events and occurrences which appear "miraculous". Premanand has, like Kovoor, been tirelessly touring the country, providing rational and scientific explanations for various "miracles" and superstitions.

A documentary film that he has made, *Guru Busters*, has been shown on various foreign TV channels, including the BBC. Doordarshan, however, refuses to show it. Why? Because it exposes some of our "godmen" for the frauds that they are. ■

JAYANT NARLIKAR

I became familiar with the name of Jayant Narlikar from the time I read Fred Hoyle's *Frontiers of Astronomy*, 1965. Hoyle and Narlikar had collaborated on the Steady State Theory.

In those days I wanted to write a biographical sketch of Jawaharlal Nehru. I wanted to depict his life as similar to that of the ordinary mainstream star of the H-R Diagram, which brushes past pulsating Red Star groups and ends up as a White Dwarf, which is going to be the fate of our local sun. In preparation for this literary exercise, I had read and re-read

Tolstoy's description of the evacuation of Moscow in 1812 and that of Anna Scherer's soiree in *War and Peace* where the former had been compared with the honey bee's collective flight from their hive and the latter had been compared with the activities of a textile worker on a loom.

I was in those days of early sixties quite taken up with the idea of "external similies".

I had written a play *Byalis* about the 1942 movement which was an extended parable of our familiar epic *Mahabharat*.

Perhaps I have somewhere in my "Notes", some

preliminary drafts of Hoyle's description of an ordinary sun that rushed past variable pulsating Red Giants and ended up as a miserable White Dwarf.

Anyway I lent out my copy of *Frontiers of Astrology* to various literary giants of the Bombay firmament.

Recently I have had occasion to ramble through the IUCAA (Inter University Centre for Astronomy and Astrophysics), enclave within the Pune University campus. IUCAA is headed by Narlikar and the plaster of paris statues that he has arranged in the quadrangle of the main building are truly comical and quintessentially compradorist. Newton, Copernicus, Einstein and Kepler have been transmuted into "heroic exemplars" and made to look like nothing on earth. They belong neither to the West nor to the East! They are neither fish nor fowl! They are "creatures from Nowhere"! They are human-like algebraic symbols!

However I have found Narlikar's article to be stimulating. This month we are publishing several Rationalist Notices in *Mankind*. There is one on Taslima Nasreen and another on Dr. Abraham Kovoor and this is a third along the same rationalist lines.

I hope that readers of *Mankind* enjoy all the three facets of the rational material socio-historical world in which we exist.

BIG BANG THEORY BRINGS BACK GOD BY THE BACK DOOR

Jayant Narlikar

Max Born one of the early pioneers of quantum physics said "... modern cosmology has strayed from the sound empirical road into a wilderness where statements can be made without fear of observational check...."

The statements were made not in modern times but a few decades ago. I wonder what these worthies would have thought of cosmology, had they been around today. As one who spent nearly four decades of his research career in cosmology, I am sometimes asked by layman, as to why I do not subscribe to the Big Bang theory, of the origin of the universe. I do not subscribe to the Big Bang theory, because today it is no longer controlled by the rather demanding rules of science: it has become an article of faith for its followers.

Science has progressed thus far because it adheres to a discipline. Its theories must make testable predictions, predictions that in principle can be disproved. Thus to say that when I toss a coin it will fall either heads up or tails up is no prediction. Moreover, the theories must be tested by repeatable experiments. Thus a theory that explained a phenomenon which occurred only once is not credible. Finally the Sherlock Holmes maxim that when you have eliminated the impossible, whatever remains, however improbable must be the truth, applies only if you really tried to eliminate the alternatives before claiming your theory as the truth.

Wave Theory

No laboratory scientist will contest these requirements as essential guidelines for scientific progress. A glance at the

history of science will bear out this fact. **Experiments which worked in one man's lab only and could not be repeated by others ceased to be credible. A classic example was the claim for the existence of N-rays akin to X-rays.** Prejudice in favour of the corpuscular theory of light from no less a person than Isaac Newton, led to the delay in acceptance of the wave theory of light.

In astronomy too, these requirements are adhered to in general, despite the limitations astronomers have to face, namely that they cannot control the cosmos that they set out to observe. Moreover, they have to extrapolate the laws of science determined within the laboratory walls to the much more vast and varied cosmic environment. The study of planetary motion as per the law of gravitation has followed this straight and narrow path of science, and it has also gained from it. **The planet Neptune was discovered as a result of investigations into an apparent anomaly in the motion of planet Uranus. Why did Uranus depart from its predicted Newtonian orbit? Were there observations in error? No. So, was the Newtonian law wrong? Before arriving at this last resort, there existed a third option, namely the existence of an as yet unknown object in the vicinity of Uranus, whose gravitational pull was disturbing its orbit. That was Neptune, the new planet.**

Looking Back

I have given this example to show that **astronomy does adhere to the scientific method.** Other instances can be cited. **The theory of why stars shine and how they evolve is a success story of the twentieth century astronomy.** When explaining why the Sun shines, theoreticians not only explain the power of Sun's radiation and its surface temperature in terms of its mass, they also predict the results for several other stars of different masses, and the theory checks out. Moreover, while studying the stellar energy problem astrophysicists could tell, a thing or two to their laboratory counterparts, **about how nuclear fusion takes place.** It is against this background that one must examine the subject of cosmology.

In 1929, observations by Edwin Hubble provided the first factual foundation to cosmological theories. Interpreted at face value, they suggested that **the universe is expanding, that all its galaxies are moving away from one another.** Theoretical inputs added to this fact lead to simple models of the expanding universe in which the universe was supposed to have begun in a gigantic primeval explosion about ten billion years ago.

This is the so-called Big Bang model and it received a big boost in the mid-1960s when, the universe was found to have an all pervading uniform background of radiation in the microwaves. The background is believed to be a relic of the hot era that existed in the early moments of the universe. **This had been predicted in 1948, and its detection and further studies, therefore, provided a confirmation of the entire scenario.**

Until the 1970s, cosmologists were attempting to probe the universe to as far a distance as possible, **since by looking far they were in fact catching glimpses of how the universe looked in the past.** Astronomical telescopes have dramatically

improved both in quality and versatility, thanks to new technologies. This has opened out new vistas of the universe that were considered beyond human observing ability only a couple of decades back. However, can we look far enough to see the Big Bang itself?

Unfortunately not, and ironically because of another prediction of the Big Bang theory itself. As we look back to more and more distant objects, we encounter a background of increasing temperature, till we hit an opaque fog-like curtain which we cannot see. Big Bang calculations show that this happened when the universe was a few hundred thousand years old.

Most of the work on the Big Bang theory today is based on the study of the early moments when the universe was no more than a billion-billion-billion-billionth part of a second old. As we just saw, there is no hope of observing the universe in that state. The physics used for the study is also

highly speculative, since it deals with particles of such high energy that no one has observed let alone experimented with particles of such high energy in the laboratory.

Untested Physics

In short, the Big Bang theory applies untested physics to a part of the universe that it is impossible to see and talks about events that would never be repeated. Surely, these limitations are of a fundamental nature and call for a more open attitude towards cosmology. Thus a scientific attitude requires the admission that the issue about the origin of the universe is still wide open.

Yet if you listen to the Big Bang theorists they are dead certain, this is the way it all happened: so certain, that they are unwilling to consider any alternative ideas.

To me it does not sound like science. Which is why I don't believe it. ■

DR. H. NARASIMHAIAH

Over the last 36 years, Dr. H. Narasimhaiah has been carrying a campaign to popularise science and to foster a scientific temper through his Bangalore Science Forum which he founded in 1962. There are weekly meetings at which subjects ranging from cosmology and nuclear physics to agriculture and weather forecasting are discussed by experts in these fields and the audience is invited to participate actively in interacting with the speakers. So far, 1,595 such sessions have been chaired by Dr. H. Narasimhaiah.

The forum also organises screenings of films on science issues, summer camps for students and a science festival every July for the last 21 years which lasts for a month. All these activities are managed on a budget of Rs. 15,000.

Dr. H. Narasimhaiah is a bachelor of very simple personal habits. His dress is a khadi kurta and *dhoti* with a Gandhi cap on his head. He is living in the same room for the last 53 years which he first occupied as a poor scholar born in Hosur village near Bangalore to illiterate parents. As a young boy,

he refused to shave his head as part of his father's funeral rites because he was not able to get a rational answer as to the connection between the two.

His sustained campaigns against "miracle men" and godmen as Vice-Chancellor of the Bangalore University are well-known and had created considerable impact. He successfully exposed several of these spurious godmen including Sathya Sai Baba who runs an *ashram* near Bangalore.

At the age of 79, Dr. H. Narasimhaiah is raising funds for a science centre in his native Hosur. The project is estimated to cost Rs. 50 lakhs and includes a museum for the school children from more than 40 villages in this taluka.

He advocates a simple tenet: One should not accept anything which violates the laws of nature. Scientific temper alone can solve the country's problems. Every individual must be guided by rational thinking and a spirit of inquiry. ■

INFORMATION FACT SHEET
**THE FIVE POKHRAN TESTS
 RECOLLECTED**

1. **May 11, 1998:** 15:45 hours: the crater caused by the fission test: yield: 15 KT
2. **May 11, 1998:** 15:45 hours: the thermonuclear test had a yield of 45 KT
3. **May 11, 1998:** 15:45 hours: another view of the fission test: yield: 15 KT
4. **May 11, 1998:** 15:45 hours: Test 3 had a yield of 0.2 KT
5. **May 13, 1998:** 12:21 hours: Test 4 had a yield of 0.5 KT
6. **May 13, 1998:** 12:21 hours: Test 5 had a yield of 0.3 KT

Source: *Outlook*, May 10, 1999, p.53

INFORMATION FACT SHEET
**ONLY THE RICH CAN AFFORD
 TO KILL IN INDIA**

- PRICE LIST FOR REVOLVERS AND PISTOLS
- .22 Rs. 65,000 to 3 lakh (Revolvers and Pistols)
 - .25 Rs. 80,000 to 3 lakh (Revolvers and Pistols)
 - .32 Rs. 1 lakh to 3 lakh (Revolvers and Pistols)
 - .320 Rs. 1 lakh to 3 lakh (Revolvers only)
 - .357 Rs. 1 lakh to 4 lakh (Revolvers only)

Source: *Outlook*, May 17, 1999, p.12

INFORMATION FACT SHEET
**POPULAR PERCEPTION OF BASIC ISSUES
 THE IDEOLOGICAL CONVERGENCE**

	Congress	BJP	Stalinists*	Ex-Socialists**	Regional Parties & Centrists
Seats in 12th Lok Sabha	(138)	(182)	(48)	(50)	(125)
Opening up of insurance	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	●	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Privatisation of PSUs	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	●	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Restructuring of excise duties	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Reduction in custom duties	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	●	●	<input type="checkbox"/>
Privatisation of banks	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	●	●	<input type="checkbox"/>
Capital market reforms	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Amendment to Companies Act	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Replacement of FERA with FEMA	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Labour reforms	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	●	●	<input type="checkbox"/>
Subsidy reduction	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	●	●	<input type="checkbox"/>

PRO-REFORM ● ANTI-REFORM. *CPI, CPI(M), Forward Bloc, RSP

** Samata Party, Samajwadi Party, Rashtriya Janata Dal.

With 80 per cent of the 12th Lok Sabha concurring on economic policies, reversal of reforms is now a non-issue. The new worry for business is political opportunism which is already stalling new changes.

Source: *India Today*, May 10, 1999, p.37

BOOK REVIEW

JANARDAN THAKUR : *PRIME MINISTERS: NEHRU TO VAJPAYEE, 1999.*

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

Janardan Thakur's latest journalistic tome is a superficial, sycophantic, self-contradictory and slightly silly work.

Janardan Thakur has been one of our most eminent journalists. He started his career in the *Searchlight* of Patna in 1959 and is at present the editor of the Bombay daily, *Free Press Journal*.

In a manner of speaking, Janardan Thakur has written a political history of free India from 1947 to the present. He has dealt with 12 Prime Ministers, six of whom are alive. The six dead are J. Nehru (1947-64), L. B. Shastri (1964-66), I. Gandhi (1966-77 and 1980-84), Morarji Desai (1977-79), Charan Singh (1979-80) and Rajiv Gandhi (1984-89). Two of these six were assassinated, Indira and Rajiv. The six living Prime Ministers are V. P. Singh (1989-90), Chandra Shekhar (1990-91), P. V. Narasimha Rao (1991-96), Atal Behari Vajpayee (1996, 1998-99), H. D. Deve Gowda (1996-97) and I. K. Gujral (1997-98).

However, since Thakur lacks an insight into the mainsprings of world and Indian history, his long book becomes a weary recital of inconsequential events.

First of all Thakur has not understood the significance of 1765 when the East India Company acquired the *Divani* or Revenue Collection Rights of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Northern Circars from the Delhi Emperor.

Without some knowledge of economic history it is not possible to write anything sensible about modern India. THE FIRST EFFECT OF 1765

WAS THE CESSATION OF THE FLOW OF TREASURE, GOLD AND SILVER TO INDIA. THE SECOND WAS THE BEGINNING OF DRAIN OF WEALTH FROM INDIA AND USE OF INDIAN MEN, MONEY AND MATERIALS FOR THE FURTHER CONQUEST OF INDIA. THIRDLY, INDIA WAS DEINDUSTRIALISED, RURALISED AND PAUPERISED SO AS TO YIELD THE PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION THAT FUELLED THE FIRST INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION IN BRITAIN OF 1765-1860. FOURTHLY, THE PROCESS OF DEINDUSTRIALISATION, RURALISATION AND PRIMITIVE ACCUMULATION NECESSITATED THE INSTITUTION OF A PERMANENT REGIME OF FAMINES OF PURCHASING POWER IN INDIA WHICH CARRIED AWAY 85 MILLION POOR AND DALIT INDIANS (Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problem*, 1959, pp.87-88).

Further, Janardan Thakur not only knows nothing of Indian colonial history, but has missed out on the significant change that occurred in world history in the 1970s and '80s when we might say that capitalism received its Second Breath with the reconquest of Russia (1989-91) and India (mid-1991), and the partial rollback of the Chinese overturn (1978).

Without a feel for the world context and insight into the dynamics of the Indian Economy, Janardan Thakur flounders from one superficial and inconsequential detail to another.

Hundreds of descriptive passages and pages follow one another and nothing is grasped or explained. Things just happen in the air and nothing is causally related to any antecedent or consequent. Things just happen. So and so was the Prime Minister at a particular time and he was succeeded by someone else who functioned during certain years and carried out particular policies for reasons best known to the PM and his party.

Even the play of significant class forces had been missed by Janardan Thakur, who provides a classic example of how a comprador society elevates and projects a set of journalists who run about interviewing their contemporaries without any understanding or knowledge of socio-economic dynamics.

Let us start from the beginning.

Why did Nehru, Patel, Gandhi and leaders of the Indian National Congress accept the Partition of 1947? Why did Nehru choose to make India a part of the British Commonwealth in 1948? Why did Jawahar devalue the rupee in 1949?

It is useless asking Janardan Thakur any of these questions. He is the sort of journalist who records the arrival of Mountbatten in New Delhi and refers to the mandate that this little factotum of British imperialism might have received. What does it matter what instructions the last Viceroy of India might have received from his masters? BRITISH IMPERIALISM HAD BEEN DEFEATED AND WAS RETREATING FROM INDIA. What does it matter what the generals of a defeated army were plotting and planning or hatching? Why did the victorious nationalists allow the defeated enemy to dictate terms? Why was Britain allowed to divide the country? What kind of party was the Indian National Congress which permitted the successful implementation of the Divide and Rule policy adopted by Britain?

It is not that Janardan Thakur has not reminded us of a few candid snapshots of the past half century. But everything is vitiated by his

reliance on useless spokesmen like Rafiq Zakaria. Ashish Nandy, L. P. Singh, D. F. Karaka, Nirad Chaudhuri, L. K. Jha and such other lightweights. Very often Thakur accords them the status of providing the "last word". It's downright funny!

