

MANKIND

FDR. EDR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

GANGUBAI'S
MARU BIHAG - 11

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AN OPENING STATEMENT : 46/47

Exe. Edr.

JAWANS BECOME CANNON FODDER ! LEAVE THE LOC CROSSING DECISION TO JAWANS, LOCALS AND AIRMEN !

My senior colleague, Rammanohar Lohia was fond of saying:

"*Aandhi jab chalti hai, tab chal jaati hai.*" (A storm invisibly gathers force just a few feet away and in the twinkling of an eye, the world is transformed!). In North India, 'aandhis' are frequent and unpredictable.

Every revolution is an opportunity seized: There is no guarantee of success.

If the revolutionaries falter, or display hesitation and cowardice, or allow the ruling enemy classes to regroup and reform, the opportunity will pass. "There is a time and tide in the affairs of men", when courage, will-power and determination are needed to carry the revolutionary forces to success. Or things may turn around and a deep reaction can set in.

For instance, the 1971 war with Pakistan that resulted in the liberation of Bangladesh, was a lost opportunity. Ten million refugees had poured into India, a Bangladesh government-in-exile was established in the suburbs of Calcutta. The Mukti Bahini, the guerilla liberation army, was formed and trained on Indian soil. However, Indira and the wretched CPM Stalinists succeeded in quarantining the guerilla fighters. Indian socialist cadres were not allowed to join the guerilla forces in Calcutta and West Bengal and Tripura, and a new

Federation of the Socialist States of Bengal was not realised. A miserable little Bangladesh was gestated which is doubly anomalous, since religion cannot form a nation either as West Pakistan or Bangladesh.

Similarly a revolutionary opportunity was lost in Tamilnadu and in Eelam, Sri Lanka, in 1983-87. India had air dropped supplies on Jaffna and a convoy of ships carrying essential goods had been sent to relieve the Tamil people of the North-East, who were being economically and culturally discriminated against by the Buddhist Sihala compradors. But after thousands of lives had been lost and crores wasted, the IPKF had to return to India in 1989, because in mid-stream Rajiv had been blackmailed by the Bofors scandal to turn around and make enemies of the same LTTE cadres, who had earlier been trained and equipped by the Indian Army in recruitment centres spread over the entire country.

In identical fashion, in 1947 and 1948, after Hari Singh reluctantly acceded to India on October 27th, 1947; the Indian armed forces had heroically carried tanks up high mountain passes and saved Srinagar in the nick of time. But the *dalal*, Jawahar Nehru, referred the Kashmir issue to the United Nations on the advice of Maharaja Hari Singh, Lord Louis Mountbatten and his nymphomaniac wife Edwina, who had

become Nehru's mistress. Sheikh Abdullah of the National Conference had led the anti-maharaja democratic forces and it was obvious that he would have won any popular poll at that time. But after decades of non-development, his base was eroded. His corrupt practices had emulated those of Nehru on a smaller scale.

The second war was fought with Pakistan in 1965 which was won on the battlefield by the Indian Army, but lost by the Congress leadership at Tashkent under Russian pressure. The Indian Army withdrew from large areas which they had won in West Pakistan without any rhyme or reason. Pakistan was allowed to retain areas occupied by it in Kashmir.

Of course, in 1972 at the Simla conference, India not only withdrew from all the conquered territories but also freed 95,000 Pakistan prisoners of war without any *quid pro quo*.

We have analysed all the wars fought by India since 1947 in *Mankind*, Nov. '98, pp. 34-43.

We won all the three wars against Pakistan in 1948, '65 and '71, but frittered away our gains by inept political leadership at conference tables in New York in 1948, in Tashkent in 1965 and in Simla in 1972.

The Congress Party has been chiefly responsible for betraying Indian national interests from 1947 to 1999. The Congress Party has been the principal villain in our struggle to maintain our sovereignty and territorial integrity in Kashmir. Nehru betrayed our army in 1948 by reference to the United Nations. Lal Bahadur Shastri scuttled our war victories at Tashkent in 1965. Indira Gandhi retreated in 1972 at Simla, giving up 95,000 prisoners of war and returning occupied territories to West Pakistan, without obtaining Pakistani withdrawal from Kashmir.

However, the Janata Party Governments of Morarji Desai and Chaudhary Charan Singh between 1977 and 1980; the Janata Dal Governments of V. P. Singh and Chandrashekhar from 1989 to 1991; and the BJP and United Front Governments of Vajpayee, Deve Gowda and Gujral from 1996 to 1999

have all failed to secure the withdrawal of Pakistan from Indian territory.

In fact the Indian Army has either not thought of publishing or has not been allowed to publish, a history of India's wars since 1947.

We do not know how much money, how many men and vital defence equipment has been frittered away in all the 5 major wars, which we have lost to our neighbours, Pakistan, China and Sri Lanka.

(See box for official estimates of casualties on p. 12).

Three battlefield victories were turned into defeats by the Congress leadership in 1948 (New York), 1965 (Tashkent), and 1972 (Simla). The wars with China in 1962 was also lost by the wretched Congress *dalal*, Jawaharlal Nehru, by first arrogantly ordering the Indian army, 'to throw out the Chinese', and then turning round and excusing his cowardly

acceptance of defeat by saying that; 'not a blade of grass grows in these remote Himalayan ice fields of Aksai Chin'.

A most absurd situation has arisen in Kargil in 1999. A so-called Line of Control, which was earlier known as Cease Fire Line, was transgressed by Pakistan and whilst its troops are being openly supplied and reinforced, the Indian Army and Air Force are prevented from crossing the LOC to smash the 40 odd supply bases in North Kashmir. Our jawans are ordered to dislodge Pakistanis from their entrenched and bunkered positions, which are being openly supported logistically "Result: troops were mowed down like flies in these suicidal assaults" (*Indian Express*,

28.6.99).

Thus our jawans have become cannon fodder for our political leadership which is directing the top echelons of our Armed Forces.

Our Army and Air Force are directed to fight with their right arms tied behind their backs. The enemy is continuously reinforcing and supplying the so-called intruders and infiltrators.

They are also being subjected to terrorising tactics by the Pakistani

sentiment?

We call upon all Indian nationalists to conduct the war in Kargil and Kashmir to its logical conclusion by air-raids and artillery barrages across the LOC, whenever Indian lives can be saved. Today's figure in the *Times of India* (1.7.99) of the total dead on the Indian side, counted so far, was 600. It is obvious that most of these deaths were quite unnecessary. The brave jawans are asked to perform impossible tasks!

The innocent civilians from our side are being massacred by barbaric terrorists without let or hindrance; and our air-force pilots are being asked to fly sorties at heights of over 20,000 ft. at speeds approaching the sound barrier, without transgressing an imaginary LOC line; which they can hardly read or distinguish on their instruments. The technology of modern warfare has been made a

SOLDIERS WERE TORTURED: AUTOPSY REPORT

The six soldiers whose bodies were handed over at Post 43 in the Kargil Sector on June 9 suffered extensive injuries and torture, including mutilations before being killed, according to the autopsy report made public today. They had been killed a week before the bodies were returned.

The soldiers were part of a patrol that was reported missing on May 14, and although Radio Skardu in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir reported that they were being held, the Pakistani Director-General of Military Operations denied this on May 25 when he spoke to his counterpart here at the Army Headquarters.

The post-mortem was conducted here in the morning by Army pathologists in the presence of an official from the Indian Red Cross and the head of the Forensic Department of Safdarjang Hospital.

One soldier, whose name was not revealed, died of shock and as a result of firearm injuries, all of which were *ante mortem*. In two cases, soldiers had been repeatedly tortured before being shot dead.

In another case, there was a penetrating wound in the left eye with visceration, compound fracture of the skull, severe loss of brain tissue, multiple gunshot wounds in the right front perital portion of brain and multiple injuries on the back of the trunk. Death was caused by severe compound head injuries.

Source: *Indian Express*, 12.6.99

Army which returned six mutilated and tortured bodies of soldiers, on 11.6.99, knowing that their barbaric behaviour will become known. But they are so confident of ultimate Western support that they are not ashamed of proclaiming that they hold Indian lives in total contempt (*Indian Express*, 11.6.99).

The return of the mutilated and tortured bodies should have been made an occasion for a national campaign against Pak terrorism. But both BJP and Samata Party failed to develop such a rousing National Consciousness Campaign.

Do Advani and Atal Bihari, George and Nitish Kumar, think that they can win any war against Pakistan without rousing Indian Nationalist

mockery of.

A SIMPLE AND DIRECT SOLUTION, IS THAT COMMITTEES OF JAWANS SHOULD BE FORMED IN EACH SECTOR. WITH WHICH LOCAL PEASANTS, LANDLESS LABOURERS AND ARTISANS COULD BE ASSOCIATED. THESE SECTORAL COMMITTEES WOULD INSTRUCT OUR PILOTS TO DESTROY PAKISTANI SUPPLY BASES, AND STOP THE HAEMORRHAGE OF THE BEST OF OUR YOUTH, WHO HAVE JOINED THE ARMED FORCES.

We are not advocating a crossing of the LOC at all points, neither are we suggesting that we cross the line between Kashmir and

KARGIL WAR

We have noted earlier in our writings in *Mankind* and elsewhere that India is almost the only big (or major, or great) country in the world, whose boundaries and area have been changing from time to time.

Never mind all that, we will consider only Jammu and Kashmir. In the 1st edition of *India, A Reference Annual*, 1953, brought out annually by the Publication Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, on p.1, the area of J & K state was given as 92,780 sq. miles, equivalent to 240,300.20 sq. kilometers.

In the 1960 edition of the same Annual, the area of J & K state became 86,024 sq. miles, equivalent to 222,802.16 sq. kms. In the same official *Reference Annual* published by a Ministry of the Government of India in the year 1960, at p. 24-25, a district-wise break up of the area of J & K state is given and this totals 84,476 sq. kms which is equivalent to 218,792.84 sq. kms.

In the 1964 edition at p.7, two figures are shown against J & K in the column of Area. Figure (a) is shown as 86,023 sq. miles or an equivalent of 222,799.57 sq. kms. Another figure (b) is shown as 56,665 sq. miles which is the Censused Area under Indian occupation, that is, an equivalent of 146,762.25 sq. kms.

With the 1965 edition, p.7, a changeover was made to square kilometers and the area of J & K state was given as 222,869.78 sq. kms.

In the 1966 edition, p.7, the area of J & K was changed to 222,800 sq. kms.

In the 1968 edition, p.8, the area of J & K once again changed to 222,870 sq. kms.

In the 1988-89 edition, the area of J & K became 222.2 thousand square kilometers. In the same 1988-89, on p.693, the area of J & K was shown as 222,236 sq. kms and a note had been inserted stating "that this area included 78,114 sq. kms under illegal occupation of Pakistan; 5180 sq. kms. illegally handed over by Pakistan to China; and 37,555 sq. kms under illegal occupation of China.

Since it is not possible to follow from year to year the idiocies perpetrated by our *naukarshahi*, we shall jump to the last two years.

On p.603 of the '98 edition, the area of J & K had been given as the same 222,236 sq. kms with the same note as had been inserted in the 1988-89 edition.

In 1999 edition, the latest, J & K area has mercifully remained the same at 222,236 sq. kms. with the same notes relating to the illegal occupation by Pakistan and China to the same extent.

To cut the long story short, AS PER THE 1953 FIRST EDITION OF *INDIA, A REFERENCE ANNUAL*, THE AREA OF J & K STATE WAS 92,780 SQ. MILES OR AN EQUIVALENT OF 240,300.20 SQ. KMS. IN THE LATEST EDITION OF 1999, THE AREA OF J & K STATE STANDS REDUCED TO 222,236 SQ. KMS.

	Sq. km.
1. Censused or Indian Occupied area	101,387
2. Illegally occupied by Pakistan	78,114
3. Illegally handed over by Pakistan to China	5,180
4. Illegal occupation of China	120,849
5. Total area of J & K	222,336

IN SHORT, OF THE TOTAL ORIGINAL AREA OF J & K OF 240,300.20 SQ. KMS., 18,036.20 SQ. KMS. HAVE SIMPLY VANISHED INTO THIN AIR.

OF THE REMAINING 222,236 SQ. KMS., A TOTAL OF 120,849 SQ. KMS. IS ILLEGALLY UNDER OCCUPATION BY PAKISTAN AND CHINA, WITH PAKISTAN'S SHARE BEING 78,114 SQ. KMS. AND CHINA'S SHARE BEING 42,735 SQ. KMS.

THUS OF THE TOTAL AREA OF J & K ADMEASURING 240,300.20 SQ. KMS., 18,036.20 SQ. KMS HAVE VANISHED INTO THIN AIR; 120,849 SQ. KMS ARE UNDER ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF CHINA AND PAKISTAN AND ONLY 101,387 SQ. KMS IS UNDER LEGAL POSSESSION OF INDIA.

PERCENTAGE - WISE THE SITUATION IS THAT 7.51% HAS VANISHED INTO THIN AIR; 50.29% HAS BEEN ILLEGALLY OCCUPIED BY PAKISTAN AND CHINA (32.51% BY PAKISTAN AND 17.78% BY CHINA); AND 42.20% IS STILL WITH INDIA.

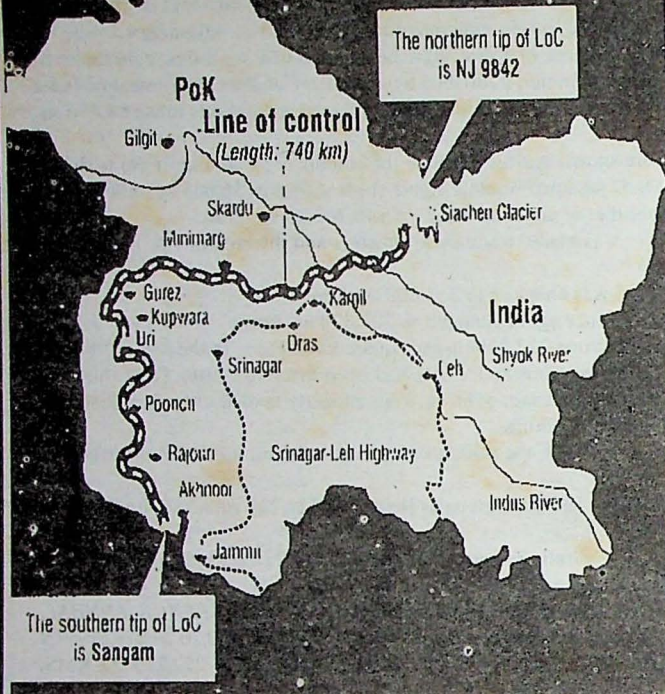
Two more essential facts may be noted.

J & K STATE ACCEDED TO INDIA ON OCTOBER 27, 1947. AND SINCE THAT DATE INDIA ACQUIRED AN EXTERNAL FRONTIER WITH PAKISTAN (NWFP PROVINCE), AFGHANISTAN (WAKHAN PANHANDLE), AND CHINA (SINKIANG AUTONOMOUS REGION).

IT WILL BE QUITE APPARENT THAT ANY CHANGE IN THE EXTERNAL FRONTIERS OF INDIA WILL RESULT IN ADDITIONS TO THE TERRITORIES OF PAKISTAN, AFGHANISTAN AND CHINA.

N. B. THE DESIGNATION SADR - i - RIYASAT AND PRIME MINISTER OF J & K STATE WERE CHANGED TO GOVERNOR AND CHIEF MINISTER RESPECTIVELY, FROM APRIL 10, 1965, IN TERMS OF THE CONSTITUTION AMENDMENT BILL PASSED BY THE J & K LEGISLATURE ON APRIL 3, 1965.

THE LOC SAGA



- The Simla pact stipulated that in J & K, the line separating the two armies on ceasefire day (71) will be delineated on maps.
- The LOC's precursor was the old Cease Fire Line (Jan 1, 1949, Karachi pact). In broad contours, give or take a few areas, the two coincide.
- The current LOC delineated in nine meetings-between Aug 10 and Dec 11, 1972 - at Suchetgarh (India) and Wagah (Pakistan).
- Lt. Gen. P. S. Bhagat (India) and Lt. Gen. Abdul Hameed Khan (Pakistan) - who knew each other since their days at IMA, Dehradun, - headed the two delegations.
- Two sets of 27 maps were prepared; and 19 mosaics derived by joining these maps.
- 19 annexures (of 40 pages) in the final agreement detailed every feature, landmark and coordinates of the LoC.
- The maps were jointly signed and exchanged by the two military commanders at Suchetgarh on Dec 11, 1972.
- The uninhabited area beyond NJ 9842 (where the Siachen glacier falls) was left undelineated.
- The Karachi pact ('49) states the Cease Fire Line beyond NJ 9842 runs north to the glacier, which brings Siachen into the Indian side.
- International maps began showing the LOC running north-east to Karakoram pass, cutting out Siachen from India. This is the Pakistani stand too.
- In 1982, Pakistan starts sending mountaineering teams, giving the impression it has jurisdiction over this area.
- In 1984, India sends up its forces to Siachen in anticipation of Pakistani attempts to move into the area.

Source: Outlook, 12.7.99.

other parts of Pakistan. But, we certainly feel that the blood of the jawans is not cheap and sheddable ! We must defend our national interests with the help of these jawans and assure them that their safety is of utmost concern to us.

Depending on the local conditions and location of Pakistani terrorist training and supply bases, the local sectoral committees will decide to act in the best interests of the Indian Army, saving lives, conserving materials and stopping Pakistani barbarity.

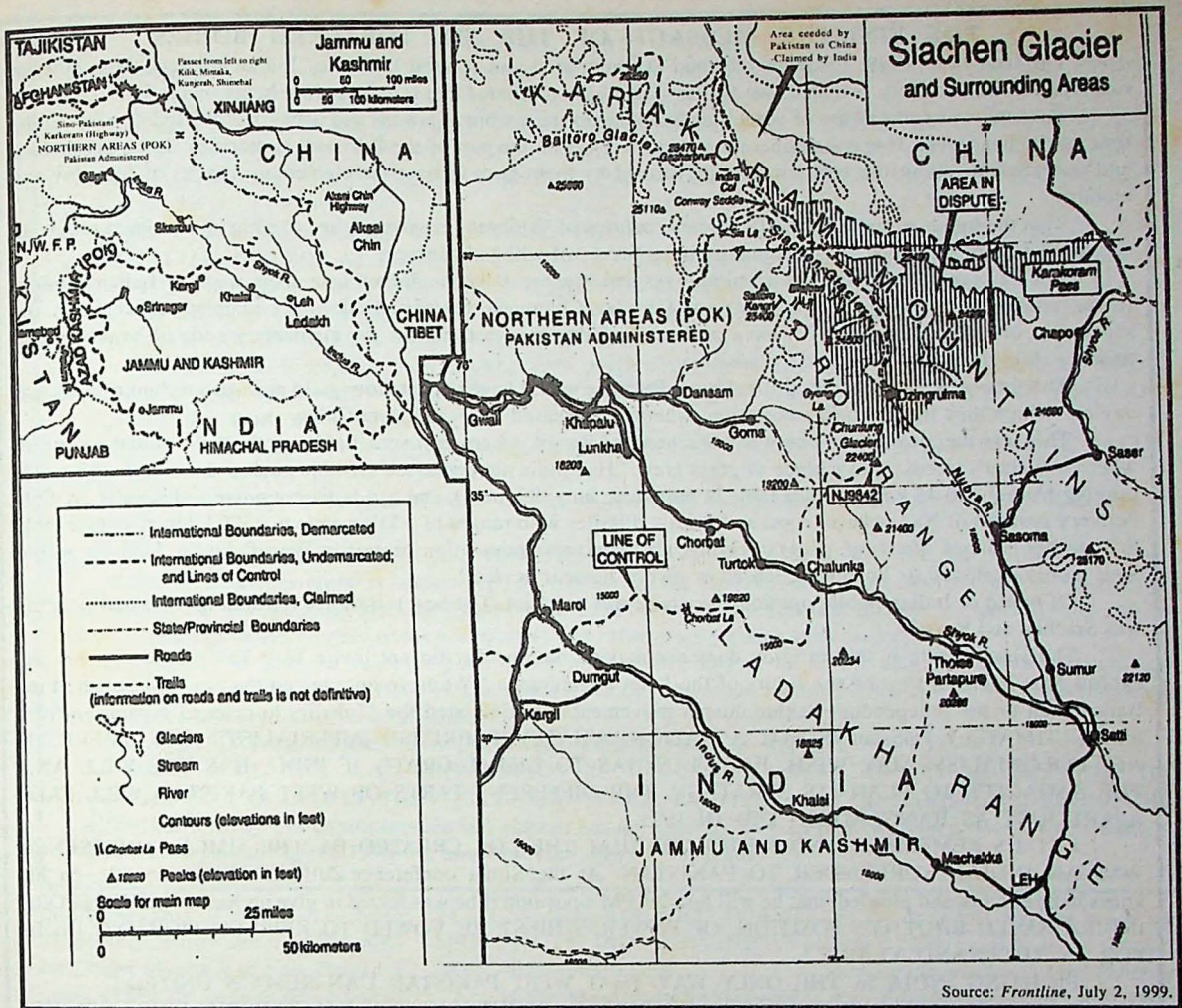
It is obvious that George Fernandes deserves to depart from the Defence Ministry either by way of voluntary resignation or forced removal ! Initially, he tried to exonerate the Nawaz Sharif Government and the ISI, from having a hand in the Kargil affair. (*Indian Express*, 29.5.99). Why should he be

interested in the division of labour between the Pak Government, Pak Intelligence Agencies and Pak Army? ALL THREE DEFEND EACH OTHER WHENEVER NECESSARY. Then he came out with the idea that India could allow safe passage back to the intruders (*Times of India*, 2.6.99). Possibly George forgot to mention that those allowed to return to their base camps should be garlanded and escorted by military bands ! Actually, this scenario was more or less followed in the last week of the war, when the so-called intruders retreated in groups waving white flags and the Indian army refrained from firing. But George's timing and formulation was childish and morale-shattering.

Let us remember the old German Socialist leaders Ebert and Schiedmann who led the Free Officers Corps to murder Karl Leibknecht and Rosa Luxemburg of the Spartacus

League in 1919. The old German Socialist Reformists were the worst of the European Labour leaders who shared the loot of the Third World with their ruling elites.

Socialists in India and in the ex-colonial world, are not expected to be equally treacherous and blood-thirsty! George is a man with a "lost conscience". However George has fallen so low that he is willingly carrying out the orders of India's neo-colonial masters --- the overlapping gangs known as G-7, OECD, NATO and EU. As an accompanying box highlights, Pakistani occupation of N. Kashmir is totally illegal; and is to the extent of 32.51% per cent. USA and UK have prevented us from expelling Pakistan from these large parts of North Kashmir and they have encouraged Pakistan with money and military hardware to mount repeated attacks by terrorists and infiltrators.



George originally exonerated the Sharif Government from the Kargil misadventure of the Pak Army in the hope that he will then negotiate a dirty deal with the Pakistani Prime Minister.

But all these deals are at the expense of India's sovereign claim over the entire territory of Kashmir as it existed on 27th October 1947.

We have repeatedly stated that Maharaja Hari Singh, Jawahar Nehru and Lord Louis Mountbatten, IN A FEUDO-COLONIAL JOINT LEGACY, cannot determine FOREVER the future of Kashmir and India. NEW GOVERNMENTS OF INDIA ARE BOUND TO FOLLOW NEW POLICIES. IN FACT, SUCCESSIVE

ELECTIONS TO NEW LOK SABHAS REQUIRE THAT NEW POLICIES BE FOLLOWED BY NEW GOVERNMENTS. WHAT IS THE SENSE OF GOING TO THE POLLS IF OLD POLICIES ARE TO BE CONTINUED FOR ALL TIME? WHY SHOULD NEW PARTIES COME INTO POWER IF THE POLICIES OF THE DEFEATED PARTY ARE TO CONTINUE? In our Opening Statement No. 45 of the preceding month we had demanded a total repudiation of Nehru's legacy in Kashmir.

WE MUST MOVE FORWARD WITH COMMITTEES OF SOLDIERS, LOCAL RESIDENTS (meaning peasants, landless labourers

and artisans) AND AIR FORCE PERSONNEL! SUCH PANCHAYATS IN EACH SECTOR SHOULD TAKE OVER DECISION- MAKING REGARDING THE LOC. LET THEM DECIDE WHERE TO CROSS THE LOC, TO SMASH WHICH SUPPLY BASE THAT IS REINFORCING THE TERRORIST INFILTRATORS AND PAKISTANI ARMY PERSONNEL CROSSING INTO INDIA.

The pack of comprador hounds have already started baying for a still further political surrender. In the name of pragmatism Shekhar Gupta, Chief Editor of *Indian Express*, has already started demanding the conversion of the LOC into an international border!

B. G. Verghese, of the same

THE SINISTER MESSAGE OF THE SIX TORTURED BODIES

On 10th June 1999, Pakistan returned six mutilated and tortured bodies of Indian soldiers. Post mortem examination immediately revealed that the dead had been mutilated and tortured before being murdered.

Pakistan was fully aware of what they had done to the six brave jawans and officers of the Indian army at the time of the hand over. It was a deliberate provocative act on the part of the Pakistani authorities. To be unashamed and non-chalant about the barbaric acts performed by them goes against the elementary canons of fair play and morality.

That the Indian army and the BJP Samata coalition of Vajpayee Fernandes failed to whip up a national campaign against Pakistani atrocities, was a signal political failure of will and courage.

But let us understand the Pakistani motives and strategy. Pakistan did not care about world or Indian opinion. It was bothered in the least about morality and fair play. Communal hatred and inferiority complex suffered since the separation of Bangladesh in 1971, have pushed the Pakistanis to transgress the elementary code of humanity and decency. World opinion took tertiary position.

That is why we feel that in all likelihood Pakistan would have tried its low-yield primitive technology nuclear devices which they had in their possession, whether purchased or leased from China.

This was the ideal ground between Siachen and Kargil, where vast snowfields lay the year around on terrain where in Nehru's words, "not a blade of grass grew." Had India not possessed credible nuclear deterrents with yields ranging from 0.2 to 45 kilotons (see table in *Mankind*, June '99, p.43), and had India not possessed equally credible delivery systems of Nag, Akash, Agni and Prithvi missiles with ranges of 5 kilometers to 2500 kilometers (see table in June '99 issue of *Mankind*, p.14) covering, all the diverse population centres in West Pakistan. Pakistan would have surely exploded its borrowed, leased or owned nuclear device !

Of world or Indian public opinion Pakistan cares not a jot. The best terrain for terrorising India and its army was Siachen and Kargil.

The simple truth is that religion does not make a nation. We did not invite West Pakistan to oppress and exploit East Pakistan beyond the limits of the latter's endurance ! We have not created the *Jiyo Sind* or the Free Baluchistan or the independent Pakhtoonistan movements or stimulated the Mohajirs to demand separation from Sind. ULTIMATELY, PAKISTAN IS NOT A NATION. WHATEVER BRITISH IMPERIALISTS AND AMERICAN NEO-COLONIALISM MAY WISH. PAKISTAN HAS TO DISINTEGRATE. IF INDIA HAS THE WILL AND THE SAGACITY TO PLAN ITS STRATEGY, THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF WEST PAKISTAN WILL FALL APART JUST AS BANGLADESH DID IN 1971.

LET US REMEMBER AND REITERATE THAT THE LOC CREATED BY THE SIMLA CONFERENCE WAS AN INDIAN SURRENDER TO PAKISTAN. At the Simla conference Zulfikar Ali Bhutto fell on his knees before Indira and pleaded that he will lose his PM's position if he was forced to give up Kashmir. THEREFORE INDIRA SAVED BHUTTO'S POSITION OF POWER, WHILST HE VOWED TO KEEP ON FIGHTING INDIA FOR "A THOUSAND YEARS" !

FIGHTING INDIA IS THE ONLY WAY THAT WEST PAKISTAN CAN REMAIN UNITED !

PAKISTAN WILL DISINTEGRATE, AND PUNJAB, PAKHTOONISTAN, BALUCHISTAN, SIND AND THE POSSIBLE MOHAJIRISTAN WILL ALL GO THEIR SEPARATE WAYS. HOW LONG THIS PROCESS OF DISINTEGRATION TAKES WILL DEPEND ON INDIA AND ITS DEFENCE STRATEGY PLANNERS. IF GEORGE AND VAJPAYEE ALLOW LOCAL COUNCILS OF JAWANS, PEASANTS AND PILOTS TO CROSS THE LOC AND SMASH THE 40 SUPPLY BASES WITHIN POK RIGHT NOW, THE END OF PAKISTAN WILL BE WITHIN SIGHT !

comprador pack, has followed up with an article commending total surrender by India (see separate article published in this issue titled "Indian Comprador Bum Spells Out Terms of Total Surrender").

Today (3.7.99) a long news story had appeared in the *Times of India* claiming that the then Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto had accepted the conversion of the LOC into an international frontier at Simla in 1972. IK Gujral, the Stalinist vermin

and cad, who was recently Prime Minister of India, has claimed in a letter to Kofi Annan, the UN General Secretary, that 'as a member of Indira Gandhi cabinet', who was present in Simla during the talks between India's PM Indira and Pakistan's PM Bhutto in 1972, it had been SECRETLY AGREED that Bhutto would return to India in six months and sign a further agreement with Indira to convert the LOC into an international frontier.

However, this did not happen

because of opposition from extreme fundamentalists in Pakistan.

Thus, the pack of hounds represented by the mediemen Shekhar Gupta and B. G. Verghese has been joined by the notorious American CIA Centre in Delhi called the Centre for Policy Research of which IK Gujral is spokesperson. It will be recalled that during Gujral's extremely brief tenure as PM of less than nine months, he had tried to appoint Bhabani Sen Gupta as advisor to the external affairs

KARGIL WAR FINALE

The Kargil war lasted about 10 weeks from May '99 to July '99. India has fought six wars with Pakistan since 1947 out of a total of eight wars fought by it since pseudo-independence.

Of the six wars with Pakistan THREE WERE MAJOR, DECLARED, OPEN WARS (1947-48, 1965 AND 1971) AND THREE WERE LOW INTENSITY "PROXY WARS" IN JAMMU & KASHMIR ("OPERATION SIACHEN", 1984 onwards; "OPERATION RAKSHAK" 1989 onwards; "OPERATION VIJAY" IN KARGIL May, June, July 1999).

All the six wars with Pakistan were WON BY INDIA ON THE BATTLE-FIELDS AND LOST BY THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AT CONFERENCE TABLES. JAWAHAR, SHASTRI AND INDIRA OF THE INC WERE THE PRINCIPAL CULPRITS FOR CONTINUOUS INDIAN DIPLOMATIC DEFEATS!

WE MUST ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT THE LOC OF 1972 RESULTED FROM AN INDIAN SURRENDER AT THE SIMLA CONFERENCE OF 1972 !

WE LIBERATED 95,000 PAKISTANI POWS AND GAVE UP ALL TERRITORIAL GAINS IN WEST PAKISTAN AND KASHMIR WITHOUT ANY *QUID PRO QUO* FROM PAKISTAN AND WITHOUT VACATION OF POK BY PAKISTAN.

THIS LINE HAS NOW ACQUIRED AN INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION FROM US, UK, EU, JAPAN AND UN.

ONCE AGAIN THE OPPORTUNITY TO REVERSE THE DIPLOMATIC DEFEAT OF 1972 HAS BEEN LOST.

WE HAVE WON THE KARGIL WAR BUT WE HAVE LOST THE BATTLE OF KASHMIR.

Nawaz Sharif government has not been overthrown by the Kashmiri extremists, nor have the Indian jawans and airmen crossed the LOC to exterminate the 40 base camps of the constant intruders, especially the one at Skardu where the major supply bases of terrorists and infiltrators remains operational.

At the same time the Vajpayee government has not officially given up the area called Azad Kashmir or POK, but the Cease Fire Line of 1947-48 which was renamed, with minor modifications, LOC in 1972, has remained the effective frontier for the last 52 years,

IN HISTORY 52 YEARS ARE LIKE THE TWINKLING OF AN EYE.

WITH POLITICAL WILL AND STRATEGIC FAR-SIGHTEDNESS IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO OVERTHROW THE LOC IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS, PARTICULARLY IF PAKISTAN'S ECONOMIC CRISIS DEEPENS ! *Per capita income in Pakistan has declined by 28% in just two years. (see World Bank's World Development Report, 1998-99; and Mankind, May 1999, p.18).*

ministry. This Bhabani has been absolutely notorious for his pro-American advocacy in New Delhi for many years. The pack of neo-colonial blood hounds led by Shekhar Gupta have suddenly discovered that it is not enough to win the Kargil war. **AFTER WINNING IT WE MUST ONCE AGAIN LOSE IT!** ACCORDING TO THEM, WE SHOULD NOT REPEAT THE *MANTRA* OF NO THIRD PARTY, NO FOREIGN INTERVENTION. WE SHOULD ACTUALLY SEEK US-UK APPROVAL SO THAT SOME TRIVIAL "UN RESOLUTION ON KASHMIR MAY BE CONSIGNED TO THE TRASH CAN OF HISTORY". A BILATERAL ACCORD OF TOTAL WITHDRAWAL FROM KARGIL WILL NOT BE ENOUGH. THE WEST MUST APPROVE OF THE NEW ARRANGEMENT OF

TURNING THE LOC (OLD CEASE FIRE LINE OF 1947) INTO INDIA'S NORTHERN FRONTIER !.

If the West is to approve of everything that we do in India or in Kashmir, why not ask the Western powers to send their troops to take care of the international frontiers of India? WHY NOT HAND BACK INDIA TO THE WEST?

Let the different neo-colonial economic interests decide, which specific country will control India from time to time. Today it may be UK, tomorrow it could be USA and on the third day it could be France and Germany.

CONCLUSION

Revolutionary opportunity arrives in mysterious ways. We do not know exactly which spark will set it off.

Sometimes we hear the knock

on the door just because we want to hear it ! However our well - entrenched democratic practices of the Panchayati Raj, Zilla Parishads, etc. suggest that we should immediately set up sectoral committees all over the LOC in Kashmir consisting of jawans whose lives are at stake, associated with representatives of local residents who are being subject to systematic massacres by the intruders (peasants, landless labourers, artisans, etc.). Together with these elements we may place the Air Force pilots of the sector who know the terrain too well, in these committees (the Russian word for committees or councils was "Soviets" which is nothing to be frightened of).

Almost inevitably, soldiers and personnel of the armed forces, have played a major role in all revolutions. In Russia, the Petrograd and Moscow Soviets that led the revolution were made of recallable representatives of

workers, peasants and soldiers. After heading the Military Revolution Committee of the Petrograd Soviet in September 1917 and after carrying out successfully the insurrection on October 26, 1917; Trotsky built up the Red Army that defended the gains of the 1917 revolution in a bitter civil war that raged from 1918 to 1920 and was spread out from Poland to Korea.

There would have been no Chinese Revolution of 1949, but for the People's Army, Cuba not only carried out its own revolution successfully in 1959, but sent armed volunteers to help liberate Angola and Mozambique in 1975. Ho Chi Minh's Viet Cong army drove out the Americans from Vietnam in 1975.

In every revolution of the world the Armed Forces have had to play a decisive role.

Our army must cease to be a "voluntary" and mercenary force. It must become a conscript People's Army!

We cannot win the Kargil-Kashmir war unless we allow at least the jawans who have shed their blood for Kashmir to buy land and shops in

Kashmir, which is not the case today. We must abrogate Article 370 and make Kashmir equal to all the other states of the Indian Union. We must repudiate the 'secularist claptrap' and discard the 50-year-old colonial-feudal legacy of Nehru, Hari Singh and Lord Louis.

At the moment let us decide to wipe out the supply bases of the Pakistani barbarians and terrorists WHEREVER AND WHENEVER NECESSARY. All the decisions relating to the crossing of the LOC should be left to the people directly concerned.

ANY DECISION TO ACCEPT THE LOC AS THE FRONTIER OF INDIA NECESSARILY RUBBISHES THE THOUSANDS OF LIVES LOST IN THE THREE WARS OF 1948, 1965 AND 1971 AND ZEROISES THE THOUSANDS OF CRORES OF RUPEES THAT THE POOR PEOPLE OF INDIA HAVE SPENT ON THE THREE WARS AND ON THE ROTTEN NATIONAL CONFERENCE AND INC GOVERNMENTS OF KASHMIR OVER THE LAST 50 YEARS.

LET US WIN THE KARGIL WAR IN 1999 AS WE WON THE BANGLADESH WAR IN 1971!

LET THE NEO-COLONIAL CONSPIRACY OF PARTITION OF INDIA IN 1947 BE FIRMLY SQUASHED AND AT LONG LAST BURIED DEEP!

1. RELIGION DOES NOT BIND OR MAKE A NATION! ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION BY NEO-COLONIAL POWERS CREATES AND PROMOTES RESISTANCE! THIS NATIONALIST RESISTANCE REINFORCED BY CULTURAL HISTORY, WELDS A PEOPLE INTO A NATION!

2. PAKISTAN HAS NEVER FOUGHT WESTERN IMPERIALISM AND THEREFORE NEVER BECAME A NATION!

LET US MAKE A NEW BEGINNING WITH SECTORAL COMMITTEES OF JAWANS, LOCALS AND PILOTS ALL ALONG THE LOC.

Sare jahan se achha.....

Sarfarooshi ki tamanna hai.....

Mai! Mera rang de basanti chola.. ■

MUMBAI SAMACHAR JOINS CRUSADE FOR NEW CONSTITUTION

Mumbai Samachar, India's oldest language newspaper in continuous publication from 1812, has a record of over hundred and fifty years of publishing the most puerile, commercial stuff, that suits the palate of the Gujarati, Bania community, the richest segment of the traders settled in Mumbai, the richest commercial centre in India.

It is owned by a Parsi paper merchant who acquired it decades ago against unpaid paper and ink bills.

I had one of my best organised trade union units of the Bombay Press Employees Union in *Bombay Samachar*. I still remember with nostalgic affection the hard drinking compositors of the Ghodawala caste especially Ravji who manned the Composing Room in the late forties

and early fifties. You can hardly believe it but the some of them managed to compose without being literate! (They followed the shapes of letters with their eyes and their hands picked up the types as needed.)

This *Mumbai Samachar* which was unaffected by the change from Bombay to Mumbai, specialised in the four Cs: Community, Caste, Crime and Commerce. The longest statements from the most obscure sub-castes of a religious community were handsomely featured in its columns. Crime and commercial reports from the various commodity markets formed the staple diet of its readers. *Mumbai Samachar* was a cameo of compradorism.

Strangely enough in an editorial published on 20th June

1999, Jehan Daruwala, the editor, has come out strongly in favour of a New Constituent Assembly! ("*Bandharan thaki Bharatiya praja sathé thayali chheterpindi*" = The people of India cheated by the Constitution).

They say that the opposites meet! That is why *Mankind* has been rooting for a New Constituent Assembly ELECTED FOR THE FIRST TIME ON THE BASIS OF A UNIVERSAL DIRECT EQUAL ADULT FRANCHISE!

Anyway we are glad of *Mumbai Samachar's* support and enthusiastically welcome it. As far as we are concerned it is an indication that the Indian ruling classes are themselves searching for a way out.

The Congress *naukarshahi* combine that has ruled us for 50 years has failed UTTERLY, TOTALLY, IN EVERY RESPECT! ■

GANGUBAI'S MARU BIHAG

Gangubai turned 87 recently and the occasion has been commemorated with *festschrifts* in various media.

I also take this occasion to pay my humble tribute to a very fine and great artiste. Gangubai hailed from Hubli, in Karnataka and belonged to the Kirana Gharana of Abdul Karim Khan, Sawai Gandharva, Bhimsen Joshi and similar leading lights.

Indian musicology has been vitiated by Western predilections and ignorance.

Indian music was the original music of all the Indo-Aryan pastoralist folks, who founded the Sapta-Sindhu or Vedic civilisation that animated Indian history from c. 7,000 bc to 700 bc. The latter part of this Sapta-Sindhu culture became known as the Indus Valley Civilisation to Western archeologists and historians who tried to propound the bogus theory of an Aryan Invasion of India.

THERE NEVER WAS ANY ARYAN INVASION OF INDIA AS THE SAPTA-SINDHU REGION WAS THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE INDO-ARYAN SPEAKERS OF THE

WORLD WHO ARE TODAY SPREAD OUT FROM IRELAND TO BENGAL AND ASSAM.

The speakers of Indo-Aryan languages necessarily carried their own distinctive *DHVANI / SOUND / MUSIC WHEREVER THEY WENT*.

The modes of Greek Music and the Modal Music of Ancient Christian Church (also known as Byzantine Church Music) are derived from Indo-Aryan *Dhvani-sound-music* and language.

Just as imperialist writers of the latter half of the 19th century tried to confuse the issues in the areas of History and Linguistics, similarly Western musicologists misinterpreted Indian music to propound infantile theories that "Indian Music was based upon Melody whilst Western Music was based upon Harmony".

AS A MATTER OF FACT ALL MUSIC IS FOUNDED UPON BOTH HARMONY AND MELODY. ANY MUSIC THAT LACKS EITHER BECOMES NOISE !

We shall be dealing with these and other the important historical, linguistic and musicological issues by

and by in the columns of *Mankind* as the occasion arises.

Anyway as far as Gangubai Hangal is concerned, my memory goes back as far as 1956 when as the first Indian classical music critic of the *Times of India*, Bombay, I covered Gangubai's concert in the Suburban Music Circle at Santa Cruz Bombay.

The *Times of India* had changed hands a decade earlier but the old colonial traditions had remained unchanged. Parsi ladies piano-playing to empty auditoria and the cacophonous concerts of Victor Paranjoti's Bombay Madrigal Singer's Organisation (BMSO), were covered by the *Times of India* in extensive columns BUT THE FINEST INDIAN CLASSICAL MUSIC CONCERTS WENT UNNOTICED.

My stint as music critic for *Times of India* lasted for several years and I enjoyed every minute of it, beginning with the mellifluous *Maru Bihag, Rasiyan Aao Na*, of Gangubai in 1956, almost exactly 43 years ago when the Kannadiga Saraswat Brahmin Ullal brothers were running the Santa Cruz Music Circle. ■

INFORMATION FACT SHEET

BALANCE SHEET OF INTELLIGENCE

CREDIT

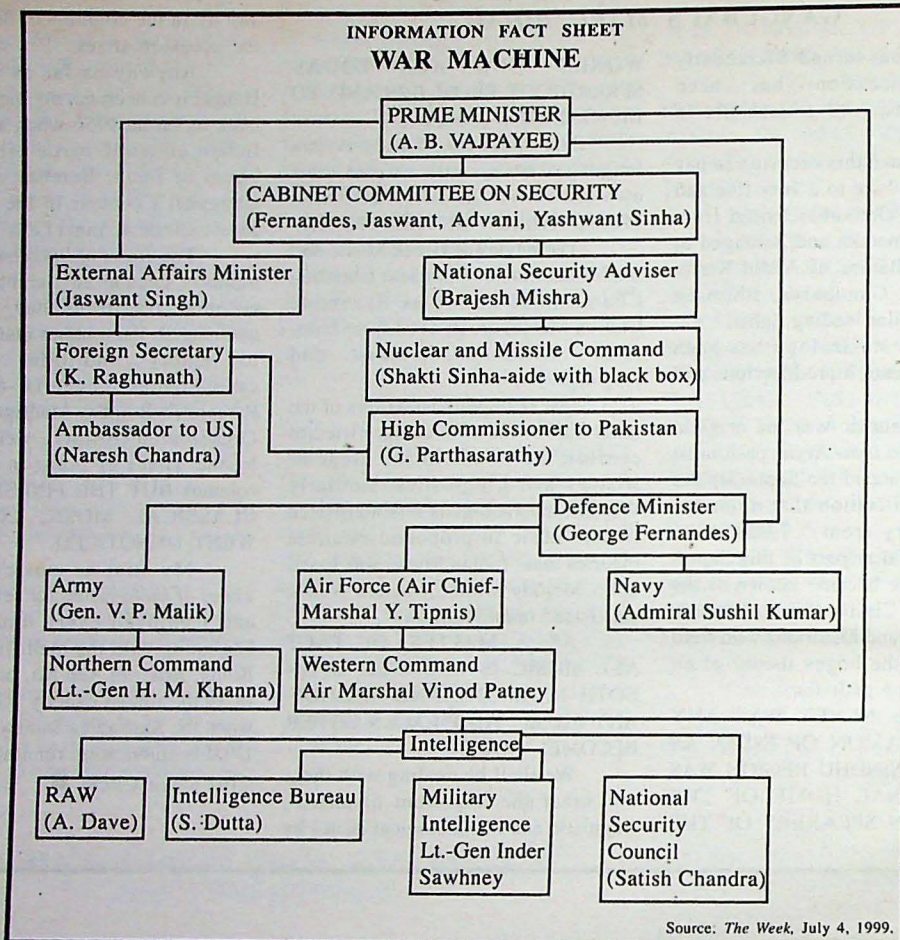
- 1971 This was RAW's first major operation after it was set up in 1968. It successfully trained Mukti Bahini guerrillas and provided accurate information on Pakistani troop movements.
- 1975 The agency kept the government informed on the movement of the Chinese and insurgent groups in the Northeast; it had a large role in getting together all elements, leading to Sikkim's absorption into the Indian union.
- 1992 It allegedly funded some key anti-Pakistani elements within the Mohajir Quami Movement.

DEBIT

- 1991 The LTTE had been planning the Rajiv Gandhi operation for months. Yet RAW failed to provide advance information.
- 1996 In the Purulia arms drop case, British intelligence provided the information, but RAW's reflexes were slow. The agency informed the IB, which in turn alerted the state government. But by then it was too late.
- 1999 The buildup across the LOC went unnoticed because the Kargil area was regarded as 'soft'. This, despite RAW's large presence in Leh.

Source: *Outlook*, June 21, 1999, pp. 30-31

INFORMATION FACT SHEET
WAR MACHINE



Source: *The Week*, July 4, 1999.

INFORMATION FACT SHEET
INDIAN CASUALTIES IN WARS SINCE 1947

	Killed	Wounded	Missing
1. 1st Indo-Pak: 1947-48	1103	3152	-
2. Sino-Indian: 1962	1521	548	1729
3. 2nd Indo-Pak: 1965	2902	8622	361
4. 3rd Indo-Pak: 1971	3630	9856	213
5. 1st Low Intensity "Proxy War" in J & K: Siachen: 1984 Onwards	650	10500	-
6. Indian Peace Keeping Force in Sri Lanka: 1987-98	1157	2065	-
7. 2nd Low Intensity "Proxy War" in J & K: "Operation Rakshak": 1989 Onwards	867	2655	-
8. 3rd Low Intensity "Proxy War" in J & K: "Operation Vijay in Kargil": May 99-July 99	407	584	6

Source: *Times of India*, 11.7.99, *India Today*, 26.7.99

WE MUST BREAK ALL RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN TILL SATISFIED ABOUT TREATMENT OF POWs

Exe. Edr.

It is shameful that our external affairs minister should be holding discussions on Indian soil about the torture, mutilation and murder of Indian jawans seized from Indian territory.

Pakistan is so certain about Anglo-American support that it has had the temerity to display utter contempt for Indian sensibilities. Six bodies of our army men were handed over to India (*Indian Express*, 11.6.99). All of them had been tortured. All the bodies bore ample evidence of torture and mutilation. Eyes had been gouged out of living men. Noses and ears cut off. And some had been shot through the mouth and others killed by shots fired at them, targeting other parts of the body. It is shameful in the extreme that George Fernandes had not taken this occasion to rouse Indian public opinion. He and his government have allowed the Pakistani Foreign Minister to come to India and address a press conference in Delhi openly circulating the most dastardly lies.

Where is George's conscience? WAS HE EVER A LOHIAITE, OR JUST A CAREERIST WHO SOUGHT TO CLIMB UP THE LOHIA LADDER ?

Apparently, the International Red Cross refused to observe the post

mortems carried out by Indian medical personnel.

HOWEVER THE INDIAN RED CROSS DID ACCEPT THE INVITATION TO OBSERVE.

WHY IS THE DEFENCE MINISTRY NOT SHOWING THE BODIES AND THE RECORDS TO WORLD JOURNALISTS? LET

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.*

ANYONE COME AND SEE THE MUTILATED AND TORTURED AND MURDERED CORPSES.

WHY SHOULD NOT THE INDIAN JAWANS AND THE INDIAN PEOPLE COME OUT IN THE STREETS AND DEFY THE AUTHORITIES ? LET THERE BE A VOLUNTARY CORPS FORMED BY INDIAN NATIONALISTS AND SOCIALISTS OF MEN IN UNIFORMS AND CIVVIES, TO TAKE ALL NECESSARY STEPS TO PREVENT THE RECURRENCE OF SUCH HEINOUS DEEDS BY PAKISTAN AND ITS ANGLO-

AMERICAN PROTECTORS AND PROMOTERS.

Pakistan knew very well the state in which the bodies were being handed over.

PAKISTAN HAS CORRECTLY RELIED UPON INDIAN COWARDICE AND INDIAN COMPRADOR COMPLICITY WITH NEO-COLONIAL INTERESTS AND WITHOUT THE SLIGHTEST SENSE OF GUILT OR SHAME, PROVOKED AND CHALLENGED INDIA TO DO ITS WORST !

It is horrifying to contemplate the depths to which India has fallen.

Are we a nation of almost one hundred crore cowards?

First: Pakistan enters Azad Kashmir, and despite the defeats inflicted by India in three wars of 1948, 1965 and 1971; and reconquest by India, of considerable parts of POK

during these three wars, Pakistan continues to remain in occupation of over 78,114 sq. kms. of Kashmir. (See Box alongside, reproduced from our last issue, showing details of Indian territories in Indian hands).

As a matter of fact how dare Pakistan continue its occupation of 78,114 sq. kms. of Indian territory for the last 52 years? Why have we allowed Pakistan and its masters UK and USA to convert a

temporary Cease Fire Line or Line of Control into an effectual international border? How and why has the LOC become so sacrosanct since the 1972 Simla Conference?

The Simla Conference was a surrender by **Indira Gandhi**, the then PM, of the gains made by our victorious army in the 1971 war, in which Bangladesh was created, and vast areas in West Pakistan and in Jammu and Kashmir were reoccupied by India. All these territorial gains in West Pakistan and Jammu and Kashmir were given up at the Simla Conference and 95,000 Pakistan prisoners of war

in well-fed and well-treated condition were given back to Pakistan for no reason at all.

In fact, retrospectively we may ask ourselves why were thousands of lives lost and hundreds of crores of rupees blown up to fight the wars of 1948, 1965 and 1971?

EVERY TIME THE GAINS MADE BY THE INDIAN ARMY ON THE BATTLEFIELDS WERE SURRENDERED ACROSS THE CONFERENCE TABLES IN NEW YORK, TASHKENT AND SIMLA ! ALL THREE SURRENDERS WERE BY THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE INDIAN *NAUKARSHAH* WHO HAD INHERITED THE BRITISH LEGACY IN 1947, AS A MATTER OF TRANSFER OF POWER ! EVERY TIME OUR ARMY HAS BEEN THOROUGHLY BETRAYED BY OUR *CHIRKOOT* AND COWARDLY, COMPRADOR POLITICIANS, ESPECIALLY OF THE CONGRESS VARIETY. JAWAHAR, SHASTRI AND INDIRA FORM THE TERRIBLE TRIMURTI OF TREACHEROUS *DALALS*.

IN 1948 PAKISTAN COULD HAVE BEEN EASILY PREVENTED FROM OCCUPYING THOUSANDS OF SQ. KMS. OF KASHMIR STATE, NORTH OF THE LOC ! IN 1965 THOUSANDS OF SQ. KMS. OF TERRITORY ALONG THE BORDERS OF KUTCH, RAJASTHAN, HARYANA, PUNJAB AND J & K WAS HANDED BACK TO PAKISTAN ! IN 1971, THOUSANDS OF KMS. HAD BEEN SEIZED BY THE INDIAN ARMY IN WEST PAKISTAN AND THE AZAD KASHMIR. ALL THIS WAS MEEKLY SURRENDERED BY INDIRA, AT SIMLA. (see the *Confessions of Gen. Niazi*, reproduced in *Mankind* Dec. '98, pp. 23-29, 67; Nov. '98, pp. 26-33; Sept. '98, pp. 54-61).

In fact, we have, according to Pakistan, US and UK a reputation to defend as despicable cowards! We have surrendered again and again in 1948, 1965 and 1971.

Truly, we should close down our ministry of external affairs. Let America and Britain conduct our foreign affairs! Let them globalise us!

WHY ARE WE FIGHTING US AND UK? IN ANY CASE WE ALLOW THEIR VIEWS TO PREVAIL! LOC HAS BECOME OUR INTERNATIONAL FRONTIER. WE ARE NOT ALLOWED TO CROSS THE LOC, TO WIPE OUT THE BASES WHICH TRAIN AND SUPPLY THE INFILTRATORS AND TERRORISTS ! WE CANNOT HOT PURSUE ACROSS THE LOC BY AIR, OR ON GROUND, THE MERCENARY GANGSTERS WHOM PAKISTAN UNLEASHES UPON US PERIODICALLY.

WE ARE SUPPOSED TO SIT WITH FOLDED HANDS ON THESE HIMALAYAN HEIGHTS AND AWAIT THE ARRIVAL OF THE MURDERERS AND RAPISTS EQUIPPED BY THE PAKISTANI GOVERNMENT. WE ARE SUPPOSED TO SPLIT HAIRS AND FIX THE PRECISE PERCENTAGE POINTS OF RESPONSIBILITY OF PAKISTANI GOVERNMENT, PAKISTANI ARMY, AND PAKISTANI INTELLIGENCE SERVICES !

We all know that George Fernandes is a prize fool with an IQ befitting a seminary student ! Why does he want to exonerate Pakistani government and the ISI from complicity in Kargil? Why does he want to ensure safe passage or "consideration of safe passage" to murderous mercenaries from the Pakistani side? What does he think of the morale of our men? Is he a Brahmin Christian of Karnataka who thinks that the blood of our jawans is not red? That it is just watery pus that is normal to low castes? What kind of *chirkoot* George has become? Can he sink lower than this? Why does he not become a WB, IMF or WTO functionary? I am prepared to give him a character certificate, that he is entirely worthy of the honour ! For 13 months his Agenda of Governance has included the most salutary services rendered with utmost humility to the terrible *trimurti* of WB, IMF AND WTO ! As an ally of the BJP and a loyal member of the Samata Party he has done his best to make the directives of the terrible *trimurti* most palatable to the people of India. I am prepared to certify that George has done his very best to carry out the directives of the terrible *trimurti*. If he has failed in some small measure, it was not because of lack of sincerity on his part. He did his best to betray the jawan in uniform and the landless labourer in tatters.

Our ire is not confined to, or concentrated upon George the great *chirkoot* ! His colleagues Atal Behari Vajpayee, Lal Krishna Advani, Yashwant Sinha, Jaswant Singh and Nitish Kumar and all the members of the BJP coalition are equally and fully responsible.

There is actually no alternative. You either betray the jawan and the kisan or you betray the neo-colonial interests of UK and US; G-7 and G-8; EU, NATO and OECD.

It is not possible to solve the Kashmir tangle by consensus ! US and UK can never be persuaded to force Pakistani withdrawal from North Kashmir. They can only be defeated in actual battle field.

They can be defeated because they are not in a position to induct their troops into any part of India and fight the Indian army on Indian soil, anywhere, from Kanyakumari to Kashmir or Rajasthan to Arunachal Pradesh and Nagaland. It is no longer possible for imperialist super powers to rule directly with their own troops any part of India.

They have to do it with surrogates. They must put up Pak to occupy part of Kashmir.

But the Kosovo crisis in Serbia clearly establishes that given favourable circumstances, even **United Nations will be brushed aside ! US and NATO will step forth directly and bomb Serbia to smithereens.** They will send their own troops to any part of any UN member, as and when they choose to do so. True, the territory of Serbia provided them with an excellent excuse by ethnically cleansing the Albanians out of a part of South - West Serbia called Kosovo. But other excuses will be urged at other times in other climes !

As long as Pakistanis are available to fight India,

the Anglo-Americans will fight upto the last drop of the poor Pakistani's blood.

KIS KE BAP KI DIWALI ?

As long as Third World countries can be supplied with arms at a profit by Western White Christian arms manufacturers, and that too to both sides, why should not the neo-colonial powers cause more and more disputes and armed confrontations in and at the cost of the Third World peoples?

The plain fact of the matter is that Britain divided India in 1947; that thereafter Pakistan was made a member of MEDO and SEATO in 1954 and militarily equipped to occupy about 80,000 sq. kms. of Indian territory north of the Line of Control in Kashmir; and India has been repeatedly challenged to clear its own territory of armed intruders and terrorists!

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO SOLVE THE KASHMIR TANGLE AND NOT DISPLEASE USA! THE AMERICAN GAME IS TO INVOLVE INDIA PERPETUALLY IN LITTLE FRACASES AND SKIRMISHES AND LOW INTENSITY WARS. IT COSTS

AMERICA NOTHING! ON THE CONTRARY HUGE PROFITS ARE TO BE MADE BY LOCKHEED-MARTIN, BOEING AND MC DONELL. WITHOUT PAKISTAN IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO CURB INDIA.

IF THE INDIAN GIANT AWAKES FROM ITS SLUMBER WHO KNOWS WHAT WILL HAPPEN? INDIA MAY JOIN HANDS WITH CHINA, WITH JAPAN, WITH ASEAN; WITH PACIFIC RIM OF ASIA AND WITH RUSSIA TO CHALLENGE AND DESTROY WESTERN HEGEMONY!

LET US REITERATE OUR CENTRAL DEMAND. ALL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS MUST BE BROKEN WITH PAKISTAN TILL FULL COMPENSATION FOR BARBARIC CRIMES AGAINST INDIAN ARMED PERSONNEL IS RECEIVED AND ADEQUATE GUARANTEES OF FUTURE GOOD BEHAVIOUR ARE FORTHCOMING!

WE MUST ALWAYS REMEMBER THAT CAPITALISM NEEDS MARKETS AND THAT WE DO NOT NEED CAPITALISM! ■

INFORMATION FACT SHEET

AGNI'S 11-MINUTE PARIKSHA

1. In a regular goods train, the 20-m long Agni is kept hidden inside a specially modified rail bogie. The launch control room is inside another bogie.
2. For launch, the bogie hood slides over the adjacent coach exposing the Agni, Target data is fed to missile from the control room.
3. Hydraulic pistons raise the Agni to a vertical position. After simple checks missile is fired. Entire operation takes less than 15 minutes.
4. First-stage rocket motor burns out in 50 seconds at an altitude of 24-30 km.
5. Second-stage motor burns out a minute later at an altitude of 100-120 km.
6. Coasts to around 400 km before re-entering atmosphere. Designed to withstand heat of 3,000°C.
7. Hits target at a distance of 2,000 km. Total flight time is just 11 minutes.

The major changes since Agni's last launch in 1994

- Nuclear bombs have been mated to a warhead platform.
- New second-stage solid fuel motor, Agni-II can now go up to 2,000 km.
- Accuracy is improved by a factor of three using advanced guidance systems, including real-time course corrections.
- Wiring of missile made simple and is ruggedised to weather any condition.
- Mobile platform for rail or road makes it ready to fire from anywhere.

Source: *India Today*, April 26, 1999.

COST OF THE KARGIL WAR VS COMPRA SCAMS

There are so many furrowed brows discussing the cost of a prolonged military action in Kargil, that it may be useful to put those costs, whatever they are, in perspective. Estimates of what the conflict will cost vary from Rs. 5,000 crores to Rs. 10,000 crores; and it is only right that leading politicians, babus and thinkers should debate the economic implications of anti-insurgency operations and may be even a full-fledged war with Pakistan. Let us now look at the cost of our financial adventures in the nineties alone, which have destroyed national wealth, with almost no decisive corrective action, or major economic upheaval, and then worry about the cost of Kargil.

■ Let us start with the 450-plus soldiers who have sacrificed their lives in Kargil. Those lives are particularly priceless today when foreign degrees, foreign currency paychecks, foreign bank accounts and even foreign-born future Prime Ministers are more worshipped than national service. It is up to the country to demonstrate it understands, values and salutes those lives that have made this sacrifice even if it is for the selfish purpose of ensuring that we do not move to a situation where people are drafted into the army.

■ The intelligence failure at Kargil worries us, but what about intelligence failures in the industrial and financial sectors? The failure of telecom operators to assess the market for their services will cost us a few hundred crores in the form of a bailout package. It signals that the bidding process has no sanctity. Instead of forcing a re-bid, and working

out an equitable compensation for money already spent by the telecom operators, the latest proposal allows them to have their cake and eat it too. They retain their licences, and switch to a far cheaper revenue sharing arrangement merely by agreeing to let in competition, knowing fully well that no competitor would willingly enter such an unequal playing field.

■ What about the budget bailout Of Rs. 4,800 crore to UTI to pay for inefficient fund management and a suicidal increase in the dividend payout a few years ago? That would equal the cost of Kargil. There is no inquiry into UTI's failure or why it was allowed to stay out of the purview of regulation. Bureaucrats who supported UTI cannot even claim an 'intelligence failure'. G. V. Ramkrishna, the then chairman of the SEBI had sounded loud warnings in 1992-93 and bubus in Delhi also ignored news reports highlighting UTI's problems.

■ What about the Rs.10,000 crore paid to recapitalise banks by finance minister Manmohan Singh? And the further bailout of Rs. 2,700 crores for three nationalised banks (Rs. 350 crores for UCO Bank, Rs.1,750 crores for Indian Bank and Rs. 600 crores for Canara Bank) by finance minister P. Chidambaram? The Indian Bank chairman had managed to wipe out the bank's net-worth, but the inquiry into his several extensions of tenure and bad loans is proceeding at a snail's crawl because of his vast connections.

■ What about the money paid out by nationalised banks due to their misguided 'assured returns' blithely

announced by their mutual fund subsidiaries? In the lawless days of 1991-92, when the stock market, led by Harshad Mehta was zooming upwards, these fund managers decided that it would never come down and assured fantastic returns totally out of line with their fund management skills. The problem itself refuses to go away. Indian Bank will soon cough up Rs. 70 crores on account of the IndPrakash scheme. Canara Bank having paid Rs. 600 crores plus on account of the Canstar scheme, is now trying to wriggle out of the returns assured to Cantriple investors --- again a few hundred crores.

■ What about the financial institutions and their huge chunks of non-performing assets (NPAs). IFCI is already in the red, but attempts to hide it. Yet, the institutions are working out bailout packages for private sector industrialists to keep up the fiction that the accounts have not turned 'non performing'. So the Ruias of Essar sell their power project to Marathon, but the funds will not be used to repay secured institutional lenders, it will go towards paying off unsecured foreign holders of its US \$ 250 million Floating Rate Notes (FRNs). Similarly, the finance secretary and the petroleum minister have held meetings with the chairman of BPCL to buy Essar Oil --- the ambitious refinery project of the group.

■ Have the institutions learnt from past mistakes? There is no sign of increased prudence, what with their adventurous investments in sat-phone projects even when their first investment in Iridium is still faltering. They tried so hard and met repeatedly to try and bail out Essar's FRNs and the story on the bail out of other groups such as the Mittals and the Jindals is far from complete. Finally, what is the cost to the country of a 'caretaker' government taking major policy decisions without worrying about being questioned by parliament, because the premature political ambition of one irresponsible party caused her to forget simple arithmetic? Should one not put together these numbers even while we worry about the cost of defending the border? ■

(Sucheta Dalal, *Indian Express*, 27.6.99)

INDIAN COMPRADOR BUM SPELLS OUT TERMS OF TOTAL SURRENDER

Introductory Remarks by Exe. Edr.

By "winning the peace", Verghese obviously means losing the war by diplomatic surrender to the neo-colonial powers.

The JK Autonomy and Regional Autonomy Committee Reports are obviously landmarks for compradors in the comprador saga of surrender.

Sheikh Abdullah had to be arrested in 1953 because he had become disloyal to India. In other words, between 1947 and 1953, Sheikh Abdullah had received the American offer of making J & K a buffer state between India, Pakistan, Russia and China. That is how this fighter against feudal excesses of Hari Singh was suborned. In fact, the two Autonomy Reports reverse the trend that was established by the 1950 Constitution (Application to J & K Ordinance), the 1952 Delhi Agreement and the 1956 State Constitution.

Far from entering Article 370

permanently, it should be immediately rescinded and J & K MUST BE MADE EQUAL TO ANY OTHER STATE OF THE INDIAN UNION.

Whatever may have been Hari Singh's feudal preferences which he might have got Jawahar to accept with the help of Lord Louis Mountbatten, THE FEUDO-COLONIAL LEGACY OF THE TERRIBLE TRIMURTI OF 1947-48, OF JAWAHAR, LORD LOUIS AND HARI SINGH, MUST BE TOTALLY REPUDIATED AND REVERSED.

Not merely Defence External Affairs and Communications which Hari Singh and Lord Louis had agreed to but the entire Union List and Concurrent List and State List must be made completely uniform for all the states of India.

There can be no separate Sadr-i-Riyasat of J & K distinct from the President of India and there can be no second and separate Prime Minister of

India ruling over J & K.

OTHER STATES OF INDIA, PARTICULARLY IN THE NORTH-EAST WILL DEMAND SIMILAR TERMS AS J & K! IS INDIA TO BE DISINTEGRATED BY THE AUTONOMY PANELS? SIMILARLY NO TALUKA OR DISTRICT OF PUNJAB, HIMACHAL PRADESH, RAJASTHAN OR GUJARAT IS ENTITLED TO SEEK AUTONOMY VIA A PLEBISCITE!

INDIA IS ONE AND MUST AND WILL REMAIN ONE!

LET PAKISTAN DO ITS WORST! PAKISTAN ITSELF IS COMMITTED TO SELF-DESTRUCT.

THANKS TO ITS IDEOLOGICAL COMPULSIONS, EVEN IF INDIAN DALALS WANT TO MAKE LOC THE INTERNATIONAL FRONTIER, EXTREMISTS AND FUNDAMENTALISTS IN PAKISTAN WILL NOT ALLOW THIS TO HAPPEN!

PAKISTAN - SUPPORTED TERRORISTS WILL FIGHT ON TILL PAKISTAN DIES!

WE WELCOME THE PROSPECT OF PAKISTAN'S DISINTEGRATION AND DEMISE AND THAT OF REUNIFICATION OF THE SOCIALIST STATES OF THE INDIAN SUBCONTINENT!

AND CALLS THEM INDIA'S POST - KARGIL OPPORTUNITIES

B. G. Verghese

After winning the war it is time to win the peace. That is what ordinary people on both sides ardently desire. The dialogue with Pakistan should resume now that the invaders have been cleared. An internal dialogue with one's own people in Jammu and Kashmir is even more necessary and could commence with the forthcoming parliamentary and panchayati elections,

if not sooner. Winning this battle of hearts and minds will write finis to a fading insurgency, leaving little scope for anybody to meddle in future.

The recent presentation of the twin J & K Autonomy and Regional Autonomy Committee reports constitutes a landmark. The committee has proposed a return to whatever the state and the Constituent Assembly had

agreed to until Sheikh Abdullah's arrest in 1953. This would include implementation of the 1952 Delhi agreement following on the 1950 Constitution (Application to J & K Order) which operationalised the Instrument of Accession.

All subsequent J & K constitutional orders and changes in the state constitution after its adoption in November 1956 are to be rescinded. It is further recommended that Article 370 be permanently entrenched as a basic feature of the Indian Constitution. What will this entail? J & K accession to and integration with India would remain inviolate. These are governed by Article 1 and the First Schedule of the

Constitution

Matters in the Union List unaccounted with defence, external affairs and communications (the original heads of accession) will be excluded from the ambit of the Centre while residuary powers will revert back to the state even as the State and Concurrent Lists will not apply to it

The powers of the Central Election Commission will be limited to the conduct of parliamentary and presidential and vice presidential elections, with responsibility for state elections being repatriated to the state election commission as prior to 1959.

Barring Article 352 other emergency provisions, especially Article 356, will stand abrogated. However, a proclamation under Article 352 in relation to "war, external aggression or armed rebellion" will require ratification by the state legislature within two months.

The Delhi agreement had provided for application of fundamental rights to the state with modifications and exception such as giving land to the tiller without compensation. Now proposed is inclusion of a fundamental rights chapter in the J & K constitution.

The role of the Supreme Court will be limited to its original jurisdiction (Article 131) pertaining to Centre-state and inter-state disputes and its appellate jurisdiction to issues certified by the J & K High Court as being substantial questions of law requiring constitutional interpretation.

The committee would limit the Comptroller and Auditor-General to scrutiny of Central funding, to the exclusion of state finances and exclude the state from the ambit of all-India service (Article 312).

Despite J & K being declared a special category state (entitled to 90 percent grant and 10 percent loan in respect of all Centrally devolved funds) the committee opines that financial viability dictates "more financial resources and assistance". Further discussion with the Centre is suggested.