The fact is that as a nation we have wasted fifty years in NON-DEVELOPMENT. British colonialism had left a legacy which our leaders have carried forward as true compradors. The fact is that Nehru did not even instruct his Army Chief in Kashmir that the Pakistani intruders who had entered Kashmir be turned back (*Ibid*, p.61). "Had Nehru given the permission there would have been no Pakistan Occupied Kashmir". Jawahar preferred to accept the advice of Mountbatten and refer the Kashmir issue to the UN where it has remained for fifty years and more!

Janardan Thakur has no perception of compradorism. He doesn't understand either its contours or its logic. His book is like reading excerpts from the newspapers of last fifty years. Events are recollected more or less vividly but in a trite and basically silly fashion. And all the time there are "instant contradictions".

The most astounding characterisations of Jawahar have been made by Janardan. For instance, he quotes with approval Galbraith's statement that Jawahar was "the last Englishman to rule India". Also he commends Malcom Muggeridge's statement that "Jawahar was the last viceroy rather than the first leader of liberated India."

"Jawahar depended so much on the advice and guidance of the former rulers that the country never got the chance to develop its own ways of administration and governance." (*Ibid*, p.35).

His speeches were "rambling, woolly, long-winded and boring. He was saying nothing of great substance and depth." (p.42).

"He suffered fools and corrupt men around him." (p.43).

"Most of the evils that have corroded India in the last 50 years had their beginnings in the Nehru Raj." (p.43).

"Already, in Nehru's time, there was a long list of people detained without trial. Often there was not so much as a charge made against them for as long as six months." (p.43).

"Nehru would not admit that India under his regime was gradually turning into a police state. He would be furious if anyone accused him of adopting the familiar methods of a fascist state." (p.44).

"As a thinker he was far from impressive. His record as an administrator was nothing to write home about." (p.52).

After all this candid criticism it comes as a shock and as a typical example of comprador practice of INSTANT CONTRADICTION that Janardan should write: "as an individual he was irresistible. He exuded a sincerity which was compelling." (pp.52,62-63) What nonsense is this?

Similarly after exposing Indira's multiple sins of chicanery, Janardan is apparently shedding tears, during her funeral procession.

"I had felt I would do no political reporting any more. What was left to write about?" (p. 216).

The most fantastic admissions are made, that after the Bhopal gas tragedy which had occurred at the beginning of Rajiv's term, Union Carbide was allowed to get away literally with mass murder. "The IPKF operations in Sri Lanka were to become the Indian army's most disastrous outing ever." Beginning with just 2,000 troops in July 1987 the force swelled to over 80,000 men by the end of 1988. The operation cost India in excess of Rs. 250 crore. Hundreds of men were killed in action. And when the forces finally returned "during V. P. Singh's time as PM, India had gained nothing. Indeed, in addition to earning the hatred of LTTE and Jaffna Tamils, the Indians had become an unwanted nuisance for most of the Sinhalese population." (*Ibid*, p.234).

But how did such a thing occur? How can a nation of 90 crores allow a Rs. 250 crore loss and a loss of lives of several hundred in an operation lasting several years to take place **for nothing**? What kind of leadership was provided to the people of India by its comprador elite? Janardan Thakur repeatedly asserts that Nehru allowed fools and knaves to flourish around him and even promoted corrupt persons. It is the same situation with Indira Gandhi and again with Rajiv Gandhi.

Why this fantastic continuity?

Janardan Thakur's lack of curiosity about the general pattern of Indian politics from 1947 to 1999 is truly amazing.

Why has the central feature of the political scene, namely the dominance of the system by the *naukarshahs* been missed? After all, never has a large country achieving freedom, provided such a continuity with the preceding colonial regime! Why were British ways made everlasting?

When the British colonials were forced to quit USA, a completely new regime came up. When Russia overthrew the Czars, the Bolsheviks founded a completely novel regime. When China finished the Kuomintang and drove it away to Taiwan, there was a sea change inside China. In Indonesia, in Egypt, in much of Sub-Saharan Africa, in Nigeria and Ghana, in Cuba and Myanmar, there was a visible overturn.

In contrast, in the Indian sub-continent there was complete continuity. Even the silly names of places perpetuated by imperialist mispronunciations were carried forward. And Bombay did not become Mumbai till very recently. Madras became Chennai still later.

Apart from the carry-over perpetuated through the English language and the continuation of the English language as the language of administration, education and justice, thereby ensuring its everlasting prestige, there has been no significant constitutional change from the dominion status arrangements of 1946-9. We have a truly irresponsible, unaccountable, self-perpetuating, secretive and thoroughly corrupt bureaucracy which covers all the four pillars of the state: the civilian *naukarshahi*, the police, the judiciary and the army.

But all these deeper questions are anathema to

(contd. on pg.47)

ADDA AT NUKKAD

COMMUNICATION FROM SHRI V. KOTHANDA RAMAN AND REPLY

V. Kothanda Raman,
53 Outer Circular Road,
Kilpauk Garden,
Chennai- 600 010,
Date:27.4.99.

Dear Dr. Sharayu Mhatre,

I wish to introduce Mr. Thanjai Elamsingham and the school promoted by him and sustained by him over the last nine years. The profile enclosed with this letter speaks about his past sacrifices and present needs. Please publish the profile in *Mankind*.

I have been requested by Mr. T. Elamsingham and Mr. S. Parthasarathy to be the chairman. Mr. Parthasarathy is working in Southern Railways. He had been an active supporter of George in emergency days and later he organised in Tamil Nadu and Kerala Southern Railway Mazdoor Samithi, fighting against the old bandicoot. Mr. Namachivayam (SRMU) who flirted with Rangarajan Kumaramangalam in 'emergency years'. Besides the school work we want to plan and work in bringing together all like - minded people, who have known or read of Dr. Lohia and J. P.'s total revolution.

I shall be thankful if you could send all addresses of subscribers to *Mankind*, particularly in the four southern states (Karnataka, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu).

Please send me the addresses of Shri. U.K. Sengottaian and Shri. Kishan Pattnayak. I am in touch with Pattabhi. It will be good to organise state and zonal level camps or workshops. I had sounded Shri.

Pattabhi on this. I hope *Mankind* will help in this endeavour and organise other zonal meets.

I wish to hear from you soon.
Yours Sincerely,
V. Kothanda Raman.

PROJECT 3: LOHIA VIDYALAYA MATRICULATION SCHOOL (Run by Dr. Lohia Educational & Health Trust) No.31, Pillaiar Koil Street, Periyar Nagar, Tharamani, Chennai.

FOUNDER & CORRESPONDENT :
THANJAI ELAMSINGAM

Address: Same as above
Land : Approx. 3200 Sq.ft. owned by Founder Mr. Elamsingam
Built up area : 1500 Sq.ft. Approx.

Strength of the School: 150 Students
About 40 of those studying in English Medium pay a reasonable fee. Students of Tamil Medium are charged a nominal fee of only Rs.10/- per month. But even this is too much for many poor folks and fees are paid very irregularly. Some cannot pay at all.

HISTORY:

This School project was conceived by Mr. Elamsingam in 1969. He threw all his might and purchased land in Periyar Nagar on the Ring Road linking Thiruvanniyur and Velacherry.

He shifted his residence from Triplicane, a comfortable residential locality to Periyar Nagar which is a settlement of 2500 hut-dwellers. This location is cut off from any proper public transport by at least 2 to 3 kilometers.

The school was started in Sept. 1990. Styled as Dr. Lohia Vidyalaya, with coaching facility, presently upto 7th Standard.

But Mr. Elamsingam has strong will and is sustaining the school.

Before two years the strength was 250, but since it was not a recognised school, some parents, who could now afford a more expensive school, have shifted. Recognition will certainly reverse this trend, due to savings in transport.

So the Foundur Mr. Elamsingam worked his way to get recognition of Government of Tamil Nadu for his school.

Now he has the recognition in his hand.

He has formed the Trust as required by Director of Schools. He has got the Income Tax exemption under I.T. Act Section 80G for the donations.

In Sept. 1990 Lohia Vidyalaya School, was started in a humble manner at Periyar Nagar, a settlement of 2500 hut-dwellers. The Founder and Correspondent of the School Sri Thanjai Elamsingam is a social activist. At one point of his life, nine years ago, he decided to return to Thanjavur, his native place. It was a moment of frustration. But a friend of his Mr. K. Palani directed him to Periyar Nagar, where he set up his school and his home as well. Today there are 150 students, upto 7th Standard.

Periyar Nagar is situated on the Ring Road connecting Thiruvanniyur and Velacherry. Any recognised school is 5 or 6 kilometers away and the public transport facility is very poor. Thanjai Elamsingham has now obtained recognition from Government of Tamil Nadu on the condition that the fixed deposit of Rupees one lakh (Rs.1.00 lakhs) of 7 years term should be provided with any Nationalised Bank immediately.

The Directorate of Schools of Tamilnadu have sent Inspection Officers to survey the activities of the school and its standing related to the teaching staff, building provision at present and land provision for future, before issuing the recognition order.

A trust has been duly formed, styled as Dr. Lohia Educational and Health Trust as required by the Directorate.

If the immediate need of Rupees One Lakh is met, the school will get

established as a proper High School in 1 or 2 years. Student strength will increase in the present classes and improve the cash flow.

It is envisaged that the School will have to get long - term aid for buildings and other infrastructure, since the local community at Periyar Nagar are mostly poor folks.

Mr. Elamsingam has thrown all his might to provide the existing assets. Friends and well wishers with similar motivation and urge should come forth to build up this school further.

This School, Dr. Lohia Vidyalaya Matriculation School shall ever remain a memorial, active and faithful, for Dr. Rammanohar Lohia who was a freedom fighter, thinker and a rebel always on the side of the under-privileged.

(V. KOTHANDARAMAN)
CHAIRMAN

Dr. Lohia Educational and Health Trust

Note: Donors can avail exemption under IT 80 G.

All payments in Cheques or D.D. may be in favour of Dr. LOHIA EDUCATIONAL AND HEALTH TRUST. Payment and correspondence may be sent to City address of Chairman as given below:
No.53, Outer Circular Road,
Kilpauk Garden Colony,
Chennai 600 010.

Dear Shri Kothanda Raman,

It was very good of you to write to us and we welcome your initiative.

We are sending herewith a sample list of subscribers from the four southern states as well as addresses of Shri. Sengottaian and Shri. Pattnayak.

Please let us know the progress you make with the idea of zonal meets.

Please keep in touch with Pattabhi who writes to us fairly regularly.

With regards,
Yours Sincerely,
Sharayu Mhatre.

COMMUNICATION FROM SHRI SHALIL GHOSH

SHALIL GHOSH.
Plot No.122, Bang Bhavan,
1st Floor, Road No.5,
Hindu Colony, Dadar,
Mumbai - 400 014.
Tel. No. 414 1444
Date : 19.5.99

To,
The Editor,
Mankind
Punc - 411 004.

Respected Sir,

ARYAN INVASION OF BHARAT
FRIEDRICH MAX MUELLER,
may be a "SCHOLAR EXTRA ORDINARY" as said by Nirad C. Chaudhary but he perpetrated the greatest falsehood in history rather a hoax on mankind, with his famous theory of "ARYAN INVASION OF INDIA", which has now been proved totally a mischievous lie by historians of Europe and America, with latest scientific information.

But Indian historians, products of LORD MACAULAY the arch-Imperialist and the real Guru of MAX MUELLER, are still harping on "Aryan Invasion"

The so-called "ARYANS", were all Indians and from India only. It is high-time we accept this fact of history.

SHALIL GHOSH

(contd. from pg.45)

Book Review

Janardan Thakur, who insists on regaling us with just gossipy tit-bits about trivia. We continue to be ruled by a political structure imposed by the immense network of armed and unarmed bureaucrats who have continued to rule the country from 1946 (and not 1947) to the present.

As we have repeatedly illustrated in the pages of *Mankind*, the Third World has been continuously aiding the industrialised nations of the West represented by

the overlapping circles of G7, EU, OECD and NATO. India never did break out of the strait-jacket imposed upon it by these neo-colonial powers, who have chosen to operate through the terrible *trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO.

We strongly recommend to Janardan Thakur, a reading of the twenty-one reports of the World Bank, 1978 to 1998-99, and the ten reports of the UNDP 1990 to 1999. Janardan Thakur must explain, first to himself,

the world as realistically depicted in these thirty-one volumes.

Only then should he attempt such works as *Prime Ministers: Nehru to Vajpayee*. May be he should also look up William Digby's 'Prosperous' *British India*, 1901, and Lohia's "Guilty Men of India's Partition" and several other significant studies made in a similar vein.

They will help to clear up the cobwebs that seem to have made their home in his head.

(Janardan Thakur, *Prime Ministers: Nehru to Vajpayee*, 1999, p.456, price Rs. 325). ■

STORY OF THE INA - 3

S. A. AYER

CRISIS AND DISBANDMENT OF THE INA

The six months following the Bangkok conference of June 1942 witnessed a gradual and all-round deterioration in the situation. The failure of the Iwakuro *kikan* (liaison office) to get the Japanese government to make a formal declaration on the lines outlined by the Tokyo and Bangkok conferences proved a major cause of distrust and misgivings. The Indian side repeatedly urged the *kikan* to get the declaration from Tokyo but in vain; the INA was not satisfied with the quality and quantity of equipment supplied by the Japanese side. The Japanese side in Burma took up a contemptuous attitude towards the League organisation. After the British were driven away from Burma, the Japanese army dealt with the evacuee Indian property there in violation of the understanding that such property would not be treated as enemy property. At an unhappy conference between the Japanese and Indians in Rangoon, one of the Japanese blurted out: "We do not want you to be puppets. But if we do, what is the harm in being puppets? Why is a puppet bad?" The man who said this was only a minor official but what he said reflected the mind of some other irresponsible Japanese also.

Tokyo's reluctance to make the declaration was sought to be explained away by Colonel Iwakuro and others. These explanations and excuses merely served to weaken the position of Rash Behari Bose as president of the Council of Action. The other members of the Council as well as the general public were confirmed in their misgivings about the true intentions of Japan in offering to help the League and the INA. The flame of passionate longing for India's freedom

burnt undimmed in the breast of Rash Behari Bose. No one had the slightest doubt about his undying patriotism as an Indian. But his thirty-year stay in Japan, his advancing age, frail health and mild manners made some Indians doubt whether he could withstand the strain of an uncompromising stand vis-a-vis the Japanese. The Council of Action was drifting apart from the Japanese, the other members were drifting apart from their president; General Mohan Singh was moving farther and farther away from Rash Behari Bose and from the Japanese. The Japanese antagonised both the Council of Action as a body and General Mohan Singh, the G.O.C. of the INA, by their evasiveness on the question of a formal declaration from Tokyo and by their rough and ready methods of dealing with the INA. The two sides were now on a collision course; the actual collision was not very far off. Members of the Council of Action, excepting the president and Raghavan, resigned; the Japanese persisted in interfering with the INA by issuing arbitrary orders of movement of the INA troops without consulting the Council of Action and against the wishes of General Mohan Singh. This precipitated a first-class crisis and **General Mohan Singh was arrested by the Japanese on December 29, 1942 in Singapore, removed to a nearby island where he was detained till December 1943, then taken to Sumatra and kept there till the end of the war.** The British then took him to Singapore and finally to Delhi in November 1945 and **released him unconditionally in May 1946.**

Even before his arrest, General Mohan Singh had told the INA soldiers

that if he was separated from them, the INA would be automatically dissolved. With his arrest on December 29, 1942, the first INA ceased to exist. Raghavan, the only remaining member of the Council of Action, also resigned later, leaving Rash Behari Bose, the president, in isolation.

Six months of mounting suspicion, distrust, misgivings, tactlessness and lack of faith in Japanese sincerity culminated in the dissolution of the Council of Action and the disbandment of the first INA. Chaos and confusion prevailed for some time following the crisis.

Rash Behari Bose then set about the task of rebuilding the League as well as the INA with the help of Dr Lakshumiyah who had succeeded Raghavan in the organisation on the civilian side, and Lieutenant-Colonel J.K. Bhonsle on the military side.