Finally the nomenclatures Sadr-i-Riyasat (Governor) and Prime Minister (for Chief Minister) are sought to be restored. Under the Delhi agreement, though the Sadr-i-Riyasat was to be elected by the state legislature, he was to be a person acceptable to the Centre and appointed by the President.

The committee's report offers a basis for discussion both within and outside the state. J & K opinion might itself possibly favour larger Central association provided whatever is agreed to is unamendable except with the consent of the J & K legislature.

More germane is the indeterminate report of the J & K Regional Autonomy Committee which splintered with the ouster of Balraj Puri, its vice-chairman. J & K is a conglomerate multi-ethnic entity with a composite regional and sub-regional

personality. Inter se strains and tensions, whether traditional or emerging, need harmonisation. Autonomy for the state is therefore likely to be more widely acceptable given internal devolution.

Rather than specify the form and degree of regional autonomy, the committee poses two options. First, the formation of eight regional / provincial councils, three each in Kashmir and Jammu and two in Ladakh. Alternatively, the establishment of a larger number of district councils.

In either case, these would be elective bodies with delegated powers based on the experience of existing (autonomous) district councils (as in the Northeast) and panchayati raj. The present panchayati raj institutions in the state need greater empowerment if they are to be meaningful, a point that Balraj Puri's 'report' stresses. Cultural and linguistic safeguards are also proposed. The absence of any reference to the Pandits is a lacuna.

The RAC recommends that the state government set up an expert committee to examine the alternatives. The debate should now move forward and all elements be encouraged to participate. The gun has yielded a bitter harvest. Insurgency has not worked. Yet the gun was picked up after what Kashmiris see as a betrayal of the 1971 compact. An autonomy package that refurbishes trust offers a viable option around which to build a broad consensus.

The rhetoric of the military-bureaucratic-fundamentalist demagogues has ravaged Pakistan. Ordinary Pakistanis want none of this and, after the abortive gambit in Kargil, need an exit. India must help such saner elements in the interests of stability and harmony in the subcontinent.

Movements towards greater state and regional autonomy on the Indian side, will not leave 'Azad' Kashmir and the Northern Areas untouched. Confronted with a receding constituency in J & K and abroad, Islamabad will be compelled to address the rising discontent on its own side of the LOC by granting those regions the self determination that it has consistently denied them. The latest Pakistan Supreme Court ruling on the denial of fundamental rights in the Northern Areas is noteworthy.

Such a denouncement would provide opportunity for opening up the two parts of J & K to one another across the LoC which could evolve into a soft international border without derogating from existing *de facto* Indian and Pakistan sovereignties. Over-arching pan - J & K institutions could also be developed to manage common concerns. De-militarisation of the LOC and a mutual and balanced reduction of forces could pave the way in time for declaring all of J & K a zone of peace, jointly defended by India and Pakistan. All within the wider framework of a vibrant SAARC. ■

(Indian Express, 21.7.99)

WE WELCOME THE BELATED AND CONFUSED ENTRY OF ARUNDHATI ROY INTO THE RANKS OF FIGHTERS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE !

SARDAR SAROVAR AND NARMADA SAGAR DAMS
ARE "TEMPLES OF MODERN INDIA" BUILT BY
THE RAKSHASAS OF THE WORLD BANK !

Exe. Edr.

We in *Mankind* have taken an interest in the fate of Project-Affected People (PAP) of our supposedly Development Activity since 1947 to build a New India chock full of, in Nehru's words "Temples to Modernity and Progress".

We are sorry to inflict on the innocent reader a long sentence with so many capital letters. But Irony is the Breath of Life in Post-Nehru India!

Our editorial board member Dr. MPR Reddy had estimated the total number of Oustees or Project-Affected Displaced People at 20 million. This was a deliberate understatement by him. Now Arundhati Roy, the Booker Prize winner of 1997, and Johny-Come-Lately on the Narmada scene ("The Greater Common Good", *Outlook*, 24.5.99 and *Frontline*, 4.6.99) has come out with a better estimate which is also a guesstimate and conscious underestimate, of 50 million Project-Affected Displaced Persons.

Both figures are correct and valid in the absence of a single Post-Project Official or Non-Official Big Dam Study. Even after the completed construction since 1947 of 3,300 dams that qualify as such according to the Central Water Commission with 1,000 more under construction, we must accept both tallies as true. The difference between the two is merely quantitative and not qualitative.

There are in all, 3,600 big dams in existence in India. Of these 300 were built during the British colonial period and 3,300 since 1947 in the comprador *naukarshahi* period.

DR. MPR REDDY AND THE STRUGGLE OF THE PROJECT - AFFECTED DISPLACED PEOPLE FOR TOTAL REHABILITATION

We remind our readers of the specialised studies made by editorial board member Dr. MPR Reddy on this subject:

1. *Mankind* Vol. 1, No. 9, Jun. '96, pp. 49-50.

General introduction to the subject where the total number of dams constructed after independence was given as 1,500 and the total number of displaced persons was estimated at 20 million.

2. *Mankind*, vol. 1, No. 11-12, Aug-Sep, 1996, pp. 50-51.

Establishment of a Human Rights Centre at Kavali, Visnodaya Campus, Andhra Pradesh for Rehabilitation of Displaced Persons.

3. *Mankind*, vol. 2, No. 1, Oct '96, pp. 49-50.

KANDALERU DAM-
OUSTEES

4. *Mankind*, vol.2, No. 4, Jan'97, pp. 43-44.

"WHITHER NATIONAL
POLICY FOR REHABILITATION OF

DISPLACED PEOPLE."

This was a most significant contribution relating to displaced people of 24 villages in Kandeleru submersible zone, Rapur Mandalam of Nellore district of Andhra Pradesh where a **Draft National Policy of Rehabilitation was spelt out based on the principle of total rehabilitation.**

5. *Mankind* vol. 2, No. 9, June 9, pp. 52-53.

"VISIT TO BUJABUJA NELLORE- Rehabilitation Centre, Vandluru, Suddamalla and Kummargunta displaced people and their plight.

6. *Mankind*, vol. 1, No. 10, Jul. '96, p.43.

"Displaced people and Rehabilitation- A Human Rights Problem"

In this contribution Dr. Reddy refers to several activists in addition to Medha Patkar who have studied the tragedy of the Project-Affected Displaced Persons especially the tribals, like E. G. Thukral (ed., *Big Dams and Displaced People: Introduction*, 1992) and Vasudha Dhagamwar (*op. cit*) and others.

WATER HARVESTING IN GUJARAT AND RAJASTHAN

At the same time we had drawn attention to the commendable activities of Shyamji Antala, 60, a Rajkot farmer who helped recharge 2.5 lakh wells out of 7 lakhs in this region.

See *Mankind*, vol.2, No. 12, Sept.' 97, pp. 16-17.

Similar water harvesting efforts were made successfully in and around Jaipur in Rajasthan also and an excellent TV documentary was presented a little while ago by an intelligent NGO. Furthermore, we dealt with the harmful impact, environmental and otherwise of big dams in a discussion with T. Pattabhirama Reddy, a Talugu poet and Kannada art film maker, in *Mankind*, vol.3, No. 12, Sept. 98, pp. 62-63.

We suggested that the so-called garland canal linking the Ganga and Kaveri was not a healthy prospect for the people of India who needed lakhs of wells, ponds, lakes and

pukurs to survive and prosper. We had suggested that all the avenues of minor irrigation be first exhausted before any medium or major irrigation project is taken up by India's planners.

In this connection we had adduced historical evidence to show that in pre-British India, particularly in the states of western, (Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra) southern (Madhya Pradesh, Andhra, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and Kerala) and eastern India (Bihar, Bengal, Assam and Orissa, which then included Bangladesh) the major form of irrigation utilised was by way of wells, lakes, ponds and *pukurs*, occasionally supplemented by ancient anicuts and barrages in Andhra, Tamil Nadu and Orissa.

DR. FRANCIS BUCHANAN'S REPORTS OF 1800 AND 1808-15

We had reproduced in its entirety that part of R. C. Dutt's *Economic History Of India*, where Dutt had reprinted Dr. Francis Buchanan's reports on the economic conditions of Southern and Northern India. In his report on Southern India (1800) and Northern India (1808-15), Dr. Buchanan had emphasised the ancient and enormous reservoirs of water banded and dammed all over southern and eastern India to irrigate thousands of acres of land (see *Mankind*, vol. 1, No. 2, Nov.'95, pp. 15-26, 36; and vol. 1, No. 3, Dec. '95, pp. 85-89)

NEW WATER POLICY

Apart from all the foregoing notices, historical and current, we directly reported on the seminar on "A New Water Policy" held at Bawangaja, Badwani, Madhya Pradesh, on 22, 23 Dec. '96. (see *Mankind*, vol. 2, No. 7, April' 97, pp. 57-60)

MAINSPRINGS OF WORLD CAPITALISM

We must clearly understand that under revived and resuscitated capitalism of the post-1976 period PEOPLE EXIST ONLY TO PROVIDE PROFITS FOR PRIVATE CAPITALISTS. THE PEOPLE HAVE NO URGES, NEEDS, ASPIRATIONS OR HOPES. THEY ARE MERELY CONSUMERS WHO CONJURE UP PROFITS FOR FREE ENTERPRISE!

HENCE, GIANT MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS ALSO CALLED TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS, DOMINATE THE WORLD ECONOMY. We reproduce on p.22 a comparative Table of state and corporate power 1999 from the *UNDP Report' 99*, p.32.

Every facet of our life economic, social, political and cultural is completely dominated by the giant multinational corporations of the West. They suck the life-blood out of the Third World.

In the pages of *Mankind*, we have repeatedly drawn attention to THIS FACT OF OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION OF THE THIRD WORLD BY THE OVERLAPPING CIRCLES OF G-7, EU, NATO AND OECD POWERS.

We draw the attention of the intelligent reader to the

following earlier contributions PUBLISHED IN *MANKIND*:

1. *Mankind*, Vol. 2, No. 10-11, Jul-Aug '97.

Cover page and back page with explanatory notes on pp. 3-6.

2. *Mankind*, vol. 3, No. 12, Sep. '97.

Back cover and explanatory note on inside back cover.

3. *Mankind*, vol. 3, No.1, Oct. '97.

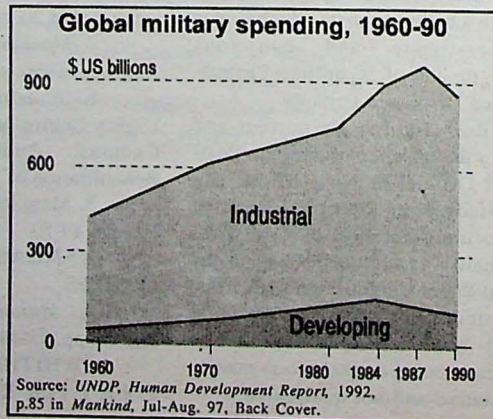
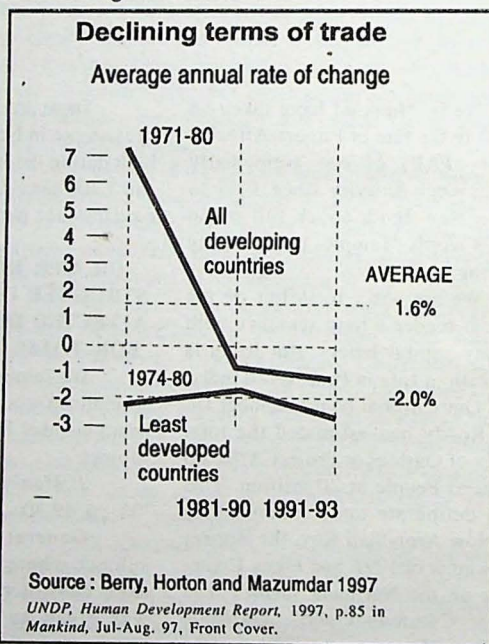
Back cover and explanatory notes inside back cover.

4. *Mankind*, vol. 3, No. 2, Nov. '97. Back cover and explanatory notes on inside back cover.

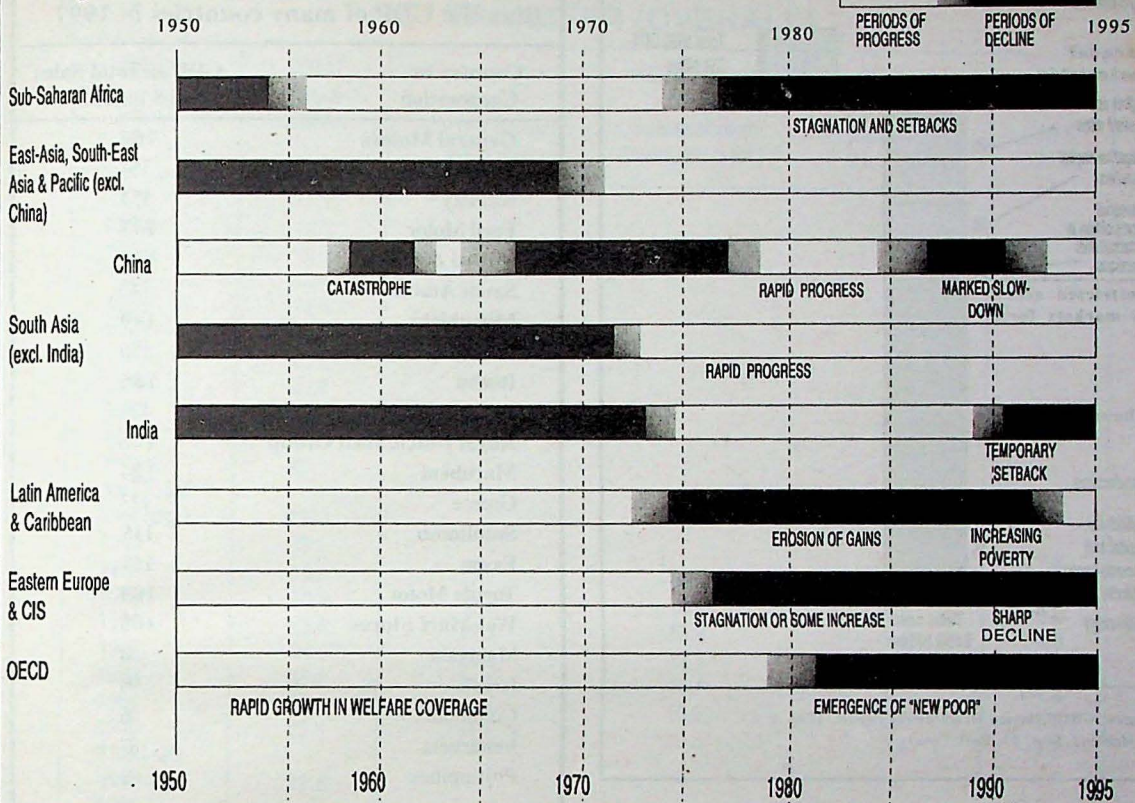
5. *Mankind*, vol. 3, No. 3, Dec. 97, pp. 47-55.

As far as India's transactions with the world are concerned we have highlighted all the significant features in a major article in *Mankind*, vol. 3, No. 11, Aug.' 98, pp. 24-32.

We are reproducing some of the most important tables and figures selected from the above :

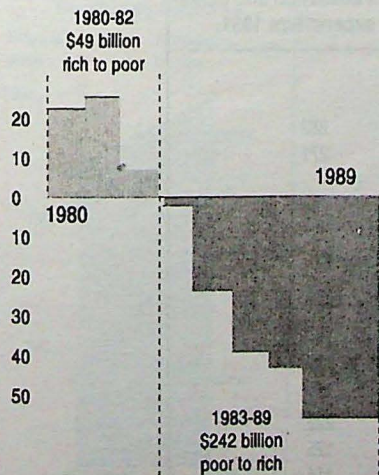


Progress and Setbacks in income poverty reduction since 1950



Source: UNDP, *Human Development Report*, 1997, p4. in *Mankind*, Jul-Aug 1997, Front Cover.

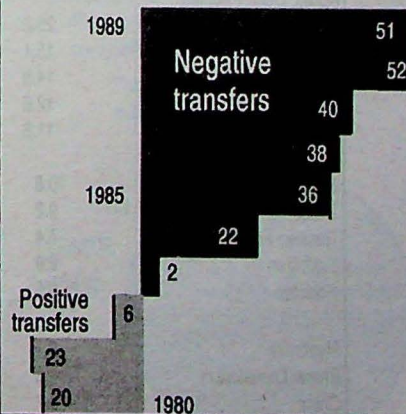
Debt-related net transfers



Source: UNDP, *Human Development Report*, 1992, p.45, in *Mankind*, Jul-Aug 1997, Back Cover.

Net Flow of resources from South to North

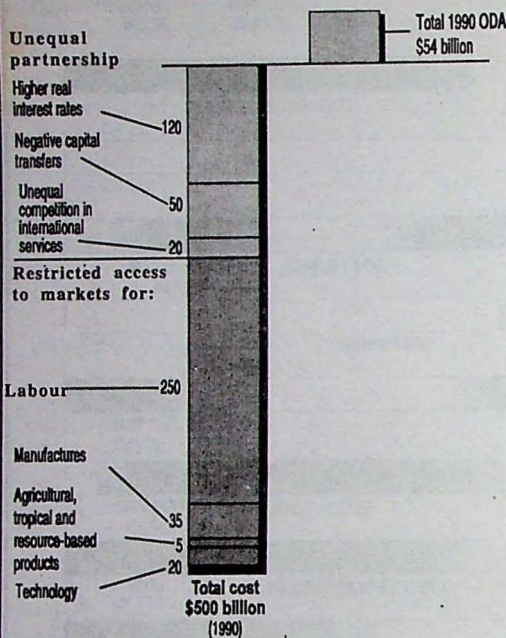
US \$ Billions



Source: UNDP, *Human Development Report*, 1991, p.32. in *Mankind*, Nov. 1997, Back Cover.

Cost of global markets to developing countries

\$ US billions



Source: UNDP, *Human Development Report*, 1992, p. 67, in *Mankind*, Sept. 97, Back Cover.

Top corporations had sales totalling more than the GDP of many countries in 1997

Country or Corporation	GDP or Total Sales (US \$ billion)
General Motors	164
Thailand	154
Norway	153
Ford Motor	147
Mitsui & Co.	145
Saudi Arabia	140
Mitsubishi	140
Poland	136
Itochu	136
South Africa	129
Royal Dutch/Shell Group	128
Marubeni	124
Greece	123
Sumitomo	119
Exxon	117
Toyota Motor	109
Wal Mart Stores	105
Malaysia	98
Israel	98
Colombia	96
Venezuela	87
Philippines	82

Source: UNDP, *Human Development Report*, 1999, p.32

BIG MILITARY SPENDERS

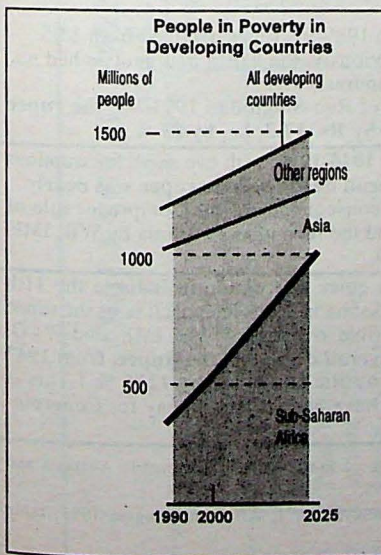
Country	Military expenditure as % of GDP, 1995.	Military expenditure as % of combined education and health expenditure 1991.
Korea, Dem. People's Rep. of	25.2	-
Oman	15.1	283
Iraq	14.8	271
Croatia	12.6	-
Kuwait	11.8	88
Saudi Arabia	10.6	151
Israel	9.2	106
Russian Federation	7.4	132
Tajikistan	6.9	-
Pakistan	6.5	125
Myanmar	6.2	222
Brunei Darussalam	6.0	125
China	5.7	114

Source: UNDP, *Human Development Report*, 1997, p.103, in *Mankind*, Oct. 97, Back Cover.

NET TRANSFER (OVERALL)

YEAR	TOTAL (US \$ billions)	WORLD BANK			IMF US \$ billions
		Gross commit ments (US \$ Bil.)	Gross disbursements (1991, US \$ Bil.)	Net transfers (Current US \$ in billions)	
1972	7.1				
1973	10.8				
1974	16.7				
1975	—				
1976	21.5				
1977	25.0				
1978	33.2				
1979	31.2				
1980	29.5				
1981	35.9				
1982	20.1				
1972-82 average	21.0				
1983	3.7				7.6
1984	-10.2	17.7	16.9	5.2	5.6
1985	-20.5	18.5	16.4	4.9	0.2
1986	-23.6	19.7	15.3	3.1	-4.3
1987	-34.0	20.3	17.1	2.6	-7.9
1988	-35.2	21.2	16.4	0.7	-7.8
1989	-29.6	22.8	15.9	0.2	-7.5
1990	-22.5	21.5	18.3	2.4	-4.2
1983-90 average	-21.5				
1991	—	22.7	16.0	-1.7	
1986-90 average	—	—	—	—	6.3

Source: UNDP, Human Development Report, 1997, pp. 50 and 51 in *Mankind*, Oct. 97, Inside Back Cover



Source: UNDP, Human Development Report, 1991, p. 26, in *Mankind*, Nov. 97, Back Cover.



Source: UNDP, Human Development Report, 1991, p. 26, in *Mankind*, Nov. 97, Back Cover.

EXCHANGE RATE: 1946-98

Rs. per US \$

Year	Rate (Rs. per US \$)	Notes
1946, Sept. 1947, Aug. 1948 1949, upto Aug. 1949, Sept.	3.3200 3.3175 3.3175 3.3175 3.8275	A. During Jawahar's term of office, 1946-64, the rupee declined from Rs. 3.32 to Rs. 4.77, or by Rs. 1.46, i.e. by 44%. B. First sharp fall in the value of the rupee, occurred in Oct. 1949, as Sterling was devalued against the dollar, and as Jawahar had kept the rupee tied to the apron strings of British Imperialism. Despite India's huge surplus held in London in the form of Sterling Balances of upto \$ 4.7 billion, calculated at the then prevailing Sterling-Dollar exchange rate, Jawahar carried out a devaluation from Rs. 3.32 to Rs. 4.77 or by Rs. 1.46, i.e. 44 % !
1949, Oct. 1950, upto March 1950-66 1966-70 1971	4.7750 4.7750 4.762 7.500 7.279	C. Indira forced a second devaluation of the rupee in 1966 from Rs. 4.8 to Rs. 7.5, or by Rs. 2.7, i.e. by 56% ! D. Overall, during Indira's first term, 1966-77, the rupee declined from 4.8 to 8.8, or by Rs. 4, i.e. by 83 %.
1972 1973 1974 1975 1976	8.080 8.203 8.150 8.937 8.881	
1977 1978 1979 1980-81 1981-82	8.209 8.188 7.907 7.908 8.968	E. During Janata Party Coalition rule of 1977-1980, the exchange rate actually moved in favour of the rupee, from 8.8 to 7.9 i.e. the world bourgeoisie had ample confidence in Morarji Desai (an improvement of plus 10%) F. During Indira's second term 1981-84, the rupee declined from 7.9 to 10.3, or by Rs. 2.4, i.e. by 30 % ! Overall decline during Indira's two terms, of minus 113 %.
1982-83 1983-84 1984-85 1985-86 1986-87	9.666 10.340 11.889 12.235 12.778	G. During Rajiv's term of office 1984-89, the rupee declined from Rs. 10.3 to 14.5, or by Rs. 4.2, i.e. by 41 %.
1987-88 1988-89 1989-90 1990-91 1991-92	12.966 14.482 16.649 17.943 24.474	H. During Janata Dal coalition rule from 1989-91, rupee declined from 14.5 to 17.9, or by Rs. 3.4, i.e. by 23 %. Obviously, the world bourgeoisie had no confidence in either V. P. Singh or Chandrashekhar. I. During the disastrous term of office of Rao-Singh duo 1991-96, the rupee declined from Rs. 17.9 to Rs. 35.2, or by Rs. 17.3, i.e. by 87 %.
1992-93 1993-94 1994-95 1995-96 1996-97	30.649 31.366 31.399 33.450 35.500	J. During the 50 years of Congress rule 1946-1996 , with two small interruptions from 1977 to 80 and 1989 to 91, the overall decline of the rupee was nearly 10 times from 3.3 to 33.4. This is the consequence of the Comprador rule of the Congress-Naukershahi combine, and the reconquest of India by WB, IMF, and WTO from 1980, especially 1991-99.
1997-98 Aug. 99	37.160 43.250	K. Two general elections took place in quick succession in India to the 11th Lok Sabha in 1996 and to the 12th Lok Sabha in 1998. The decline of the rupee continued under the tutelage of the terrible <i>trimurti</i> of WB, IMF and WTO, from 33.45 to 43.25 (6.8.99). Thus the overall decline of the Rupee, from 1947 to 1999, has been minus 14 times, or by Rs. 38.94, i.e. by 1276 % ! This is the fearful price that the Indian people have been forced to pay for Congress-Naukershahi misrule !

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

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

3. For figures from 1980-81 to 1998-99, see *Economic Survey, 1997-98*, Table 6.5 : *Exchange Rate of Rupee vis-a-vis Selected Currencies of the World*, p. S-78) in *Mankind*, Aug. 1998, p. 26.

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS (DRAIN OF WEALTH FROM INDIA) DURING LAST SEVEN YEARS

Rs. crore

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

Notes :

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

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

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

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

B. Both India's imports and exports increased by a little over three times. Thus, the initial Trade Deficit for 1990-91 was nearly Rs. 17,000 crores which increased to nearly Rs. 51,000 crores i.e. by almost exactly three times, to prove that heavy Devaluations (See Table on p. 24) were totally ineffective in stemming the rot. Contrary to claims made by all three Finance Ministers, Subramaniam Swamy, Manmohan Singh and P. Chidambaram, devaluations did not push up exports sufficiently to compensate for the cheapening of Indian exports and the onerous rise in India's debt burden in rupee terms.

C. Tables on pages 24 and 25 present two sides of the same tragic story. Table VI shows the fearful exploitation of India by the neo-colonial powers, as described in our Pre-Budgetary *Economic Surveys*. The payments of Interest and Amortisation of annual debt have gone up from about Rs. 5,000 crores to about Rs. 8,000 crores (Line 7). However, the terrific increase has been in Other Invisible Outflows, which have gone up from about Rs. 9,000 crores to about Rs. 30,000 crores (Line 8).

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

(Source : *Economic Survey*, 1997-98, Table 6.2, *Balance of Payments*, pp. S-72-3, in *Mankind*, Aug. 98, p.31)

THE NARMADA DAM AND THE NARMADA BACHAO ANDOLAN

The Narmada wells up in the plateau of Amarkantak in the Shahdol district of Madhya Pradesh, then winds its way through 1,300 kms. of beautiful broad-leaved forests and arguably the most fertile agricultural land in India. 25 million people live in the river valley.

Narmada has been known in India since ancient times as Rewa. It is revered only next to the Ganges. (*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 1881, vol. VII, p. 58). Its maximum flood discharge has been calculated at 2,500,000 cubic feet of water per second. (*Ibid*, p.57).

As early as 1946, plans had been made to dam the river at Gora, in Gujarat. In 1961 Nehru laid the foundation stone for a 49.8 meter high dam --- This was the progenitor of the giant Sardar Sarovar dam planned to attain a height of 138.68 meters.

The three riverine states of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat failed to agree on a water-sharing formula, thus, delaying the project. Eventually in 1969, the central government set up the Narmada Valley Disputes Tribunal. It took the Tribunal 10 years to announce its award. AND EXACTLY as in the case of the Bhopal Gas Tragedy (*Mankind*, vol.

2, No. 7, April 1997). THE PEOPLE WERE NEITHER INFORMED, CONSULTED, NOR HEARD. THE PEOPLE AFFECTED BY NARMADA BIG DAMS ARE 25 MILLION OR SO, 60% OF THEM TRIBAL.

MULTINATIONALS HAVE MADE MILLIONS! IN EXACTLY THE SAME WAY, IN BHOPAL, THE UNION CARBIDE ESCAPED LIABILITY OF

BILLIONS OF DOLLARS AND PAID JUST A PITTANCE.

The proponents boast that the Narmada Valley Project is the most ambitious project ever conceived in human history (Arundhati Roy, *Outlook*, May 24, 1999, p.60). They plan to build 3,200 dams that will reconstitute the Narmada and her 41 tributaries into a series of step reservoirs --- an immense staircase of amenable water. Of these 30 will be major dams, 135 medium and the rest 3,035 small. Two of the major dams will be multi-purpose mega dams --- The Sardar Sarovar in Gujarat and the Narmada Sarovar in Madhya Pradesh. These two will hold more water between them than any other reservoir in the

ARUNDHATI SHOULD LEARN ECONOMIC HISTORY

We have suggested that Arundhati should learn some economic history now that she has entered the arena of mass struggles.

The relevance will become clear from the underquoted study of 1893 :

"Every province in India has its distinct irrigation requirements. In the alluvial basins of the Ganges and the Indus the most suitable irrigation works are canals from these rivers; while away from the rivers, wells are the most suitable. In Bengal with its copious rainfall, shallow ponds are the most suitable works, and these were numerous in the olden times, sometimes of very large dimensions. In Madras and Southern India, where the soil is undulating, and the underlying rock retains the water, the most suitable irrigation works are reservoirs made by putting up large embankments, and thus impounding the water descending from the hill slopes. Such were most of the old reservoirs of Madras." (See Voelcker's *Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, 1893, quoted by R. C. Dutt, vol. II, *Victorian Age*, pp.170-1, reproduced from *Mankind*, April 96, pp. 8-9).

The next point to be noted is, that British imperialism adopted a pro-railway and anti-irrigation policy, in order to subserve the imperial interests of safe and secure finance capital investment and drain of wealth from India.

Here, we may notice a significant admission by Arthur Cotton as quoted by R.C. Dutt, *Economic History of India*, Vol.II, *Victorian Age*, p.366.

"But the great point which Sir Arthur Cotton made was that railways were no protection against famines. 'I am afraid we must reckon that out of the 40 millions affected by the famine in Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad, and Bombay, 4 or 5 millions have perished, after spending 120 millions on railways besides incurring a debt of 50 millions sterling.' (*Report of 1873* : Question 2204) And he pointed out forcibly that railways did *not* provide food for man and beast; did *not* carry the whole traffic of the country; did *not* carry it cheaply enough; did *not* pay interest on cost and debt; did *not* drain the country, and did *not* provide drinking water for the people. All this was and could be done by irrigation works.

"Why then were irrigation and navigable canals neglected? If these canals provided cheaper means of transit, why did the Indian Government not construct them?

"I want to know what is in your mind", asked Sampson Lloyd, a banker of Birmingham and a member of the Committee, "why any man should dread cheap transit?"

"Because" answered Sir Arthur Cotton, "it would stultify the railways, that is the sole point. Only think of a canal by the side of the Eastern Bengal Railway which carries some 200,000 tons and a canal by the side of it carrying 2,000,000 tons and swarming with passengers and goods. What a terrible affront to the railway that must be." (*Report of 1873* : Question 2269).

Indian sub-continent.

It is interesting to observe that the World Bank has pursued the Big Dam Strategy to underpin its Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation and

World Bank loan disbursement and net transfers out of India

	Financial Years ending June 30						Cumulative	
	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1989-93	1994-98
1. Gross disbursements	1,954	1,716	1,783	1,309	1,563	1,375	10,436	7,746
2. Repayments	834	963	1,062	1,149	1,070	1,147	2,987	5,391
3. Net disbursement (1-2)	1,120	753	721	161	493	228	7,449	2,355
4. Interest & Charges	828	838	904	884	790	706	3,573	4,122
5. Net transfers (3-4)	292	- 85	- 183	- 723	- 297	- 478	3,876	- 1,767

Note: Includes assistance from both the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (*IBRD*) and the International Development Association (*IDA*); Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

Source: Arundhati Roy, *World Bank Annual Reports for various years, Frontline*, June 4, 1999.

Westernisation drive. The latter drive was implemented especially after mid-1991 by the minority government of Narasimha Rao and Manmohan Singh.

We have already given at the end of the preceding section Main Springs of World Capitalism - a table giving the net transfers to the world bourgeoisie from India. We have shown there that our trade deficit amounts to almost Rs.51,000 crores in the year 1996-97, and the net invisible outgo was nearly Rs.38,000 crores in the same year.

We may supplement this overall picture with more details of the transactions with the World Bank (Table given above).

This table on World Bank loan disbursements and net transfers from India is in millions of US dollars which hides the grim reality of forced Indian devaluations which piles up the burden carried on their backs by poor Indians.

We do not know whether Arundhati is even aware of this additional horrendous dimension of Neo-colonial Super-exploitation via the device of Forced Devaluations.

Generally her knowledge of economic history is very poor. We shall revert to this later on when we deal with her nonsensical formulation that the dam-builders are "feudal" and that despite the culpability of the World Bank and MNCs in the crime of Narmada, she finds fault with the Nuclear Device developed by the Vajpayee Government and its refusal to sign the one-sided CTBT ! This is only one of a MULTITUDE OF MEASURES THAT SHOULD BE TAKEN BY FREE INDIA TO REMAIN FREE !

The World Bank initiative in promoting the Narmada Project has been evident right from the start. As Arundhati notes, "The World Bank loan of \$450 million for the Sardar Sarovar Projects was in place in 1985, before any costs were computed, before any studies had been done, before anybody had any idea of what the human costs or the environmental impact of the dam would be.

"Between 1947 and 1994 the World Bank received 6,000 applications for loans for big dams from around the world. They did not turn down a single one. Not a single one."

Obviously the WB considers Big Irrigation Dam as the preferred instrument of capitalist penetration of rural

India and the Third World. THAT IS HOW THEY WANT TO SPREAD FREE ENTERPRISE !

The international dam industry is worth \$20 billion a year. The most scandalous story is that of the British financed Pergav Dam in Malaysia. In 1993 Britain gave a subsidised loan of £ 234 million (approximately \$400 million) to Malaysia. It soon emerged that the loan was offered to encourage Malaysia to sign a £ 1.3 billion contract to buy British arms.

We have repeatedly maintained in *Mankind* that the world armament industry is closely connected with the world's financial institutions, and the world's Irrigation Dam Industry. All these varied institutional frameworks operate as a NET. THEY ARE LIKE A PACK OF HOUNDS ! THEY ALWAYS HUNT TOGETHER.

In another place we have shown how India which had positive Sterling Balances of \$4.5 billion in 1947 (see *Mankind*, Nov. '95) was induced to accept PL 480 foodgrains, grants and loans, partly repayable in Rupees, and then sucked into the debt trap. Community Development was the ostensible aim and Complete Community Destruction was swiftly achieved !