Rash Behari Bose apparently felt that it was only a matter of time before Subhas Chandra Bose reached east Asia and assumed leadership of the movement and the INA. He was, therefore, determined to do his best to hand over the League and the INA to Subhas as going concerns. He shifted the headquarters of the League from Bangkok to Singapore in March 1943 and worked day and night to put the League and INA in the best shape possible after the shocks of the crisis which had momentarily paralysed the civilian and military sides.

Lieutenant-Colonel J.K. Bhonsle was appointed director of the military bureau of the INA and Lieutenant-Colonel M.Z. Kiani was made the commander of the army.

Rash Behari Bose called another conference of Indians in east Asia at Singapore from April 27 to 30, 1943 and it passed the resolutions that "the Indian National Army is the army of the Indian Independence League (IIL) and all officers and men of the INA as well as all members of the IIL shall owe allegiance to the League" and "that the entire Indian independence movement be placed on a war-footing immediately and that the constitution of the IIL be so altered as to enable it to discharge its vital war duties with utmost speed and efficiency." The amended constitution invested Rash Behari Bose with almost dictatorial powers.

After satisfying himself that the League as well as the INA had definitely survived the crisis and had been revived sufficiently to face the future with a degree of confidence, Rash Behari Bose left for Tokyo in June 1943. But the general public still entertained misgivings about the inner strength of the League and the INA and now pinned its hopes on the invitation of the Bangkok Conference to Subhas Chandra Bose to come to east Asia and take over the leadership of the movement.

NETAJI ARRIVES IN EAST ASIA

As a result of urgent negotiations between the governments of Germany and Japan, Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, accompanied by Abid Hasan, boarded a German submarine at Kiel at dawn on February 8, 1943. His submarine was met in the Indian Ocean, some 400 miles (600km) off Madagascar, and he and his companion were safely transferred to a Japanese submarine on April 28. They landed on the north coast of Sumatra on May 6, and, after a week's wait, flew on to Tokyo where they arrived on May 16, 1943, a fateful day indeed in the life of Subhas. The perilous odyssey had come to an end after ninety days of war-time adventure in a submarine through enemy-infested seas. A pleasant surprise awaited Netaji when he landed in Sumatra. The first to greet him was his old friend, Colonel Yamamoto, military attache to the Japanese ambassador in Berlin, who had played an active role in arranging the submarine voyage. Colonel Yamamoto was now the new chief of the liaison office (*Hikari kikan*).

From the moment of his arrival in Tokyo, Netaji plunged into a hectic round of talks with the Japanese leaders. He met the Japanese premier, General Tojo, twice during his stay and reached a broad understanding on his plans for the liberation of his country and the extent of the Japanese aid. Premier Tojo invited Netaji to attend a meeting of the Japanese Diet (parliament) and, looking in the direction of Netaji, General Tojo, told the Diet: "We are determined to extend every possible assistance for the cause of India's independence."

When Netaji was satisfied that the stage was set for action, his dramatic arrival in Japan was revealed for the first time to the public of Japan and to the rest of the world.

Indians in east Asia were thrilled to the core; the entire situation underwent a phenomenal change; the atmosphere was electrified by the announcement of the presence of Subhas in east Asia. Indians felt that the incredible had happened, and were jubilant; the dynamic revolutionary would be leading the freedom movement and battering the eastern gates of the British citadel in India.

Broadcasting from Tokyo to Indians in east Asia, netaji said:

"It is not possible for our countrymen at home to organise an armed revolution and to fight the British army of occupation with modern arms. This task must, therefore, devolve on Indians living abroad—and particularly on Indians living in east Asia.... The hour has struck, and every patriotic Indian must advance towards the field of battle. When the blood of freedom-loving Indians begins to flow, India will attain her freedom."

In a later broadcast from Tokyo, referring to some of his countrymen who had been brought up in English institutions and been influenced by English propaganda, Netaji said:

"I would ask those countrymen to put their trust in me. If the powerful British government that has persecuted me all my life and has imprisoned me eleven times has not been able to demoralise me, no power on earth can hope to do so. And if the wily, cunning and resourceful British politicians have failed to cajole and corrupt me, nobody can hope to do so... I am not far from the Indian frontier. No power on earth was able to hamper my movements since January 1941; and no power on earth will be able to prevent my crossing the frontier once again in order to participate in the last phase of our national struggle."

Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, accompanied by Rash Behari Bose, landed at the Sambawant aerodrome (Singapore) from Tokyo on the morning of July 2, 1943 and motored to the main airport of Singapore where the officers of the IIL and the INA and a large and enthusiastic crowd had assembled to welcome him.

Dressed in a cream-coloured silk lounge suit and holding a felt hat in his left hand, Netaji walked with leonine dignity to take the salute of his first guard of honour provided by the INA in east Asia. A thrill ran through the ranks of the formation when Netaji addressed them as '*Sathio aur Dosto*' (comrades and friends). They were thrilled even more when he said he was on the eve of realising India's dream of fighting Britain with the sword for India's liberation. Sensation prevailed throughout the INA camps when the men of the guard of honour marched back to their barracks and repeated with great gusto the gist of Netaji's brief address. Netaji won the undying admiration and profound loyalty of the rank and file of the INA in east Asia at that very first contact with the liberation army.

Two days later, on July 4, 1943, before an enthusiastic gathering of five thousand Indians representing the community in east Asia, at the Cathay Cinema Hall, Netaji formally took over the leadership of the Indian independence movement in east Asia, from the veteran revolutionary, Rash Behari Bose. In a magnanimous and self-effacing speech, Rash Behari handed over the leadership to the younger and dynamic hands of Subhas. In accepting the leadership, Netaji said:

".... In order to mobilise all our forces effectively, I intend organising a provisional government of Free India. It will be the task of the provisional government to lead the Indian revolution to a successful conclusion..."

TEMPESTUOUS LEADERSHIP

The day after he took over from Rash Behari Bose, Netaji plunged headlong into his new tasks. From then on, he knew no rest night or day till **twenty-five months later**, he boarded a Japanese medium bomber plane at Saigon on his last-known flight.

On July 5, 1943, he took the salute at an impressive parade of the INA officers and men who filled the vast *maidan* opposite the Singapore Town Hall. Dressed in a khaki uniform, Netaji moved through the serried ranks of the soldiers, and then walked back to the rostrum to address rousing words to them. He said,

"Soldiers of India's army of liberation: Today is the proudest day of my life... Every Indian must feel proud that this army has been organised under Indian leadership and that when the historic moment arrives, under Indian leadership it will go to battle... Let your battle cry be

Chalo Delhi, Chalo Delhi (To Delhi, to Delhi)Our task will not end until our surviving heroes hold the victory parade on another graveyard of the British empire—the Lal Qila or the Red Fort of ancient Delhi.”

The following day, July 6, the premier of Japan, General Tojo, on a flying visit to Singapore, reviewed the INA on the same grounds and complimented the liberation army on its smart turn-out.

Three days later, addressing an enthusiastic mass rally of Indians in Singapore, Netaji made an impassioned appeal to them for “total mobilisation for a total war”.

“I expect three lakh soldiers and three crores of dollars. I want also a unit of brave Indian women to form a death-defying regiment who will wield the sword which the brave Rani of Jhansi wielded in India's first war of independence in 1857.”

He divided his time between the headquarters of the ILL and the INA and attended both offices regularly. He reorganised and expanded both the League and the INA organisations. The departments that were already functioning at the League headquarters were: **general, finance, publicity and propaganda, intelligence, recruitment and training. Netaji strengthened these departments and added seven new ones, namely, health and social welfare; women's affairs; national education and culture; reconstruction; supply; overseas; and housing and transport. Dr Lakshmi Swaminathan, who later became commandant of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment, was placed in charge of the women's department.**

A new spirit pervaded the entire INA. An outstanding feature of the reorganised INA was the intensification of the motto 'unity, faith, sacrifice' in the day-to-day working of the INA. Communal harmony of a high order prevailed among the ranks and a common kitchen for all soldiers was only one of the symbols of communal amity and camaraderie.

Netaji went on a whirlwind tour of Malaysia and addressed hundreds of meetings of Indians all over the region. Total mobilisation of Indian manpower and money followed Netaji's tour and the efforts were pursued with vigour by the League organisation throughout east Asia.

Recruitment and training camps were opened in large numbers to cope with the rush of volunteers offering themselves for the INA. The problem was to find adequate resources in equipment and weapons to impart training to the thousands of patriotic young Indian civilians who left their homes and their jobs to sacrifice their lives in the armed fight for India's freedom. Enthusiasm among the entire Indian population of Malaysia and Singapore reached almost fever-pitch.

Netaji was satisfied that in three brief months, the INA had been thoroughly reorganised and was in fighting trim; he was also satisfied that Indian civilians in east Asia were making a splendid response to his call for total mobilisation. He then thought of the next logical step of forming a provisional government of Free India, as he had foreshadowed in his speech when he assumed the leadership of the movement in July. It had taken him barely four months in which to transform the atmosphere of doubts, misgivings and unco-ordinated efforts into one of patriotic upsurge, supreme confidence, and readiness for total self-sacrifice in the cause of freedom. **The motto of**

the INA 'unity, faith, sacrifice' became a striking reality.

In less than four months since he landed in Singapore, Netaji had galvanised the entire freedom movement of Indians from Burma in the west to Japan in the east; the INA had been welded into one strong unit and was ready to march to the front; the civilian population was ready to offer its all in the cause of freedom and the people were ready to offer their very lives in the freedom war. Very high expectations had been aroused by Netaji's hint at a public meeting in September that the INA would stand on Indian soil before the end of the year. **Perhaps, he had some confidential information from the Japanese quarters** which led him to drop the hint. Thus, in four month's time, Netaji's dynamic leadership was fast pushing the movement inexorably towards a climax.

HISTORIC PROCLAMATION

October 21, 1943 will be a red-letter day in the history of India's fight for freedom. On that memorable day, representatives of the Indian Independence League from all over east Asia gathered at the Cathay Cinema Hall in Singapore to hear Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose make the historic proclamation of the establishment of the provisional government of Free India. The occasion was solemn; the hall was packed to capacity; every inch of standing space was occupied; tense expectation prevailed. The clock struck 4.30. Netaji rose in his seat on the dais, and read the proclamation in slow and measured tones; in the emotion-charged hall, the audience listened to every word of Netaji in pin-drop silence. It was a one thousand five hundred word proclamation which he had drafted at one stretch, sitting up all night two days before. It was a masterly survey of India's struggle for freedom from the year 1857. It said,

“It will be the task of the provisional government to launch and conduct the struggle that will bring about the expulsion of the British and their allies from the soil of India. It will be the task of the provisional government to bring about the establishment of a permanent national government of Azad Hind, constituted in accordance with the will of the Indian people and enjoying their confidence....”

The proclamation concluded with rousing appeal:

“In the name of God, in the name of bygone generations who have welded the Indian people into one nation and in the name of the dead heroes who have bequeathed to us a tradition of heroism and self-sacrifice, we call upon the Indian people to rally round our banner and to strike for India's freedom.”

The proclamation was signed on behalf of the provisional government of Azad Hind by :

Subhas Chandra Bose (head of state, prime minister, minister for war and foreign affairs);

Captain Mrs Lakshmi (women's organisation);

S.A. Ayer (publicity and propaganda);

Lieutenant-Colonel A.C Chatterjee (finance);

Lieutenant-Colonel . Aziz Ahmed, Lieutenant-Colonel N.S. Bhagat, Lieutenant-Colonel J.K. Bhonsle, Lieutenant-Colonel Gulzara Singh, Lieutenant-Colonel M.Z. Kiani, Lieutenant-Colonel A.D. Loganandan, Lieutenant-Colonel Ehsan Qadir, Lieutenant-Colonel Shah Nawaz (representatives of the armed forces);

(contd. on p.64)

ANIMAL FARM :

GEORGE ORWELL
(1903-1950)

A NOTE ON GEORGE ORWELL
Vinayak Purohit

George Orwell, or Eric Blair, was born in India in 1903, and returned to it in 1922, after school education, as a police officer, in the Imperial Service posted to Burma.

Of his Burmese experiences he wrote *Burmese Days* 1934, which is a far superior work than almost anything written by an Englishman about India. (Burma, now renamed Myanmar, remained a part of India till 1937.) It was

far superior to E.M. Forster's *Passage to India*, 1923, which was a silly racialist, imperialist tirade against Indian nationalism.

In 1937, he went to Spain to fight for the Republican side, as a member of the International Brigade. During the Second World War, he worked for the Home Guards and for the B.B.C. He died in London in 1950.

His Spanish Civil War

experiences were related in *Homage to Catalonia*, 1938. He became a Trotskyist as a result of these experiences. His finest works were to follow: *Animal Farm* in 1943, and *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, 1949.

Orwell was fully aware of the corruption in Labour ranks caused by the Imperial Connection. He knew that the European Left was a sham. The super-profits from the colonies helped the British capitalist class to bribe its own working classes with higher wages. And all British trade union leaders whether they belonged to the Labour Party or the Communist Party of Great Britain unanimously supported the Empire as they shared in the Imperial Loot.

This is the tragedy of the entire gamut of European left ! In the final analysis, even poor Geogre Orwell, could not entirely escape from the overwhelming pressures of his own time and clime, and wrote that there some redeeming features of British colonial rule! ■

ANIMAL FARM

GEORGE ORWELL

CHAPTER I

Mr. Jones, of the manor farm, had locked the hen-houses for the night, but was too drunk to remember to shut the pop-holes. With the ring of light from his lantern dancing from side to side he lurched across the yard, kicked off his boots at the barrel in the scullery, and made his way up to bed, where Mrs. Jones was already snoring.

As soon as the light in the bedroom went out there was a stirring and a fluttering all through the farm buildings. Word had gone round during the day that old Major, the prize Middle White boar, had had a strange dream on the previous night and wished to communicate it to the other animals. It had been agreed that they should all meet in the big barn as soon as Mr. Jones was safely out of the way. Old Major (so he was always called, though the name under which he had been exhibited was Willingdon Beauty) was so highly regarded on the farm that everyone

was quite ready to lose an hour's sleep in order to hear what he had to say.

At one end of the big barn, on a sort of raised platform, Major was already ensconced on his bed of straw, under a lantern which hung from a beam. He was twelve years old and had lately grown rather stout, but he was still a majestic-looking pig, with a wise and benevolent appearance in spite of the fact that his tusches had never been cut. Before long the other animals began to arrive and make themselves comfortable after their different fashions. First came the three dogs, Bluebell, Jessie and Pincher, and then the pigs, who settled down in the straw immediately in front of the platform. The hens perched themselves on the window-sills, the pigeons fluttered up to the rafters, the sheep and cows lay down behind the pigs and began to chew the cud. The two cart-horses, Boxer and Clover, came in together, walking very

slowly and setting down their vast hairy hoofs with great care lest there should be some small animal concealed in the straw. Clover was a stout motherly mare approaching middle life, who had never quite got her figure back after her fourth foal. Boxer was an enormous beast, nearly eighteen hands high, and as strong as any two ordinary horses put together. A white stripe down his nose gave him a somewhat stupid appearance, and in fact he was universally respected for his steadiness of character and tremendous powers of work. After the horses came Muriel, the white goat, and Benjamin the donkey. Benjamin was the oldest animal on the farm, and the worst tempered. He seldom talked, and when he did it was usually to make some cynical remark – for instance he would say that God had given him a tail to keep the flies off, but that he would sooner have had no tail and no flies. Alone among the animals on the farm he never

laughed. If asked why, he would say that he saw nothing to laugh at. Nevertheless, without so openly admitting it, he was devoted to Boxer; the two of them usually spent their Sundays together in the small paddock beyond the orchard, grazing side by side and never speaking.

The two horses had just lain down when a brood of ducklings which had lost their mother filed into the barn, cheeping feebly and wandering from side to side to find some place where they would not be trodden on. Clover made a sort of wall round them with her great foreleg, and the ducklings nestled down inside it and promptly fell asleep. At the last moment Mollie, the foolish, pretty white mare who drew Mr. Jones's trap, came mincing daintily in, chewing at a lump of sugar. She took a place near the front and began flirting her white mane, hoping to draw attention to the red ribbons it was plaited with. Last of all came the cat, who looked round, as usual, for the warmest place, and finally squeezed herself in between Boxer and Clover; there she purred contentedly throughout Major's speech without listening to a word of what he was saying.

All the animals were now present except Moses, the tame raven, who slept on a perch behind the back door. When Major saw that they had all made themselves comfortable and were waiting attentively he cleared his throat and began:

'Comrades, you have heard already about the strange dream that I had last night. But I will come to the dream later. I have something else to say first. I do not think, comrades, that I shall be with you for many months longer, and before I die I feel it my duty to pass on to you such wisdom as I have acquired. I have had a long life, I have had much time for thought as I lay alone in my stall, and I think I may say that I understand the nature of life on this earth as well as any animal now living. It is about this that I wish to speak to you.

'Now, comrades, what is the nature of this life of ours? Let us face it, our lives are miserable, laborious and short. We are born, we are given just so much food as will keep the breath in our bodies, and those of us who are capable of it are forced to work to the last atom of our strength; and the very instant that our usefulness has come to an end we are slaughtered with hideous cruelty. No animal in England knows the meaning of happiness or leisure after he is a year old. No animal in England is free. The life of an animal is misery and slavery: that is the plain truth.

'But is this simply part of the order of Nature? Is it because this land of ours is so poor that it cannot afford a decent life to those who dwell upon it? No, comrades, a thousand times no! The soil of England is fertile, its climate is good, it is capable of affording food in abundance to an enormously greater number of animals than now inhabit it. This single farm of ours would support a dozen horses, twenty cows, hundreds of sheep—and all of them living in a comfort and a dignity that are now almost beyond our imagining. Why then do we continue in this miserable condition? Because nearly the whole of the produce of our labour is stolen from us by human beings. There, comrades, is the answer to all our problems. It is summed up in a single word—Man. Man is the only real enemy we have. Remove Man from the scene, and the root cause of hunger and overwork is abolished for ever.

'Man is the only creature that consumes without producing. He does not give milk, he does not lay eggs, he is too weak to pull the plough, he cannot run fast enough to catch rabbits. Yet he is lord of all the animals. He sets them to work, he gives back to them the bare minimum that will prevent them from starving, and the rest he keeps for himself. Our labour tills the soil, our dung fertilises it, and yet there is not one of us that owns more than his bare skin. You cows that I see before me, how many thousands of gallons of milk have you given during this last year? And what had happened to that milk which should have been breeding up sturdy calves? Every drop of it had gone down the throats of our enemies. And you hens, how many eggs have you laid in this last year, and how many of those eggs ever hatched into chickens? The rest have all gone to market to bring in money for Jones and his men. And you, Clover, where are those four foals you bore, who should have been the support and pleasure of your old age? Each was sold at a year old—you will never see one of them again. In return for your confinements and all your labour in the fields, what have you ever had except your bare rations and a stall?

'And even the miserable lives we lead are not allowed to reach their natural span. For myself I do not grumble, for I am one of the lucky ones. I am twelve years old and have had over four hundred children. Such is the natural life of a pig. But no animal escapes the cruel knife in the end. You young porkers who are sitting in front of me, every one of you will scream your lives out at the block within a year. To that horror we all must come—cows, pigs, hens, sheep, everyone. Even the horses and the dogs have no better fate. You, Boxer, the very day that those great muscles of yours lose their power, Jones will sell you to the knacker, who will cut your throat and boil you down for the foxhounds. As for the dogs, when they grow old and toothless Jones ties a brick round their necks and drowns them in the nearest pond.

'Is it not crystal clear, then, comrades, that all the evils of this life of ours spring from the tyranny of human beings? Only get rid of Man, and the produce of our labour would be our own. Almost overnight we could become rich and free. What then must we do? Why, work night and day, body and soul, for the overthrow of the human race! That is my message to you, comrades: Rebellion! I do not know when that Rebellion will come, it might be in a week or in a hundred years, but I know, as surely as I see this straw beneath my feet, that sooner or later justice will be done. Fix your eyes on that, comrades, throughout the short remainder of your lives! And above all, pass on this message of mine to those who come after you, so that future generations shall carry on the struggle until it is victorious.

'And remember, comrades, your resolution must never falter. No argument must lead you astray. Never listen when they tell you that Man and the animals have a common interest, that the prosperity of the one is the prosperity of the others. It is all lies. Man serves the interests of no creature except himself. And among us animals let there be perfect unity, perfect comradeship in the struggle. All men are enemies. All animals are comrades.'

At this moment there was a tremendous uproar. While Major was speaking four large rats had crept out of their holes and were sitting on their hindquarters, listening to him. The dogs

had suddenly caught sight of them, and it was only by a swift dash for their holes that the rats saved their lives. Major raised his trotter for silence:

'Comrades,' he said, 'here is a point that must be settled. The wild creatures, such as rats and rabbits—are they our friends or our enemies? Let us put it to the vote. I propose this question to the meeting: Are rats comrades?'

The vote was taken at once, and it was agreed by an overwhelming majority that rats were comrades. There were only four dissentients, the three dogs and the cat, who was afterwards discovered to have voted on both sides. Major continued:

'I have little more to say. I merely repeat, remember always your duty of enmity towards Man and all his ways. Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy. Whatever goes upon four legs, or has wings, is a friend. And remember also that in fighting against Man, we must not come to resemble him. Even when you have conquered him, do not adopt his vices. No animal must ever live in a house, or sleep in a bed, or wear clothes, or drink alcohol, or smoke tobacco, or touch money, or engage in trade. All the habits of Man are evil. And above all, no animal must ever tyrannise over his own kind. Weak or strong, clever or simple, we are all brothers. No animal must ever kill any other animal. All animals are equal.

'And now, comrades, I will tell you about my dream of last night. I cannot describe that dream to you. It was a dream of the earth as it will be when Man has vanished. But it reminded me of something that I had long forgotten. Many years ago, when I was a little pig, my mother and the other sows used to sing an old song of which they knew only the tune and the first three words. I had known that tune in my infancy, but it had long since passed out of my mind. Last night, however, it came back to me in my dream. And what is more, the words of the song also came back—words, I am certain, which were sung by the animals of long ago and have been lost to memory for generations. I will sing you that song now, comrades. I am old and my voice is hoarse, but when I have taught you the tune you can sing it better for yourselves. It is called "Beasts of England".

Old Major cleared his throat and began to sing. As he had said, his voice was hoarse, but he sang well enough, and it was a stirring tune, something between 'Clementine.' and 'La Cucuracha.' The words ran:

*Beasts of England, beasts of Ireland,
Beasts of every land and clime,
Hearken to my joyful tidings
Of the golden future time.*

*Soon or late the day is coming,
Tyrant Man shall be o'erthrown,
And the fruitful fields of England
Shall be trod by beasts alone.*

*Rings shall vanish from our noses,
And the harness from our back,
Bit and spur shall rust forever,
Cruel whips no more shall crack.*

*Riches more than mind can picture,
Wheat and barley, oats and hay,
Clover, beans and mangel-wurzels
Shall be ours upon that day.*

*Bright will shine the fields of England,
Purer shall its waters be,
Sweeter yet shall blow its breezes
On the day that sets us free.*

*For that day we all must labour,
Though we die before it break;
Cows and horses, geese and turkeys,
All must toil for freedom's sake.*

*Beasts of England, beasts of Ireland,
Beasts of every land and clime,
Hearken well and spread my tidings
Of the golden future time.*

The singing of this song threw the animals into the wildest excitement. Almost before Major had reached the end, they had begun singing it for themselves. Even the stupidest of them had already picked up the tune and a few of the words, and as for the clever ones, such as the pigs and dogs, they had the entire song by heart within a few minutes. And then, after a few preliminary tries, the whole farm burst out into 'Beasts of England' in tremendous unison. The cows lowed it, the dogs whined it, the sheep bleated it, the horses whinnied it, the ducks quacked it. They were so delighted with the song that they sang it right through five times in succession, and might have continued singing it all night if they had not been interrupted.

Unfortunately the uproar awoke Mr. Jones, who sprang out of bed, making sure that there was a fox in the yard. He seized the gun which always stood in a corner of his bedroom, and let fly a charge of Number 6 shot into the darkness. The pellets buried themselves in the wall of the barn and the meeting broke up hurriedly. Everyone fled to his own sleeping-place. The birds jumped onto their perches, the animals settled down in the straw, and the whole farm was asleep in a moment.

CHAPTER II

THREE NIGHTS LATER old Major died peacefully in his sleep. His body was buried at the foot of the orchard.

This was early in March. During the next three months there was much secret activity. Major's speech had given to the more intelligent animals on the farm a completely new outlook on life. They did not know when the Rebellion predicted by Major would take place, they had no reason for thinking that it would be within their own lifetime, but they saw clearly that it was their duty to prepare for it. The work of teaching and organising the others fell naturally upon the pigs, who were generally recognised as being the cleverest of the animals. Pre-eminent among the pigs were two young boars named Snowball and Napoleon, whom Mr. Jones was breeding up for sale. Napoleon was a large, rather fierce-looking Berkshire boar, the only Berkshire on the farm, not much of a talker but with a reputation for getting his own way. Snowball was a more vivacious pig than Napoleon, quicker in speech and more inventive, but was not considered to have the same depth of character. All the other male pigs on the farm were porkers.

The best known among them was a small fat pig named Squealer, with very round cheeks, twinkling eyes, nimble movements and a shrill voice. He was a brilliant talker, and when he was arguing some difficult point he had a way of skipping from side to side and whisking his tail which was somehow very persuasive. The others said of Squealer that he could turn black into white.

These three had elaborated old Major's teachings into a complete system of thought, to which they gave the name of Animalism. Several nights a week, after Mr. Jones was asleep, they held secret meetings in the barn and expounded the principles of Animalism to the others. At the beginning they met with much stupidity and apathy. Some of the animals talked of the duty of loyalty to Mr. Jones, whom they referred to as 'Master' or made elementary remarks such as 'Mr. Jones feeds us. If he were gone we should starve to death.' Others asked such questions as 'Why should we care what happens after we are dead? OK if this Rebellion is to happen anyway, what difference does it make whether we work for it or not?', and the pigs had great difficulty in making them see that this was contrary to the spirit of Animalism. The stupidest questions of all were asked by Mollie, the white mare. The very first question she asked Snowball was: 'Will there still be sugar after the Rebellion?'

'No,' said Snowball firmly. 'We have no means of making sugar on this farm. Besides, you do not need sugar. You will have all the oats and hay you want.'

'And shall I still be allowed to wear ribbons in my mane?' asked Mollie.

'Comrade,' said Snowball, 'those ribbons that you are so devoted to are the badge of slavery. Can you not understand that liberty is worth more than ribbons?'

Mollie agreed, but she did not sound very convinced.

The pigs had an even harder struggle to counteract the lies put about by Moses, the tame raven. Moses, who was Mr. Jones's especial pet, was a spy and a tale-bearer, but he was also a clever talker. He claimed to know of the existence of a mysterious country called Sugarcandy Mountain, to which all animals went when they died. It was situated somewhere up in the sky, a little distance beyond the clouds, Moses said. In Sugarcandy Mountain it was Sunday seven days a week, clover was in season all the year round, and lump sugar and linseed cake grew on the hedges. The animals hated Moses because he told tales and did no work, but some of them believed in Sugarcandy Mountain, and the pigs had to argue very hard to persuade them that there was no such place.

Their most faithful disciples were the two cart-horses, Boxer and Clover. These two had great difficulty in thinking anything out for themselves, but having once accepted the pigs as their teachers they absorbed everything that they were told, and passed it on to the other animals by simple arguments. They were unfailing in their attendance at the secret meetings in the barn, and led the singing of 'Beasts of England' with which the meetings always ended.

Now, as it turned out, the Rebellion was achieved much earlier and more easily than anyone had expected. In past years Mr. Jones, although a hard master, had been a capable farmer, but of late he had fallen on evil days. He had become much disheartened after losing money in a lawsuit, and had taken to

drinking more than was good for him. For whole days at a time he would lounge in his Windsor chair in the kitchen, reading the newspapers, drinking, and occasionally feeding Moses on crusts of bread soaked in beer. His men were idle and dishonest, the fields were full of weeds, the buildings wanted roofing, the hedges were neglected and the animals were underfed.

June came and the hay was almost ready for cutting. On Midsummer's Eve, which was a Saturday, Mr. Jones went into Willingdon and got so drunk at the Red Lion that he did not come back till midday on Sunday. The men had milked the cows in the early morning and then had gone out rabbiting, without bothering to feed the animals. When Mr. Jones got back he immediately went to sleep on the drawing-room sofa with the *News of the World* over his face, so that when evening came the animals were still unfed. At last they could stand it no longer. One of the cows broke in the door of the store-shed with her horn and all the animals began to help themselves from the bins. It was just then that Mr. Jones woke up. The next moment he and his four men were in the store-shed with whips in their hands, lashing out in all directions. This was more than the hungry animals could bear. With one accord, though nothing of the kind had been planned beforehand, they flung themselves upon their tormentors. Jones and his men suddenly found themselves being butted and kicked from all sides. The situation was quite out of their control. They had never seen animals behave like this before, and this sudden uprising of creatures whom they were used to thrashing and maltreating just as they chose, frightened them almost out of their wits. After only a moment or two they gave up trying to defend themselves and took to their heels. A minute later all five of them were in full flight down the cart-track that led to the main road, with the animals pursuing them in triumph.

Mrs. Jones looked out of the bedroom window, saw what was happening, hurriedly flung a few possessions into a carpet bag and slipped out of the farm by another way. Moses sprang off his perch and flapped after her, croaking loudly. Meanwhile the animals had chased Jones and his men out onto the road and slammed the five-barred gate behind them. And so, almost before they knew what was happening, the Rebellion had been successfully carried through; Jones was expelled, and the Manor Farm was theirs.

For the first few minutes the animals could hardly believe in their good fortune. Their first act was to gallop in a body right round the boundaries of the farm, as though to make quite sure that no human being was hiding anywhere upon it; then they raced back to the farm buildings to wipe out the last traces of Jones's hated reign. The harness-room at the end of the stables was broken open; the bits, the nose-rings, the dog-chains, the cruel knives with which Mr. Jones had been used to castrate the pigs and lambs, were all flung down the well. The reins, the halters, the blinkers, the degrading nosebags, were thrown onto the rubbish fire which was burning in the yard. So were the whips. All the animals capered with joy when they saw the whips going up in flames. Snowball also threw onto the fire the ribbons with which the horses' manes and tails had usually been decorated on market days.

'Ribbons,' he said, 'should be considered as clothes, which are the mark of a human being. All animals should go

naked.'

When Boxer heard this he fetched the small straw hat which he wore in summer to keep the flies out of his ears, and flung it onto the fire with the rest.

In a very little while the animals had destroyed everything that reminded them of Mr. Jones. Napoleon then led them back to the store-shed and served out a double ration of corn to everybody, with two biscuits for each dog. Then they sang 'Beasts of England' from end to end seven times running, and after that they settled down for the night and slept as they had never slept before.

But they woke at dawn as usual, and suddenly remembering the glorious thing that had happened they all raced out into the pasture together. A little way down the pasture there was a knoll that commanded a view of most of the farm. The animals rushed to the top of it and gazed round them in the clear morning light. Yes, it was theirs—everything that they could see was theirs! In the ecstasy of that thought they gambolled round and round, they hurled themselves into the air in great leaps of excitement. They rolled in the dew, they cropped mouthfuls of the sweet summer grass, they kicked up clods of the black earth and snuffed its rich scent. Then they made a tour of inspection of the whole farm and surveyed with speechless admiration the ploughland, the hayfield, the orchard, the pool, the spinney. It was as though they had never seen these things before, and even now they could hardly believe that it was all their own.