Arundhati and Medha in their writings and speeches provide excellent instances of the destruction wrought by Big Dams and particularly by the Narmada Dams. WE FULLY AGREE AND WE TOTALLY SUPPORT THE NARMADA BACHAO ANDOLAN! BUT THE POKHRAN TESTS WERE A PART OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST NEO-COLONIAL MACHINATIONS WHICH INVOLVE SALES BY THE WORLD ARMAMENT INDUSTRY. (Remember the Iran-Contra Deal in which the Reagan and Bush administrations and the Thatcher and Major governments of UK were involved?) THAT IS THE WAY OF THE WESTERN WORLD ! THE WORLD ARMAMENT INDUSTRY, THE BIG DAM CONSULTANTS AND ALL OTHER BATTALIONS OF THE WORLD CAPITALIST ARMY, ALL MARCH TOGETHER !

THE WORLD BANK ACTS AS THE CATALYTIC AGENT FOR ALL THE BATTALIONS OF THE WORLD LPGW ARMY ! (Is it necessary for us to

repeat for the hundredth time that LPGW stands for Liberalisation, Privatisation, Globalisation and Westernisation !).

Is it any wonder that the number of people who would be provided drinking water by the Sardar Sarovar Canal varied from 28 million (1983) to 32.5 million (1989) and to 40 million (1992) and down to 25 million (1993)?

Similarly the number of villages that were to receive drinking water was zero in 1979, 4719 in the early '80s, 7234 in 1990 and 8215 in 1991.

Is it at all to be wondered at that the number of families that were marked for displacement by the Sardar Sarovar Reservoir was estimated to be a little over 6,000 in 1979. In 1987 the figure grew to 12,000 families, in 1989 to 27,000. Today the estimate hovers between 40,000 to 41,000 families. According to the NBA the actual figure is likely to be 85,000 families or a half a million people by just the one reservoir Sardar Sarovar.

Parallel with these crazy augmentations, the Project cost has also gone up from Rs. 6,000 crore to Rs. 20,000 crore.

The NBA estimate is of Rs. 40,000 crores (half the entire irrigation budget of the entire country in the last 50 years).

In the Narmada Dam Saga, there were two major hiccups.

A sub-committee of the World Bank led by Bradford Morse analysed the evils that the Dam will generate, which caused the WB to pull out of the Sardar Sarovar Project in 1993.

The second hiccup occurred in early 1995 when the Supreme Court ordered work on the Dam to be suspended until further notice. The height of the Dam was then 80 metres above mean sea level. The stay has been vacated just a little while ago (Feb. '99) and the Supreme Court has allowed the dam height to be increased from 80 to 85 metres.

Ultimately, of course the dam will rise to 138.68 metres.

The raising of the dam height by 3.5 metres is expected to submerge 50 more tribal villages in Gujarat. This is in addition to the 19 villages that were slated for submersion earlier, when the dam height was 81.5 metres. The inhabitants of these 19 villages have been scattered into 175 separate rehabilitation sites.

At the old dam height of 81.5 metres, there were 226 villages that were to drown in Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, whose inhabitants presumably have been scattered in about 3,000 more rehabilitation centres.

Bureaucratic indifference and interference at every stage has naturally resulted in not only disruption of hundreds of tribal village communities but also allocations of stony grounds and rocky pastures to those who till yesteryear tilled rich fertile black soil plots. Many times, mere cash compensation was offered. Where we take issue with Arundhati is with her characterisation of the dam builders as

Dams and the displacement of tribal people			
Name of project*	State	Population facing displacement	Tribal people as % of displaced
Karjan	Gujarat	11,600	100.00
Sardar Sarovar	Gujarat	200,000	57.60
Maheshwar	M.P.	20,000	60.00
Bodhghat	M.P.	12,700	73.91
Icha	Bihar	30,800	80.00
Chandil	Bihar	37,600	87.92
Koel Karo	Bihar	66,000	88.00
Mahi Bajaj Sagar	Rajasthan	38,400	76.28
Polavaram	A.P.	150,000	52.90
Maithon & Panchet	Bihar	93,874	56.46
Upper Indravati	Orissa	18,500	89.20
Pong	H.P.	80,000	56.25
Inchampalli	A.P.-Maharashtra	38,100	76.28
Tultuli	Maharashtra	13,600	51.61
Daman Ganga	Gujarat	8,700	48.70
Bhakra	H.P.	36,000	34.76
Masan Reservoir	Bihar	3,700	31.00
Ukai Reservoir	Gujarat	52,000	18.92

* Projects are either under construction or have been planned.

Source: Satyajit Singh, *Taming the Waters*, OUP 1997 and government figures, *Frontline*, June 4, 1999.

"feudal".

There is nothing "feudal" about the World Bank, Arundhati! Nor is there anything "feudal" about Jayaprakash Industries, one of the major contractors, nor about the "feudal turbines" to be imported by Sumimoto Corporation. The Sardar Sagar Factory promoted by Chimanbhai Patel and Sanat Mehta is not a feudal institution.

The fact is that between 1947 and 1994, as Arundhati herself has emphasised, the World Bank, more than which there cannot be a non-feudal agency, received 6,000 applications from around the world for loans to build big dams. Not a single one was turned down!

The WB loan of \$450 million was sanctioned in 1985 for the Sardar Sarovar Dam and allied projects, two years prior to the Ministry of Environment's clearance.

Why was the World Bank so keen and hell bent?

The answer is provided by Arundhati without any understanding of the meaning of her own observations.

"Over the last five years, ('93 to '98) India paid the Bank \$1.475 billion more than it received." (*Outlook*, May 24, '99, p.60).

At this point we would have normally said, "we agree with Arundhati". We cannot however do so since apparently Arundhati does not understand what she has chosen to write !

The World Bank is the supreme capitalist institution. It is promoting capitalism **globally**, and is **making normal capitalist profits in the process** !

I suggest that Arundhati should read a minimal amount of economic history.

She should try to grasp the concept of "Mode of Production". She must not allow herself to be misled by Stalinist - Progressivists into characterising anything and everything that is fiercely exploitative as "feudal". **Pure capitalist operations are as fiercely exploitative and barbaric as the worst feudal excesses.**

Now that Arundhati has stepped into the arena of popular agitations and social conflicts, it is incumbent on her to learn something of Indian economic and political history. She should try to grasp **the significance of 1765** and understand: (1) how British imperialist capitalism displaced local Indian feudalism; (2) how the infusion of gold and silver into the Indian economy which had been going on for centuries and millenia, suddenly ceased; (3) how India was Deindustrialised, Ruralised and Pauperised; and (4) how Famines of Purchasing Power ravaged the land from 1765 to 1947 in an unending series, that carried away at least 85 million Indians. (Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problem*, pp. 87-8).

Without a modicum of acquaintance with the dynamics of the world economy and its ties with the Indian economy, it is not possible for Arundhati to even begin to understand the nature and function of Big Dams.

Let me hasten to add that so far as I know Medha Patkar has not used the term 'feudal' in the manner that Arundhati has done. Therefore, my criticism, in this instance, is aimed exclusively at Arundhati and other Progressivists of her ilk who use big words like "feudal" without any real understanding of the term.

At the same time and here we encompass the activities and writings of both Medha and Arundhati, we beg to differ from both these ladies in the matter of the Big Bomb !

There is no causal connection between the Big Bomb and the Big Dam.

AS A MATTER OF FACT, WE MUST CHALK OUT A THIRD PATH WHICH ACCEPTS THE NECESSITY OF THE NUCLEAR DEVICE AS A DEFENCE AGAINST NEO-COLONIAL OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION AND ALSO DENOUNCES THE BIG DAM AS A BOURGEOISFYING AND GLOBALISING WEAPON !

NATIONALIST INDIA NEEDS BOTH THE BOMB AS A SWADESHI DETERRENT AND THE ABANDONMENT OF THE SARDAR SAROVAR AND NARMADA SAGAR DAMS IN ORDER TO PROMOTE THE TRUE INTERESTS OF THE DALITS AND PIDITS OF OUR COUNTRY.

WE MUST HAVE BOTH THE BIG BOMB AND THE LITTLE WATER-HARVESTING AND ENVIRONMENT-FRIENDLY PROJECTS ! NATIONALIST INDIA NEEDS TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST BOTH THE BIG DAM CULTURE PROMOTED BY THE TERRIBLE TRIMURTI OF THE IMF, WB AND WTO, AS WELL AS THE REST OF THE LPGW SYNDROME PROMOTED BY THE NEO-COLONIAL POWERS.

The careerist sycophant of Western Technology and Culture, B. G. Verghese, has attempted to refute Arundhati Roy and Medha Patkar.

VERGHESE IS AN IMPOSSIBLE IDIOT !

He is not concerned with the larger issues of human suffering, World Bank strategy, the fearful toll environmental and human extracted by Big Dams all over the world. The non-fulfillment of promises and targets by all dam authorities from 1947 onwards is of no concern to him. He is not even aware of the specific case cited by Arundhati and Medha relating to the Bargi dam near Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh.

All that the wretched Verghese can suggest: "Why not await the findings of the Grievance Authority?"

ALREADY 20 YEARS HAVE PASSED ! HOW MANY MORE ARE TO BE WAITED UPON?

Does not Verghese realise that supposing all that he said about Narmada Sagar and Sardar Sarovar dams is true, which obviously is not the case, then what about the several million oustees of India's other 3,000 dams?

What Verghese has not grasped is the **GENERALITY OF THE PROBLEM.**

WHY IS THE WORLD BOURGEOISIE ACTING THROUGH THE WORLD BANK TO BUILD DAMS ALL OVER THE WORLD?

We warmly welcome Arundhati Roy in the ranks of fighters for social justice. She has personally taken a courageous decision. She has also staked the expected royalty of Rs. 15 lakh and more from her book on the Narmada Andolan.

She has marshalled the available data quite well and argued the case against the Twin Dams fairly cogently.

We have only suggested **in a very friendly spirit** that she should not use words like "feudal" without knowing their meaning and that she should not establish spurious linkages between the Big Dam and the Big Bomb.

As a matter of fact, resurgent Nationalist India needs the atom bomb, **AS ONE WEAPON IN ITS ARSENAL TO RESIST THE NEO-COLONIAL PRESSURES FROM THE USA, THE WORLD BANK AND THE OECD POWERS !**

As the Kargil conflict proves the atom bomb is a mere deterrent.

NO COUNTRY EXCEPT AMERICA HAS EVER USED THE ATOM BOMB ! NO COUNTRY IS LIKELY TO USE ANY NUCLEAR DEVICE AGAINST ANY COUNTRY WHICH POSSESSES A CREDIBLE NUCLEAR ARSENAL AND A DEPENDABLE MISSILE DELIVERY SYSTEM.

As Clausewitz and Jomini said, "WAR IS A PURSUIT OF POLITICAL AIMS BY OTHER MEANS! SIMILARLY, POLITICS ITSELF IS A PURSUIT OF ECONOMIC STRUGGLES BY OTHER MEANS !

IN FACT IN THE CURRENT CONTEXT OF NEO-COLONIAL BLOCKADE OF THIRD WORLD ECONOMIC ENTERPRISE AND DRAIN OF WEALTH FROM THE POOR TO THE RICH OF ABOUT \$550 BILLION PER YEAR. (UNDP Report, 1992, p. 67), NO

SUSTAINABLE INDUSTRIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS BY THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES IS CONCEIVABLE!

BIG DAMS ARE PART OF THE GLOBALISATION STRATEGY OF THE NEO-COLONIAL POWERS ! THE BIG BOMB IS ONE OF THE MANY MEANS BY WHICH THE NEO-COLONIAL POWERS CAN BE RESISTED AND THWARTED !

PEOPLE'S STRUGGLES ARE THE FINAL ANSWER TO ALL NEO-COLONIAL GLOBALISING BOURGEOIS STRATEGIES AND MACHINATIONS !

WE NEED BOTH THE BOMB AND THE NARMADA BACHAO ANDOLAN ! THEY ARE THE TWO SIDES OF THE SAME COIN. ■

INFORMATION FACT SHEET
PLAYING OUT THE NUMBERS GAME

Non-literate people between 1961-2001 (in millions)	
Year	People
1961	249.40
1971	283.03
1981	305.31
1991	328.88
1997	294.46
2001	268.42

Growth of literacy rate since 1991 (in %)	
Year	Growth in %
1991	52
1993	56
1994	57
1995	58
1996	59
1997	62
1998	64

Increasing literacy rates in rural vis-a-vis urban areas (in %)		
Year	Rural	Urban
1961	22.5	54.4
1971	27.9	60.2
1981	36.0	67.2
1991	44.7	73.1
1997	56.0	80.0

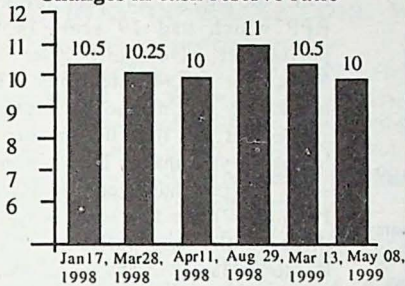
Increase in literacy rates between 1991-1997			
State	% Increase rate	State	% Increase rate
India	9.8	Madhya Pradesh	11.8
West Bengal	14.3	Kerala	3.2
Uttar Pradesh	14.4	Karnataka	2.0
Tripura	12.6	J & K*	26.3
Tamil Nadu	7.3	Himachal Pradesh	13.1
Sikkim	22.1	Haryana	9.2
Rajasthan	16.5	Gujarat	6.7
Punjab	8.5	Goa	10.5
Orissa	1.9	Delhi	9.7
Nagaland	22.4	Bihar	10.5
Mizoram	12.7	Assam	22.1
Meghalaya	27.9	Arunachal Pradesh	18.4
Manipur	16.1	Andhra Pradesh	9.9
Maharashtra	9.1		

* Census data for Jammu & Kashmir were not obtained in 1991 Hence the increase is from 1981

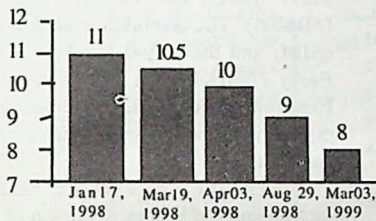
Source: Outlook, June 14, 1999.

INFORMATION FACT SHEET
INDIAN MONOPOLISTS
HAVE NEVER HAD IT SO
GOOD ! MORE FUNDS AT
LOWER COSTS

Changes in cash reserve ratio



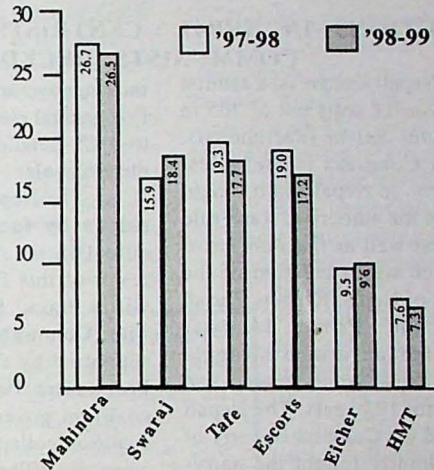
Changes in bank rate



Source: India Today, May 3, 1999, p.46

INFORMATION FACT SHEET
TRACTOR MARKET

Manufacturer-wise market shares '98-99
(April-March) in %



Source: Times of India, May 13, 1999

INFORMATION FACT SHEET
PROMOTION OF LIQUOR ON OUR TV

Channel	Earnings (Rs. crore)	Ad Duration (min.)
MTV	0.8	1,140.6
Star Movies	3.0	1,127.9
Star Plus	5.0	1,011.6
Music Asia	0.5	909.4
Channel V	2.0	878.2
Vijay TV	2.0	727.8
Zee Cinema	2.0	427.7
Zee TV	8.0	312.5
Sony	2.5	162.5
ESPN	4.0	157.5
Total	29.8	114.3 hours

Source: India Today, April 19, p.75

INFORMATION FACT SHEET
BAD DEBTS WRITTEN OFF BY PUBLIC SECTOR BANKS

Bad Debts Written off by Public Sector Banks as on December 31, 1998, in Rs. crore.

Bank	Debt
State Bank of India	666.80
Punjab National Bank	372.70
Bank of India	309.29
Indian Overseas Bank	201.76
UCO Bank	176.34
Bank of Baroda	157.30
Central Bank of India	154.62
Bank of Maharashtra	121.26
Syndicate Bank	109.16
Andhra Bank	72.58
Dena Bank	67.87
Total	2,409.88

Source: Times of India, 14.3.99

CHALO, DUNIYA DEKHEN !

Mankind Research Bureau

ELECTIONS IN NEPAL : CENTRISTS ADVANCE, COMMUNISTS RECEDE !

The Nepali Congress, a centrist party, has won 11 seats out of 205 in the *Pratinidhi Sabha* (Parliament). The Nepali Congress is the oldest political party in Nepal and it fought to pull down the autocratic Rana rule over Nepal as well as the *Panchayat* System which was a creation of the present king of Nepal. Krishna Prasad Bhattarai, the Prime Minister designate, led an armed struggle against the Rana family which had ruled Nepal for 103 years. The Nepali Congress and the Communist party of Nepal also jointly fought the party-less Panchayat System introduced 30 years ago by Birendra, the present king of Nepal.

Nepal has an electorate of 13.5 millions. The May 1999 election is the country's third. Bhattarai was nominated the Prime Minister of an

interim government in 1990, but in the first general elections held in 1991 lost to a CP candidate. He lost the 1994 elections also.

The Nepali Congress is a party ridden by factional rivalry. Their defeat in the 1994 elections was a result of this factional feud between Girija Prasad Koirala and Bhattarai. The Communist Party of Nepal supported by the pro-king Rashtriya Prajatantra Party (RPP) formed a coalition government in 1994. This coalition collapsed after nine months when the RPP withdrew its support.

All the opinion polls in Nepal had predicted a hung parliament in Nepal.

The Nepali Congress benefited from the split in the Communist Party of Nepal (United Marxist Leninist). The CPN (UML) had 89 members in

the outgoing Parliament. 40 of its members broke away in March 1998 to form the Communist Party of Nepal (Marxist-Leninist). The old CPN (UMC) won 67 seats in the 1999 elections and the breakaway CPN (ML) did not get any. The pro-king RPP which had 19 seats in the parliament also split after the November 1994 elections. The breakaway faction did not secure a single seat this time but the faction led by Surya Bahadur Thapa won 11 seats. The pro-India Nepal Sadbhavna Party (NSP) won five seats as against three in the last parliament. The Rashtriya Jana Morcha which stands to the left of the CPN (UML) won five seats under the banner of CPN (Mashal). The Sanjukta Jana Morcha (SJM) and the Nepal Majdoor Kisan Party (NMKP) got one seat each. Elections to four constituencies were countermanded following the death of candidates.

The truce between the Koirala faction and the Bhattarai faction of the Nepali Congress as well as the death of CPN (UML) leader Manmohan Adhikari while campaigning, were largely responsible for the NC's getting an absolute majority. ■

ELECTIONS IN FIJI : A NEW COMPROMISE

The Fiji Labour Party has won 37 out of the 71 seats in the Fiji Parliament ending the rule of Sitiveni Rabuka who came to power in 1987 in a military coup overthrowing a democratically elected government. The new Prime Minister, Mahendra Chaudhary was the Finance Minister in the short-lived 1987 government and was briefly imprisoned by Rabuka after the coup.

Fiji has a population of 800,000 of which 51 per cent is ethnic Fijians, and Indians, who are descendents of indentured labourers brought to Fiji by English colonialists in the 19th century, make up 44 per cent. The other races are five per cent.

Rabuka rewrote the Fijian Constitution after his coup to prevent any Indian - dominated party to control the government in Fiji. But

increasing pressure from international community and local big business led to the introduction of a new constitution in 1997 which allows Indian-dominated parties to contest any number of seats. It allots 25 open-race seats and 46 communal seats: 23 for Fijians, 19 for Indians and four for the minorities.

Mahendra Chaudhary's Labour-led coalition won 52 seats. Rabuka's Fijian SVT party won seven seats.

Under the new Fijian Constitution, the President, Ratu Kamisese Mara, has wide-ranging powers. Mahendra Chaudhary whose campaign focussed on the rising unemployment rate in Fiji, has promised wage rises and protection of worker's rights. The Fijian big business is wary of Chaudhary for

this reason.

In view of the delicate ethnic balance in Fiji, Mahendra Chaudhary is attempting a compromise. Adi Kuimi Speed, the wife of the dead opposition leader Timoci Bavadra, an electoral ally of Chaudhary, demanded that only an indigenous Fijian should become Prime Minister. Two posts of Deputy Prime Minister were created and Speed was given one of these. Tupeni Baba who belongs to the Labour party and is also a native Fijian was given the second Deputy Prime Minister's post. He has also appointed 11 Fijians and six Indians to his cabinet. Out of 17 cabinet posts, the Labour Party holds 11. Two opposition politicians Poseci Bune and Ali Koila Maraa Nailatikan, the President's daughter, have been given cabinet posts. Bune played an important role supporting Rabuka's coup in 1987 and broke from Rabuka's

party to form a splinter party just before the elections accusing Rabuka of betraying ethnic Fijian interests by bringing in a non-racist Constitution in 1997.

Chaudhary has kept the

finance, public enterprise, sugar industry and information portfolios to himself, making Tupeni Baba the foreign minister and his other Deputy Prime Minister, Speed is made the minister for Fijian Affairs. The

politically sensitive home affairs portfolio responsible for the army and the police remains unallotted as of now. ■

ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL : ONE RIGHTIST FOR ANOTHER

Israel had its two-tier elections on May 17, 1999 to its 15th *Knesset* or Parliament. The Prime Minister is directly elected and a separate vote for parties to the *Knesset* is cast. The number of seats each party wins is in proportion to the total votes cast for its list. Labour Party leader Ehud Barak has won with a big majority. Benjamin Netanyahu, the defeated Prime Minister, did his best to exploit

the fear of Israelis in making any concessions to Arabs, but he failed miserably. Barak models himself after Yitzhak Rabin who negotiated the peace settlement with Arafat mediated by the American govt. Clinton has declared his enthusiastic support to Barak.

Barak is Israel's former army chief and his campaign emphasised that Israel is in a position to make a settlement with Arabs on its own terms. Barak's position about negotiations with Arabs will also be tough. It will be from the point of view of Israeli self-interest.

Like Netanyahu, Barak insists that Israel will not give up a part of West Bank, East Jerusalem, in any peace accord. He also wants to retain control over main blocs of Jewish settlements in occupied areas. But he

is willing to return a part of Golan Heights to Syria and is in favour of ending Israel's 20-year old military presence in Lebanon in a year.

Israeli society is divided into many groups. The Ashkenazi or Jews of European ancestry belong to the upper and middle classes, and are generally supporters of the Labour Party and other parties of the left. The

GLOBALISING REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGN

George W. Bush Jr. raised more than \$36 million in the first half of 1999, shattering all previous political fund raising records.

This surpasses the entire amount that Bob Dole raised in 1996 for his Presidential campaign.

Is it possible for Bush Jr. to advocate any policy which is disliked by those who have contributed more than Rs.1.55 crores to his campaign in just six months? Our media men like Shekhar Gupta, B. G. Verghese and the like should note the ramifications of this globalising Republican campaign. (*Indian Express*, 2.7.99 and *Times of India*, 2.7.99). ■

Sephardim or Jews who have migrated from north Africa and Asia support the rightist Likud Party. A charismatic youth leader has mobilised a part of the traditional Likud party supporters, the lower class Sephardim in the Shas Party. There are religious parties also

of which the National Religious Party (NRP) is the most prominent. Arabs are divided into three parties of which the Communist Hadash Party is one. They have 10 seats in the 120-member *Knesset*. The latter includes Jews as well. The Centre Party and the Shinui Party are recent formations.

The picture which has emerged from Israel's latest elections is one of two large parties and a large number of small parties representing specific interests.

The One Israel Party, a dissident faction from the right has merged with the Labour Party in these elections winning 26 seats. The Arab parties with their ten members are supporting the government as also the Centre Party of Yitzhak Mordechai and the Yisrael Baaliya Party of Natan Sharansky. The Shinui Party will also support the left of centre coalition on the issue of negotiations with Arabs.

The rightist parties are fragmented with the Likud Party winning 19 seats, the National Union has got 3, the National Religious Party has won 5 and the Shas has 17 seats. These parties are opposed to ceding any territory to the Arabs. They have been marginalised in this election. ■

ELECTIONS IN INDONESIA : DOUBTFUL OUTCOME

The Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDIP) led by Megawati Sukarnoputri has won 33.74 per cent of the vote in the June elections defeating the ruling Golkar Party which ruled Indonesia in an authoritarian fashion for more than four decades. Golkar secured 22.44 per cent of the vote.

Megawati Sukarnoputri is the daughter of Indonesia's first President, Sukarno, who led the

struggle against colonial rule in Indonesia. Megawati seems to have had the backing of the American government, as evidenced by the backing extended by Corazon Aquino in Philippines who replaced Marcos.

PDIP has 158 seats in parliament and the Golkar has 120. The Golkar party continues to back President B. J. Habibie, the current incumbent, who replaced the notoriously corrupt Suharto.

Because of the thin majority secured by Megawati and the lack of unity amongst smaller reformist parties, the Golkar party is manoeuvring to secure the Presidency in November. The military holds a crucial position with 38 non-elected seats in Parliament.

Continuing with the discredited Habibie and his Golkar Party may lead to popular discontent and therefore, the army may opt for Megawati as the next president of Indonesia. ■

ELECTIONS IN NIGERIA : CIVILIANS BACK IN POWER

Nigeria has returned to civilian rule after 15 years of repressive military rule following the May 1999 elections. Olusegan Obasanjo has become the new President. He was imprisoned for more than a year in the maximum security prison by the former military dictator Sani Abacha.

Decades of corrupt military rule has taken its toll of Nigerian economy. More than 70 per cent of people live below the poverty line. Former military rulers Ibrahim Babangida and Sani Abacha have stashed away in foreign banks enormous sums earned by the country following the spurt in oil prices in 1990.

The important steps taken by Obasanjo government have been (i) to suspend all licence, contracts, approvals and appointments made by

Abacha's government between January and May 1999 and (ii) substitute the Service Chiefs by candidates acceptable to major ethnic groups. The governor of the Central Bank was also replaced as during the military rule the Central Bank was seen as the agency for laundering money for the military rulers.

Oil and gas are the chief resources on which the Nigerian economy depends. These two account for 90 per cent of Nigeria's revenues.

Obasanjo is from Southern Nigeria and he will have to take concrete steps to restore the confidence of the Easterners who feel discriminated against. Ethnic groups like the Yorubas are also pressing for greater federal power to every state and rotation of leadership positions at the centre among different regional leaders.

The Niger delta which produces 3.2 per cent of the world oil production gives Nigeria \$20 million as average daily revenue. The multinationals and the Nigerian government have continuously exploited this area for its oil resources and devastated it by neglect of its environment. This region is deprived of financial allocations and its vegetation, aquatic life and land are systematically destroyed by an unplanned and rapacious exploitation of its natural resources. The agitation of Ken Saro Wiwa and his Ogoni people sought to highlight this impoverishment. He was hanged by the Abacha government, But the issues on which his agitation focussed remain and Obasanjo's government will have to address them if it wants to rule Nigeria in a more egalitarian fashion than his predecessors. ■

ELECTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA : UNCLE TOMS AT TOP

The African National Congress (ANC) has won the second general elections in South Africa with over 66 per cent of the votes and 266 seats in the 400-seat National Assembly. Out of the nine provinces, the ANC has a majority in seven.

In Western Cape, traditionally a stronghold of the White Afrikaners, the ANC took 18 seats against 17 of the New National Party (NNP). In Kwazulu-Natal, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) which is promoted by the White Afrikaners took 34 seats against ANC's 32. The ANC has won a greater share of votes than in the first general elections in April 1994. The Indian community in

South Africa has supported the Democratic Party (DP). The DP has also increased its support among the Whites. It has been declared as the official Opposition party with 38 seats.

Each opposition party has secured less than 10 per cent of the vote and has lost in terms of the number of seats also. (See table given alongside). The White Afrikaner dominated New National Party has secured 7 per cent vote against 20 per cent in 1994 and the number of seats

won by it has come down to 28 from 82 secured in 1994. The IFP has secured 34 seats against 43 held earlier.

Thabo Mbeki is the new President. He was chosen by his predecessor Nelson Mandela who presided over the process of arriving at a compromise with the Apartheidist White regime which incarcerated him for 27 years and more. By this step, Mandela wiped out his long record of militant opposition to the White Afrikaner oppression and exploitation of the black majority. He became a part of the smooth transition to power much like the Indian

THE FINAL RESULTS

National Assembly

Party	1999 tally	1994 tally
African National Congress (ANC)	266	(252)
Democratic Party (D.P.)	38	(7)
Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP)	34	(43)
New National Party (NNP)	28	(82)
United Democratic Movement (UDM)	14	
African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)	6	(2)
Freedom Front (F.F.)	3	(9)
Pan Africanist Congress of Azania (PAC)	3	(5)
United Christian Democratic Party (UCDP)	3	-
Federal Alliance (F.A.)	2	-
Minority Front (M.F.)	1	-
Afrikaner Eenheids Beweging (AEB)	1	-
Azanian People's Organisation (AZAPO)	1	-

The National Assembly has 400 seats.

Three other political parties which were on the national ballot, Government by the People Green Party, Socialist Party of Azania and Abolition of Income Tax and Usury Party, secured too few votes to qualify for even one seat.

Source: *Frontline*, July 2, 1999.

(contd. on p.37)

HAWA KA EK JHONKA

OLD SOCIALISTS IN NEW BOTTLES

● George Fernandes, Ramkrishna Hegde, J. H. Patel, Ram Vilas Paswan and Sharad Yadav have come together last week to resurrect the dying Janata Dal. The Samata Party and Lok Shakti stand dissolved, or rather will stand dissolved if the new Janata Dal does well in the elections to the 13th Lok Sabha to be held in five stages between 5th of September, and 1st October, 1999. The excuse this time was the aftermath of security problems created by the Kargil War. Anyway, this is better than the elections to the 1st Lok Sabha which were staggered over six months from September 1951 to February 1952. Though Assembly Elections in Goa have already taken place in July 1999, our *naukarshahi* facilitated this sampling of poll prospects for Sonia, the Italian fascist moll, precisely in a Christian pocket in Western India!

We do not know whether Naveen Patnaik of the Biju Janata Dal will fall in line with the new pattern of alliances that is emerging within the National Democratic Alliance formed and led by the BJP.

George Fernandes, the Convener of NDA, has surely strengthened his position vis-a-vis both Vajpayee and Advani. The repercussions in Bihar have already frightened Laloo Prasad Yadav, who was all along relying on the tri-partite division of votes between the Bihar BJP and the Samata Party of *kurmis* and the *dalits* of Ram Vilas Paswan's rump JD. (Laloo had broken away a little while ago from the parent JD to form his state-level RJD, in order to forge an alliance with the bankrupt Congress and the ideological nonentity, the Left Front of Stalinists).

The position in Karnataka is a little fluid since the local BJP resents the entry of J. H. Patel, the ex-Lohiaite into the NDA. But surely these little problems will be sorted out when the Problem of Problems is that of NON - DEVELOPMENT OVER THE LAST HALF CENTURY ! OF A DOMINION STATUS CONSTITUTION OF 1946-49 OVER THE LAST FIVE DECADES ! THE CONGRESS AND THE *NAUKARSHAHIS* HAVE COMBINED TO BLOCK ALL PROGRESS UNDER A CONSTITUTION THAT PERMITS NON-TRANSPARENCY AND NON-ACCOUNTABILITY AND BREEDS EXTREME CORRUPTION !

Some of the PSPers, or extreme right wing reformist socialists, led by Chandrashekhar and Madhu Dandavate, have chosen to run the disintegrating JD "till death do us part". Actually, all the big names of the New Janata Dal were formerly Lohiaites i.e., left wing socialists: George and Nitish Kumar, Sharad Yadav, Ram Vilas Paswan and J. H. Patel should have joined hands to revive the old socialist party. But perhaps the word Socialism embarrasses them NOW ! ■

SUBBA AND JAMIR LOOT THE PEOPLE

● Why is the world always surprised by capitalist thieves who constantly cheat each other and the people ?

This is what free enterprise means. Everyone is to run a free for all enterprise that would rob everyone around !

The lottery king Mani Kumar Subba was a Congress member of the outgoing 12th Lok Sabha. Therefore the investigations were slow. But a

few weeks ago the Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) sent to the income tax department a 30 page report on the "every conceivable transgression" that took place in the running of the Nagaland Lottery. Subba was the State Sole Distributor on behalf of MS Associates from 1993 to 1997. The CAG Report finds that Subba swallowed Rs. 5,000 crore in a totally illegitimate manner.

"The CAG has calculated that, of the Rs. 38,297 crore worth of tickets printed, even a mere 2 per cent of profits for the distributor, agents and the state government works out to Rs.766 crore. Even if the state government was to get half the share of profit, it should have been entitled to Rs.383 crore. In fact, it received only Rs.40.20 crore. Besides, the Directorate made a practice of first depositing the receipts in a savings bank account for upto seven months before submitting them to the treasury.

"The direct involvement of Chief Minister S. C. Jamir in the scam stands exposed. In September 1995, he personally approved the reduction of the guaranteed return." (*Indian Express*, 2.7.99). ■

FARTHER INDIA EXTENDED UPTO CENTRAL CHINA

● We know that Indian influence extended to South China as well as to South-East Asia.

The Cambodian irrigational network owed its origins to Indian inspiration, probably from Andhra Pradesh, since the four ancient kingdoms that coalesced to form Champa were known as Kauthara Vijaya, Panduranga and Amravati in 2nd century A. D.

We have already written in *Mankind* about the great Cambodian, Thai and Indonesian kings who bore Indian names.

We have also known that statues of Ganesha and Hanuman have been found in Yunan.

Now, "Chinese archaeologists have discovered a 1,500-year old stone inscription carved in Sanskrit and Chinese near the city of Yueyang in China's Hunan province. There are

two Sanskrit words and two Chinese characters carved in the stone. Wo Baihui, head of the International Indian Philosophy Institute said. The Sanskrit words indicate good luck and the Chinese characters refer to a deity and the universe." (*Indian Express*, 24.5.99).■

NAUKARSHAHI NADIR

●Class is so firmly ingrained in the psyche of the Indian Army that an absolute NADIR was reached in July 1999 when the police opened fire to quell the rioting aspirants at two recruitment camps organised in Bihar and Rajasthan just the other day.

Compulsions of poverty are so horrendous in India that the poor desperately want to earn a living even if it means death.

That is why we in *Mankind* have been advocating a complete sociological shift. WE MUST HAVE A CONSCRIPT ARMY! The call up should be by age groups with minimal fitness standards.