Then they filed back to the farm buildings and halted in silence outside the door of the farmhouse. That was theirs too, but they were frightened to go inside. After a moment, however, Snowball and Napoleon butted the door open with their shoulders and the animals entered in single file, walking with the utmost care for fear of disturbing anything. They tiptoed from room to room, afraid to speak above a whisper and gazing with a kind of awe at the unbelievable luxury, at the beds with their feather mattresses, the looking-glasses, the horsehair sofa, the Brussels carpet, the lithograph of Queen Victoria over the drawing-room mantelpiece. They were just coming down the stairs when Mollie was discovered to be missing. Going back, the others found that she had remained behind in the best bedroom. She had taken a piece of blue ribbon from Mrs. Jones's dressing-table, and was holding it against her shoulder and admiring herself in the glass in a very foolish manner. The others reproached her sharply, and they went outside. Some hams hanging in the kitchen were taken out for burial, and the barrel of beer in the scullery was stove in with a kick from Boxer's hoof, otherwise nothing in the house was touched. A unanimous resolution was passed on the spot that the farmhouse should be preserved as a museum. All were agreed that no animal must ever live there.

The animals had their breakfast, and then Snowball and Napoleon called them together again.

'Comrades,' said Snowball, 'it is half-past six and we have a long day before us. Today we begin the hay harvest. But there is another matter that must be attended to first.'

The pigs now revealed that during the past three months they had taught themselves to read and write from an old spelling book which had belonged to Mr Jones's children and which

had been thrown on the rubbish heap. Napoleon sent for pots of black and white paint and led the way down to the five-barred gate that gave on the main road. Then Snowball (for it was Snowball who was best at writing) took a brush between the two knuckles of his trotter, painted out MANOR FARM from the top bar of the gate and in its place painted ANIMAL FARM. This was to be the name of the farm from now onwards. After this they went back to the farm buildings, where Snowball and Napoleon sent for a ladder which they caused to be set against the end wall of the big barn. They explained that by their studies of the past three months the pigs had succeeded in reducing the principles of Animalism to seven commandments. These seven commandments would now be inscribed on the wall; they would form an unalterable law by which all the animals on Animal Farm must live for ever after. With some difficulty (for it is not easy for a pig to balance himself on a ladder) Snowball climbed up and set to work, with Squealer a few rungs below him holding the paint-pot. The commandments were written on the tarred wall in great white letters that could be read thirty yards away. They ran thus:

THE SEVEN COMMANDMENTS

1. Whatever goes upon two legs is an enemy.
2. Whatever goes upon four legs, or has wings, is a friend.
3. No animal shall wear clothes.
4. No animal shall sleep in a bed.
5. No animal shall drink alcohol.
6. No animal shall kill any other animal.
7. All animals are equal.

It was very neatly written, and except that 'friend' was written 'freind' and one of the S's was the wrong way round, the spelling was correct all the way through. Snowball read it loud for the benefit of the others. All the animals nodded in complete agreement, and the cleverer ones at once began to learn the commandments by heart.

'Now, comrades,' cried Snowball, throwing down the paint-brush, 'to the hayfield! Let us make it a point of honour to get in the harvest more quickly than Jones and his men could do.'

But at this moment the three cows, who had seemed uneasy for some time past, set up a loud lowing. They had not been milked for twenty-four hours, and their udders were almost bursting. After a little thought the pigs sent for buckets and milked the cows fairly successfully, their trotters beings well adapted to this task. Soon there were five buckets of frothing creamy milk at which many of the animals looked with considerable interest.

'What is going to happen to all that milk?' said someone. 'Jones used sometimes to mix some of it in our mash,' said one of the hens.

'Never mind the milk, comrades!' cried Napoleon, placing himself in front of the buckets. 'That will be attended to. The harvest is more important. Comrade Snowball will lead the way. I shall follow in a few minutes. Forward, comrades! The hay is waiting.'

So the animals trooped down to the hayfield to begin the harvest, and when they came back in the evening it was noticed that the milk had disappeared.

CHAPTER III

HOW THEY TOILED AND SWEATED to get the hay in ! But their efforts were rewarded, for the harvest was an even bigger success than they had hoped.

Sometimes the work was hard; the implements had been designed for human beings and not for animals, and it was a great drawback that no animal was able to use any tool that involved standing on his hind legs. But the pigs were so clever that they could think of a way round every difficulty. As for the horses, they knew every inch of the field, and in fact understood the business of mowing and raking far better than Jones and his men had ever done. The pigs did not actually work, but directed and supervised the others. With their superior knowledge it was natural that they should assume the leadership. Boxer and Clover would harness themselves to the cutter or the horse-rake (no bits or reins were needed in these days, of course) and tramp steadily round and round the field with a pig walking behind and calling out 'Gee up, comrade!' or 'Whoa back, comrade!' as the case might be. And every animal down to the humblest worked at turning the hay and gathering it. Even the ducks and hens toiled to and fro all day in the sun, carrying tiny wisps of hay in their beaks. In the end they finished the harvest in two days less time than it had usually taken Jones and his men. Moreover it was the biggest harvest that the farm had ever seen. There was no wastage whatever; the hens and ducks with their sharp eyes had gathered up the very last stalk. And not an animal on the farm had stolen so much as a mouthful.

All through that summer the work of the farm went like clockwork. The animals were happy as they had never conceived it possible to be. Every mouthful of food was an acute positive pleasure, now that it was truly their own food, produced by themselves and for themselves, not doled out to them by a grudging master. With the worthless parasitical human beings gone, there was more for everyone to eat. There was more leisure too, inexperienced though the animals were. They met with many difficulties – for instance, later in the year, when they harvested the corn, they had to tread it out in the ancient style and blow away the chaff with their breath, since the farm possessed no threshing machine – but the pigs with their cleverness and Boxer with his tremendous muscles always pulled them through. Boxer was the admiration of everybody. He had been a hard worker even in Jones's time, but now he seemed more like three horses than one; there were days when the entire work of the farm seemed to rest upon his mighty shoulders. From morning to night he was pushing and pulling, always at the spot where the work was hardest. He had made an arrangement with one of the cockerels to call him in the mornings half an hour earlier than anyone else, and would put in some volunteer labour at whatever seemed to be most needed, before the regular day's work began. His answer to every problem, every setback, was 'I will work harder' – which he had adopted as his personal motto.

But everyone worked according to his capacity. The hens and ducks, for instance, saved five bushels of corn at the harvest by gathering up the stray grains. Nobody stole, nobody grumbled over his rations, the quarrelling and biting and jealousy which

had been normal features of life in the old days had almost disappeared. Nobody shirked – or almost nobody. Mollie, it was true, was not good at getting up in the mornings and had a way of leaving work early on the ground that there was a stone in her hoof. And the behaviour of the cat was somewhat peculiar. It was soon noticed that when there was work to be done the cat could never be found. She would vanish for hours on end, and then reappear at meal-times, or in the evening after work was over, as though nothing had happened. But she always made such excellent excuses, and purred so affectionately, that it was impossible not to believe in her good intentions. Old Benjamin, the donkey, seemed quite unchanged since the Rebellion. He did his work in the same slow obstinate way as he had done it in Jones's time, never shirking and never volunteering for extra work either. About the Rebellion and its results he would express no opinion. When asked whether he was not happier now that Jones was gone, he would say only 'Donkeys live a long time. None of you has ever seen a dead donkey,' and the others had to be content with this cryptic answer.

On Sundays there was no work. Breakfast was an hour later than usual, and after breakfast there was a ceremony which was observed every week without fail. First came the hoisting of the flag. Snowball had found in the harnessroom an old green tablecloth of Mrs. Jones's and had painted on it a hoof and a horn in white. This was run up the flagstaff in the farmhouse garden every Sunday morning. The flag was green, Snowball explained, to represent the green fields of England, while the hoof and horn signified the future Republic of the Animals which would arise when the human race had been finally overthrown. After the hoisting of the flag all the animals trooped into the big barn for a general assembly which was known as the Meeting. Here the work of the coming week was planned out and resolutions were put forward and debated. It was always the pigs who put forward the resolutions. The other animals understood how to vote, but could never think of any resolutions of their own. Snowball and Napoleon were by far the most active in the debates. But it was noticed that these two were never in agreement: whatever suggestion either of them made, the other could be counted on to oppose it. Even when it was resolved – a thing no one could object to in itself – to set aside the small paddock behind the orchard as a home of rest for animals who were past work, there was a stormy debate over the correct retiring age for each class of animal. The Meeting always ended with the singing of 'Beasts of England', and the afternoon was given up to recreation.

The pigs had set aside the harness-room as a headquarters for themselves. Here, in the evenings, they studied blacksmithing, carpentering and other necessary arts from books which they had brought out of the farmhouse. Snowball also busied himself with organising the other animals into what he called Animal Committees. He was indefatigable at this. He formed the Egg Production Committee for the hens, the Clean Tails League for the cows, the Wild Comrades' Re-education Committee (the object of this was to tame the rats and rabbits), the Whiter Wool Movement for the sheep, and various others, besides instituting classes in reading and writing. On the whole these projects were a failure. The attempt to tame the wild creatures, for instance, broke down almost immediately. They

continued to behave very much as before, and when treated with generosity simply took advantage of it. The cat joined the Re-education Committee and was very active in it for some days. She was seen one day sitting on a roof and talked to some sparrows who were just out of her reach. She was telling them that all animals were now comrades and that any sparrow who chose could come and perch on her paw; but the sparrows kept their distance.

The reading and writing classes, however, were a great success. By the autumn almost every animal on the farm was literate in some degree.

As for the pigs, they could already read and write perfectly. The dogs learned to read fairly well, but were not interested in reading anything except the Seven Commandments. Muriel, the goat, could read somewhat better than the dogs, and sometimes used to read to the others in the evenings from scraps of newspaper which she found on the rubbish heap. Benjamin could read as well as any pig, but never exercised his faculty. So far as he knew, he said, there was nothing worth reading. Clover learnt the whole alphabet, but could not put words together. Boxer could not get beyond the letter D. He would trace out A, B, C, D in the dust with his great hoof, and then would stand staring at the letters with his ears back, sometimes shaking his forelock, trying with all his might to remember what came next and never succeeding. On several occasions, indeed, he did learn E, F, G, H, but by the time he knew them it was always discovered that he had forgotten A, B, C, and D. Finally he decided to be content with the first four letters, and used to write them out once or twice every day to refresh his memory. Mollie refused to learn any but the five letters which spelt her own name. She would from these very neatly out of pieces of twig, and would then decorate them with a flower or two and walk round them admiring them.

None of the other animals on the farm could get further than the letter A. It was also found that the stupider animals such as the sheep, hens, and ducks, were unable to learn the Seven Commandments by heart. After much thought Snowball declared that the Seven Commandments could in effect be reduced to a single maxim, namely: 'Four legs good, two legs bad.' This, he said, contained the essential principle of Animalism. Whoever had thoroughly grasped it would be safe from human influences. The birds at first objected, since it seemed to them that they also had two legs, but Snowball proved to them that this was not so.

'A bird's wing, comrades,' he said, 'is an organ of propulsion and not of manipulation. It should therefore be regarded as a leg. The distinguishing mark of Man is the *hand*, the instrument with which he does all his mischief.'

The birds did not understand Snowball's long words, but they accepted his explanation, and all the humbler animals set to work to learn the new maxim by heart. **FOUR LEGS GOOD, TWO LEGS BAD**, was inscribed on the end wall of the barn, above the Seven Commandments and in bigger letters. When they had once got it by heart the sheep developed a great liking for this maxim, and often as they lay in the field they would all start bleating 'Four legs good, two legs bad! Four legs good, two legs bad!' and keep it up for hours on end, never growing tired of it.

Napoleon took no interest in Snowball's committees. He said that the education of the young was more important than anything that could be done for those who were already grown up. It happened that Jessie and Bluebell had both whelped soon after the hay harvest, giving birth between them to nine sturdy puppies. As soon as they were weaned Napoleon took them away from their mothers, saying that he would make himself responsible for their education. He took them up into a loft which could only be reached by a ladder from the harness-room, and there kept them in such seclusion that the rest of the farm soon forgot their existence.

The mystery of where the milk went to was soon cleared up. It was mixed every day into the pig's mash. The early apples were now ripening, and the grass of the orchard was littered with windfalls. The animals had assumed as a matter of course that these would be shared out equally; one day, however, the order went forth that all the windfalls were to be collected and brought to the harness-room for the use of the pigs. At this some of the other animals murmured, but it was no use. All the pigs were in full agreement on this point, even Snowball and Napoleon. Squealer was sent to make the necessary explanations to the others.

'Comrades!' he cried. 'You do not imagine, I hope, that we pigs are doing this in a spirit of selfishness and privilege? Many of us actually dislike milk and apples. I dislike them myself. Our sole object in taking these things is to preserve our health. Milk and apples (this has been proved by Science, comrades) contain substances absolutely necessary to the well-being of a pig. We pigs are brainworkers. The whole management and organisation of this farm depend on us. Day and night we are watching over your welfare. It is for your *sake* that we drink that milk and eat those apples. Do you know what would happen if we pigs failed in our duty? Jones would come back! Yes, Jones would come back! Surely, comrades,' cried Squealer almost pleadingly, skipping from side to side and whisking his tail, 'surely there is no one among you who wants to see Jones come back?'

Now if there was one thing that the animals were completely certain of, it was that they did not want Jones back. When it was put to them in this light, they had no more to say. The importance of keeping the pigs in good health was all too obvious. So it was agreed without further argument that the milk and the windfall apples (and also the main crop of apples when they ripened) should be reserved for the pigs alone.

CHAPTER IV

BY THE LATE SUMMER the news of what had happened on Animal Farm had spread across half the country. Every day Snowball and Napoleon sent out flights of pigeons whose instructions were to mingle with the animals on neighbouring farms, tell them the story of the Rebellion, and teach them the tune of 'Beasts of England.'

Most of this time Mr Jones had spent sitting in the taproom of the Red Lion at Willingdon, complaining to anyone who would listen of the monstrous injustice he had suffered in being turned out of his property by a pack of good-for-nothing animals. The other farmers sympathised in principle, but they did not at first give him much help. At heart, each of them was

secretly wondering whether he could not somehow turn Jones's misfortune to his own advantage. It was lucky that the owners of the two farms which adjoined Animal Farm were on permanently bad terms. One of them, which was named Foxwood, was a large, neglected, old-fashioned farm, much overgrown by woodland, with all its pastures worn out and its hedges in a disgraceful condition. Its owner, Mr Pilkington, was an easy-going gentleman-farmer who spent most of his time in fishing or hunting according to the season. The other farm, which was called Pinchfield, was smaller and better kept. Its owner was a Mr Frederick, a tough, shrewd man, perpetually involved in lawsuits and with a name for driving hard bargains. These two disliked each other so much that it was difficult for them to come to any agreement, even in defence of their own interests.

Nevertheless they were both thoroughly frightened by the rebellion on Animal Farm, and very anxious to prevent their own animals from learning too much about it. At first they pretended to laugh to scorn the idea of animals managing a farm for themselves. The whole thing would be over in a fortnight, they said. They put it about that the animals on the Manor Farm (they insisted on calling it the Manor Farm; they would not tolerate the name 'Animal Farm') were perpetually fighting among themselves and were also rapidly starving to death. When time passed and the animals had evidently not starved to death, Frederick and Pilkington changed their tune and began to talk of the terrible wickedness that now flourished on Animal Farm. It was given out that the animals there practised cannibalism, tortured one another with red-hot horseshoes and had their females in common. This was what came of rebelling against the laws of Nature, Frederick and Pilkington said.

However, these stories were never fully believed. Rumours of a wonderful farm, where the human beings had been turned out and the animals managed their own affairs, continued to circulate in vague and distorted forms, and throughout that year a wave of rebelliousness ran through the countryside. Bulls which had always been tractable suddenly turned savage, sheep broke down hedges and devoured the clover, cows kicked the pail over, hunters refused their fences and shot their riders on to the other side. Above all, the tune and even the words of 'Beasts of England' were known everywhere. It had spread with astonishing speed. The human beings could not contain their rage when they heard this song, though they pretended to think it merely ridiculous. They could not understand, they said, how even animals could bring themselves to sing such contemptible rubbish. Any animal caught singing it was given a flogging on the spot. And yet the song was irrefragable. The blackbirds whistled it in the hedges, the pigeons cooed it in the elms, it got into the din of the smithies and the tune of the church bells. And when the human beings listened to it they secretly trembled, hearing in it a prophecy of their future doom.