WE NEED A PEOPLE'S ARMY THAT WILL DEFEND OUR LAND.

In Darbhanga district of Bihar as many as 20 aspirants met instant death as the police opened fire and a stampede resulted. Three were killed in police firing and 17 met a watery death. 20 is an official underestimate, as many as 50 may have lost their lives according to neutral observers.

What a sad story it is! That our young people should be so desperate at the end of 50 years of Congress-*naukarshahi* rule, is a commentary upon our tragic comprador history of a half century! Are Instant Death or Death-after-Training the only alternatives available to our young people?■

ANOTHER NAUKARSHAHI NADIR

Nagpur University deserves to be the true symbol of our mismanaged educational set - up.

One assistant registrar of Nagpur University named Yadav Kohchade was caught red-handed in a city hotel on June 19 when he tried

to bribe a police officer probing the scam, with Rs. 7 lakh.

Following this incident the Vice-Chancellor and Pro-Vice-Chancellor have resigned to escape from the police net which has trapped dozens of high and low level education department officials.

A bribe of 7 lakh was being pressed upon a police officer by Kohchade in order to cover up hundreds of transactions relating to sale of degrees, mark sheets and revaluation reports.

Just last month we reported on the Lalit Narayan Mithila University affair where seven bogus minority Teachers' Training Institutes had been granting fake certificates to over 40,000 job seekers who paid Rs. 2.5 lakh each, if non-Bihari, and Rs. 1.5 lakh, if Bihari.

As yet, we have not been told how much was charged for each fake degree, marksheet or revaluation report by Nagpur University.

PC Alexander, the current Governor of Maharashtra is a prime *chirkoot* and a racketeer thoroughly steeped in the *naukarshahi* culture of India.

He is supposed to set right matters in Nagpur University. Can he set right his own shady and worthless past?

How are we going to sweep away this rubbish of the past 50 years WITHOUT A REVOLUTION?■

VICTORY OF SORTS AT CHILKA

●We are glad to report a murky victory of sorts in the matter of the Chilka lake.

The lake covers an area of 1,100 sq. kms in high flood and shrinks to about 900 sq. kms in summer. Four rivers and 35 rivulets drain into the lake and dump, on an average, 13 million cubic meters of sediment every year. A 35 km long outer channel connects the Chilka lake with the Bay of Bengal.

The average annual fish and prawn landing in Chilka was 8590 metric tonnes in 1985-86 and the figure had come down to 1,100 metric tonnes

in 1997-98 entirely due to the prawn *gheries* (partitions) thrown across the lake by the aquaculturists including the Tatas and several MNCs buying through exclusive suppliers.

"When police opened fire at an irate mob of fishermen at Sorana on the banks of Chilka lake on the midnight of May 29, killing four and injuring several others. No one had imagined that the incident would trigger a virtual revolution. What followed was a statewide outcry against administrative apathy in saving Orissa's most precious lake. The struggle of the fishermen dependent on Chilka for their livelihood is already beginning to show results.

"Orissa's home secretary, Ajit Kumar Tripathy, indicated recently that a bill is likely to be moved in the forthcoming budget session of the state assembly, which will seek to ban all types of aquaculture in the lake. As an interim step, the state government has already stopped the granting or renewing of leases for aquaculture in Chilka.

"The cause of the fishermen met with instant support from the public and politicians alike. Already the Orissa High Court and the Supreme Court have sought the curtailing of prawn culture in the Chilka lake." (*Indian Express*, 27.6.99).■

TATA TRADITION OF BEING TROJAN HORSES

●Tatas continue to act as Trojan horses for foreign multinationals.

A little while ago they had formed a joint venture with Pepsi and after the American giant had settled down in this Benighted Land of India, the Tatas sold their stake to the intruders and infiltrators who have been as active in subverting our sovereignty as the Pakistani terrorists in Kargil. ARUNDHATI ROY AND MEDHA PATKAR SHOULD MAKE A SPECIAL NOTE OF THESE "ECONOMIC" TERRORISTS AND EXTREMISTS WHO MASQUERADE AS LIBERALISING, PRIVATISING AND GLOBALISING AGENTS, AND

WHO ARE FAR MORE DEADLY THAN THE LITTLE FELLOWS FROM BEYOND THE LOC.

Now news has appeared of Tatas selling off their stake in three more joint ventures which they helped foreigners to set up initially.

The foreign investment promotion board has cleared three such treacheries:

"The Tatas will sell 50 per cent of their stake in Tata IBM to IBM for Rs. 46.5 crore.

"IBM will also increase its stake in another joint venture with the Tatas, IBM Global Services, to 100 per cent by buying the 10 per cent stake held by the Tata Group for Rs. 27 crore.

"The Canadian aluminium giant Alcan will buy out Tata's 20 per cent stake in Utkal Alumina International for Rs. 44.5 crore, FIPB sources said.

"The Canadian company's equity holding in Utkal Alumina would go up to 80 per cent after the acquisition. The remaining 20 per cent in the firm is held by Indal." (*Times of India*, 29.6.99).

The Tatas have been true to the tradition established by their founder Jamshedji N. Tata who joined hands with British merchants to force opium

down the throats and nostrils of the Chinese in the two Opium Wars of 1839-42 and 1856-60.

Later, Tatas teamed up with Americans and Belgians to establish the joint venture TISCO in 1909. TISCO became the flagship company of the house of Tatas and was called "a great National enterprise", like Hidustan Lever, ITC, Philips, ICI, GEC and Glaxo (see *Mankind*, April 1998, *India's 59 Monopoly Houses*, pp.41-46).

Like Sonia is an Indian !

Actually in comprador culture there are no foreigners ! **The theory is that "some pigs are more equal than others.** "Some may even possess dual citizenships like Nusli Wadia, Sonia Maino Gandhi, Ajitabh Bachchan, and a few more !

LONG LIVE THE MULTINATIONAL PIGS OF INDIA!■

CLASS DIFFERENCES IN INDIAN ARMY

● The Ministry of Defence has issued an order in June relating to revised pensions which discriminates against non-officer cadres in the armed services.

The new pension scheme gives

an increase of 12 per cent to officers of the rank of captain and 24 per cent to generals. **But there will be no increase in the pensions of personnel below officer rank.**

The pension laws are full of discriminating provisions against the jawans. To get 50 per cent of pay as pension, a serviceman has to put in 33 years. But non-officer rank servicemen are retired before the term is over. They retire early and are not given any alternative employment. The jawans have been demanding a one rank-one pension scheme since 1991. Under this scheme, persons of the same rank will get the same pension irrespective of when they retire. The annual cost of this scheme is Rs. 300 crore which is not high considering the relief it will bring to the non-officer ranks.

The June order which discriminates against the jawans has caused considerable discontent among the lower ranks in the army. Organisations of ex-servicemen have made a statement that the agitational approach may be the only alternative they have in the face of the callous and insensitive attitude of the Ministry of Defence towards the rank and file in the army.■

(contd. from p.34)

Chalo Duniya Dekhen !

National Congress did in 1947 in India. The policies pursued by Mandela since the 1994 first general elections have reinforced this impression. The black majority which was instrumental in his political rise has got very little out of the transfer of power. They continue to be largely poor, illiterate and discriminated against, with very poor allocations for their socio-economic upliftment.

The White

minority which is very uncomfortable

with the black majority rule raises the bogey of loss of international investor confidence every time the ANC government takes even a moderate step to end the exploitation of the blacks.

The challenge before Mbeki, who also has a long record as a fighter in the South African Liberation Movement, is to speed up this process of empowerment of the black majority. In the absence of this change, as Mbeki has himself said in his post-victory speech in June "when the poor rise, they will rise against all of us." ■

PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES										
Party	EC (63)	FS (30)	GTG (73)	KZN (80)	MPG (30)	NC (30)	NP (49)	NW (33)	WC (42)	
ANC	47	25	50	32	26	20	44	27	18	
D.P.	4	2	13	7	1	1	1	1	5	
IFP	-	1	3	34	-	-	-	-	1	-
NNP	2	2	3	3	1	8	1	-	17	
UDM	9	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	
ACDP	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	
FF.	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	-	
PAC	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	
UCDP	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	
F.A.	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
M.F.	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	
EC: Eastern Cape; FS: Free State; GTG: Gautaeng; KZN: Kwa Zulu-Natal; MPG: Mpumalanga; NC: Northern Cape; NP: Northern Province; NW: Northwest; WC: Western Cape.										

Source: *Frontline*, July 2, 1999.

The Congress Party's Fondness for the Foreign

N. S. Rajaram

"History," said President Harry Truman, "is always written by the winner". By this, he meant that the victorious side invariably seeks to impose a version of history that shows itself and its leaders in the most favourable light. This simple truth comes to mind when one looks at the current political scene, particularly the lengths to which the Congress is prepared to go to hand over the nation's leadership to a foreigner.

This raises a fundamental question: what makes a great political party that claims to have fought hard and long to end European colonial rule present a foreign-born woman with no record of achievement or service to the nation as the one best fitted to lead the country? The answer is to be found in the fact that the history of modern India as found in textbooks is the version written by the successful side -- the party that enjoyed power for the better part of 50 years. This gave it ample opportunity to impose a version of history that showed the Congress and its leaders in the most favourable light. A historical myth was created to show its leaders as national heroes in a titanic struggle against a formidable foreign adversary. The reality is different. A careful examination of the history of the last 80 years or so shows, that at crucial points, the Congress

leadership has looked beyond the borders for inspiration.

This tendency of the Congress came to the fore in 1920, when Mahatma Gandhi launched the great non-

DISTORTED CONGRESS VERSION OF INDIAN HISTORY

This raises a fundamental question: What makes a great political party that claims to have fought hard and long to end European colonial rule present a foreign-born woman with no record of achievement or service to the nation as the one best fitted to lead the country? The answer is to be found in the fact that the history of modern India as found in textbooks is the version written by the successful side -- the party that enjoyed power for the better part of 50 years. This gave it ample opportunity to impose a version of history that showed the Congress and its leaders in the most favourable light. A historical myth was created to show its leaders as national heroes in a titanic struggle against a formidable foreign adversary. The reality is different.

cooperation movement in support of the Khilafat. It was for the restoration of the Sultan of Turkey who had lost his empire following his defeat in the First

GANDHI'S SUPPORT TO KHILAFAT

In launching the Khilafat non-cooperation movement, Gandhi was prepared to abandon the goal of Swaraj - or independence - in favour of the Khilafat. The people of Turkey themselves had no use for their Sultan whom they eventually drove into exile. **But Gandhi was not only prepared to abandon the goal in favour of a discredited, irrelevant theocratic institution, but even went to the extent of defining Swaraj itself as support for the Khilafat.** It is also a fact of history --- though not emphasised in history books today - that Gandhi's movement led to a jihad known as the Moplah rebellion in which thousands of innocent lives were lost.

World War. (The Sultan had pretensions to being the successor to the Caliph - a claim not recognised by Muslims outside India) **In launching the Khilafat non-cooperation movement,**

Gandhi was prepared to abandon the goal of Swaraj - or independence - in favour of the Khilafat. In his own words: "To the Musalmans Swaraj means, as it must, India's ability to deal effectively with the Khilafat question. It is impossible not to sympathise with this attitude. I would gladly ask for the postponement of the Swaraj activity if we could advance the interest of the Khilafat".

Two points are worth noting.

The people of Turkey themselves had no use for their Sultan whom they eventually drove into exile. Secondly, the Congress, only a year earlier, had declared Swaraj to be its goal. **But Gandhi was not only prepared to abandon the goal in favour of a discredited, irrelevant theocratic institution, but even went to the extent of defining Swaraj itself as support for the Khilafat.** It is also a fact of history --- though not emphasised in history books today - that Gandhi's movement led to a jihad known as the Moplah rebellion in which thousands of innocent lives were lost.

It was only in December 1929, at the Lahore session of the Congress, that Swaraj returned to the Congress agenda. But a similar pattern followed.

The Independence Day was celebrated on the banks of the river Ravi on January 26, 1930, and Gandhi was authorised by the Congress to lead a civil disobedience movement in support of *Purna Swaraj* (complete independence). But soon Gandhi wrote something in his paper *Young India* that practically sabotaged the whole thing. Instead of demanding complete independence, he listed 11 administrative reforms and appealed to the Viceroy: "This is by no means an exhaustive list of pressing needs, but let the Viceroy satisfy us with regard to these very simple but vital needs of India. He will then hear no talk of Civil Disobedience; and the Congress will heartily participate

in any conference where there is perfect freedom of expression and demand "

This demonstrated the truth of what Sri Aurobindo had written years earlier: "The Congress started from the beginning with a misconception of the most elementary facts of politics, with its eyes turned towards the British government and away from the people." This was further confirmed by the subsequent behaviour of Gandhi and the Congress.

Nothing came of Gandhi's offer to the Viceroy and **civil disobedience began with the famous Dandi Salt March.** This was followed by **civil disobedience all over the country.** Had it been pursued to its logical conclusion, it is difficult to see how the British could have held on much longer. But, once again, Gandhi turned away from his followers and looked to the Viceroy who offered him the Gandhi-Irwin pact. With this, the dream of *Purna Swaraj*, so eloquently proclaimed in the manifesto, went up in a puff of smoke. "Was it for this that our people had behaved so gallantly for a year?" Jawaharlal Nehru asked in anguish.

The 1942 Quit India movement was a non-starter and **Gandhiji dissociated himself from it almost at the start.** But the pattern of looking outside India for inspiration continued after independence. **In Kashmir, Nehru disregarded the advice of his own field commanders Thimayya and L. P. Sen and followed the advice of Mountbatten to refer it to the United Nations. In the Northeast also, Nehru relied heavily on the advice of foreign missionaries like Verrier**

NEHRU'S RELIANCE ON MOUNTBATTEN AND VERRIER ELWIN

In Kashmir, Nehru disregarded the advice of his own field commanders Thimayya and L. P. Sen and followed the advice of Mountbatten to refer it to the United Nations. In the Northeast also, Nehru relied heavily on the advice of foreign missionaries like Verrier Elwin, resulting in a massive increase in Christian missionary activity in tribal areas.

successors looked to the Soviet model. India is yet to recover from these decisions.

This brief excursion into history shows that the Congress' appeals to Sonia Gandhi, to take over the leadership of the country, is no aberration but part of a consistent pattern going back more than a century. It is a

manifestation of the party's inability to evolve an ideology or any school of thought rooted in the soil. Its vision for the country is not national but colonial. Its leader, Sonia Gandhi, is its most visible symbol. The question now is whether it will evolve an ideology rooted in the soil, or whether this party started by an Englishman will be wound up by an

Italian woman. That would be a fitting epitaph for a party born in colonialism and trying to perpetuate colonial values.

(N. S. Rajaram in *Indian Express*, 9.6.99. The writer has just completed the book "*Gandhi, Khilafat and the National Movement: A Revisionist View Based on Neglected Sources*". ■

EPITAPH FOR THE CONGRESS

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ANNOUNCEMENT

Our next issue of September 1999 will feature the following :

1. GANDHISM X-RAYED : CONTROVERSY WITH KISHEN PATTNAYAK.

2. REVIEW OF UNDP REPORT '99.

3. In Masterpieces of World Literature we shall serialise George Bernard Shaw's, '*You Never Can Tell*' - Act I.

4. "India's Place in the Sun" will focus upon 72 countries of the world that make up 90% of World's population and GDP-PPP.

5. Further instalment of Sharayu Mhatre's 'Social Change in 19th Century Maharashtra' will appear, as well as her selection from , "Woman Writing in India", A short story by Achanta Sarada Devi.

6. Ajit Bhattacharjee's, recollection of the political background to the 1947 Partition.

Our regular features *Wah Kya Kahen*, *Chalo Duniya Dekhen*, *Hawa Ka Ek Jhonka* and *Adda at Nukkad* will continue.

WHERE ARE SONIA'S CITIZENSHIP PAPERS?

The political turmoil on the Sonia Gandhi citizenship issue has buried the key question of the legality of her Indian citizenship under the Citizenship Act 1955 and the legal power available to any government to put "conditions and restrictions" on such citizenship.

That question can be easily determined if the form filled by her, the documents annexed to it and the orders passed thereon were made public. Unfortunately Sonia Gandhi has not sought to quell the debate and set all doubts at rest by doing this. The Union Home Minister can easily put to public scrutiny the forms filled by her, the documents annexed to those forms, the collector's report on the application for citizenship and the home ministry's orders thereon. No law prohibits making these documents public.

It is in Sonia Gandhi's own interest that public debate on a transparent scrutiny of her citizenship documents be settled before she is launched on the prime ministerial path. The silence on making the documents public is intriguing.

If Sonia Gandhi applied for citizenship by registration under Section 5(1) (E) of the Act, then she did so on the ground that she is married to an Indian citizen, is an ordinary resident of India and has been so resident for five years before making the application. Rule 4 required her to state in column 9 of the prescribed application form as to whether she has "renounced" or "lost" the citizenship of Italy in accordance with law of Italy. For this purpose she had to attach documents in support of her statement. In the alternative under column 10 she

had to give an undertaking that she will renounce the Italian citizenship on her application being sanctioned. The Indian public does not know which of these two alternatives Sonia Gandhi opted for and whether she has complied with the undertaking given, if she opted for that alternative.

Under Rule 7 she had to apply to the collector for registration in the prescribed form. The question is whether the collector verified the statements made in the application as also the documents, if any, annexed to it. This is the aim of the rule requiring the application to be filed before that collector where the applicant is "ordinarily resident."

The next step of cross-checking is at the level of the Union Home Ministry which grants the registration. So crucial is the renunciation of foreign citizenship or compliance with the undertaking to so renounce, that even after registration and the grant of a certificate to the applicant, Rule 12 requires the home ministry to keep a permanent register of aliens so registered with the column—"whether applicant has formally renounced the former nationality or given an undertaking for the same with noting of the documentary evidence given." The Indian public has not been told about the collector's report and of any verification done by the home ministry or what entry has been made by the ministry in its register against the relevant column.

This is important because the Act and the Rules leave a loophole for someone giving an undertaking to renounce the foreign citizenship after the application is sanctioned. The loophole

is the absence of any time limit in the Act or the Rules for compliance with such an undertaking. The BJP government has done nothing to plug this loophole.

If she applied for Indian citizenship by naturalisation under Section 6, then apart from renunciation of foreign citizenship (no undertaking to renounce is recognised), two more crucial conditions, in addition to others, had to be fulfilled by her. Firstly, that Italy does not have a law or practice that prevents Indians from becoming its citizens by naturalisation. Secondly, she had an adequate knowledge of one of the Indian languages listed in the English Schedule of the Constitution of India. There is no information on these two points given either by the Congress or the BJP government. Similarly both the parties are silent whether the Union Government has issued her a certificate of citizenship under Section 13 of the Act. This enables the Central government to issue such a certificate where a doubt exists about a person's citizenship and such a certificate is "conclusive evidence" of Indian citizenship unless it can be shown that it was obtained by fraud, false representation or concealment of any material fact.

Also, under Section 5 of the Citizenship Act the Union government is empowered to make rules for imposing "conditions and restrictions" on those granted Indian citizenship by registration.

For all its political shouting, the BJP government has not framed so far any rule under Section 5 of the Act. No constitutional amendment is required when the law itself enables government to control the grant of Indian citizenship not only to foreigners on the registration route but also under Section 12 of those foreigners who belong to Commonwealth countries listed in the Act.

Messrs Sharad Pawar, P.A. Sangma and others would do well to ponder over the law of citizenship before jumping on to the Constitutional amendment bandwagon. If the BJP government makes the rules depending on the facts, Sonia Gandhi's citizenship can be subjected to "conditions and restrictions" even today. ■

(Krishan Mahajan, *Indian Express* 26.5.99)

NAJAM SETHI RAISES GOOD QUESTIONS: GIVES SILLY ANSWERS

The gist of this lecture has been made public at various Pakistani forums already. Indeed, the part relating to Pakistan was published as an editorial in my newspaper some months ago. So it should not come as a surprise to my Pakistani compatriots here and at home. I do not practise double standards. I am deeply and passionately concerned about what is going on in my country and I am not afraid of speaking the truth at any forum.

Pakistan's socio-political environment is in the throes of a severe multi-dimensional crisis. I refer to six major crises which confront Pakistan on the eve of the millennium: those of identity and ideology; law, constitution and the political system; the economy, foreign policy, civil society and that of national security.

1) The crisis of identity and ideology refers to the fact that after 50 years, PAKISTANIS ARE UNABLE TO

NAJAM SETHI

Some months ago, we had reproduced important extracts, from Lt. Gen. A.A.K. Niazi's *The Betrayal of East Pakistan*, 1998, which revealed the inner story of the Pakistani debacle in Bangladesh in 1971.

In the same class of revelations we may place the following article by Najam Sethi the editor of *Friday Times*, a weekly published from Lahore. The article appeared in the *Indian Express*, issues of 26th, 27th May 1999.

Najam Sethi's horizons are extremely narrow. His comprador vision can encompass only so much of Pakistani history as a middle class man can grasp. Najam is a victim of his times. He never tackles the genesis of the Pakistani crisis of identity and ideology. As we are fond of repeating, PAKISTAN IS A STRANGE COUNTRY WITH NO FREEDOM FIGHTERS AND LIBERATION MARTYRS. It came into being within six years of the demand made for its formation by the Muslim League of M.A. Jinnah and Mohammed Iqbal. That duo is the equivalent of our Gandhi and Jawahar, who brokered the Transfer of Power from Britain to truncated trifurcated India.

Naturally Najam Sethi has no answers to the problems faced by Pakistan. He has intelligently analysed the current hexagonal crisis of Pakistani ideology, polity and identity. But he has no answers except to reiterate his hopes for a vague betterment.

Compradors are born blind. Unless they shed their compradorism, it is not possible for them to understand and know.

Najam Sethi's speech in New Delhi was reported upon by Pakistan's High Commissioner Asraf Jehangir Quazi with the following introductory remarks:

"My own view is that Najam Sethi's attempts to pose as a heroic liberal fighting against corruption and tyranny by portraying his country as irrational, contradictory, corrupt, unstable and a dangerous entity and that too in India of all places - is an act of contempt against Pakistan amounting to the most contemptible treachery." (*Times of India*, 14-5-99)

High Commissioner Qazi's report had two sequels.

First, Najam Sethi was picked up from his residence in the middle of the night by the Inter Services Intelligence (ISI) on May 9, 1999 for his speech, reprinted here, delivered at a New Delhi Seminar, which allegedly betrayed his links with the Indian agency RAW. Sethi was after his arrest tortured and held incommunicado for several days till his wife Jugnoo Mohsin filed an *habeas corpus* application in the Lahore High Court.

Second, Indian journalists have decided to boycott Qazi's functions in New Delhi for the time being. Kuldeep Nayyar a veteran journalist has demanded Qazi's recall from New Delhi. *Mainstream* editor Sumeet Chakravorty, a disreputable Stalinist Progressivist has defended Mr. Qazi (*Times of India* 14.5.99)

AGREE UPON WHO WE ARE AS A NATION, WHERE WE BELONG, WHAT WE BELIEVE IN AND WHERE

WE WANT TO GO. Are we Pakistanis first and Punjabis, Sindhis, Baloochis, Pathans or mohajirs afterwards, or vice versa? Do we belong to South Asia or to the Middle East? Are we Muslims in a moderate Muslim state or Muslims in an orthodox Islamic state? Are we supposed to be like Saudi Arabia and Iran which are orthodox Islamic states, or like Jordan, Egypt, Syria and Algeria, which are liberal Muslim states?

If none of these fits the bill, what then? Whose version and vision of Islam do we follow? The Quran and Sunnah, say some. Well, if the Quaid-i-Azam and Allama Iqbal had their own interpretations of how the Quran and Sunnah were to be applied in the real life of a modern state like Pakistan, the problem has been compounded by the myriad interpretations of their interpretations. And the problem doesn't end there.

The Jamaat-i-Islami, the Sipah-i-Sahaba, the Jamiat-i-Ulema-i-Islam and countless other Islamic parties and sects have exclusive Islamic axes to grind. So there is no consensus on this issue. Indeed, the tension, violence and confusion associated with it has begun to hurt Pakistan considerably.

2) The crisis of law, constitution and political system refers to the fact that

there are two sets of laws in Pakistan - the Anglo-Saxon and the Islamic. Most Pakistanis are trained and experienced in

the former but hanker for the latter. The two traditions co-exist in an environment of fear, corruption and hypocrisy. Increasingly, they are at serious odds with each other as, for example, on the question of how to treat interest rates in a modern capitalist economy, what status to grant to universal human and fundamental rights and how to treat women and minorities.

The crisis is also reflected in the extent to which the constitution has been mangled by democrats and dictators, lawyers and judges alike. The reference is to several highly controversial constitutional amendments, past and pending, but it is also to highly contentious, even suspect, decisions by the courts acting as handmaidens to the executive, and to the actions of certain judges in pursuit of personal ambition, pecuniary gain or political advancement. Indeed, many lawmakers do not obey the law and some of our judges are held in contempt by the public.

The crisis is manifest, above all, in public disenchantment with the political system. Democracy is about the supremacy of the law and constitution, about checks and balances and accountability. But it has degenerated into a system based exclusively ON ELECTIONS WHICH RETURN DEAF AND DUMB REPRESENTATIVES TO RUBBER-STAMP PARLIAMENTS. We have the form of democracy but not its essence or content. We have its rituals, not its soul.

3) The crisis of the economy refers to the fact that Pakistan is well and truly bankrupt. Indeed, if the international community had not bailed us out recently, we would have been in default. We can no longer lift ourselves up by our own bootstraps without a massive convulsion in state and society. This is manifest in our total dependence on foreign assistance. Indeed, the crisis of the economy is so severe that it has begun to impinge on our sovereignty. The economic crisis is reflected in crises of growth, distribution, production and finance. It is threatening massive and violent dislocations in the state and society.

The crisis of foreign policy is now coming home to roost. We are not only friendless in the region, we are being blackballed and blackmailed by the international community, to which we are in debt up to our ears. Foreign policy is supposed to be rooted in and geared to domestic objectives and concerns, but we have reversed the order of things. Our foreign policy seems to have a life of its own. It dictates our domestic policies rather than the other way round. This is why there is no consistency or strength in it.

One day, we say that Kashmir is the "core issue". The next, we say that progress on other issues can be made without a settlement of the Kashmir issue. One day we say that Kashmir is a multilateral issue, the next we emphasise the urgency of bilateral dialogue with India. One day, we are quick to recognise the Taliban government; the next we give our blessings to the idea of a broad-based, multi-ethnic, multi-religious "consensus" government in Kabul. One day Iran is our historic and strategic friend, the next we stand accused by it. One day, the United States is our Godfather. The next, it is the ugly American. For 50 years we worried about the threat on our eastern border with India. Today, we are anxious about our western front with Iran and Afghanistan.

5) The crisis of civil society is demonstrated in increasingly low poll turnouts, continuing deterioration of law and order, rising sectarianism, ethnicity and regionalism, the breakdown of civil utilities and amenities, the erosion of the administrative system violence and armed conflict, mass criminalisation and alienation of the people and the rising graph of disorders, suicides, drug abuse, rape, kidnapping and outright terrorism. The rise of criminal and religious mafias, *kabza* groups and extra judicial killings testify to the breakdown of social connections and civil compacts between the state and the people.

6) These five crises have culminated in a sixth severe crisis of national security. Pakistan's political system, its leadership, its law and constitution, its administrative framework, its economic stagnation, its ideological hypocrisy and its friendless foreign policy are no longer tenable. They have contributed to a comprehensive erosion of national security.

If Pakistanis know what the hell is going on, and if Pakistanis know where the hell they are going, the question remains: how the hell do Pakistanis get out of this hell? This question has two parts. First, what agendas are required to be implemented? Second, who will implement such agendas? The answer to the first question is simple enough—for me, at least. I ask my fellow Pakistanis to look at each of the crises referred to and then I demand that the factors which have led to them be swiftly addressed.

The crisis of ideology: In my view, there is only one modern-day ideology over whose application there can be no bitter or divisive controversy. That is the ideology of economic growth, of full employment, of distributive justice and social welfare. I say Pakistan should make this the ideology of the state and thereby bury all false consciousness and false ideologies.

The crisis of law, constitution and political system: I say Pakistan must revamp the political system and revise the constitution so that they serve the people below instead of the corrupt elites above.

The crisis of the economy: I say that Pakistan should honour its international contracts, enforce domestic loan repayments, tax the rich, dispossess the corrupt, live within its means, vitalise its human resources, export the value of its scientific talent, establish and enforce a genuine private-public partnership in which the private sector produces efficiently and the public sector regulates effectively.

The crisis of civil society: I say enforce the rule of law, disarm society, disband militias, decentralise decision-making and power, establish accountability, protect minorities and women, create social security nets and provide decentralised and quick justice.

The crisis of foreign policy: I say make friends, not masters or enemies, bury Cold War hatchets, renounce post-Cold War *jihads*, negotiate terms of trade, not territorial ambitions, redefine strategic depth to mean emphasis on internal will rather than external space.

The crisis of national security. I say redefine security to mean not only military defense but also economic vitality, social cohesion and international respect. And I say that Pakistan should determine its minimal optimal defence deterrent but shun an arms race.

THE PERIOD OF DISAFFECTION - I

1870s TO 1905

Sharayu Mhatre

Famines

The continuous drain of wealth from India was bound to have its cumulative impact on Indian economy and demography. The connection between the drain and the devastating famines was known to the leading writers on economic subjects of that period, Dadabhai Naoroji, R.C. Dutt, G.V. Joshi, and others, for the famines of the British period in India were distinguished by not "a shortage of food supply as in the past" but "a lack of purchasing power with those who suffered starvation." (B.M. Bhatia, *Famines in India*, 1963, p.9)

The causes of the famine of purchasing power, in other words, the causes of Indian poverty, most often advanced by the opinion-makers amongst the Indians were:

"The destruction of India's indigenous industry and the consequent ruralisation of the country, the heavy land revenue demand from the ryot, expensive administration and the resultant high taxation, and the 'drain' of wealth from India to England." (Bipan Chandra, *The Rise and Growth of Economic Nationalism in India*, 1969, p. 53 n)

The most distinctive characteristic of 19th century Maharashtra from the point of view of the vast majority of its people was that of recurring famines. Nevertheless, we have taken up the subject for consideration in this last but one chapter of the thesis because the impact of the famines that ravaged the country was cumulative. Though these famines of purchasing power had appeared almost from the time that the British consolidated their rule in Western India in 1818, each succeeding period of acute dearth of buying capacity caused

greater and greater hardship and mortality. For famines first exhaust whatever few accumulated possessions that the poor can command, next render them non-creditworthy, then debilitate them to become prey to the mildest fevers and epidemics and finally kill them off in millions and crores.

When the apologists for the British speak glibly of Britain's "civilising" role in India (e.g. Vera Anstey, *Economic Development of India*, L.S.S.O'Malley, *Modern India and the West*, and Philip Woodruff, *The Men Who Ruled India*), the question that they fail to answer is for whom did the British bring this "civilisation"? Between 1891 and 1901 and between 1911 and 1921, the population of the Indian Union area actually declined by 0.04 per cent and 0.03 per cent due to the British policy of creating big famines of buying ability (Wadia and Merchant, *Our Economic Problem*, 1959, p.86). Between 1800 and 1944, more than 7 crore Indians were starved to death (*Ibid.*, p.88). This is in addition to the crores killed by diseases of poverty, and apart from 1/3 to 1/2 of the population of Bengal Presidency eliminated by the famine of 1770, and apart from the normal semi-starvation imposed on 6 crores of the poor as per conservative estimates of W.W. Hunter and William Digby.

In our area of 9 districts of Western Deccan and Konkan, the major famines were those of 1819-20, 1824-25, 1832-33, 1833-34, 1853-55, 1862, 1876-78, 1879-80, 1896-97, 1899-1900 and 1905-6 (B.M. Bhatia, *op. cit.*, p. 343). A more detailed picture is given by the district gazetteers series of 1880s:

(i) Poona : (Vol. 18, part 2) : " In

1819-20, 1823, 1824 and 1825, Poona suffered greatly from cholera and from want of rain. So great was the panic that large numbers left their homes. For many months part of the district were almost deserted." (pp. 85-86)

"In 1832 failure of rain was followed by much distress... 1833 was a year of scarcity in Indapur. 1835 was a bad season all over the district, and in 1838 Indapur again suffered from want of rain." (*Ibid.*, p.86)

"The next bad years were 1844-45 and 1845-46 when rain failed and there was much distress especially in the East." (*Ibid.*)

"Between 1862 and 1867, there was a succession of years of very short rainfall... there was sufficient distress to make it advisable to open relief works."

"The scanty and ill-timed rainfall of 1876... led to failure of crops, which, joined to the bad crops in the previous year, spread distress amounting to famine over half the district... In the hot months of 1877 prices ruled high and distress increased... The result was renewed distress in the hot season of 1878. In the east of the district at least one-fourth of the people lived on wild grains or grass seeds, and Government had again to provide labour for the poorer classes. Even then the famine was not over. In the rainy months of 1878 and again those of 1879, direct relief was once more found necessary. The following details show month by month the phases through which the distress passed... As the civil works seemed too popular, on the 19th January (1877) Government reduced the rates of pay, and issued orders to enforce task and distance tests. This caused a fresh emigration and a considerable fall in the number on the works.... During the month (February 1877) there was slight cholera... there was slight cholera (March 1877). The high prices caused much distress. During the month (May 1877) there was slight cholera over most of the district. ... In August rain was wanted everywhere ... in the east the crops were withering and in some places they had perished... the pulse was lost Throughout the month cholera was prevalent... In September the people were improving and cholera and small-pox were on the decline... The most marked features of the famine in

Poona were the efforts of the landholders to help themselves At first (even Mahars, Mangs and Ramoshis) were disinclined to take direct relief, and clamoured for employment in their own villages. Later they became demoralised and many capable of work swelled the number on charitable relief. ... The difficulties in the way of effective relief were lightened by the tractable, and, in the case of cultivators, the self-helpful character of the people. At first the village officers were directed to feed travellers in obvious need of food. In consequence of this order men wandered from village to village living as destitute travellers, so that it became necessary to modify the orders and limit the number of villages where travellers might be relieved to a few on the main thoroughfares.... The wanderers were not confined to the low castes. Numbers flocked into Poona. In August all beggars were turned out of Poona, a relief camp was established three miles to the south of the city, organised private charity was stopped... People were also collected in Thana and Bombay and sent by train to the camp near Poona... Another difficulty was, that, before the task or any other test was established, people rushed to the relief works in such numbers that "it was difficult to deal with them, except at a great waste of public money... With the establishment of the distance and task tests and the opening of Neera Canal, the Dound -Manmad railway embankment and other large and well-organised works under the Public Works Department, these difficulties disappeared... The difficulty then was to find work which the weakly could do and to provide for the enormous preponderance of women... Next it was found difficult to enforce the tests without causing serious suffering and loss of life.... The difficulties were successfully overcome (with) the wearing of the feeling of strangeness in the lives of a population, who, if not well -to-do, had no former experience of actual pinch of hunger..... Among the people the estimated special mortality was about 8,300 souls, but compared with 1872, the 1881 census shows a fall of 20,732. The addition of the normal yearly increase of one per cent during the remaining seven years gives 85,223 as the loss of population caused by death and migration in 1876 and 1877." (*Ibid.* pp. 85-95, our emphasis. Since after independence the average annual increase in population has been estimated at 2.3 per cent, the estimated loss of 85,223 given by the British official must be more than doubled.)