Early in October, when the corn was cut and stacked and some of it was already threshed, a flight of pigeons came whirling through the air and alighted in the yard of Animal Farm in the wildest excitement. Jones and all his men, with half a dozen from Foxwood and Pinchfield had entered the five-barred gate and were coming up the cart-track that led to the farm. They were all carrying sticks, except Jones, who was marching ahead with

a gun in his hands. Obviously they were going to attempt the recapture of the farm.

This had long been expected, and all preparations had been made. Snowball, who had studied an old book of Julius Caesar's campaigns which he had found in the farmhouse, was in charge of the defensive operations. He gave his orders quickly, and in a couple of minutes every animal was at his post.

As the human beings approached the farm buildings, Snowball launched his first attack. All the pigeons, to the number of thirty-five, flew to and fro over the men's heads and dropped their dung on them from mid-air; and while the men were dealing with this, the geese, who had been hiding behind the hedge, rushed out and pecked viciously at the calves of their legs. However, this was only a light skirmishing manoeuvre, intended to create a little disorder, and the men easily drove the geese off with their sticks. Snowball now launched his second line of attack. Muriel, Benjamin, and all the sheep, with Snowball at the head of them, rushed forward and prodded and butted the men from every side, while Benjamin turned round and lashed at them with his small hoofs. But once again the men, with their sticks and their hobnailed boots, were too strong for them; and suddenly, at a squeal from Snowball, which was the signal for retreat, all the animals turned and fled through the gateway into the yard.

The men gave a shout of triumph. They saw, as they imagined, their enemies in flight, and they rushed after them in disorder. This was just what Snowball had intended. As soon as they were well inside the yard, the three horses, the three cows and the rest of the pigs, who had been lying in ambush in the cowshed, suddenly emerged in their rear, cutting them off. Snowball now gave the signal for the charge. He himself dashed straight for Jones. Jones saw him coming, raised his gun and fired. The pellets scored bloody streaks along Snowball's back, and a sheep dropped dead. Without halting for an instant Snowball flung his fifteen stone against Jones's legs. Jones was hurled into a pile of dung and his gun flew out of his hands. But the most terrifying spectacle of all was Boxer, rearing up on his hind legs and striking out with his great iron-shod hoofs like a stallion. His very first blow took a stable-lad from Foxwood on the skull and stretched him lifeless in the mud. At the sight, several men dropped their sticks and tried to run. Panic overtook them, and the next moment all the animals together were chasing them round and round the yard. They were gored, kicked, bitten, trampled on. There was not an animal on the farm that did not take vengeance on them after his own fashion. Even the cat suddenly leapt off a roof onto a cowman's shoulders and sank her claws in his neck, at which he yelled horribly. At a moment when the opening was clear the men were glad enough to rush out of the yard and make a bolt for the main road. And so within five minutes of their invasion they were in ignominious retreat by the same ways as they had come, with a flock of geese hissing after them and pecking at their calves all the way.

All the men were gone except one. Back in the yard Boxer was pawing with his hoof at the stable-lad who lay face down in the mud, trying to turn him over. They boy did not stir.

'He is dead,' said Boxer sorrowfully. 'I had no intention of doing that. I forgot that I was wearing iron shoes. Who will believe that I did not do this on purpose?'

'No sentimentality, comrade!' cried Snowball, from whose wounds the blood was still dripping. 'War is war. The only good human being is a dead one.'

'I have no wish to take life, not even human life,' repeated Boxer, and his eyes were full of tears.

'Where is Mollie?' exclaimed somebody.

Mollie in fact was missing. For a moment there was great alarm; it was feared that the men might have harmed her in some way, or even carried her off with them. In the end, however, she was found hiding in her stall with her head buried among the hay in the manger. She had taken to flight as soon as the gun went off. And when the others came back from looking for her it was to find that the stable-lad, who in fact was only stunned, had already recovered and made off.

The animals had now reassembled in the wildest excitement, each recounting his own exploits in the battle at the top of his voice. An impromptu celebration of the victory was held immediately. The flag was run up and 'Beasts of England' was sung a number of times, then the sheep who had been killed was given a solemn funeral, a hawthorn bush being planted on her grave. At the graveside Snowball made a little speech, emphasising the need for all animals to be ready to die for Animal Farm if need be.

The animals decided unanimously to create a military decoration, 'Animal Hero, First Class,' which was conferred there and then on Snowball and Boxer. It consisted of a brass medal (they were really some old horse-brasses which had been found in the harness-room), to be worn on Sundays and holidays. There was also 'Animal Hero, Second Class', which was conferred posthumously on the dead sheep.

There was much discussion as to what the battle should be called. In the end it was named the Battle of the Cowshed, since that was where the ambush had been sprung. Mr Jones's gun had been found lying in the mud, and it was known that there was a supply of cartridges in the farmhouse. It was decided to set the gun up at the foot of the flagstaff, like a piece of artillery, and to fire it twice a year—once on October the twelfth, the anniversary of the Battle of the Cowshed, and once on Midsummer Day, the anniversary of the Rebellion.

CHAPTER V

AS WINTER DREW ON Mollie became more and more troublesome. She was late for work every morning and excused herself by saying that she had overslept, and she complained of mysterious pains, although her appetite was excellent. On every kind of pretext she would run away from work and go to the drinking pool, where she would stand foolishly gazing at her own reflection in the water. But there were also rumours of something more serious. One day as Mollie strolled blithely into the yard, flirting her long tail and chewing at a stalk of hay, Clover took her aside.

'Mollie,' she said, 'I have something very serious to say to you. This morning I saw you looking over the hedge that divides Animal Farm from Foxwood. One of Mr Pilkington's men was standing on the other side of the hedge. And—I was a long way away, but I am almost certain I saw this—he was talking to you and you were allowing him to stroke your nose. What does that mean, Mollie?'

He didn't! I wasn't! It isn't true!' cried Mollie, beginning

to prance about and paw the ground.

'Mollie! Look me in the face. Do you give me your word of honour that that man was not stroking your nose?'

'It isn't true!' repeated Mollie, but she could not look Clover in the face, and the next moment she took to her heels and galloped away into the field.

A thought struck Clover. Without saying anything to the others she went to Mollie's stall and turned over the straw with her hoof. Hidden under the straw was a little pile of lump sugar and several bunches of ribbon of different colours.

Three days later Mollie disappeared. For some weeks nothing was known of her whereabouts, then the pigeons reported that they had seen her on the other side of Willingdon. She was between the shafts of a smart dogcart painted red and black, which was standing outside a publichouse. A fat red-faced man in check breeches and gaiters, who looked like a publican, was stroking her nose and feeding her with sugar. Her coat was newly clipped and she wore a scarlet ribbon round her forelock. She appeared to be enjoying herself, so the pigeons said. None of the animals ever mentioned Mollie again.

In January there came bitterly hard weather. The earth was like iron, and nothing could be done in the fields. Many meetings were held in the big barn, and the pigs, occupied themselves with planning out the work of the coming season. It had come to be accepted that the pigs who were manifestly cleverer than the other animals, should decide all questions of farm policy, though their decisions had to be ratified by a majority vote. This arrangement would have worked well enough if it had not been for the disputes between Snowball and Napoleon. These two disagreed at every point where disagreement was possible. If one of them suggested sowing a bigger acreage with barley the other was certain to demand a bigger acreage of oats, and if one of them said that such and such a field was just right for cabbages, the other would declare that it was useless for anything except roots. Each had his own following, and there were some violent debates. At the Meetings Snowball often won over the majority by his brilliant speeches, but Napoleon was better at canvassing support for himself in between times. He was especially successful with the sheep. Of late the sheep had taken to bleating 'Four legs good, two legs bad,' both in and out of season, and they often interrupted the Meeting with this. It was noticed that they were especially liable to break into 'Four legs good, two legs bad' at crucial moments in Snowball's speeches. Snowball had made a close study of some back numbers of the *Farmer and Stockbreeder* which he had found in the the farmhouse, and was full of plans for innovations and improvements. He talked learnedly about field-drains, silage and basic slag, and had worked out a complicated scheme for all the animals to drop their dung directly in the fields, at a different spot every day, to save the labour of cartage. Napoleon produced no schemes of his own, but said quietly that Snowball's would come to nothing, and seemed to be biding his time. But of all their controversies, none was so bitter as the one that took place over the windmill.

In the long pasture, not far from the farm buildings, there was a small knoll which was the highest point on the farm. After surveying the ground Snowball declared that this was just the place for a windmill, which could be made to operate a

dynamo and supply the farm with electrical power. This would light the stalls and warm them in winter, and would also run a circular saw, a chaff-cutter, a mangel-slicer and an electric milking machine. The animals had never heard of anything of this kind before (for the farm was an old-fashioned one and had only the most primitive machinery), and they listened in astonishment while Snowball conjured up pictures of fantastic machines which would do their work for them while they grazed at their ease in the fields or improved their minds with reading and conversation.

Within a few weeks Snowball's plans for the windmill were fully worked out. The mechanical details came mostly from three books which had belonged to Mr Jones— *One Thousand Useful Things to Do About the House*, *Every Man His Own Bricklayer*, and *Electricity for Beginners*. Snowball used as his study a shed which had once been used for incubators and had a smooth wooden floor, suitable for drawing on. He was closeted there for hours at a time. With his books held open by a stone, and with a piece of chalk gripped between the knuckles of his trotter, he would move rapidly to and fro, drawing in line after line and uttering little whimpers of excitement. Gradually the plans grew into a complicated mass of cranks and cog-wheels, covering more than half the floor, which the other animals found completely unintelligible but very impressive. All of them came to look at Snowball's drawings at least once a day. Even the hens and ducks came, and were at pains not to tread on the chalk marks. Only Napoleon held aloof. He had declared himself against the windmill from the start. One day, however, he arrived unexpectedly to examine the plans. He walked heavily round the shed, looked closely at every detail of the plans and snuffed at them once or twice, then stood for a little while contemplating them out of the corner of his eye; then suddenly he lifted his leg, urinated over the plans and walked out without uttering a word.

The whole farm was deeply divided on the subject of the windmill. Snowball did not deny that to build it would be a difficult business. Stone would have to be quarried and built up into walls, then the sails would have to be made and after that there would be need for dynamos and cables. (How these were to be procured Snowball did not say.) But he maintained that it could all be done in a year. And thereafter, he declared, so much labour would be saved that the animals would only need to work three days a week. Napoleon, on the other hand, argued that the great need of the moment was to increase food production, and that if they wasted time on the windmill they would all starve to death. The animals formed themselves into two factions under the slogans, 'Vote for Snowball and the three-day week' and 'Vote for Napoleon and the full manger.' Benjamin was the only animal who did not side with either faction. He refused to believe either that food would become more plentiful or that the windmill would save work. Windmill or no windmill, he said, life would go on as it had always gone on—that is, badly.

Apart from the disputes over the windmill, there was the question of the defence of the farm. It was fully realised that though the human beings had been defeated in the Battle of the Cowshed they might make another and more determined attempt to recapture the farm and reinstate Mr Jones. They had all the more reason for doing so because the news of their defeat had

spread across the countryside and made the animals on the neighbouring farms more restive than ever. As usual, Snowball and Napoleon were in disagreement. According to Napoleon, what the animals must do was to procure firearms and train themselves in the use of them. According to Snowball, they must send out more and more pigeons and stir up rebellion among the animals on the other farms. The one argued that if they could not defend themselves they were bound to be conquered, the other argued that if rebellions happened everywhere they would have no need to defend themselves. The animals listened first to Napoleon, then to Snowball, and could not make up their minds which was right; indeed they always found themselves in agreement with the one who was speaking at the moment.

At last the day came when Snowball's plans were completed. At the Meeting on the following Sunday the question of whether or not to begin work on the windmill was to be put to the vote. When the animals had assembled in the big barn, Snowball stood up and, though occasionally interrupted by bleating from the sheep, set forth his reasons for advocating the building of the windmill. Then Napoleon stood up to reply. He said very quietly that the windmill was nonsense and that he advised nobody to vote for it, and promptly sat down again; he had spoken for barely thirty seconds, and seemed almost indifferent as to the effect he produced. At this Snowball sprang to his feet, and shouting down the sheep, who had begun bleating again, broke into a passionate appeal in favour of the windmill. Until now the animals had been about equally divided in their sympathies, but in a moment Snowball's eloquence had carried them away. In glowing sentences he painted a picture of Animal Farm as it might be when sordid labour was lifted from the animals' backs. His imagination had now run far beyond chaff-cutters and turnip-slicers. Electricity, he said, could operate threshing-machines, ploughs, harrows, rollers and reapers and binders, besides supplying every stall with its own electric light, hot and cold water and an electric heater. By the time he had finished speaking there was no doubt as to which way the vote would go. But just at this moment Napoleon stood up and, casting a peculiar sidelong look at snowball, uttered a high-pitched whimper of a kind no one had ever heard him utter before.

At this there was a terrible baying sound outside, and nine enormous dogs wearing brass-studded collars came bounding unto the barn. They dashed straight for Snowball, who only sprang from his place just in time to escape their snapping jaws. In a moment he was out of the door and they were after him. Too amazed and frightened to speak, all the animals crowded through the door to watch the chase. Snowball was racing across the long pasture that led to the road. He was running as only a pig can run, but the dogs were close on his heels. Suddenly he slipped and it seemed certain that they had him. Then he was up again, running faster than ever, then the dogs were gaining on him again. One of them all but closed his jaws on Snowball's tail, but Snowball whisked it free just in time. Then he put on an extra spurt and, with a few inches to spare, slipped through a hole in the hedge and was seen no more.

Silent and terrified, the animals crept back into the barn. In a moment the dogs came bounding back. At first no one had been able to imagine where these creatures came from, but the

problem was soon solved: they were the puppies whom Napoleon had taken away from their mothers and reared privately. Though not yet full-grown they were huge dogs, and as fierce-looking as wolves. They kept close to Napoleon. It was noticed that they wagged their tails to him in the same way as the other dogs had been used to do to Mr Jones.

Napoleon, with the dogs following him, now mounted onto the raised portion of the floor where Major had previously stood to deliver his speech. He announced that from now on the Sunday-morning Meetings would come to an end. They were unnecessary, he said, and wasted time. In future all questions relating to the working of the farm would be settled by a special committee of pigs, presided over by himself. These would meet in private and afterwards communicate their decisions to the others. The animals would still assemble on Sunday mornings to salute the flag, sing 'Beasts of England' and receive their orders for the week; but there would be no more debates.

In spite of the shock that Snowball's expulsion had given them, the animals were dismayed by this announcement. Several of them would have protested if they could have found the right arguments. Even Boxer was vaguely troubled. He set his ears back, shook his forelock several times, and tried hard to marshal his thoughts; but in the end he could not think of anything to say. Some of the pigs themselves, however, were more articulate. Four young porkers in the front row uttered shrill squeals of disapproval, and all four of them sprang to their feet and began speaking at once. But suddenly the dogs sitting round Napoleon let out deep, menacing growls, and the pigs fell silent and sat down again. Then the sheep broke out into a tremendous bleating of 'Four legs good, two legs bad!' which went on for nearly a quarter of an hour and put an end to any chance of discussion.

Afterwards Squealer was sent round the farm to explain the new arrangement to the others.

'Comrades,' he said, 'I trust that every animal here appreciates the sacrifice that Comrade Napoleon had made in taking this extra labour upon himself. Do not imagine, comrades, that leadership is a pleasure! On the contrary, it is a deep and heavy responsibility. No one believes more firmly than Comrade Napoleon that all animals are equal. He would be only too happy to let you make your decisions, for yourselves. But sometimes you might make the wrong decisions, comrades, and then where should we be? Suppose you had decided to follow Snowball, with his moonshine of windmills—Snowball, who, as we now know, was no better than a criminal?'

'He fought bravely at the Battle of the Cowshed,' said someone.