(ii) Nasik (Vol. 16) : "In 1824... after five or six months good rain fell, and the distress passed away. In 1833 there was a small and temporary scarcity, and in 1845 a failure of rains which caused a five or six month famine, and a loss estimated at 1,000 lives. In 1854 there was great scarcity... and about 500 persons are said to have died. Between 1860 and 1862, the increased growth of cotton reduced the area under cereals and raised the price of grain; this, combined in 1863 with a bad harvest, forced prices to a famine level. During these years, Indian millet varied from fifty-two to thirty-two pounds (per rupee) and averaged forty-three to thirty pounds. The irregular rainfall of 1876 led to failure of early crops and distress over about one-fourth of the district. Though at one time very great, the distress in Nasik never rose to famine. (In British terminology, great distress sometimes does not mean famine! -S. M.)... With millet at twenty-six instead of forty-seven pounds

and little field-work, the poorer classes fell into distress. (Just above, in relation to 1863, an average price of forty-four pounds is admitted to be "famine level" but in 1876 the extraordinary price of twenty-six pounds is, by strange British logic, to be considered only "great distress" level and not famine level! -S.M.). About the middle of September the need for Government help became so great that relief works had to be opened. (Relief works had to be opened, though there was no famine! -S.M.) In November distress increased, grain dealers held back their stores and prices rose... In the hot months grain again became dearer and distress increased... The people continued very patient, and, except some grain thefts there was little special crime (in October 1876).... In the early days of the month (November 1876) the dealers held back stocks of grain and forced prices to about 12 pounds the rupee... December (1876) passed without rain... fever and small-pox were prevalent.... In February about quarter of an inch rain fell over the whole district. Fever and small-pox were general.... Bajri rising from twenty-nine to twenty-six pounds.... The strict enforcement of task work led many people to leave the works. On the Sinner-Ghoti road the relief labourers, led by some Bhils, struck work because the task system had reduced their earnings. But by punishing some of the ring leaders the strike was soon brought to an end. The numbers on relief work fell.... In April there was no rain.... In May there was much distress among the hill Kolis and Thakurs of Sinnar.... Yeola and Sinnar suffered from cholera. The number on the relief works fell.... Cholera remained prevalent throughout the month.... After continuing easy during most of the month (July 1877), near its close a heavy external demand raised bajri from twenty-six to sixteen and jvari from twenty nine to seventeen pounds. Still destitution did not spread (How can it when there is no famine? - S.M.)... During the greater part of August... the crops continued to wither... and distress increased. The Malegaon and Chandore Bhils refused to go to the relief works and specially in Malegaon, along with Mahars and Kunbis, began plundering grain... Cholera continued.... At the end of November (1877) all relief works were closed. December passed without rain... As the distress, though at one time great, never rose to famine. (sic!) No special relief staff or relief houses were found necessary.... Government directed that cases of theft should be punished by whipping... The only other measure of special nature was helping the Mussalman handloom weavers of Yeola. They were one of the first classes to suffer... Though the 1877 police "returns showed... a decrease... compared with the preceding year, a large amount of crime was, more or less clearly, due to the pressure of the famine... THE INCREASE IN OFFENCES AGAINST PROPERTY WAS IN THE COMMISSIONER'S OPINION, DUE MOSTLY TO DISTRESS CAUSED BY FAMINE, FOR, THE LARGE PROPORTION OF THEFTS WERE OF GRAIN AND THE DACOITIES WERE GENERALLY DIRECTED AGAINST THE VILLAGE VANIS. Of human beings the estimated special mortality was about 4,500 souls." (pp. 106-112, our emphases. The low special mortality figure is on par with the same British commissioner's statement that even though there was great distress and even though the prices were at higher

than famine level, there was no famine !)

(iii) **Ahmadnagar** (Vol. 17) "In 1824, the early rains failed and there was much distress... Numbers took their cattle and went to the Nizam's country. Good rain fell about the end of August, but many had taken land in the Nizam's country and could not come back, the fields remained waste.... In September **Captain Pottinger sanctioned an expenditure of £20 (Rs.200) ... on ceremonies for rain to soothe the people all of whom were in the greatest alarm.** In 1832-33 a partial and in some places an almost complete failure of rains caused much distress. In 1845-46 a failure of rain raised the rupee price of millet to twenty pounds. Distress lasted for six months.... In 1862, the failure of early rains was followed by great scarcity. In 1876... distress amounting to famine over above two-thirds of the district.... With high grain prices, millet at twenty-six pounds, and no demand for field work, either in harvesting the early crops or in preparing the land for the late crops, large numbers of the less careful (sic!) of the labouring classes fell into distress... private grain-dealers held back their stores.... The hot months brought a return of distress with a further rise in prices.... **In December 1876 the Bhils and Mahars were beginning to clamour for work, and, under the pressure of want, one gang gave trouble....** On the 19th of January (1877) as the civil works seemed too popular, the pay of non-able-bodied workers was reduced... At the same time by enforcing distance and task tests, the numbers on public works fell.... The lowering of weekly workers' wages had caused large numbers in different parts of the district to leave the works and go to their homes.... Before the close of the month (February 1877) the people were beginning to come back.... Grain though dear was not scarce.... Many villages were "almost deserted but the people who remained showed no signs of suffering... The famine was not severe.... The hill Thakurs and Kolis though badly off, were accustomed to live on roots and wild fruit... By this time (April 1877) the famine organisation was complete. Most of the railway and other works were closed.... **On each high road were inspectors moving about on the look out for fainting wayfarers...** In May (1877) a good deal of rain fell in the different parts of the districts. The distress among the hill tribes had greatly increased. The refusal of the money-lenders to make advances caused much distress. The rupee price of *jvari* rose... cattle were dying... The number of public works fell... The crops were withering... **In the west many of the people living on wild vegetables...** General rain at the close of the month (August 1877) did much good. At this time the famine pressed hard on the people, and they were unsettled, leaving the district in search of work. The rupee price of *jvari* remained at fifteen pounds... Cattle were dying. The people were returning from other districts, leaving the relief works (October 1877).... there was still much distress.... Compared with the former year, the criminal returns showed a total of 1242 offences. In the commissioner's opinion almost the whole of the increase was due to the pressure of want on the lower classes. The special mortality was estimated at 30,000 but compared with the 1872 census, the 1881 census, shows a fall 27,109. The addition of the normal, yearly increase of one per cent during the remaining seven years gives 18,590 as the loss of population caused by death and migration between 1876 and 1877. The loss of cattle

was very great." (pp. 286-93. Our emphasis. Mortality estimate should be more than doubled as stated under Poona immediately above.)

(iv) **Sholapur** (Vol. 20) "In 1818, the famine was accompanied by a plague of cholera which destroyed thousands of lives. In 1824 during the famine grain sold at twelve to sixteen pounds the rupee. In 1832-33' want of rain caused famine throughout Sholapur and the neighbouring districts.... Many left their lands and homes.... The famine lasted nine or ten months.... Grains sold at ten to twelve pounds the rupee. The sub-collector of Sholapur submitted to Government a proposal for **certain relief works, but Government did not consider the distress in Sholapur sufficiently severe to call for so extreme a measure....** In 1845 and 1854, owing to scanty rainfall scarcity of rain was felt. In 1862 a scanty rainfall caused a scarcity of food in Poona, Ahmadnagar, Sholapur, Khandesh and part of Satara. So great was the distress that as relief works roads were begun from Karmala to Jeur, from Pandharpur to Mohol, from Sholapur to Bijapur, from Tembhurni to Paranda, from Lunud to Pandharpur. In 1876 distress amounting to famine over the whole district... for a week or two the rapid spread of distress caused a panic, and dealers refused to part with their grain at any price... In the hot months a fresh rise caused much distress... forced millet upto ten pounds and caused great suffering... **The large decrease in the numbers on the relief works (February 1877) was mainly due to organised opposition to the orders reducing the pay on civil agency works, and requiring the transfer of the able-bodied from civil to public works. The managers of the strike and many of those who had gone with them were no doubt well enough off to decline work and such men it was the object of Government to get rid of....** The numbers on relief fell (March 1877).... The decrease in the number of workers was chiefly due to large numbers absenting themselves on account of Holi holidays... many, though in distress, refused to go on the works, because of the task and distance tests rather than on account of the reduction in the rates of pay... The grain supply continued sufficient but prices rose to nineteen pounds.... The mortality from cholera continued very heavy (June 1877)... **No grain shops were opened at Government or municipal expenses....** Compared with the 1872 census the 1881 returns show a decrease of 1,36,888 adding to this 50,351 as the normal one per cent increase during the seven non-famine years the total loss from death or migration during the famine amounts to 1,87,239." (pp.321-38, our emphasis. Add at least 50,000 to the above at normal increase rate of 2.3 per cent as stated under Poona above.)

(v) **Satara** (Vol. 19) : "In 1876 distress amounted to famine over above one -half of the district... With high grain prices, millet at seventeen instead of thirty-five pounds, and no demand for field work, the poorer classes fell into distress... The grain dealers withheld their stores and no grain was offered for sale.... In the hot months with rising prices, the distress increased.... **Thefts were frequent, and, in Tasgaon, bands of the "poorer classes assembled and demanded work. In the Collector's opinion,... these meetings would have turned into grain riots.** To allay the disorder, local funds works were opened... the hill villages of Karad and Patan suffered severely, the people living chiefly on wild fruits and roots... The mortality from cholera

continued heavy.... The supply of grain continued sufficient, but rupee prices rose (May 1877).... The supply of grain continued good, but rupee prices of *bajri* and *javari* rose (June 1877)... On the 22nd (July), at Tasgaon, grain was sold at seven pounds the rupee. These high prices caused less distress than might have been expected, as vegetables could be had in abundance, and were freely eaten but, partly from the want of salt, caused much disease, especially dysentery...The mortality from cholera continued heavy... Serious crime, such as murder, dacoity and robbery, seems to have been more prevalent and the number of thefts was considerably more than double what it was in 1876-77.... Of about Rs. 15,57,400, the realisable land revenue for the year 1876-77, Rs. 13,02,670 were collected in 1876-77, Rs. 5,820 remitted, and the rest was collected in subsequent years." (pp. 169-177, our emphasis)

The above quotations confirm the following analysis:

(a) The famines were due to poverty. The poorer classes were the first affected, and suffered the most. The artisans (weavers) were especially vulnerable and the lower castes lived on wild roots, leaves and fruits for extended periods.

(b) British insensitiveness to popular suffering is everywhere evident. The Nasik Commissioner is outstanding in this respect. But no less noticeable in his hypocrisy is the Ahmadnagar reporter. Everywhere by devising cruel tests and imposing harsh conditions, the cost of relief was artificially deflated.

(c) Grain was generally available. What the people lacked was the wherewithal to buy it.

(d) The people stoically bore tremendous hardships but protests were not entirely lacking. Refusals to work were organised, agitational meetings held and protest actions carried out, though in all probability such news items were prevented from receiving wide publicity.

(e) Everywhere the problem was to provide alternative means of employment away from agricultural operations, whether on canals and tanks or on railways and roads. But no sooner did the emergency end than the programme of useful public works was promptly terminated.

Two alternative explanations of causes and solutions were offered by the British authorities. Viceroy Curzon considered famines to be acts of God :

"But to ask any Government to prevent the occurrence of famine in a country, the meteorological conditions of which are what they are here and the population of which is growing at its present rate, is to ask us to wrest the keys of the universe from the hands of the Almighty....(Bipan Chandra, *op. cit.*, p. 49)

But Curzon was a relatively frank imperialist who thought that Providence had ordained British rule over India and further that "administration and exploitation go hand in hand." (R. Palme Dutt, *op. cit.*, p.121)

The more rational standpoint was taken by the Indian Famine Commission Report of 1880 :

"At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India, and of the risks to which they are exposed in seasons of scarcity, lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the mass of the population and that no remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations, through which

the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such employment."(Quoted in *Ibid.*, 120)

However, since the provision of employment opportunities for Indians in manufactures or some such employments was incompatible with continued British rule and with drain of wealth from India to Britain, the view that prevailed was that of Curzon's. Between 1900 and 1944, 3 crore Indians died through the agency of famines as against 4 crores from 1800 to 1900.

Unfortunately, we do not have such clear-cut descriptions of famines in the districts of our region for the period following 1876-77. However from B.M. Bhatia's study, it appears that no major calamity afflicted our region between 1880 and 1895 (B.M. Bhatia, *op. cit.* pp. 134-35). At the same time, the negative impact of several tendencies which we have already noticed continued :

(i) The changeover from foodcrops to commercial crops persisted and availability of goodgrains to the Indian masses declined (Alice and Daniel Thorner, *Land and Labour in India*, 1962, pp. 105-6).

(ii) Exports of foodgrains from India continued and were mercilessly encouraged. For instance, in 1873 the export duty on wheat was abolished and simultaneously the rail freight for carriage to ports was lowered so that in the midst of the terrible famine in the country there was a big spurt in wheat exports in 1876-77 and 1877-78, reaching 2.75 million tons and 3.18 million tons respectively (Bhatia, *op. cit.*, pp38-39).

(iii) The spread of railways helped to pour in more and more foreign manufactures ruining ever larger number of artisans and depressing their standards of living. This made land more valuable, the share-cropping and tenancy terms still more burdensome and the competition for a diminishing pile of foodgrains more and more fierce.

(iv) Prices of foodgrains rose spectacularly, particularly between 1888 and 1896. The general wholesale price index leaped from 106 in 1880 to 140 in 1896 (1871 = 100, *Ibid.*, pp. 140-41).

(v) The real wages of agricultural labour declined. W.W. Hunter in his Cambridge lectures in "England's Work in India" categorically stated that 4 crores of Indians go through life on insufficient food and Charles Elliot wrote in the *Madras Christian Magazine* that half of India's agricultural population "never know from year's end to year's end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied." The so-called Economic Enquiry of 1888 ordered by Governor-General Dufferin was strictly confidential and its results were never published. But William Digby, through the influence of Charles Bradlaugh, M.P., managed to get hold the papers and used them effectively in his '*Prosperous*' *British India*. The Madras Government informed the Centre that the condition of the Pariahs who formed 25 per cent of the population of the Presidency was "generally miserable." The Bengal Government found that 40 per cent of the population of Bihar take one meal instead of two . The Commissioner of Allahabad opined that the poorer classes were in a state of semi-starvation. For the Bombay Presidency, it was noted that 47 per cent of the agricultural population formed the lower stratum which lived close to the margin of subsistence (*Ibid.*, pp. 145-49). William Digby reached the overall

conclusion that 7 crore Indians were continually hungry at the beginning of the twentieth century ('Prosperous' British India, 1901, p.85).

(vi) The British administration rigidly adhered to the policy of non-intervention in respect of private trade in foodgrains. As Lyton put it later on in 1877 :

"Absolute non-interference with operations of private commercial enterprise must be the foundation of our present famine policy." (Bhatia, *op. cit.*, pp. 105, 107, 183, etc.)

The same general trends continued from 1895 to 1908. For instance the price index, with base 1890-4=100, went up to 143 in 1908 (*Ibid.*, p. 229). To the Famine Commission of 1898, the British administration of Bombay boasted that the famine of 1896-7 had indicated "a remarkable improvement in the general condition of the cultivating classes and in their power of resistance." Such callousness may not be unusual in the annals of world imperialism but the Commission itself was forced to confess that-

"at least one-fourth of the cultivators in Bombay Presidency have lost possession of their lands and that less than a fifth are free from debt." (*Ibid.*, pp.234-35)

The famine of 1896-97 affected more or less every part of India (*Ibid.*, p. 239). The next great famine was of 1899-1900. In Bombay, the British acted with their usual penchant for cruelty. The Famine Code was itself violated and the wage earned by the labourer on relief camps did not work out to more than 1 pound of grain, which was equal to the notorious Richard Temple Ration of 1877 that had resulted in heavy mortality.

"In Bombay there was another departure from the Code which had the same unfortunate consequence. The Bombay Government pursued the policy of concentrating labour on large relief works, applied the distance and labour tests rigorously, and refused to open small works till there was an outbreak of cholera in a virulent form in the camps. Small works were hastily improvised in May 1900 and labour which had left large works owing to the epidemic, began to be employed on village works. As no provision could be made for supervision and enforcement of the 'task', piece-wages were offered. But workers who were already emaciated were unable to earn enough under the system to maintain themselves. In the circumstances, the system of piece-wages turned out to be worse than the system of minimum Penal Wage on large works." (*Ibid.*, p.257)

There is hardly any need for us to further elaborate on this tale of imperialist horrors. These terrible deeds continued and were co-terminus with the British rule itself. The rayats were ground down between the wheels of the money-lenders and the government which accepted as absolute, the principle of non-interference in commercial trade in foodgrains. We have already described in Chapter I the developments relating to the inevitable popular outburst known as the Deccan Riots. As noted therein, the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act did nothing to mitigate the hardships of the debt-ridden and rack-rented peasantry. Land could still be mortgaged if specifically so done. It was specifically pledged and therefore lost.

Public Works

Railway

We may now briefly turn to the development of railways. The expansion of railways upto mid-70s has been considered in

the last chapter. After having looted the treasury by excessive expenditure under the Guarantee Scheme, the proprietors of the GIP Railway handed over with the right hand their overvalued assets in 1900 at a happy price of nearly £ 35 million, and took back with the left hand the management of the same railway as well as the Indian Midland Railway Company " to manage, maintain and work the two systems as one, thereby adding to the 1, 562 miles of their own line, a further mileage of 1, 239." (*Bombay city Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, p.346)

Three strikes took place on the GIP Railway in this period. The first was a guards' strike in January, 1897, the second a signallers' strike in 1899, and the third in the railway workshops in January 1908. The three strikes represent a logical order. The first was by highly paid Europeans and Anglo-Indians in defence of their "perquisites of long standing." (*Bombay City Gazetteer*, Vol.1, p. 350) The second was by white collared natives who had preceded their action by a two-year long agitation and presentation of a charter of demands, and who had hired their own firm of solicitors in Bombay city (Bipan Chandra, *op.cit.*, p. 380). The third was by the lowly-paid and neglected employees of the workshop for increased pay and basic amenities (same page of City Gazetteer cited.)

Of these three strikes, the second one of 800 signallers involving the middle-grade workers naturally invoked the widest sympathy from the rising Indian middle classes. A number of Indian newspapers took up the cause, B.G. Tilak's *Marhatta* and *Kesari* being in the forefront as well as *Amrit Bazar Patrika* of Calcutta, and when the strike failed, leading to a dismissal of about 700 signallers, funds were collected by middle class organisations and journals. That the support was entirely due to the anti-British nature of the signallers' action was demonstrated when Tilak's papers as also the *Patrika* stoutly opposed the spontaneous strikes of Bombay textile men who had been coming out into the streets with increasing frequency in 1897 and 1898 against a reduction of their already miserable wages. In fact, the *Patrika* wrote in 1900 that the mill-owners could not pay higher wages and that any attempt to compel them to do so would only mean the destruction of an Indian industry, which in turn would mean that the strikers too would have to starve in the end. In the case of the signallers' strike no such advice had been offered and on the contrary the Bombay and Poona papers noted that in the earlier strike of the white guards, the government and railway company had accepted the demands of the strikers whilst the signallers' action had been repressed with a heavy hand because the latter were black natives not belonging to the ruling race. As the *Marhatta* put it on 16th July, 1899, the signallers had been fighting for national honour "actuated by the motive of maintaining their own and their society's self-respect." (Bipan Chandra, *op. cit.*, pp. 379-85)

It may be noted that the signallers strike was the first organised action by the Indian working class, though of the white-collar section thereof. The textile workers of Bombay and Calcutta had struck prior to 1899 but these were spontaneous, unorganised actions. The so-called labour organisations of Sorabjee Shapoorji Bengallee, N. M. Lokhande, etc., being paper institutions established at the instigation of Manchester-Lancashire textile interests, took no part in organising militant

actions by the Bombay working class (*Bipin Chandra, op.cit.*, pp.380, 341-42; *N.S. Bengallee, LIFE OF SORABJEE SHAPOORJEE BENGALLEE*, CIE, undated, pp. 50-51, for British initiative in getting the Factory Act of 1881 passed).

Turning now to the B.B. & CI Railway, we see that the same game was played, of alteration in the mode of loot, as was done by the GIP. In 1905, the option to take over the line was exercised by the Government, £ 2 million or Rs. 3 crores paid, the same amount converted into guaranteed dividend stock of a new company, and the management of the line handed over to this new company. The mileage of the line was 504 in 1908 (*Bombay City Gazetteer*, Vol 1, pp. 351-54).

In passing it may be noted that both the Port Trust railway and its Harbour branch, the latter including a chord connection to the BB and CI Railway, were under construction and had not been completed by 1908, the terminal point of our study. In 1873, the city tramway line with horse-drawn traction was commenced. In 1905 the old company (Stearns and Kittredge) were taken over for £6 lakhs and its assets were handed over to a new Bombay Electric Supply and Tramway Company which combined electric traction with supply of electric power and light to the city. The first electric tramway cars were placed on the road in May 1907 (*Ibid.*, pp.356-60).

The Indian railway did not become profitable till 1900 since only after technical take over by government of India and handing over of actual management back to the same set of British finance capitalists on terms related to net profits, did it become possible to inject a modicum of efficiency in their running. Railway development in India was unrelated to India's needs, as per Robert Stevenson, the architect of Indian railways and one of the promoters of the GIP Railway Company, who formulated its objects :

"The first consideration is as a military measure for the better security with less outlay, of the entire territory, the second is a commercial point of view, in which the chief object is to provide the means of conveyance from the interior to the nearest shipping ports of the rich and varied productions of the country, and to transmit back manufactured goods of Great Britain, salt, etc., in exchange." (Quoted in Thorner, *Investment in Empire*, 1950, pp.48-49)

In brief, the railways did not stimulate an all-round integrated development, but had the effect of extending and strengthening the complementary colonial relationship between the British and Indian economies (see in particular, the analysis of Helen Lamb, The State and Economic Development in India, in Kuznets, et. al., (eds.), *Economic Growth : Brazil, India, Japan*, 1955, pp.476-77).

Irrigation was in general neglected by British imperialism. There were several reasons for this. First, there was no military need for canals as in the case of railways. Secondly, navigational canals would have competed with railways as Arthur Cotton observed to the Select Committee of 1878 (R.C. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 366). Thirdly, irrigational canals would have made prosperous the cultivators of India, which if not entirely foreign to the intentions of the British rulers, was at least not a direct objective of their administration. The objective of the alien administration was naturally the maximisation of the exploitation of India for the benefit of the British capitalist class. Hence, whilst the total government expenditure in India grew from £ 7 millions to £ 28 millions between 1792/93 and 1856/57, most of the expenditure

was consumed in military allocations (£ 11 millions in the latter year) and in general administration, leaving only about £ 3 millions for "public works" which included buildings, both civil and military, roads, and other public works. The Report of the Public Works Department, 1860/61, stated :

"Its (the company's) practice of providing for such projects out of current revenue prevented any regularity or continuity of work and, on the contrary, often resulted in considerable waste from suspension of valuable works already undertaken. The Commissioners on Public Works in Madras reported in 1852 that old irrigation works had been allowed to deteriorate. To whatever part of the country we return, we find the vast majority of tanks, even in a good season, watering far less than they once did; and far less than they could now irrigate, if kept in proper repairs; and there is abundant evidence to show that if the existing tanks were restored to their original capacity of efficiency, a very high increase of cultivation and revenue would be the result." (Helen Lamb, *op.cit.*, pp.470-71)

In 1878, the Select Committee was given the following relative balance of accounts of railways and irrigation :

" The Railway account now stands thus:	
Cost of works..	£ 112,000,000
Cost of land ..	8,000,000
Debt now ..	<u>50,000,000</u>
	Total £ 170,000,000

for which we have about 7500 miles, or at the rate of £ 23,000 per mile. At the present cost to the Treasury in interest on share capital 4 ½ millions, and on land and debt at 4 per cent, 3 millions; total 7 ½ millions. From which, deducting nett receipts, 4 ½ millions leaves **three millions a year as the loss on the money sunk...** The money sunk (on irrigation) may be taken at £ 11,000,000 the interest of which at 4 per cent, is half a million, against which we have a nett profit over working expenses of about a million, leaving a nett **gain to the treasury of half a million a year on irrigation works.**" (Quoted by R.C. Dutt, *op. cit.*, p. 365)

The same extraordinary profitability of irrigation works was confirmed by the Famine Commission of 1898 (B. M. Bhatia, *op. cit.*, pp. 198-99). The return on state irrigation projects remained high even during the Depression, and in 1932/3, it was 5.35 per cent (Helen Lamb, *op. cit.*, p.491).

Hence it was not financial policy or adverse financial results which determined government policy of discouraging irrigational works. The reason was that the investment in railways had a beneficial effect on British manufacturers as Indian railways obtained all their iron and steel, locomotives, and stores down to stationary from British sources. Pound for pound, irrigation works, merely provided prosperity to Indian peasants, whilst railways stimulated British commerce. This commercial aspect was brought out clearly by W. W. Hunter in his submissions before the Select Committee of 1884 (Bhatia, *op. cit.*, p. 199).

Hence the total capital outlay on railways as at the end of the year 1904/5 was Rs. 202 crores against Rs. 45 crores on irrigation (*Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, Vol. IV, 1909, pp.181-82). Of this amount, the share of Bombay, Deccan and Gujarat was merely Rs. 2.72 crores in 1902-3 (*Ibid.*, Vol. III, 1908, p.331). Excluding 26 minor irrigation works at the cost of 76 lakhs of which no details are available, the works carried out in our nine districts were :

Table I:

Name of Work	Capital outlay end of 1902/3 in lakhs of rupees	Area irrigated during 1902/3 in acres	Percentage of net revenue for 1902/3 to capital outlay
Mutha canals	68	8,101	2.4
Nira Canal	57	35,102	3.1
Mhasvad Tank	21	4,075	0.02
Ekrak Tank	13	2,030	0.5
Kistna Canal	8	5,963	3.7
Shetphal Tank	7	216	0.02
	174	55,487	about 2 per cent

Of the above works, it may be noted that the area irrigated from the Mutha canals was remarkably small because the main object of the work was supply water to the cantonments of Poona and Kirkee (and incidentally to Poona Municipality, too), and the whole cost of the water works had been debited against the project (*Ibid.*, p. 337)

It was further admitted by the Imperial Gazetteer that "In Bombay, as in several other Provinces, the area irrigated

from petty works which are maintained by Government as Minor Works for which capital accounts are not kept, exceeds that irrigated from the Major and Minor Works on which capital expenditure has been incurred. The Deccan and Carnatic Districts contain 1,019 of these, which irrigate on an average about 111,000 acres." (*Ibid.*, pp. 337-38)

The tremendous importance of such minor irrigation works had been stressed by the Irrigation Commission of 1903 (Bhatia, *op. cit.*, p. 200). But nothing was done since that would have merely helped the Indian cultivators without bringing any significant commercial advantage to British capitalists.

Roads, Telegraphs, Posts

These communication channels were also neglected except in so far as they served military needs (e.g., in the North-West, and in the case of the main arterial roads across the western ghats) and the needs of British commerce. (How road-rail competition continued to influence government policy even as late as 1939 has been brought out in R. Mukerjee (ed.) *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. 1, Ch. XIII) ■

(to be continued)

(contd. from p 42) Najam Sethi Raises Good Questions...

The answer to the second question— who will implement this agenda—is difficult only for one reason: **I cannot see a single leader or institution that can personify national power and has the three virtues required to get Pakistan out of this mess.** These are the vision to chart a course, the courage to implement it ruthlessly and the integrity to ensure that it doesn't get derailed. My hope is that such leadership will develop in the time to come. My fear is that if this does not happen soon enough, it may be too late.

I would now like to turn briefly to one factor that impinges greatly on Pakistan's past, present and future, one which should concern all of you who are assembled here today— **Pakistan's relationship with India.** In one crucial sense, India remains a determining factor vis-a-vis Pakistan. The Pakistani state has come to be fashioned largely in response to perceived and propagated, real and imagined threats to its national security from India. Its mentality and outlook are therefore that of a **historically besieged state.** That is why conceptions of national security, defined in conventional military terms, dominate its thinking. Indeed, that is why the state's outlook dominates government policy rather than the other way round. That is why Pakistan's economy is hostage to Pakistan's Cold War conceptions of national security. That is why **Pakistan is more a state-nation than a nation-state.**

This is responsible for the lack of development of a sustainable and stable democratic political culture. Indeed, it has spawned extra-state institutions espousing Islamic fundamentalism and *jihad*. It is these forces which are undermining the compact between the state and people of Pakistan, adversely affecting political discourse.

Pakistan's obsession with India hurts it deeply. But the roots of this obsession cannot be shrugged away by India. Indeed, **India may be said to be the root cause of Pakistan's insecurity.** Apart from pre-Partition history, there is a **great injustice done to Pakistan by India over Kashmir and the dismemberment of Pakistan,** in which India played a critical and leading role. So one of the fallouts of this obsession is the

decade long low-intensity conflict in Kashmir. Another is Pakistan's tit-for-tat nuclear and missile tests and its refusal to sign a no-first-strike agreement with India, which in turn means that Pakistan cannot get a no-war commitment from India.

In this way, if Pakistan's past is umbilically linked to that of India, its future cannot but be shaped by India's future, as well as have an impact on it. If the rise of fundamentalist Islam threatens Pakistan's body politic, India cannot expect to escape its negative fallout. If a nuclear arsenal is assembled in Pakistan, India's security cannot be vouchsafed by all the nuclear weapons at its disposal. If Pakistan fails as a nation-state and becomes a rogue regime, India's army will not be able to contain its disruptive and destabilising impact. If Pakistan is drawn into an arms race with India, the logic of the situation will fuel the sources of conflict between the two countries rather than provide security to either.

Of course, this does not mean that India should constantly look over its shoulder while determining its own national security policies. But it does mean that India cannot ever be a great power or great nation if its own backyard is seething with resentment and turmoil. As long as India's quest for great powerdom is based on its strategy of military outreach, it is bound to be thwarted in its ambitions by tit-for-tat Pakistan. India will be recognised as a great power not on the basis of its numerical military superiority in the region but by the extent to which **the countries of South Asia, including Pakistan, are economically interdependent and independent of the superpowers.** India should make enduring peace with Pakistan on principled and honourable terms and resolve the Kashmir dispute thereby helping the forces of civil society in Pakistan to fashion a new state, which is subservient to the Pakistani nation instead of the other way round.

In conclusion, I would like to remind everyone of one lesson of modern history: vibrant and stable democracies are less likely to go to war than authoritarian states which live on the basis of threat of war. Thank you for your patience. ■

(Najam Sethi in *Indian Express*, 26.5.99)

STORY OF THE INA - 4

S. A. AYER

THE RANI OF JHANSI REGIMENT

The day after he proclaimed the provisional government of Azad Hind, Netaji opened a camp for the Rani of Jhansi Regiment in Singapore with Captain Lakshmi as commandant. Indian women from all strata of society flocked to the camp, wanting to be trained as combatant soldiers, or as nurses or in any other useful capacity as women volunteers attached to the regiment. Girls from affluent families with convent education left their sheltered existence under their parental roof and flocked to the camp in their hundreds. They were eager to undergo the rigours of military training including rifle shooting and bayonet practice. They vied with young men in their enthusiasm for absorption in the fighting section of the liberation army. The Rani of Jhansi Regiment was to be the women's counterpart of the Indian National Army. The Japanese were at first dismayed at the sight of Indian girls wanting to bear arms and go to the front, side by side with the men of the INA. The Japanese were extremely sceptical of the whole idea, and doubted whether the Rani of Jhansi Regiment could ever take real shape. However, their whole attitude underwent a transformation when they saw with their own eyes striking parade of the Ranis with rifles on their shoulders, marching in high spirits.

The following night, October 23 / 24, the cabinet of the provisional government held its first meeting at Netaji's residence and unanimously decided to declare war on Britain and her ally, America. In a discussion before the decision, Lieutenant-Colonel Loganadan expressed his doubts about the wisdom of bracketing America with Britain in the declaration of war. But Netaji convinced him of the correctness of the step, as America was an active

ally of Britain in the war-time occupation of India. The Azad Hind government could not, therefore, flinch from antagonising America.

The following evening at a mammoth rally of the INA and Indian civilians, Netaji took a solemn pledge from them that they would give up their all, including their very lives, in waging the war on the Anglo-Americans for the liberation of India.

The provisional government, the INA, and the Independence League were now fully geared to the tasks that lay ahead of them; recruitment and training of men for the INA and women and girls for the Rani of Jhansi Regiment went full steam ahead; collection of money and materials went on apace all over east Asia; Azad Hind Radio stations broadcast in a number of Indian languages specially beamed to India from Singapore, Bangkok, Rangoon, Saigon and Tokyo. The Singapore Radio Station of the Azad Hind government broadcast in English, Hindustani, Bengali, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Gujarati, Marathi, Punjabi, Gurmukhi and Pushtu, night after night. The Azad Hind government published its own daily newspapers and weeklies for the local Indian communities in various languages.

At the same time as he was conducting the war of liberation, Netaji was also continuously planning for the future of Free India. The provisional government had an army of its own and had enough facilities to train Indian youth for the army, but it had no navy or air force of its own and could not, therefore, give Indian youth in east Asia naval or air force training. Netaji, therefore, personally selected a group of Indian civilian boys in their teens and sent them from Singapore to Japan for training in the Japanese navy and air force. These 'Tokyo boys', as Netaji affectionately

called them, were doing very well in their training when the Japanese surrender in August 1945 abruptly ended the cadets' training and they were later repatriated to India.

Having laid the foundations of the government, the League and the INA in Singapore, Netaji flew to Tokyo on October 28 to attend the Greater East Asia Conference as an observer because he did not wish to commit India to any of the decisions of the Conference. He wanted the hands of future Free India to be entirely free, unfettered by the deliberations or decisions of the Tokyo conference.