'Bravery is not enough,' said Squealer. 'Loyalty, and obedience are more important. And as to the Battle of the Cowshed, I believe the time will come when we shall find that Snowball's part in it was much exaggerated. Discipline, comrades, iron discipline! That is the watchword for today. One false step, and our enemies would be upon us. Surely, comrades, you do not want Jones back?'

Once again this argument was unanswerable. Certainly the animals did not want Jones back; if the holding of debates on Sunday mornings was liable to bring him back, then the debates must stop. Boxer, who had now had time to think things over, voiced the general feeling by saying: 'If Comrade Napoleon

says it, it must be right.' And from then on he adopted the maxim, 'Napoleon is always right,' in addition to his private motto of 'I will work harder.'

By this time the weather had broken and the spring ploughing had begun. The shed where Snowball had drawn his plans of the windmill had been shut up and it was assumed that the plans had been rubbed off the floor. Every Sunday morning at ten o'clock the animals assembled in the the big barn to receive their orders for the week. The skull of old Major, now clean of flesh, had been disinterred from the orchard and set up on a stump at the foot of the flagstaff, beside the gun. After the hoisting of the flag the animals were required to file past the skull in a reverent manner before entering the barn. Nowadays they did not sit all together as they had done in the past. Napoleon, with Squealer and another pig named Minimus, who had a remarkable gift for composing songs and poems, sat on the front of the raised platform, with the nine young dogs forming a semicircle round them, and the other pigs sitting behind. The rest of the animals sat facing them in the main body of the barn. Napoleon read out the orders for the week in a gruff soldierly style, and after a single singing of 'Beasts of England' all the animals dispersed.

On the third Sunday after Snowball's expulsion, the animals were somewhat surprised to hear Napoleon announce that the windmill was to be built after all. He did not give any reason for having changed his mind, but merely warned the animals that this extra task would mean very hard work; it might even be necessary to reduce their rations. The plans, however, had all been prepared, down to the last detail. A special committee of pigs had been at work upon them for the past three weeks. The building of the windmill, with various other improvements, was expected to take two years.

That evening Squealer explained privately to the other animals that Napoleon had never in reality been opposed to the windmill. On the contrary, it was he who had advocated it in the beginning, and the plan which Snowball had drawn on the floor of the incubator shed had actually been stolen from among Napoleon's papers. The windmill was, in fact, Napoleon's own creation. Why, then, asked somebody, had he spoken so strongly against it? Here Squealer looked very sly. That, he said, was comrade Napoleon's cunning. He had *seemed* to oppose the windmill, simply as a manoeuvre to get rid of Snowball, who was a dangerous character and a bad influence. Now that Snowball was out of the way the plan could go forward without his interference. This, said Squealer, was something called tactics. He repeated a number of times, 'Tactics, comrades, tactics!' skipping round and whisking his tail with a merry laugh. The animals were not certain what the word meant, but Squealer spoke so persuasively, and the three dogs, who happened to be with him growled so threateningly, that they accepted his explanation without further questions.

CHAPTER VI

ALL THAT YEAR the animals worked like slaves. But they were happy in their work; they grudged no effort or sacrifice, well aware that everything that they did was for the benefit of themselves and those of their kind who would come after them,

and not for a pack of idle thieving human beings.

Throughout the spring and summer they worked a sixty-hour week, and in August Napoleon announced that there would be work on Sunday afternoons as well. This work was strictly voluntary, but any animal who absented himself from it would have his rations reduced by half. Even so it was found necessary to leave certain tasks undone. The harvest was a little less successful than in the previous year, and two fields which should have been sown with roots in the early summer were not sown because the ploughing had not been completed early enough. It was possible to foresee that the coming winter would be a hard one.

The windmill presented unexpected difficulties. There was a good quarry of limestone on the farm, and plenty of sand and cement had been found in one of the outhouses, so that all the materials for building were at hand. But the problem the animals could not at first solve was how to break up the stone into pieces of suitable size. There seemed no way of doing this except with picks and crowbars, which no animal could use, because no animal could stand on his hind legs. Only after weeks of vain effort did the right idea occur to somebody—namely, to utilise the force of gravity. Huge boulders, far too big to be used as they were, were laying all over the bed of the quarry. The animals lashed ropes round these, and then all together, cows, horses, sheep, any animal that could lay hold of the rope—even the pigs sometimes joined in at critical moments—they dragged them with desperate slowness up the slope to the top of the quarry, where they were toppled over the edge, to shatter to pieces below. Transporting the stone when it was once broken was comparatively simple. The horses carried it off in cartloads, the sheep dragged single blocks, even Muriel and Benjamin yoked themselves into an old governess-cart and did their share. By late summer a sufficient store of stone had accumulated, and then the building began, under the superintendence of the pigs.

But it was a slow, laborious process. Frequently it took a whole day of exhausting effort to drag a single boulder to the top of the quarry, and sometimes when it was pushed over the edge it failed to break. Nothing could have been achieved without Boxer, whose strength seemed equal to that of all the rest of the animals put together. When the boulder began to slip and the animals cried out in despair at finding themselves dragged down the hill, it was always Boxer who strained himself against the rope and brought the boulder to a stop. To see him toiling up the slope inch by inch, his breath coming fast, the tips of his hoofs claving at the ground and his great sides matted with sweat, filled everyone with admiration. Clover warned him sometimes to be careful not to overstrain himself, but Boxer would never listen to her. His two slogans, 'I will work harder' and 'Napoleon is always right', seemed to him a sufficient answer to all problems. He had made arrangements with the cockerel to call him three-quarters of an hour earlier in the mornings instead of half an hour. And in his spare moments, of which there were not many nowadays, he would go alone to the quarry, collect a load of broken stone and drag it down to the site of the windmill unassisted.

The animals were not badly off throughout that summer, in spite of the hardness of their work. If they had no more food than they had had in Jones's day, at least they did not have less. The advantage of only having to feed themselves, and not having to support five extravagant human beings as well, was so great that it would have taken a lot of failures to outweigh it. And in many ways the animal method of doing things was more efficient and saved labour. Such jobs as weeding, for instance, could be done with a thoroughness impossible to human beings, and again, since no animal now stole it was unnecessary to fence off pasture from arable land, which saved a lot of labour on the upkeep of hedges and gates. Nevertheless as the summer wore on various unforeseen shortages began to make themselves felt. There was need of paraffin oil, nails, string, dog biscuits and iron for the horses' shoes, none of which could be produced on the farm. Later there would also be need for seeds and artificial manures, besides various tools and, finally, the machinery for the windmill. How these were to be procured no one was able to imagine.

One Sunday morning when the animals assembled to receive their orders Napoleon announced that he had decided upon a new policy. From now onwards Animal Farm would engage in trade with the neighbouring farms: not, of course, for any commercial purpose but simply in order to obtain certain materials which were urgently necessary. The needs of the windmill must override everything else, he said. He was therefore making arrangements to sell a stack of hay and part of the current year's wheat crop, and later on, if more money were needed, it would have to be made up by the sale of eggs, for which there was always a market in Willingdon. The hens, said Napoleon, should welcome this sacrifice as their own special contribution towards the building of the windmill.

Once again the animals were conscious of a vague uneasiness. Never to have any dealings with human beings, never to engage in trade, never to make use of money—had not these been among the earlier resolutions passed at that first triumphant Meeting after Jones was expelled? All the animals remembered passing such resolutions: or at least they thought that they remembered it. The four young pigs who had protested when Napoleon abolished the Meetings raised their voices timidly, but they were promptly silenced by a tremendous growling from the dogs. Then, as usual, the sheep broke into 'Four legs good, two legs bad!' and the momentary awkwardness was smoothed over. Finally Napoleon raised his trotter for silence and announced that he had already made all the arrangements. There would be no need for any of the animals to come in contact with human beings, which would clearly be undesirable. He intended to take the whole burden upon his shoulders. A Mr Whymper, a solicitor living in Willingdon, had agreed to act as intermediary between Animal Farm and the outside world, and would visit the farm every Monday morning to receive his instructions. Napoleon ended his speech with his usual cry of 'Long live Animal Farm!', and after the singing of 'Beasts of England' the animals were dismissed.

Afterwards Squealer made a round of the farm and set

the animals' minds at rest. He assured them that the resolution against engaging in trade and using money had never been passed, or even suggested. It was pure imagination, probably traceable in the beginning to lies circulated by Snowball. A few animals still felt faintly doubtful, but Squealer asked them shrewdly, 'Are you certain that this is not something that you have dreamed, comrade? Have you any record of such a resolution? Is it written down anywhere? and since it was certainly true that nothing of the kind existed in writing, the animals were satisfied that they had been mistaken.

Every Monday Mr Whymper visited the farm as had been arranged. He was a sly-looking little man with side whiskers, a solicitor in a very small way of business, but sharp enough to have realised earlier than anyone else that Animal Farm would need a broker and that the commissions would be worth having. The animals watched his coming and going with a kind of dread, and avoided him as much as possible. Nevertheless, the sight of Napoleon, on all fours, delivering orders to Whymper, who stood on the two legs, roused their pride and partly reconciled them to the new arrangement. Their relations with the human race were now not quite the same as they had been before. The human beings did not hate Animal Farm any less now that it was prospering, indeed they hated it more than ever. Every human being held it as an article of faith that the farm would go bankrupt sooner or later, and, above all, that the windmill would be a failure. They would meet in the public-houses and prove to one another by means of diagrams that the windmill was bound to fall down, or that if it did stand up, then that it would never work. And yet, against their will, they had developed a certain respect for the efficiency with which the animals were managing their own affairs. One symptom of this was that they had begun to call Animal Farm by its proper name and ceased to pretend that it was called the Manor Farm. They had also dropped their championship of Jones, who had given up hope of getting his farm back and gone to live in another part of the country. Except through Whymper there was as yet no contact between Animal Farm and the outside world, but there were constant rumours that Napoleon was about to enter into a definite business agreement either with Mr Pilkington of Foxwood or with Mr Frederick of Pinchfield—but never, it was noticed, with both simultaneously.

It was about this time that the pigs suddenly moved into the farmhouse and took up their residence there. Again the animals seemed to remember that a resolution against this had been passed in the early days, and again Squealer was able to convince them this was not the case. It was absolutely necessary, he said that the pigs, who were the brains of the farm, should have a quiet place to work in. It was also more suited to the dignity of the Leader (for of late he had taken to speaking of Napoleon under the title of 'Leader') to live in a house than in a mere sty. Nevertheless some of the animals were disturbed when they heard that the pigs not only took their meals in the kitchen and used drawing-room as a recreation room, but also slept in the beds. Boxer passed it off as usual with 'Napoleon is always right!', but Clover, who thought she remembered a definite ruling against beds, went to the end of

the barn and tried to puzzle out the Seven Commandments which were inscribed there. Finding herself unable to read more than individual letters, she fetched Muriel.

'Muriel', she said, 'read me the fourth commandment. Does it not say something about never sleeping in a bed?'

With some difficulty Muriel spelt it out.

'It says, "No animal shall sleep in a bed *with sheets*"', she announced finally.

Curiously enough, Clover had not remembered that the Fourth Commandment mentioned sheets; but as it was there on the wall, it must have done so. And Squealer, who happened to be passing at this moment, attended by two or three dogs, was able to put the whole matter in its proper perspective.

'You have heard, then, comrades,' he said, 'that we pigs now sleep in the beds of the farmhouse? And why not? You did not suppose, surely, that there was ever a ruling against *beds*? A bed merely means a place to sleep in. A pile of straw in a stall is a bed, properly regarded. The rule was against sheets, which are a human invention. We have removed the sheets from the farmhouse beds, and sleep between blankets. And very comfortable beds they are too! But not more comfortable than we need, I can tell you, comrades, with all the brainwork we have to do nowadays. You would not rob us of our repose, would you, comrades? You would not have us too tired to carry out our duties? Surely none of you wishes to see Jones back?'

The animals reassured him on this point immediately, and no more was said about the pigs sleeping in the farmhouse beds. And when, some days afterwards, it was announced that from now on the pigs would get up an hour later in the mornings than the other animals, no complaint was made about that either.

By the autumn the animals were tired but happy. They had had a hard year, and after the sale of part of the hay and corn the stores of food for the winter were none too plentiful, but the windmill compensated for everything. It was almost half built now. After the harvest there was stretch of clear dry weather, and the animals toiled harder than ever, thinking it well worth while to plod to and fro all day with blocks of stone if by doing so they could raise the walls another foot. Boxer would even come out at nights and work for an hour or two on his own by the light of the harvest moon. In their spare moments the animals would walk round and round the half-finished mill, admiring the strength and perpendicularity of its walls and marveling that they should ever have been able to build anything so imposing. Only old Benjamin refused to grow enthusiastic about the windmill, though, as usual, he would utter nothing beyond the cryptic remark that donkeys live a long time.

November came, with raging south-west winds. Building had to stop because it was now too wet to mix the cement. Finally there came a night when the gale was so violent that the farm buildings rocked on their foundations and several tiles were blown off the roof of the barn. The hens woke up squawking with terror because they had all dreamed simultaneously of hearing a gun go off in the distance. In the morning the animals came out of their stalls to find that the flagstaff had been blown down and an elm tree at the foot of the orchard had been plucked up like a radish. They had just noticed this when a cry

of despair broke from every animal's throat. A terrible sight had met their eyes. The windmill was in ruins.

With one accord they dashed down to the spot. Napoleon, who seldom moved out of a walk, raced ahead of them all. Yes, there it lay, the fruit of all their struggles, levelled to its foundations, the stones they had broken and carried so laboriously scattered all round. Unable at first to speak, they stood gazing mournfully at the litter of fallen stone. Napoleon paced to and fro in silence, occasionally snuffing at the ground. His tail had grown rigid and twitched sharply from side to side, a sign in him of intense mental activity. Suddenly he halted as though his mind were made up.

'Comrades,' he said quietly, 'do you know who is responsible for this? Do you know the enemy who has come in the night and overthrown our windmill? S N O W B A L L !' he suddenly roared in a voice of thunder, 'Snowball has done this thing! In sheer malignity, thinking to set back our plans and avenge himself for his ignominious expulsion, this traitor has crept here under cover of night and destroyed our work of nearly a year. Comrades, here and now I pronounce the death sentence upon Snowball. "Animal Hero, Second class", and half a bushel

of apples to any animal who brings him to justice. A full bushel to anyone who captures him alive!'

The animals were shocked beyond measure to learn that even Snowball could be guilty of such an action. There was a cry of indignation, and everyone began thinking out ways of catching Snowball if he should ever come back. Almost immediately the footprints of a pig were discovered in the grass at a little distance from the knoll. They could only be traced for a few yards, but appeared to lead to a hole in the hedge. Napoleon snuffed deeply at them and pronounced them to be Snowball's. He gave it as his opinion that Snowball had probably come from the direction of Foxwood Farm.

'No more delays, comrades!' cried Napoleon when the footprints had been examined. 'There is work to be done. This very morning we begin rebuilding the windmill, and we will build all through the winter, rain or shine. We will teach this miserable traitor that he cannot undo our work so easily. Remember, comrades, there must be no alteration in our plans: they shall be carried out to the day. Forward, comrades! Long live the windmill! Long live Animal Farm!' ■

(to be continued)

(contd. from p.50)

STORY OF THE INA -3

A.M. Sahay, secretary (with ministerial rank);

Rash Behari Bose (supreme advisor);

Karim Gani, Debanath Das, D.M. Khan, A. Yellappa,

J. Thivy, Sardar Ishar Singh (advisors);

A.N. Sarkar (legal advisor).

After proclaiming to the world the establishment of the provisional government of Azad Hind, Netaji proceeded to take the oath of allegiance to India. The Cathay Hall now witnessed the most poignant scene that had ever been enacted there. The atmosphere was tense when Netaji began reading the oath:

"In the name of God, I take this sacred oath that to liberate India and the thirty-eight crores of my country-men..."