At this conference, Premier Tojo of Japan announced that Japan had decided to cede the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, which the Japanese had captured early in the east Asia war, to the provisional government of Azad Hind. Thus, the government of Free India acquired its first territory, and later renamed and appointed Lieutenant-Colonel A.D. Loganadan as their first Indian administrator representing the provisional government.

Returning to Singapore towards the end of December after visiting China and the Philippines, Netaji left for the Andamans where he set foot on the first territory of Free India on December 31, 1943. The land had been sanctified by the incarceration and martyrdom of generations of Indian revolutionaries exiled by the British rulers of India. His setting foot on the Andamans was also a symbolic fulfilment of his promise of the previous September that the INA would stand on Indian soil before the end of the year.

Before leaving for the Andamans, Netaji had appointed a cabinet sub-committee in Singapore to work out a scheme of national unification of Indians in east Asia in matters of language, dress, food, greeting, emblem and ceremonies. Netaji attached great importance to this aspect of the movement with a view to bringing about abiding unity in the nation.

As a preliminary to future national unification the cabinet sub-committee recommended that Hindustani shall be the common language of India; 'Jai

Hind' (victory for India) shall be the common greeting and salutation between Indians; the Congress tricolour shall be the national flag of India; the song beginning with the words '*Subh Sukh Chain*' shall be the national anthem; the tiger shall be India's national emblem; '*Chalo Delhi*' shall be the national war-cry till the successful conclusion of the revolution; and '*Azad Hind Zindabad*,' '*Inquilab Zindabad*' and '*Netaji ki jai*' shall be the national slogans till the victorious conclusion of the revolution.

THE INA FIRES FIRST SHOT

From the Andamans, Netaji flew on to Burma and shifted the headquarters of the provisional government, the IIL and the INA supreme command to Rangoon in the first week of January 1944. Thus, there were two headquarters— one in Rangoon and another, the rear headquarters in Singapore.

The shifting of Netaji's headquarters with the government, the League and the INA to Burma was of momentous importance to the movement. Only the border separated India from Burma; the eastern gates of India were within reach of Netaji and his liberation army; he had only to choose the hour to strike and march into India to drive the British out of his motherland. He, therefore, now concentrated all his attention and energy on turning Burma into a mighty base of operations. He was bent on making Burma the springboard from which to jump at the throats of the British in India.

Enthusiasm swept over Indians in Burma at the sight of battalions of the INA getting ready to march to the frontier. A Netaji Fund Committee was formed in Rangoon to mobilise the financial resources of Indians in Burma for Netaji's war-chest. Frenzied cheering greeted Netaji's public appeal to Indians to sacrifice their all in the way of freedom. He auctioned the garlands offered to him at the meetings, and each of the garlands was taken by a member of his audience for one lakh, two lakh and even five lakh rupees. A stunning offer of sacrifice was made by Mr. Habib, a citizen of Rangoon, who offered his whole property including land, houses and jewellery valued at over one crore of rupees. Netaji humorously called this the 'Habib mixture' and recommended the mixture to all Indians. Besides offering all his worldly possessions, Habib offered his services and placed his life at Netaji's disposal. Mrs Hemraj Betaji of Rangoon also offered all her worldly possessions to Netaji. In recognising their self-sacrifice, Netaji decorated them with the 'Sevak-e-Hind' medal.

In the process of total mobilisation, Netaji expanded the government and the League organisation. He appointed new ministers of supply, manpower and revenue to strengthen the base of the government. The government laid down the broad policies but the day-to-day execution of the policies had to be carried out by the League organisation through its branches all over the region. Netaji, therefore, expanded the League headquarters departments which now numbered twenty-four, compared with twelve in Singapore.

The twenty-four departments of the IIL headquarters in Rangoon were: finance; audit; Netaji Fund Committee; supply; supply board; purchase board; revenue; recruitment and training; women's affairs (including the Rani of Jhansi Regiment);

publicity and propaganda; education; health and social welfare; national planning; intelligence; information; production; technical, telecommunications; agriculture and industries; reconstruction; housing and transport; overseas; labour; and branches.

The stage was set for the military operations soon after Netaji moved his headquarters to Burma; the INA had been moved from Malaysia all the way via Thailand and Burma upto the border with India.

Then came the thrilling news of the firing of the first shot by the INA in India's second war of independence when it opened a campaign on the Arakan front on February 4, 1944 and fought a successful action.

March 18, 1944 will remain a red-letter day in the annals of the INA for on that memorable day the INA crossed the border and stood on the sacred soil of India. This historic event was revealed to the world in a dramatic announcement by Netaji at a press conference on March 21. The twenty-first day of every month has become a sacred day for Indians in east Asia for on that day in October 1943, Netaji proclaimed the establishment of the provisional government of Azad Hind in east Asia.

Freedom battle raged and the INA was now fighting on eight sectors of the Burma-India border, on the plains of Imphal and in the neighbourhood of Kohima.

A detachment of the INA under Colonel S.A. Malik penetrated deep into Indian territory and planted the Indian national tricolour at Moirang in Manipur on April 14, 1944, thus symbolically liberating a bit of Indian soil from the British rulers. This spot where India's tricolour was first planted on Indian soil by the INA has since been sanctified by a memorial constructed to martyrs of the Azad Hind Fauj (army). The complex is dominated by a bronze statue of Netaji and consists of a library, an INA museum and a spacious community hall. Moirang has become a place of pilgrimage to future generations of Indians who wish to pay their respectful homage to the martyrs who laid down their lives in India's second war of independence.

GOVERNOR-DESIGNATE FOR LIBERATED AREAS

While the INA was fighting on the Burma-India front, the provisional government was being strengthened in the rear and equipped in every way to cope with the impending task of rehabilitation and administration of the areas to be liberated on Indian soil in collaboration with the Japanese forces. From the very beginning Netaji made it clear to the Japanese that from the moment the INA and the Japanese army stepped on Indian soil, the provisional government of Azad Hind would exercise sole authority in the liberated areas. The provisional government would be supreme from the moment the INA entered India and its writ alone would run in the liberated territory. In active pursuance of this policy, Netaji arranged the printing of currency notes of the Azad Hind government, and postage stamps were also got ready. Major-General A.C. Chatterjee was appointed the first governor-designate of the liberated territory. Japanese civilians and institutions moving

into the liberated regions, including Japanese banks and firms, would come under the control of the governor-designate and would use only the currency notes of the Azad Hind government. The National Bank of Azad Hind would be the only authorised bank of the provisional government and the Japanese banks and firms would operate under the control and direction of the National Bank.

The Japanese were in charge of overall war strategy and were the senior participants in the campaign as they provided the tanks, planes, artillery, rifles and ammunition. In contrast to their predominant position in the battle-field, they felt disappointed that they were subordinate to the provisional government if they entered India with the INA. Netaji was adamant on this vital issue of principle and the Japanese had to bow to his decision. It was in keeping with this principle that Netaji unequivocally and finally rejected a Japanese proposal; that a Japanese should be the chairman of a joint Indo-Japanese war cooperation council on Indian soil. Netaji was emphatic that either the chairman would be an Indian or there would be no chairman at all.

Thus, the Japanese knew all the time where exactly they stood with Netaji on issues affecting the independence, integrity and sovereignty of India. He told the Japanese in the clearest possible words that he would rather have another two centuries of India's slavery under the British than have the Japanese as masters in place of the British.

After a great deal of wrangling with General Isoda, the chief of the Hikari *kikan* (liaison office), Netaji finally got the Japanese consent to his setting up of the National Bank of Azad Hind to finance the INA's operations. He opened the bank in Rangoon on April 5, 1944 and left the same day for the front, taking with him a contingent of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment. The pride and enthusiasm of the girls knew no bounds as they were proceeding to the battle lines to fight shoulder to shoulder with the men of the INA.

On the reconstruction side, the governor-designate was fully prepared to follow the INA into liberated areas and set up a civil administration and rehabilitate the people of the liberated regions. He had at his disposal a full-fledged contingent of the Azad Hind Dal which had undergone thorough training in all branches of civil administration. Farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, postmen, telegraphists, civil, mechanical and electrical engineers, wireless operators, truck drivers, road-builders and other craftsmen were all in the Dal, ready to tackle the task of reconstruction of war-devastated villages and towns and their reconstruction for normal civilian life.

Netaji had thought of every aspect of the military campaign and the civilian administration to be restored quickly after liberation from foreign rule. He had recruited and trained men for even the smallest job to be done in pursuit of reconstruction and restoration of normal civilian life without undue delay in transition. Even if the enemy carried out a 'scorched earth' policy and destroyed everything before retreating in the face of the INA's victorious advance, the Azad Hind Dal was ready to swing into action. Improvised huts would be put up in no time by the civilian engineers; the mechanical engineers would energise pumps to water the fields to grow food; the electrical engineers would improve street lighting; drinking

water would be brought from the nearest wells or tanks; temporary roads would connect neighbouring villages; the postal system would deliver letters and money orders within the liberated areas; the Azad Hind Bank would supply enough currency to meet the urgent needs of the liberated people.

THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

Born in the storm of World War II, the INA was a revolutionary army, unique in its own way, and unlike many other armies engaged in the global war. It was an army organised on foreign soil, hundreds of kilometers away from its motherland, dependent on foreign powers for planes, tanks, artillery, rifles, ammunition and even lorries for the transport of soldiers to the front. It depended upon the patriotic fervour of its nationals scattered over east Asia, from Burma to Japan, for men, money, clothing, food and other civilian supplies. Its greatest asset was the spirit of self-sacrifice of the men who enthusiastically volunteered to lay down their lives with '*Chalo Delhi*' on their lips.

Netaji was a unique Supreme Commander of this unique army, unlike many other commanders on the battle-fields of Asia or Europe. Perhaps for the first time in the world's military history, Netaji spoke to his soldiers on the eve of their departure for the fighting fronts in a language not heard before in history. In effect he said to them:

"Even at this last moment before you leave for the front, I give you the freest choice to decide whether you really want to lay down your lives for the cause. If you have the least doubt in your mind about the sacredness of the cause, you may this minute step out of the ranks and stay behind. Do not hesitate to do so. I shall find you some other duties in the rear. I do not care for numbers. Even a smaller number of utterly dedicated soldiers with the fullest faith in the cause for which they are going to fight are any day better than a large number of men with indifferent interest and vague ideas of what they are fighting for. I tell you in the plainest possible words that I promise you nothing but hunger, thirst, suffering and death. You are free to choose your path. You need not be ashamed to drop out here and now. I shall not blame you. I shall appreciate your honesty and find you some useful duties."

Netaji repeated these words to the men of the INA every time he addressed parades of soldiers before they left for the front, and not one man stepped out of the ranks and said he wanted to stay behind.

This was the burning spirit that swept the two divisions of the INA numbering over twenty thousand that were already in Burma. The first division was commanded by Major-General Zaman Kiani, and the second division command was taken over by colonel Shah Nawaz in place of Colonel Aziz Ahmed, who was injured in a bombing raid on Rangoon on the eve of his proceeding to the front.

Netaji's clarion call to his liberation army on the eve of its march on the road to Delhi will echo and re-cho through the corridors of time. Standing on the border and pointing his hand towards his motherland, he urged his soldiers:

".... There in the distance beyond that river, beyond those jungles, beyond those hills, lies the promised land—the soil from which we sprang—the land to which we shall now return. Hark—

India is calling... Blood is calling to blood. Get up, we have no time to lose. Take up your arms— we shall carve our way through the enemy's ranks, or if god wills we shall die a martyr's death. And in our last sleep we shall kiss the road that will bring our army to Delhi. The road to Delhi is the road to freedom. *Chalo Delhi.*"

Kohima fort and a cantonment on the Dimapur-Kohima Road were captured on April 8, and the following day saw the tightening of the encirclement of Imphal which was attacked from many sides on April 13. Imphal was then attacked from all sides on April 18 and the INA penetrated the north fortifications of the enemy. The battle for Imphal raged fiercely on April 22. The fighting continued into May and the siege of Imphal was further tightened on May 20. The enemy was holding out in a desperate struggle under orders from the Moubatten headquarters to save Imphal at all cost. The INA was fighting against time, and the frightening monsoon of Burma was fast approaching.

The monsoon rains began on June 1, and came down in torrents. The monsoon deluge flooded the communication and supply routes of the INA on the front. **The siege of Imphal was lifted on June 27;** the enemy now began its offensive with its superiority in numbers, weapons and supplies; the INA was on the defensive. In the five months of fierce fighting, the INA had given ample proof to its superior fighting qualities, its memorable courage and intense devotion to duty.

When the INA was in the thick of the battle, Netaji made a memorable broadcast over the Rangoon Radio on August 4, 1944 and addressed a poignant appeal to Mahatma Gandhi. After reviewing the war situation at great length, Netaji said to Gandhiji:

"India's last war of independence has begun. Troops of the Azad Hind Fauj are now fighting bravely on the soil of India and in spite of all difficulty and hardship they are pushing forward slowly but steadily. The armed struggle will go on until the last Britisher is thrown out of India and until our tricolour flag floats over the viceroy's house in New Delhi.

"**Father of our nation:** In this holy war for India's liberation we ask for your blessings and good wishes. *Jai Hind.*"

In a special order of the day issued on August 14, 1944, Netaji said,

".... All preparations had been completed and the stage had been set for the final assault on Imphal when torrential rains overtook us and to carry Imphal by an assault was rendered a practical impossibility. As soon as all our preparations are complete, we shall launch our mighty offensive once again. With the superior fighting qualities, dauntless courage and unshakable devotion to duty of our officers and men, victory shall surely be ours."

Thrilling stories of the deeds of heroism of our officers and men on the battle-fields trickled through to the civilian population in the rear, far away from the fronts. At one of the inspiring parades in Rangoon, Netaji decorated some of the surviving officers and men for their bravery on the field of battle. He also announced many posthumous awards for those who had laid down their lives on the road to Delhi.

THE TRAGIC DEBACLE

There was no blinking the unpleasant fact that the INA's failure to take Kohima and Imphal was a tragic debacle. If the INA had captured Imphal and Kohima, nothing could have stopped its victorious advance into Bengal and Assam; all of India would have risen to a man against the British rulers and opened the road to Delhi for the INA's triumphant march.

But that was not to be. The torrential rains and the slush and quagmires, the disrupted supply lines, and lack of food and medicines played havoc, with the INA men retreating from the front. Cholera, dysentery and malaria took a heavy toll of the men's lives, but the survivors staggered back to the base hospitals, impatient to get well and pick up their rifles again and go back to the fighting front and lay down their lives there. They would only remember the exhortation of Netaji: "When you stand, stand as a rock, when you move, move like a steam-roller."

The full story of the operations on the Burma-India border and the battles of Imphal and Kohima and the individual deeds of heroism of the officers and men of the INA are exhaustively and vividly narrated by Major-General Shah Nawaz in his book *INA and its Netaji*. A detachment of the INA men on the Burma front who lived on jungle grass for eleven days and carried on their brave fight has passed into legend. And this is only one of the many legends that posterity will one day read with pride and admiration for the faceless heroes.

The debacle did not dishearten Netaji. He told the blunt and tragic truth of the INA's failure to the civilian population in Burma and exhorted them to redouble their efforts to collect more money and more materials and recruit more men to renew the assault on Imphal. "We shall again attack Imphal, not once but ten times," Netaji roared. "I want you all to become freedom-mad. *Karo sab nichhavar; bano sab fakir* (sacrifice your all and become beggars)." The Indians were infected by Netaji's enthusiasm and intensified total mobilisation with ever greater vigour. There was no tinge of regret or disappointment in the minds of the people over the military reverses. They organised the celebration of a Netaji Week on a grand scale in Rangoon. Netaji stood on the dais flanked by his ministers. An unending procession of men, women and children walked up to the dais and presented him with trays laden with gold and silver, jewellery and trinkets. Some young men who had nothing else in this world to offer gave a pledge written in blood, offering their lives at the altar of their motherland. This was the symbolic response of Indian youth in all east Asia to Netaji's call: "Give me blood and I will give you freedom. (*Tum mujhe khoon do, main tumhe Azadi doonga.*)" He said to the three million Indians in east Asia that in the world's history no nation got its freedom without shedding its own blood. That was the price they had to pay and there was no shirking it.

But all this patriotic fervour went in vain. The relentless enemy with unchallenged superiority in numbers and planes, tanks, artillery, rifles and ammunition launched a massive counter-offensive the moment the INA began falling back. The counter-thrust was headed towards Meiktila and the ultimate target was, of course, Rangoon.

But the victorious forces had a foretaste of the fiery and undying spirit of the INA when they passed through Mandalay.

They had strictly forbidden Indians in Mandalay from shouting the greeting 'Jai Hind' which symbolised everything that Netaji and the INA had stood for. **Indian boys and girls above the age of nine had received nine weeks of intensive military training at the height of independence movement.** In a spirit of utter defiance and in total disregard of the risk to their life and limb, they yelled 'Jai Hind' into the ears of the British forces whenever they passed by them, and showed them a clean pair of heels when they tried to catch the young rebels. These Bal Senas and Balika Senas were organised throughout east Asia as auxiliaries to the INA and the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.

If it was to be only a matter of days before the British forces would reach Rangoon, then what should be Netaji's next move? A critical decision had to be taken by the government. The cabinet ministers present in Rangoon were unanimous in their view that Netaji must not fall into the hands of the enemy in any event; he must move away eastward to Thailand, Indo-China, Java, Philippines or even Japan—anywhere farthest away from the advancing enemy. It was difficult to persuade Netaji. He was insistent that he must stay with his soldiers in Rangoon and share their fate. Ultimately, the cabinet convinced him that by leaving Rangoon he could reach somewhere to be free to continue the fight. Netaji reluctantly agreed to quit Rangoon. But his first and foremost concern was **for the hundred odd girls of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment.** He was adamant that he would not leave Rangoon until the girls were first put on the road or rail to Thailand.

On the eve of his leaving Rangoon, in a special order of the day addressed to the 'brave officers and men of the Azad Hind Fauj', Netaji said:

"Comrades, at this critical hour I have only one word of command to give you, and that is, that if you have to go down temporarily, then go down fighting with the national tricolour held aloft; go down as heroes; go down upholding the highest code of honour and discipline...."

In a message to Indians and Burmese friends, he extolled the self-sacrificing spirit of the Indians and his deep gratitude to the government and people of Burma for all the help he had received at their hands in carrying on the struggle for India's freedom.

THE AGONY OF RETREAT AND AFTER

Rangoon got news on April 23, 1945 that the British spearhead had thrust south of Pinyinmana in central Burma and it was only a question of hours before the enemy could hope to reach the capital of Burma. Any further delay in his quitting Rangoon might prove disastrous. Urgent consultations round-the clock followed with the Japanese authorities in Rangoon. They were themselves getting ready to evacuate Rangoon and destroying important records and arranging to blow up their own ammunition dumps to prevent their falling into the hands of the advancing British. **The Japanese were thus in a state of chaos and confusion, if not demoralised and in panic.** In striking contrast, Netaji was cool and composed and firmly insisted on getting the minimum necessary transport for the Ranis of Jhansi and over a hundred officers and men of the provisional government and the INA who would be with him on the retreat.

On the moonlit night of April 24, a convoy of four cars and twelve lorries carrying Netaji and party including the Rani of Jhansi regiment girls left Netaji's residence on the unforgettable **twenty-one-day trek to Bangkok—a mere two-hour journey for Netaji if he had accepted the Japanese offer of a plane for him from Rangoon to Bangkok.** But he rejected the offer out of hand and told the Japanese that he would move with his whole party even if he had to walk all the way from Rangoon to Bangkok. It so happened that he actually walked with his men all night for at least three nights. He made sure that his entire party got some transport, and he was the last to board a lorry for the rest of the trek to Martaban.

The cars and lorries were used only for two or three days after the retreat from Rangoon began, and they had to be abandoned on the river banks at Waw and Sittang for want of ferries to take them across the rivers to the other bank. The forced march, blistered feet, hunger and thirst for Netaji and the whole party began when they hit the road to Martaban from Sittang. The march in the night was often interrupted and the column had to disperse and take cover on the roadside every time enemy planes flew overhead. But the retreat was orderly. Netaji set a classic example of military discipline by asking Major-General Zaman Kiani to take over command of the column on the march, and Netaji, the Supreme Commander of the INA, placed himself also under Kiani's command during the forced march. He walked at the head of the column with Major-General Bhonsle, Chief of Staff, Major-General Chatterjee and civilian ministers of the provisional government, followed by Ranis of Jhansi and men of the INA.

It was three whole weeks of agony for the column on retreat, **with only one meal a day,** constant bombing and machine-gunning by enemy planes, day after day all the way, on the move all night, and taking cover in the jungles all day to avoid attracting enemy planes.

The worst baptism of fire from enemy planes was at Sittang where a devastating air raid fatally wounded Lieutenant Nazir Ahmed, Major-General Chatterjee's A.D.C.

After Moulmein the journey was comparatively easier and Netaji and party reached Bangkok and civilisation on May 14, 1945.

From the very next day Netaji got busy. He called a formal or informal meeting of the ministers present in Bangkok day after day at his residence. The most important question discussed was: What next? The World War situation, the situation in east Asia and the situation in India as gleaned from world radio stations were discussed from all angles. News of the collapse of Germany had reached Bangkok a week before Netaji and party arrived there. How long now could Japan hold out against the Anglo-Americans? What should the INA do if Japan also collapsed? From where then can Netaji continue the fight? Should Netaji try to contact Russia (undivided then) through the good offices of Japan which was still on terms of neutrality with Russia? How far would Japan relish the idea of Netaji contacting the Russians? How would the Russians react to Netaji's overtures in view of his collaboration with Russia's mortal enemy, Germany? If the Japanese sponsored Netaji's approach the chances of Japan getting favourable terms of

(contd. on p. 67)

ANIMAL FARM : 2

GEORGE ORWELL

CHAPTER VII

IT WAS A BITTER WINTER. The stormy weather was followed by sleet and snow, and then by a hard frost which did not break till well into February. The animals carried on as best they could with the rebuilding of the windmill, well knowing that the outside world was watching them and that the envious human beings would rejoice and triumph if the mill were not finished on time.

Out of spite, the human beings pretended not to believe that it was Snowball who had destroyed the windmill: they said that it had fallen down because the walls were too thin. The animals knew that this was not the case. Still, it had been decided to build the walls three feet thick this time instead of eighteen inches as before, which meant collecting much larger quantities of stone. For a long time the quarry was full of snowdrifts and nothing could be done. Some progress was made in the dry frosty weather that followed, but it was cruel work, and the animals could not feel so hopeful about it as they had felt before. They were always cold, and usually hungry as well. Only Boxer and Clover never lost heart. Squealer made excellent speeches on the joy of service and the dignity of labour, but the other animals found more inspiration in Boxer's strength and his never-failing cry of 'I will work harder!'

In January food fell short. The corn ration was drastically reduced, and it was announced that an extra potato ration would be issued to make up for it. Then it was discovered that the greater part of the potato crop had been frosted in the clamps, which had not been covered thickly enough. The potatoes had become

soft and discoloured, and only a few were edible. For days at a time the animals had nothing to eat but chaff and mangels. Starvation seemed to stare them in the face.

It was vitally necessary to conceal this fact from the outside world. Emboldened by the collapse of the windmill, the human beings were inventing fresh lies about Animal Farm. Once again it was being put about that all the animals were dying of famine and disease, and that they were continually fighting among themselves and had resorted to cannibalism and infanticide. Napoleon was well aware of the bad results that might follow if the real facts of the food situation were known, and he decided to make use of Mr Whymper to spread a contrary impression. Hitherto the animals had had little or no contact with Whymper on his weekly visits: now, however, a few selected animals, mostly sheep, were instructed to remark casually in his hearing that rations had been increased. In addition, Napoleon ordered the almost empty bins in the store-shed to be filled nearly to the brim with sand, which was then covered up with what remained of the grain and meal. On some suitable pretext

Whymper was led through the store-shed and allowed to catch a glimpse of the bins. He was deceived, and continued to report to the outside world that there was no food shortage on Animal Farm.

Nevertheless, towards the end of January it became obvious that it would be necessary to procure some more grain from somewhere. In these days Napoleon rarely appeared in public, but spent all

his time in the farmhouse, which was guarded at each door by fierce-looking dogs. When he did emerge it was in a ceremonial manner, with an escort of six dogs who closely surrounded him and growled if anyone came too near. Frequently he did not even appear on Sunday mornings, but issued his orders through one of the other pigs, usually Squealer.

One Sunday morning Squealer announced that the hens, who had just come in to lay again, must surrender their eggs. Napoleon had accepted, through Whymper, a contract for four hundred eggs a week. The price of these would pay for enough grain and meal to keep the farm going till summer came on and conditions were easier.

When the hens heard this they raised a terrible outcry. They had been warned earlier that this sacrifice might be necessary, but had not believed that it would really happen. They were just getting their clutches ready for the spring sitting, and they protested that to take the eggs away now was murder. For the first time since the expulsion of Jones there was something resembling a rebellion. Led by three young Black Minorca pullets, the hens made a determined effort to thwart Napoleon's wishes. Their method was to fly up to the rafters and there lay their eggs, which smashed to pieces on the floor. Napoleon acted swiftly and ruthlessly. He ordered the hens' rations to be stopped, and decreed that any animal giving so much as a grain of corn to a hen should be punished by death. The dogs saw to it that these orders were carried out. For five days the hens held out, then they capitulated and went back to their nesting boxes. Nine hens had died in the meantime. Their bodies were buried in the orchard, and it was given out that they had died of coccidiosis. Whymper heard nothing of this affair, and the eggs were duly delivered, a grocer's van driving up to the farm once a week to take them away.

All this while no more had been seen of Snowball. He was rumoured to be hiding on one of the neighbouring farms, either Foxwood or Pinchfield. Napoleon was by this time on slightly better terms with the other farmers than before. It happened that there was in the yard a pile of timber which had been

stacked there ten years earlier when a beech spinney was cleared. It was well seasoned, and Whymper had advised Napoleon to sell it; both Mr Pilkington and Mr Frederick were anxious to buy it. Napoleon was hesitating between the two, unable to make up his mind. It was noticed that whenever he seemed on the point of coming to an agreement with Frederick, Snowball was declared to be in hiding at Foxwood, while when he inclined towards Pilkington, Snowball was said to be at Pinchfield.

Suddenly, early in the spring, an alarming thing was discovered. Snowball was secretly frequenting the farm by night! The animals were so disturbed that they could hardly sleep in their stalls. Every night, it was said, he came creeping in under of darkness and performed all kinds of mischief. He stole the corn, he upset the milk-pails, he broke the eggs, he trampled the seed-beds, he gnawed the bark off the fruit trees. Whenever anything went wrong it became usual to attribute it to Snowball. If a window was broken or a drain was blocked up, someone was certain to say that Snowball had come in the night and one it, and when the key of the store-shed was lost the whole farm was convinced that Snowball had thrown it down the well. Curiously enough they went on believing this even after the mislaid key was found under a sack of meal. The cows declared unanimously that Snowball crept into their stalls and milked them in their sleep. The rats, which had been troublesome that winter, were also said to be in league with Snowball.

Napoleon decreed that there should be a full investigation into Snowball's activities. With his dogs in attendance he set out and made a careful tour of inspection of the farm buildings, the other animals following at a respectful distance. At every few steps Napoleon stopped and snuffed the ground for traces of Snowball's footsteps, which, he said, he could detect by the smell. He snuffed in every corner, in the barn, in the cowshed, in the henhouses, in the vegetable garden, and found traces of Snowball almost everywhere. He would put his snout to the ground, give several deep sniffs and exclaim in a terrible voice, 'Snowball! He has been here! I can smell him distinctly!' and at the word 'Snowball' all the dogs let out blood-curdling growls and showed their side teeth.

The animals were thoroughly frightened. It seemed to them as though Snowball were some kind of invisible influence, pervading the air about them and menacing them with all kinds of dangers. In the evening Squealer called them together, and with an alarmed expression on his face told them that he had some serious news to report.

'Comrades!' cried Squealer, making little nervous skips, 'a most terrible thing has been discovered. Snowball has sold himself to Frederick of Pinchfield Farm, who is even now plotting to attack us and take our farm away from us! Snowball is to act as his guide when the attack begins. But there is worse than that. We had thought that Snowball's rebellion was caused simply by his vanity and ambition. But we were wrong, comrades. Do you know what the real reason was? Snowball was in league with Jones from the very start! He was Jones's secret agent all the time. It has all been proved by documents which he left behind him and which we have only just discovered. To my mind this explains a great deal, comrades. Did we not see for ourselves how he attempted—fortunately without success—to get us defeated and destroyed at the Battle of the Cowshed?'

The animals were stupefied. This was a wickedness far outdoing Snowball's destruction of the windmill. But it was some minutes before they could fully take it in. They all remembered, or thought they remembered, how they had seen Snowball charging ahead of them at the Battle of the Cowshed, how he had rallied and encouraged them at every turn, and how he had not paused for an instant even when the pellets from Jones's gun had wounded his back. At first it was a little difficult to see how this fitted in with his being on Jones's side. Even Boxer, who seldom asked questions, was puzzled. He lay down, tucked his fore hoofs beneath him, shut his eyes, and with a hard effort managed to formulate his thoughts.

'I do not believe that,' he said. 'Snowball fought bravely at the Battle of the Cowshed. I saw him myself. Did we not give him "Animal Hero, First Class" immediately afterwards?'

'That was our mistake, comrade. For we know now—it is all written down in the secret documents that we have found—that in reality he was trying to lure us to our doom.'

'But he was wounded,' said Boxer. 'We all saw him running with blood.'

'That was part of the arrangement!' cried Squealer. 'ones's shot only grazed him. I could show you this in his own writing, if you were able to read it. The plot was for Snowball, at the critical moment, to give the signal for flight and leave the field to the enemy. And he very nearly succeeded—I will even say, comrades, he *would* have succeeded if it had not been for our heroic Leader, comrade Napoleon. Do you not remember how, just at the moment when Jones and his men had got inside the yard, Snowball suddenly turned and fled and many animals followed him? and do you not remember, too, that it was just at that moment, when panic was spreading and all seemed lost, that Comrade Napoleon sprang forward with a cry of "Death to Humanity!" and sank his teeth in Jones's leg? Surely you remember *that*, comrades?' exclaimed Squealer, frisking from side to side.

Now when Squealer described the scene so graphically, it seemed to the animals that they did remember it. At any rate, they remembered that at the critical moment of the battle Snowball had turned to flee. But Boxer was still a little uneasy.

'I do not believe that Snowball was a traitor at the beginning,' he said finally. 'What he has done since is different. But I believe that at the Battle of the Cowshed he was a good comrade.'

'Our Leader, Comrade Napoleon,' announced Squealer, speaking very slowly and firmly, 'has stated categorically—categorically, comrade—that Snowball was Jones's agent from the very beginning—yes, and from long before the Rebellion was ever thought of.'

'Ah, that is different!' said Boxer. 'If Comrade Napoleon says it, it must be right.'

'That is the true spirit, comrade!' cried Squealer, but it was noticed he cast a very ugly look at Boxer with his little twinkling eyes. He turned to go, then paused and added impressively: 'I warn every animal on this farm to keep his eyes very wide open. For we have reason to think some of Snowball's secret agents are lurking among us at this moment!'

Four days later, in the late afternoon, Napoleon ordered all the animals to assemble in the yard. When they were all

gathered together Napoleon emerged from the farmhouse, wearing both his medals (for he had recently awarded himself 'Animal Hero, First Class' and 'Animal Hero, Second Class'), with his nine huge dogs frisking round him and uttering growls that sent shivers down all the animals' spines. They all cowered silently in their places, seeming to know in advance that some terrible thing was about to happen.

Napoleon stood sternly surveying his audience; then he uttered a high-pitched whimper. Immediately the dogs bounded forward, seized four of the pigs by the ear and dragged them, squealing with pain and terror, to Napoleon's feet. The pigs' ears were bleeding, the dogs had tasted blood, and for a few moments they appeared to go quite mad. To the amazement of everybody three of them flung themselves upon Boxer. Boxer saw them coming and put out his great hoof, caught a dog in mid-air and pinned him to the ground. The dog shrieked for mercy and the other two fled with their tails between their legs. Boxer looked at Napoleon to know whether he should crush the dog to death or let it go. Napoleon appeared to change countenance, and sharply ordered Boxer to let dog go, whereat Boxer lifted his hoof, and the dog slunk away, bruised and howling.

Presently the tumult died down. The four pigs waited, trembling, with guilt written on every line of their countenances. Napoleon now called upon them to confess their crimes. They were the same four pigs as had protested when Napoleon abolished the Sunday Meetings. Without any further prompting they confessed that they had been secretly in touch with Snowball ever since his expulsion, that they had collaborated with him in destroying the windmill, and that they had entered into an agreement with him to hand over Animal Farm to Mr Frederick. They added that Snowball had privately admitted to them that he had been Jones's secret agent for years past. When they had finished their confession the dogs promptly tore their throats out, and in a terrible voice Napoleon demanded whether any other animal had anything to confess.

The three hens who had been the ringleaders in the attempted rebellion over the eggs now came forward and stated that Snowball had appeared to them in a dream and incited them to disobey Napoleon's orders. They too were slaughtered. Then a goose came forward and confessed to having secreted six ears of corn during the last year's harvest and eaten them in the night. Then a sheep confessed to having urinated in the drinking pool—urged to do this, so she said, by Snowball—and two other sheep confessed to having murdered an old ram, an especially devoted follower of Napoleon, by chasing him round and round a bonfire when he was suffering from a cough. They were all slain on the spot. And so the tale of confessions and executions went on, until there was pile of corpses lying before Napoleon's feet and the air was heavy with the smell of blood, which had been unknown there since the expulsion of Jones.

When it was all over, the remaining animals, except for the pigs and dogs, crept away in a body. They were shaken and miserable. They did not know which was more shocking—the treachery of the animals who had leagued themselves with Snowball, or the cruel retribution they had just witnessed. In the old days there had often been scenes of bloodshed equally

terrible, but it seemed to all of them that it was far worse now that it was happening among themselves. Since Jones had left the farm, until today, no animal had killed another animal. Not even a rat had been killed. They had made their way onto the little knoll where the half-finished windmill stood, and with one accord they all lay down as though huddling together for warmth—Clover, Muriel, Benjamin, the cows, the sheep and whole flock of geese and hens—everyone, indeed, except the cat, who had suddenly disappeared just before Napoleon ordered the animals to assemble. For some time nobody spoke. Only Boxer remained on his feet. He fidgeted to and fro, swishing his long black tail against his sides and occasionally uttering a little whinny of surprise. Finally he said:

'I do not understand it. I would not have believed that such things could happen on our farm. It must be due to some fault in ourselves. The solution, as I see it, is to work harder. From now onwards I shall get up a full hour earlier in the mornings.'