Netaji then paused; he could not proceed; his voice was choked with emotion; tears started rolling down his cheeks; he pulled out his kerchief and wiped the tears; a hush fell over the entire hall; many in the audience shared his agony and emotion and broke into tears. At that moment, Netaji forgot the audience before him; his eyes saw only the long cavalcade of the

revolutionaries of the past, and the unarmed millions of freedom fighters inside India who were at that very moment putting up a valiant fight against the heavily armed alien rulers. Netaji broke down; he could not go on with oath; he then regained his poise and continued:

"I, Subhas Chandra Bose, will continue the sacred war of freedom till the last breath of my life.

"I shall remain always a servant of India and to look after the welfare of thirty-eight crores of Indian brothers and sisters shall be for me my highest duty.

"Even after winning freedom, I will always be prepared to shed even the last drop of my blood for the preservation of India's freedom."

When Netaji finished taking the oath, the tension was suddenly relieved and the pent-up feelings of his audience burst into frenzied cheering which echoed and re-echoed for several minutes. Full-throated shouts of 'Inquilab Zindabad', 'Azad Hind Zindabad' rent the air.

(To be continued)

FATHER OF THE NATION ADVOCATES DIVISION OF THE NATION

Vinayak Purohit

Mankind has pointed out time and again the terrific handicap with which India started its semi-independent journey in 1947.

The costs of Partition were both immediate and long term.

The immediate costs were 6 lakhs killed in bogus communal riots organised by the British police in every district of the country with the help of goondas; and the rendering of 17 million innocents as refugees within their own trifurcated land.

Shortly after the 1947 Partition, an entirely one-sided Indus Waters Treaty, 1960, was signed which apportioned all the waters of the major streams, the Kabul, the Indus, the Jhelum and the Chenab, which made up three-quarters of the total Indus waterflow, to Pakistan, and the allocation of three minor streams, the Rabi, the Beas and the Sutlej, to India. India was made to pay £62 million sterling to Pakistan for alternative irrigation works to be constructed by Pakistan which was gifted outright with the gigantic irrigation dams, canals etc. already erected in the '30s by British imperialism within the old provinces of West Punjab and Sind.

Further fearful long-term consequences of Partition have been the excessive burden of military spending, on all the three parts of India.

In 1971 by bold nationalist initiative, the government of India succeeded in detaching East Pakistan i.e. Bangladesh, from the clutches of the West. (The West here means not only West Pakistan but also the Western neo-colonial powers)

Gandhi's speech was broadcast over All India Radio, and was heard personally by the executive editor of *Mankind* who still recollects with heavy heart the betrayal by Gandhi of the ideal of United India that all of us, young freedom fighters of the 1942 movement had held dear. I was angry, distraught and mad with sorrow. That evenings's brief broadcast over AIR by Gandhi was heard in absolute pindrop silence by four hundred million Indians. I do not think that there was one *nukkad* in the entire country which did not have thronging crowds listening with avid interest. The infamous broadcast betrayal was noted with regret by all!

Somewhere, in a tiny corner of every Indian heart there was a remote hope that Gandhi will miraculously prevent the vivisection within Mother India's womb. Already in 1944 in a meeting with Jinnah arranged by his son's father-in-law C. Rajagopalachari,

Gandhi had given clearance to the tripartite division of the country. Nevertheless all freedom fighters and socialists had hoped in 1947 for an Impossible Miracle!

All our young hopes were dashed to the ground. The Old and Tired Men of the Congress Working Committee wanted a quick compromise and an instant acquisition of power. They had no stomach for a last bout of struggle. Subhas was no more. Jayaprakash remained a silent spectator at the Working Committee meeting which accepted Partition, as recorded by Lohia in his *Guilty Men of India's Partition*, 1960. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the Frontier Gandhi, protested at the bartering away of NWFP but his protest was mild and muted. Lohia alone argued against the division of the country but he was at that time too young, too callow, and too much under the influence of Gandhi and Nehru.

We were all betrayed. We had shouted in vain! AAKHRI DHAKKA EK DO! BHARAT MATA EK RAHE! LET BRITAIN SPEND £ 500 MILLION AND SEND FIVE MILLION ENGLISHMEN TO HOLD INDIA ! (These figures were given by Stafford Cripps as an alternative to quitting India in a House of Commons speech.)

Alas, the juggernaut of history moved ahead crushing all our hopes and dashing all our dreams. Later in 1971, we partially reversed Partition and liberated Bangladesh, but the reunification of socialist Bengal as a constituent of a New Confederation of India and Bangladesh, did not come about!

Gandhi, a frail old man, was, in the final analysis, directly responsible for six lakh riot-killings at the time of partition and for the seventeen million innocent refugees of both countries.

(contd. from p.67)

NEHRU WAS A RELUCTANT AND LATE ADVOCATE OF THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT

On March 11, 1948, the Secretary of State sent a memorandum to the American President which stated: "... in view of the tense situation prevailing in the Indian subcontinent as a result of disputes over Kashmir and other issues... licenses should not be issued for the supply of military material to either country (India

and Pakistan) until the situation becomes more clarified...."

President Truman quickly approved of this stand and the State Department informed the Indian embassy that an informal embargo had been placed on the issue of licenses to India for military material or for

transfer, retransfer and sales of such material from US surplus stocks. ■

(Source: *Frontline*, 9.4.99, has published photocopies of the minutes of Kaul's meetings with the American State Dept. *Frontline* report has been gleaned from a dissertation by Dr M.S. Venkataramani who had been on the faculty of the JNU for some years.)

A SHAMEFUL SURRENDER BY THE SO-CALLED FATHER OF THE NATION MOHANDAS KARAMCHAND GANDHI

New Delhi, 14 June 1947

Introductory Remarks by H.D. Sharma, *100 Best Pre-Independence Speeches 1870-1947, 1998*, pp.382-4

The support which Mahatma Gandhi gave to the acceptance of Pakistan by the Congress in the following speech at the All India Congress Committee (AICC) meeting, should not have surprised anyone. As far back as 1909 he had written to a Muslim friend, 'As a satyagrahi, I am emphatically of the view that the Hindus should give the Muslims whatever they ask for and willingly accept whatever sacrifice this may involve.' (Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. 9, p.265) Again in 1930 he wrote in Young India, 'The only non-violent solution I know is for the Hindus to let the minority communities take what they like. I would not hesitate to let the minorities govern the country.' (Young India, 24.4.1930, Ibid, Vol.43, p. 360)

Gandhi was the first important leader to concede that the Muslims have a right to secede, after the Muslim League

passed the Resolution in 1940 to divide the country. The burden of his speeches during 1940-47 was: (Ibid, Vol. 71, p.388, Vol.72,pp. 77-8)

- 1. Partition of the country on religious basis is an untruth.*
- 2. The only solution to deal with this untruth is to yield to it.*
- 3. If we do not yield there will be bloodshed and destruction [civil war].*
- 4. There was no other, violent or non-violent method, to solve this problem.*

After making such statements repeatedly, Gandhi had forfeited any moral right to oppose the partition. In the speech below, advocating Partition, Gandhi was only living upto what he had been proclaiming earlier in his writings and speeches.

The text of the speech follows:

The Working Committee has, on your behalf, accepted partition. We now have to consider what our duty is. If you want to throw out the resolution you can do so, but you cannot make any changes in it. If the Congress Working Committee had done this, it has done so deliberately and for certain weighty reasons. And this decision has been taken jointly by the Congress, the Muslim League and the British government. The Working Committee does not approve of the scheme in its entirety. But even so IT HAS ACCEPTED IT. The Cabinet Mission plan had been devised by the British government, but not this new plan. Both the Congress and the League have a share in its formulation. If you reject it, the world will call you irresponsible. You must, therefore, go along with those who have acted on your behalf. If you want to reject it, you must remember that what the country needs most today is peace. If you are sure that your rejecting the scheme will not lead to further breach of peace and further disorders you can do so. Whatever you decide to do, you must only do so after a great deal of deliberation.

The decision that has been arrived at has been reached with your complicity and yet you complain of the Working Committee, which has men of calibre on it. Those people had always said that the Congress would not accept Pakistan. I was the one opposed to Pakistan most. However, we may leave aside my position. The decision has not been mine to take and the WORKING COMMITTEE HAS ACCEPTED IT BECAUSE THERE WAS NO OTHER WAY. THEY NOW SEE CLEARLY THAT THE COUNTRY IS ALREADY DIVIDED INTO TWO CAMPS.

But our Constitution permits it and your duty demands it that if you feel the Working Committee is in the wrong you should remove it, you should revolt and assume all power. You have a perfect right to do so, if you feel you have the strength.

But, I do not find that strength in us today. If you had that strength I too would be with you. I would, alone, take up the flag of revolt. But today I do not see such conditions for doing so.

I criticise them, of course, but afterwards what? Shall I assume the burdens that they are carrying? Shall I become a Nehru or a Sardar or a Rajendra Prasad? Even if you should put me in their place I do not know what I should do. But I have not come here to plead for them. Who will listen to my pleading? The president said that I should at least show my face here. Hence I have come to show my face and to speak a few words.

It is most important that you should understand the present situation. The demand of the times is that we should bridle our tongues and do only that which is good for India.

I am not one to be upset by defeat. From my childhood I have spent my life fighting and my struggle has been to extract good from evil. If there is a little gold in the mud, it should not be thrown away but we should draw it out. We should draw out gold and diamonds even from mud.

This decision puts both our religions on trial. The world is watching us. In the three-quarters of the country that has fallen in our share, Hinduism is going to be tested. If you show the generosity of true Hinduism, you will rise in the eyes of the world. If not, you will have proved Mr Jinnah's thesis that Muslims and Hindus are two separate nations, that Hindus will forever be Hindus and Muslims forever Muslims, that the two will never unite, and that the Gods of the two are different. ■

Note : 1. The Resolution passed by the AICC had welcomed the decision of the British government to transfer power and accepted their proposals of June 3 which were 'likely to lead to the secession of some parts of the country from India'.

2. Gandhi's little speech was broadcast over All India Radio and personally heard by the Exec. Editor of *Mankind* at that time.

ANOTHER MYTH EXPLODED :

NEHRU FAVOURED MILITARY ALLIANCE WITH THE US IN 1948

Introductory Remarks by Vinayak Purohit

Jawaharlal Nehru did not favour non-alignment in the years immediately following the Compromise and Partition of 1947.

The Zdanov line was in operation in the Soviet Union and Nehru had been termed "a running dog of imperialism" by the Communists of those days.

Nehru strongly favoured military alliance with the US which was engaged in a war with North Korea and China in 1950-53. It was following the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit to India in 1955 and the Bandung Conference of the same year that Nehru decided to become "non-aligned", meaning actually a spasmodically inconsistent adherent of one or the other camp in the Cold War which lasted from the launch of the Sputnik in 1957, to 1985 when Gorbachev caved in and accepted free market capitalism under the guise of the concepts of *glasnost* (opening up) and *perestroika* (restructuring).

It particularly suited Nehru to proclaim adherence to the vague ideas floating around the platform of non-alignment because Khrushchev and Brezhnev had projected the absurd theories of "a non-capitalist path of development", reserved for countries friendly to the Soviet Union; and "non-revolutionary way out of the world crisis" for those countries of the Third World that were dependent on the Soviet Union for their military supplies (India, Indonesia, Egypt and Ghana).

Nehru was rebuffed in 1948 by USA because of its commitment to British imperialism and Britain's stooge government in Pakistan. Both Britain and Pakistan were particularly keen in the period 1948-55 to make Pakistan an essential link in the global chain that America had built up to surround the Soviet Union. In 1949, NATO had come into existence to take care of the sector extending from Norway to Turkey. In 1954, two further links were forged and called the Middle East Defence Organisation (MEDO) or Baghdad Pact and the South East Asia Treaty Organisation (SEATO). MEDO covered the sector Turkey to Iraq and SEATO, the region from West Pakistan to Philippines. South Korea, Taiwan, Japan, Australia and New Zealand were covered by other special arrangements (ANZUS Pact and special treaties with Japan, Taiwan and South Korea).

Thus, the Cold War noose had been placed around the neck of the Soviet Union.

The noose started being cut up almost as soon as it was being completed with the collapse of the French at Dien Bien Phu in Viet Nam (1954) and the revolution in Iraq and Syria (1958) led by the Ba'ath Party of Saddam Hussein and Hafez Al-Assad. The *coup de grace* was provided by the overturn in Cuba organised by Fidel Castro in 1959.

NEHRU WAS A RELUCTANT AND LATE ADVOCATE OF THE POLICY OF NON-ALIGNMENT

From a thesis by Dr. M.S. Venkataramani, JNU

B.M. Kaul was one of the Kashmiri favourites of Jawaharlal Nehru. This led to his quick rise in the army hierarchy. He was made the Military Attache at the Indian embassy in Washington.

After his equally sudden fall from grace as a result of India's debacle in the 1962 border conflict with China, Kaul published his memories in 1967 which contain a brief but vivid account of his meeting with Nehru in December 1947:

"Nehru ... asked me to explore the possibility of buying some medium Mitchell bombers in the USA."

In January 1948, Kaul told Col. Graling, the Officer in Charge of Foreign Military Representatives in USA, that the new Indian government was very keen to obtain large quantities of military equipment from the United States. This, according to Kaul, would be the beginning of a long-term collaboration between the Indian and the American military establishments. Kaul cited the statement of Defence Minister Baldev Singh. Baldev Singh had announced India's intention to seek military technological assistance from the US as further evidence of the Indian government's desire for an immediate and close collaboration exclusively with America.

Col. Kaul told Col. Graling that he had been given the additional title of Military Adviser to the Indian Delegation to the United Nations and was specifically instructed by the

Indian Defence Minister to personally contact the highest American military authorities to embark on a programme of close defence collaboration .

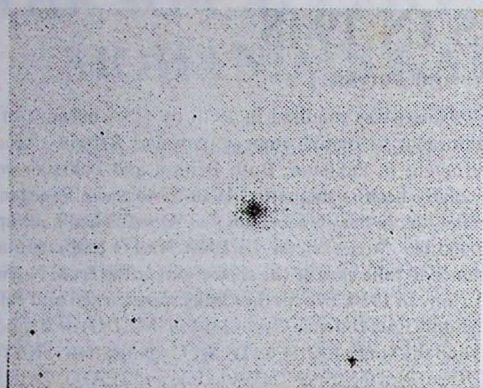
Kaul had been authorised by the Indian government to negotiate with the Pentagon for 1,000 jeeps, 12 B-25 bombers to be given by May 1948 and 31 more B-25 bombers to be delivered later.

The reaction of the American State Department officials was that such an enthusiastic desire for an exclusive military collaboration with the United States was not in keeping with the American government's understanding of the Indian government's foreign policy. On January 27, 1948, Kaul sought a meeting with the Near Eastern Affairs (NEA) Division of the American State Department. The two officials from this division who met Kaul were very cool and cautious in their response and in their memorandum to their superiors described Kaul as an "Americanophile".

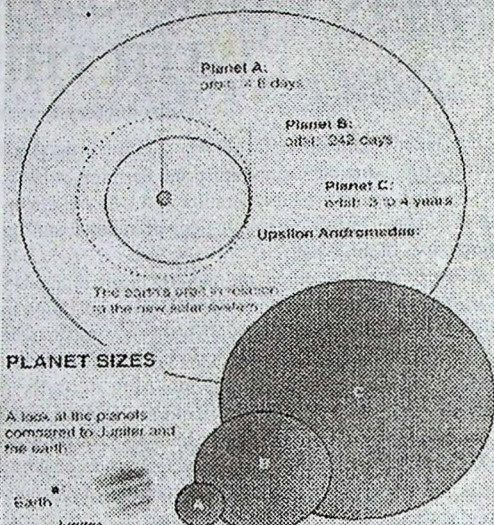
The US Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) were preoccupied with their immediate concerns about threats to America, and India occupied a very low priority position. The JCS felt that South Asia including India was of hardly any military importance to American security and that the minimal US security interests in this region had been taken care of by the 1954 MEDO and SEATO pacts.

(contd. on p.65)

An image of Upsilon Andromedae, a solar-type star with three planets orbiting it.



A new solar system found



The three planets of Upsilon Andromedae are identified in a computer-generated image of the universe. The three planets are gaseous giants like Jupiter, and are not believed to be hospitable to life.