And he moved off at his lumbering trot and made for the quarry. Having got there he collected two successive loads of stone and dragged them down to the windmill before retiring for the night.

The animals huddled about Clover, not speaking. The knoll where they were lying gave them a wide prospect across the countryside. Most of Animal Farm was within their view—the long pasture stretching down to the main road, the hayfield, the spinney, the drinking pool, the ploughed fields where the young wheat was thick and green, and the red roofs of the farm buildings with the smoke curling from the chimneys. It was a clear spring evening. The grass and the bursting hedges were gilded by the level rays of the sun. Never had the farm—and with a kind of surprise they remembered that it was their own farm, every inch of it their own property—appeared to the animals so desirable a place. As Clover looked down the hillside her eyes filled with tears. If she could have spoken her thoughts, it would have been to say that this was not what they had aimed at when they had set themselves years ago to work for the overthrow of the human race. These scenes of terror and slaughter were not what they had looked forward to on that night when old Major first stirred them to rebellion. If she herself had had any picture of the future, it had been of a society of animals set free from hunger and the whimp, all equal, each working according to his capacity, the strong protecting the weak, as she had protected the lost brood of ducklings with her foreleg on the night of Major's speech. Instead—she did not know why—they had come to a time when no one dared speak his mind, when fierce, growling dogs roamed everywhere, and when you had to watch your comrades torn to pieces after confessing to shocking crimes. There was no thought of rebellion or disobedience in her mind. She knew that even as things were they were far better off than they had been in the days of Jones, and that before all else it was needful to prevent the return of the human beings. Whatever happened she would remain faithful, work hard, carry out the orders that were given to her, and accept the leadership of Napoleon. But still, it was not for this that she and all the other animals had hoped and toiled. It was not for this that they had built the windmill and faced the pellets of Jones's gun. Such were her thoughts, though she lacked the words to express them.

At last, feeling this to be in some way a substitute for the words she was unable to find, she began to sing 'Beasts of England.' The other animals sitting round her took it up, and they sang it three times over—very tunelessly, but slowly and mournfully, in a way they had never sung it before.

They had just finished singing it for the third time when Squealer, attended by two dogs, approached them with the air of having something important to say. He announced that, by special decree of Comrade Napoleon, 'Beasts of England' had been abolished. From now onwards it was forbidden to sing it.

The animals were taken aback.

'Why?' cried Muriel.

'It is no longer needed, comrade,' said Squealer stiffly. '“Beasts of England” was the song of the Rebellion. But the Rebellion is now completed. The execution of the traitors this afternoon was the final act. The enemy both external and internal has been defeated. In “Beasts of England” we expressed our longing for a better society in days to come. But that society has now been established. Clearly this song has no longer any purpose.'

Frightened though they were, some of the animals might possibly have protested, but at this moment the sheep set up their usual bleating of 'Four legs good, two legs bad', which went on for several minutes and put an end to the discussion.

So 'Beasts of England' was heard no more. In its place Minimus, the poet, had composed another song which began:

Animal Farm, Animal Farm,

Never through me shalt thou come to harm!

and this was sung every Sunday morning after the hoisting of the flag. But somehow neither the words nor the tune ever seemed to the animals to come up to 'Beasts of England'.

CHAPTER VIII

A FEW DAYS LATER, when the terror caused by the executions had died down, some of the animals remembered—or thought they remembered—that the Sixth Commandment decreed: 'No animal shall kill any other animal.' And though no one cared to mention it in the hearing of the pigs or the dogs, it was felt that the killings which had taken place did not square with this. Clover asked Benjamin to read her the Sixth Commandment, and when Benjamin, as usual, said that he refused to meddle in such matters, she fetched Muriel. Muriel read the Commandment for her. It ran: 'No animal shall kill any other animal *without cause*.' Somehow or other the last two words had slipped out of the animals' memory. But they saw now that the Commandment had not been violated; for clearly there was good reason for killing the traitors who had leagued themselves with Snowball.

Throughout that year the animals worked even harder than they had worked in the previous year. To rebuild the windmill, with wall twice as thick as before, and to finish it by the appointed date, together with the regular work of the farm, was a tremendous labour. There were times when it seemed to the animals that they worked longer hours and fed no better than they had done in Jones's day. On Sunday mornings Squealer, holding down a long strip of paper with his trotter, would read out to them lists of figures proving that the production of every class of food-stuff had increased by two

hundred per cent, three hundred per cent, or five hundred per cent as the case might be. The animals saw no reason to disbelieve him, especially as they could no longer remember very clearly what conditions had been like before the Rebellion. All the same, there were days when they felt that they would sooner have had less figures and more food.

All orders were now issued through Squealer or one of the other pigs. Napoleon himself was not seen in public as often as once in a fortnight. When he did appear he was attended not only by his retinue of dogs but by a black cockerel who marched in front of him and acted as a kind of trumpeter, letting out a loud 'cock-a-doodle-doo' before Napoleon spoke. Even in the farmhouse, it was said, Napoleonic inhabited separate apartments from the others. He took his meals alone, with two dogs to wait upon him, and always ate from the Crown Derby dinner service which had been in the glass cupboard in the drawing room. It was also announced that the gun would be fired every year on Napoleon's birthday, as well as on the other two anniversaries.

Napoleon was now never spoken of simply as 'Napoleonic'. He was always referred to in formal style as 'our Leader, Comrade Napoleon', and the pigs liked to invent for him such titles as Father of All Animals, Terror of Mankind, Protector of the Sheepfold, Ducklings' Friend, and the like. In his speeches Squealer would talk with the tears rolling down his cheeks of Napoleon's wisdom, the goodness of his heart, and the deep love he bore to all animals everywhere, even and especially the unhappy animals who still lived in ignorance and slavery on other farms. It had become usual to give Napoleon the credit for every successful achievement and every stroke of good fortune. You would often hear one hen remark to another, 'Under the guidance of our Leader, Comrade Napoleon, I have laid five eggs in six days;' or two cows, enjoying a drink at the pool, would exclaim, 'Thanks to the leadership of Comrade Napoleon, how excellent this water tastes!' The general feeling on the farm was expressed in a poem entitled 'Comrade Napoleon', which was composed by Minimus and which ran as follows:

*Friend of the fatherless!
Fountain of happiness!
Lord of the swill-bucket! Oh, how my soul is on
Fire when I gaze at thy
Calm and commanding eye,
Like the sun in the sky,
Comrade Napoleon!*

*Thou art the giver of
All that thy creatures love,
Full belly twice a day, clean straw to roll upon;
Every beast great or small
Sleeps at peace in his stall,
Thou watches over all,
Comrade Napoleon!*

*Had I a sucking-pig,
Ere he had grown as big
Even as a pint bottle or as a rolling-pin,
He should have learned to be*

*Faithful and true to thee,
Yes, his first squeak should be
'Comrade Napoleon!'*

Napoleon approved of this poem and caused it to be inscribed on the wall of the big barn, at the opposite end from the Seven Commandments. It was surmounted by a portrait of Napoleon, in profile, executed by Squealer in white paint.

Meanwhile, through the agency of Whymper, Napoleon was engaged in complicated negotiations with Frederick and Pilkington. The pile of timber was still unsold. Of the two, Frederick was the more anxious to get hold of it, but he would not offer a reasonable price. At the same time there were renewed rumours that Frederick and his men were plotting to attack Animal Farm and to destroy the windmill, the building of which had aroused furious jealousy in him. Snowball was known to be still skulking on Pinchfield Farm. In the middle of the summer the animals were alarmed to hear that three hens had come forward and confessed that, inspired by Snowball, they had entered into a plot to murder Napoleon. They were executed immediately, and fresh precautions for Napoleon's safety were taken. Four dogs guarded his bed at night, one at each corner, and a young pig named Pinkeye was given the task of tasting all his food before he ate it, lest it should be poisoned.

At about the same time it was given out that Napoleon had arranged to sell the pile of timber to Mr Pilkington; he was also going to enter into a regular agreement for the exchange of certain products between Animal Farm and Foxwood. The relations between Napoleon and Pilkington, though they were only conducted through Whymper, were now almost friendly. The animals distrusted Pilkington, as a human being, but greatly preferred him to Frederick, whom they both feared and hated. As the summer wore on, and the windmill neared completion, the rumours of an impending treacherous attack grew stronger and stronger. Frederick, it was said, intended to bring against them twenty men all armed with guns, and he had already bribed the magistrates and police, so that if he could once get hold of the tittle-deeds of Animal Farm they would ask no questions. Moreover terrible stories were leaking out from Pinchfield about the cruelties that Frederick practised upon his animals. He had flogged an old horse to death, he starved his cows, he had killed a dog by throwing it into the furnace, he amused himself in the evenings by making cocks fight with splinters of razor blade tied to their spurs. The animals' blood boiled with rage when they heard of these things being done to their comrades, and sometimes they clamoured to be allowed to go out in a body and attack Pinchfield Farm, drive out the humans and set the animals free. But Squealer counselled them to avoid rash actions and trust in Comrade Napoleon's strategy.

Nevertheless feeling against Frederick continued to run high. One Sunday morning Napoleon appeared in the barn and explained that he had never at any time contemplated selling the pile of timber to Frederick; he considered it beneath his dignity, he said, to have dealings with scoundrels of that description. The pigeons who were still sent out to spread tidings of the Rebellion were forbidden to set foot anywhere on Foxwood, and were also ordered to drop their former slogan of 'Death to Humanity' in favour of 'Death to Frederick'. In the

late summer yet another of Snowball's machinations was laid bare. The wheat crop was full of weeds, and it was discovered that on one of his nocturnal visits Snowball had mixed weed seeds with the seed corn. A gander who had been privy to the plot had confessed his guilt to Squealer and immediately committed suicide by swallowing deadly nightshade berries. The animals mow also learned that Snowball had never—as many of them had belied hitherto—received the order 'Hero, First class'. This was merely a legend which had been spread some time after the Battle of the Cowshed by Snowball himself. So far from being decorated he had been censured for showing cowardice in the battle. Once again some of the animals heard this with a certain bewilderment, but Squealer was soon able to convince them that their memories had been at fault.

In the autumn, by a tremendous, exhausting effort—for the harvest had to be gathered at almost the same time—the windmill was finished. The machinery had still to be installed, and Whymper was negotiating the purchase of it, but the structure was completed. In the teeth of every difficulty, in spite of inexperience, of primitive implements, of bad luck and of Snowball's treachery, the work had been finished punctually to the very day! Tired out but proud, the animals walked round and round their masterpiece, which appeared even more beautiful in their eyes than when it had been built the first time. Moreover the walls were twice as thick as before. Nothing short of explosives would lay them low this time! And when they thought of how they had laboured, what discouragements they had overcome, and the enormous difference that would be made in their lives when the sails were turning and the dynamos running—when they thought of all this their tiredness forsook them and they gambolled round and round the windmill, uttering cries of triumph. Napoleon himself, attended by his dogs and his cockerel, came down to inspect the completed work; he personally congratulated the animals on their achievement, and announced that the mill would be named Napoleon Mill.

Two days later the animals were called together for a special meeting in the barn. They were struck dumb with surprise when Napoleon announced that he had sold the pile of timber to Frederick. Tomorrow Frederick's wagons would arrive and begin carting it away. Throughout the whole period of his seeming friendship with Pilkington, Napoleon had really been in secret agreement with Frederick.

All relations with Foxwood had been broken off; insulting messages had been sent to Pilkington. The pigeons had been told to avoid Pinchfield Farm and to alter their slogan from 'Death to Frederick' to 'Death to Pilkington'. At the same time Napoleon assured the animals that the stories of an impending attack on Animal Farm were completely untrue, and that the tales about Frederick's cruelty to his own animals had been greatly exaggerated. All these rumours had probably originated with Snowball and his agents. It now appeared that Snowball was not, after all, hiding on Pinchfield Farm, and in fact had never been there in his life: he was living—in considerable luxury, so it was said—at Foxwood, and had in reality been a pensioner of Pilkington for years past.

The pigs were in ecstasies over Napoleon's cunning. By seeming to be friendly with Pilkington he had forced Frederick to raise his price by twelve pounds. But the superior quality of

Napoleon's mind, said Squealer, was shown in the fact that he trusted nobody, not even Frederick. Frederick had wanted to pay for the timber with something called a cheque, which it seemed was a piece of paper with a promise to pay written upon it. But Napoleon was too clever for him. He had demanded payment in real five-pound notes, which were to be handed over before the timber was removed. Already Frederick had paid up; and the sum he had paid was just enough to buy the machinery for the windmill.

Meanwhile the timber was being carted away at high speed. When it was all gone another special meeting was held in the barn for the animals to inspect Frederick's bank-notes. Smiling beatifically, and wearing both his decorations, Napoleon reposed on a bed of straw on the platform, with the money at his side, neatly piled on a china dish from the farmhouse kitchen. The animals filed slowly past, and each gazed his fill. And Boxer put out his nose to sniff at the bank-notes, and the flimsy white things stirred and rustled in his breath.

Three days later there was a terrible hullabaloo. Whymper, his face deadly pale, came racing up the path on his bicycle, flung it down in the yard and rushed straight into the farmhouse. The next moment a choking roar of rage sounded from Napoleon's apartments. The news of what had happened sped round the farmlike wildfire. The bank-notes were forgeries! Frederick had got the timber for nothing!

Napoleon called the animals together immediately and in a terrible voice pronounced the death sentence upon Frederick. When captured, he said, Frederick should be boiled alive. At the same time he warned them that after this treacherous deed the worst was to be expected. Frederick and his men might make their long-expected attack at any moment. Sentinels were placed at all the approaches to the farm. In addition, four pigeons were sent to Foxwood with a conciliatory message, which it was hoped might re-establish good relations with Pilkington.

The very next morning the attack came. The animals were at breakfast when the look-outs came racing in with the news that Frederick and his followers had already come through the five-barred gate. Boldly enough the animals sallied forth to meet them, but this time they did not have the easy victory that they had had in the Battle of the Cowshed. There were fifteen men, with half a dozen guns between them, and they opened fire as soon as they got within fifty yards. The animals could not face the terrible explosions and the stinging pellets, and in spite of the efforts of Napoleon and Boxer to rally them they were soon driven back. A number of them were already wounded. They took refuge in the farm buildings and peeped cautiously out from chinks and knots-holes. The whole of the big pasture, including the windmill, was in the hands of the enemy. For the moment even Napoleon seemed at a loss. He paced up and down without a word, his tail rigid and twitching. Wistful glances were sent in the direction of Foxwood. If Pilkington and his men would help them, the day might yet be won. But at this moment the four pigeons who had been sent out on the day before returned, one of them bearing a scrap of paper from Pilkington. On it was pencilled the words: 'Serves you right!'

Meanwhile Frederick and his men had halted about the windmill. The animals watched them, and a murmur of dismay

went round. Two of the men had produced a crowbar and sledge hammer. They were going to knock the windmill down.

'Impossible!' cried Napoleon. 'We have built the walls far too thick for that. They could not knock it down in a week. Courage, comrades!'

But Benjamin was watching the movements of the men intently. The two with the hammer and the crowbar were drilling a hole near the base of the windmill, slowly, and with an air almost of amusement, Benjamin nodded his long muzzle.

'I thought so,' he said. 'Do you not see what they are doing? In another moment they are going to pack blasting powder into that hole.'

Terrified, the animals waited. It was impossible now to venture out of the shelter of the buildings. After a few minutes the men were seen to be running in all directions. Then there was a deafening roar. The pigeons swirled into the air, and all the animals, except Napoleon, flung themselves flat on their bellies and hid their faces. When they got up again a huge cloud of black smoke was hanging where the windmill had been. Slowly the breeze drifted it away. The windmill had ceased to exist!

At this sight the animals' courage returned to them. The fear and despair they had felt a moment earlier were drowned in their rage against this vile, contemptible act. A mighty cry for vengeance went up, and without waiting for further orders they charged forth in a body and made straight for the enemy. They did not heed the cruel pellets that swept over them like hail. It was a savage, bitter battle. The men fired again and again, and, when the animals got to close quarters, lashed out with their sticks and their heavy boots. A cow, three sheep and two geese were killed, and nearly everyone was wounded. Even Napoleon, who was directing operations from the rear, had the tip of his tail chipped by a pellet. But the men did not go unscathed either. Three of them had their heads broken by blows from Boxer's hoofs, another was gored in the belly by a cow's horn, another had his trousers nearly torn off by Jessie and Bluebell. And when the nine dogs of Napoleon's own bodyguard, whom he had instructed to make a detour under cover of the hedge, suddenly appeared on the men's flank, baying ferociously, panic overtook them. They saw that they were in danger of being surrounded. Frederick shouted to his men to get out while the going was good, and the next moment the cowardly enemy was running for dear life. The animals chased them right down to the bottom of the field, and got in some last kicks at them as they forced their way through the thorn hedge.

They had won, but they were weary and bleeding. Slowing they began to limp back towards the farm. The sight of their dead comrades stretched upon the grass moved some of them to tears. And for a little while they halted in sorrowful silence at the place where the windmill had once stood. Yes, it was gone, almost the last trace of their labour was gone! Even the foundations were partially destroyed. And in rebuilding it they could not this time, as before, make use of the fallen stones. This time the stones had vanished too. The force of the explosion had flung them to distances of hundreds of yards. It was as though the windmill had never been.

As they approached the farm Squealer, who had unaccountably been absent during the fighting, came skipping towards them, whisking his tail and beaming with satisfaction.

And the animals heard, from the direction of the farm buildings, the solemn booming of a gun.

'What is that gun firing for?' said Boxer.

'To celebrate our victory!' cried Squealer.

'What victory?' said Boxer. His knees were bleeding, he had lost a shoe and split his hoof, and a dozen pellets had lodged themselves in his hind leg.

'What victory, comrade? Have we not driven the enemy off our soil—the sacred soil of Animal Farm?'

'But they have destroyed the windmill. But they have destroyed the windmill. And we had worked on it for two years'

.....
We will build six windmills if we feel like it. You do not appreciate, comrade, the mighty thing that we have done. The enemy was in occupation of this very ground that we stand upon. And now—thanks to the leadership of Comrade Napoleon—we have won every inch of it back again!'

'Then we have won back what we had before,' said Boxer.

'That is our victory,' said Squealer.

They limped into the yard. The pellets under the skin of Boxer's legs smarted painfully. He saw ahead of him the heavy labour of rebuilding the windmill from the foundations, and already in imagination he braced himself for the tasks. But for the first time it occurred to him that he was eleven years old and that perhaps his great muscles were not quite what they had once been.

But when the animals saw the green flag flying, and heard the gunfire again—seven times it was fired in all—and heard the speech that Napoleon made, congratulating them on their conduct, it did seem to them after all that they had won a great victory. The animals slain in the battle were given a solemn funeral. Boxer and Clover pulled the wagon which served as a hearse, and Napoleon himself walked at the head of the procession. Two whole days were given over to celebrations. There were songs, speeches and more firing of the gun, and a special gift of an apple was bestowed on every animal, with two ounces of corn for each bird and three biscuits for each dog. It was announced that the battle would be called the Battle of the Windmill, and that Napoleon had created a new decoration, the Order of the Green Banner, which he had conferred upon himself. In the general rejoicings the unfortunate affair of the bank-notes was forgotten.

It was a few days later than this that the pigs came upon a case of whisky in the cellars of the farmhouse. It had been overlooked at the time when the house was first occupied. That night there came from the farmhouse the sound of loud singing, in which, to everyone's surprise, the strains of 'Beasts of England' were mixed up. At about half-past nine Napoleon, wearing an old bowler hat of Mr Jones's, was distinctly seen to emerge from the backdoor, gallop rapidly round the yard and disappear indoors again. But in the morning a deep silence hung over the farmhouse. Not a pig appeared to be stirring. It was nearly nine o'clock when Squealer made his appearance, walking slowly and dejectedly, his eyes dull, his tail hanging limply behind him, and with every appearance of being seriously ill. He called the animals together and told them that he had a

terrible piece of news to impart. Comrade Napoleon was dying!

A cry of lamentation went up. Straw was laid down outside the doors of the farmhouse, and the animals walked on tiptoe. With tears in their eyes they asked one another what they should do if their Leader were taken away from them. A rumour went round that Snowball had after all contrived to introduce poison into Napoleon's food. At eleven o'clock Squealer came out to make another announcement. As his last act upon earth, Comrade Napoleon had pronounced a solemn decree: the drinking of alcohol was to be punished by death.

By the evening, however, Napoleon appeared to be somewhat better, and the following morning Squealer was able to tell them that he was well on the way to recovery. By the evening of that day Napoleon was back at work, and on the next day it was learned that he had instructed Whymper to purchase in Willingdon some booklets on brewing and distilling. A week later Napoleon gave orders that the small paddock beyond the orchard which it had previously been intended to set aside as a grazing-ground for animals who were past work, was to be ploughed up. It was given out that the pasture was exhausted and needed re-seeding; but it soon became known that Napoleon intended to sow it with barley.

About this time there occurred a strange incident which hardly anyone was able to understand. One night at about twelve o'clock there was a loud crash in the yard, and the animals rushed out of their stalls. It was a moonlight night. At the foot of the end wall of the big barn, where the Seven Commandments were written, there lay a ladder broken in two pieces, Squealer, temporarily stunned, was sprawling beside it, and near at hand there lay a lantern, a paintbrush and an overturned pot of white paint. The dogs immediately made a ring round Squealer, and escorted him back to the farmhouse as soon as he was able to walk. None of the animals could form any idea as to what this meant, except old Benjamin, who nodded his muzzle with a knowing air, and seemed to understand, but would say nothing.

But a few days later Muriel, reading over the Seven Commandments to herself, noticed that there was yet another of them which the animals had remembered wrong. They had thought that the Fifth Commandment was 'No animal shall drink alcohol', but there were two words that they had forgotten. Actually the Commandment read: 'No animal shall drink alcohol to excess.'

CHAPTER IX

BOXER'S SPLIT HOOF was a long time in healing. They had started the rebuilding of the windmill the day after the victory celebrations were ended. Boxer refused to take even a day off work, and made it a point of honour not to let it be seen that he was in pain. In the evenings he would admit privately to Clover that the hoof troubled him a great deal. Clover treated the hoof with poultices of herbs which she prepared by chewing them, and both she and Benjamin urged Boxer to work less hard. 'A horse's lungs do not last for ever,' she said to him. But Boxer would not listen. He had, he said, only one real ambition left—to see the windmill well under way before he reached the age for retirement.

At the beginning, when the laws of Animal Farm were first formulated, the retiring age had been fixed for horses and

pigs at twelve, for cows at fourteen, for dogs at nine, for sheep at seven and for hens and geese at five. Liberal old-age pensions had been agreed upon. As yet no animal had actually retired on pension, but of late the subject had been discussed more and more. Now that the small field beyond the orchard had been set aside for barley, it was rumoured that a corner of the large pasture was to be fenced off and turned into a grazing-ground for super-annuated animals. For a horse, it was said, the pension would be five pounds of corn a day and, in winter, fifteen pounds of hay, with a carrot or possibly an apple on public holidays, Boxer's twelfth birthday was due in the late summer of the following year.

Meanwhile life was hard. The winter was as cold as the last one had been, and food was even shorter. Once again all rations were reduced except those of the pigs and the dogs. A too-rigid equality in rations, Squealer explained, would have been contrary to the principles of Animalism. In any case he had no difficulty in proving to the other animals that they were *not* in reality short of food, whatever the appearances might be. For the time being, certainly, it had been found necessary to make a 'readjustment', of rations (Squealer always spoke of it as a 'readjustment', never as a 'reduction'), but in comparison with the days of Jones the improvement was enormous. Reading out the figures in a shrill rapid voice, he proved to them in detail that they had more oats, more hay, more turnips than they had had in Jones's day, that they worked shorter hours, that their drinking water was of better quality, that they lived longer, that a larger proportion of their young ones survived infancy, and that they had their straw in their stalls and suffered less from fleas. The animals believed every word of it. Truth to tell, Jones and all he stood for had almost faded out of their memories. They knew that life nowadays was harsh and bare, that they were often hungry and often cold, and that they were usually working when they were not asleep. But doubtless it had been worse in the old days. They were glad to believe so. Besides, in those days they had been slaves and now they were free, and that made all the difference, as Squealer did not fail to point out.

There were many more mouths to feed now. In the autumn the four sows had all littered about simultaneously, producing thirty-one young pigs between them. The young pigs were piebald, and as Napoleon was the only boar on the farm it was possible to guess at their parentage. It was announced that later, when bricks and timber had been purchased, a schoolroom would be built in the farmhouse garden. For the time being the young pigs were given their instruction by Napoleon himself in the farmhouse kitchen. They took their exercise in the garden, and were discouraged from playing with the other young animals. About this time, too, it was laid down as a rule that when a pig and any other animal met on the path, the other animal must stand aside: and also that all pigs, of whatever degree, were to have the privilege of wearing green ribbons on their tails on Sundays.

The farm had had a fairly successful year, but was still short of money. There were the bricks, sand and lime for the schoolroom to be purchased, and it would also be necessary to begin saving up again for the machinery for the windmill. Then there were lamp oil and candles for the house, sugar for

Napoleon's own table (he forbade this to the other pigs, on the ground that it made them fat), and all the usual replacements such as tools, nails, string, coal, wire, scrap-iron and dog biscuits. A stump of hay and part of the potato crop were sold off, and the contract for eggs was increased to six hundred a week, so that that year the hens barely hatched enough chicks to keep their numbers at the same level. Rations, reduced in December, were reduced again in February, and lanterns in the stalls were forbidden to save oil. But the pigs seemed comfortable enough, and in fact were putting on weight if anything. One afternoon in late February a warm, rich, appetising scent, such as the animals had never smelt before, wafted itself across the yard from the little brew-house, which had been disused in Jones's time, and which stood beyond the kitchen. Someone said it was the smell of cooking barley. The animals sniffed the air hungrily and wondered whether a warm mash was being prepared for their supper. But no warm mash appeared, and on the following Sunday it was announced that from now onwards all barely would be reserved for the pigs. The field beyond the orchard had already been sown with barley, and the news soon leaked out that every pig was now receiving a ration of a pint of beer daily, with half a gallon for Napoleon himself, which was always served to him in the Crown Derby soup tureen.

But if there were hardships to be borne, they were partly offset by the fact that life nowadays had a greater dignity than it had had before. There were more songs, more speeches, more processions. Napoleon had commanded that once a week there should be held something called a Spontaneous Demonstration, the object of which was to celebrate the struggles and triumphs of animal Farm. At the appointed time the animals would leave their work and march round the precincts of the farm in military formation, with the pigs leading, then the horses, then the cows, then the sheep and then the poultry. The dogs flanked the procession and at the head of all marched Napoleon's black cockerel. Boxer and Clover always carried between them a green banner marked with the hoof and the horn and the caption, 'Long live Comrade Napoleon!' Afterwards there were recitations of poems composed in Napoleon's honour, and a speech by Squealer giving particulars of the latest increases in the production of foodstuffs, and on occasion a shot was fired from the gun. The sheep were the greatest devotees of the Spontaneous Demonstrations, and if anyone complained (as a few animals sometimes did, when no pigs or dogs were near) that they wasted time and meant a lot of standing about in the cold, the sheep were sure to silence him with a tremendous bleating of 'Four legs good, two legs bad!' But by and large the animals enjoyed these celebrations. They found it comforting to be reminded that, after all, they were truly their own masters and that the work they did was for their own benefit. So that what with the songs, the processions, Squealer's lists of figures, the thunder of the gun, the crowing of the cockerel and the fluttering of the flag, they were able to forget that their bellies were empty, at least part of the time.

In April Animal Farm was proclaimed a Republic, and it became necessary to elect a President. There was only one candidate, Napoleon, who was elected unanimously. On the same day it was given out that fresh documents had been discovered which revealed further details about Snowball's complicity with

Jones. It now appeared that Snowball had not, as the animals had previously imagined, merely attempted to lose the Battle of the Cowshed by means of stratagem, but had been openly fighting on Jones's side. In fact it was he who had actually been the leader of the human forces, and had charged into battle with the words 'Long live Humanity!' on his lips. The wounds on Snowball's back, which a few of the animals still remembered to have seen, had been inflicted by Napoleon's teeth.

In the middle of the summer Moses the raven suddenly reappeared on the farm, after an absence of several years. He was quite unchanged, still did no work, and talked in the same strain as ever about Sugarcandy Mountain. He would perch on a stump, flap his black wings, and talk by the hour to anyone who would listen. 'Up there, comrades,' he would say solemnly, pointing to the sky with his large beak— 'up there, just on the other side of that dark cloud that you can see— there it lies, Sugarcandy Mountain, that happy country where we poor animals shall rest for ever from our labours!' He even claimed to have been there on one of his higher flights, and to have seen the everlasting fields of clover and the linseed cake and lump sugar growing on the hedges. Many of the animals believed him. Their lives now, they reasoned, were hungry and laborious; was it not right and just that a better world should exist somewhere else? A thing that was difficult to determine was the attitude of the pigs towards Moses. They all declared contemptuously that his stories about Sugarcandy Mountain were lies, and yet they allowed him to remain on the farm, not working, with an allowance of a gill of beer a day.

After his hoof had healed up Boxer worked harder than ever. Indeed all the animals worked like slaves that year. Apart from the regular work of the farm, and the rebuilding of the windmill, there was the shoolhouse for the young pigs, which was started in March. Sometimes the long hours on insufficient food were hard to bear, but Boxer never faltered. In nothing that he said or did was there any sign that his strength was not what it had been. It was only his appearance that was a little altered; his hide was less shiny than it had used to be, and his great haunches seemed to have shrunken. The others said, 'Boxer will pick up when the spring grass comes on'; but the spring grass came and Boxer grew no fatter. Sometimes on the slope leading to the top of the quarry, when he braced his muscles against the weight of some vast boulder, it seemed that nothing kept him on his feet except the will to continue. At such times his lips were seen to form the words 'I will work harder'; he had no voice left. Once again Clover and Benjamin warned him to take care of his health, but Boxer paid no attention. His twelfth birthday was approaching. He did not care what happened so long as a good store of stone was accumulated before he went on pension.

Late one evening, in the summer, a sudden rumour ran round the farm that something had happened to Boxer. He had gone out alone to drag a load of stone down to the windmill. And sure enough, the rumour was true. A few minutes later two pigeons came racing in with the news: 'Boxer has fallen! He is lying on his side and can't get up!'

About half the animals on the farm rushed out to the knoll where the windmill stood. There lay Boxer, between the shafts of the cart, his neck stretched out, unable even to raise his

head. His eyes were glazed, his sides matted with sweat. A thin stream of blood had trickled out of his mouth. Clover dropped to her knees at his side.

'Boxer!' she cried, 'how are you?'

'It is my lung,' said Boxer in a weak voice. 'It does not matter. I think you will be able to finish the windmill without me. There is a pretty good store of stone accumulated. I had only another month to go in any case. To tell you the truth I had been looking forward to my retirement. And perhaps, as Benjamin is growing old too, they will let him retire at the same time and be a companion to me.'

'We must get help at once,' said Clover. 'Run, somebody, and tell Squealer what has happened.'

All the other animals immediately raced back to the farmhouse to give Squealer the news. Only Clover remained, and Benjamin, who lay down at Boxer's side, and, without speaking, kept the flies off him with his long tail. After about a quarter of an hour Squealer appeared, full of sympathy and concern. He said that Comrade Napoleon had learned with the very deepest distress of this misfortune to one of the most loyal workers on the farm, and was already making arrangements to send Boxer to be treated in the hospital at Willingdon. The animals felt a little uneasy at this. Except for Mollie and Snowball no other animal had ever left the farm, and they did not like to think of their sick comrade in the hands of human beings. However, Squealer easily convinced them that the veterinary surgeon in Willingdon could treat Boxer's case more satisfactorily than could be done on the farm. And about half an hour later, when Boxer had somewhat recovered, he was with difficulty got onto his feet, and managed to limp back to his stall, where Clover and Benjamin had prepared a good bed of straw for him.

For the next two days Boxer remained in his stall. The pigs had sent out a large bottle of pink medicine which they had found in the medicine chest in the bathroom, and Clover administered it to Boxer twice a day after meals. In the evenings she lay in his stall and talked to him, while Benjamin kept the flies off him. Boxer professed not to be sorry for what had happened. If he made a good recovery he might expect to live another three years, and he looked forward to the peaceful days that he would spend in the corner of the big pasture. It would be the first time that he had had leisure to study and improve his mind. He intended, he said, to devote the rest of his life to learning the remaining twenty-two letters of the alphabet.

However, Benjamin and Clover could only be with Boxer after working hours, and it was in the middle of the day when the van came to take him away. The animals were all at work weeding turnips under the supervision of a pig, when they were astonished to see Benjamin come galloping from the direction of the farm buildings, braying at the top of his voice. It was the first time that they had ever seen Benjamin excited—indeed, it was the first time that anyone had ever seen him gallop. 'Quick, quick!' he shouted. 'Come at once!' They're taking Boxer away! Without waiting for orders from the pig, the animals broke off work and raced back to the farm buildings. Sure enough, there in the yard was a large closed van, drawn by two horses, with lettering on its side and a sly-looking man in a low-crowned bowler hat sitting on the driver's seat. And Boxer's stall was

empty.

The animals crowded round the van. 'Good-bye, Boxer!' they chorused, 'good-bye!'

'Fools! Fools!' shouted Benjamin, prancing round them and stamping the earth with his small hoofs. 'Fools! Do you not see what is written on the side of that van?'

That gave the animals pause, and there was a hush. Muriel began to spell out the words. But Benjamin pushed her aside and in the midst of a deadly silence he read:

"Alfred Simmonds, Horse Slaughterer and Glue boiler, Willingdon. Dealer in Hides and Bone-Meal. Kennels Supplied." "Do you not understand what that means? They are taking Boxer to the knacker's!"

A cry of horror burst from all the animals. At this moment the man on the box whipped up his horses and the van moved out of the yard at a smart trot. All the animals followed, crying out at the tops of their voices. Clover forced her way to the front. The van began to gather speed. Clover tried to stir her stout limbs to a gallop, and achieved a canter. 'Boxer! She cried Boxer! Boxer! Boxer!' And just at this moment, as though he had heard the uproar outside, Boxer's face, with the white stripe down his nose, appeared at the small window at the back of the van.

'Boxer!' cried Clover in a terrible voice. 'Boxer! Get out! Get out quickly! They are taking you to your death!'

All the animals took up the cry of Get out, Boxer, get out!' But the van was already gathering speed and drawing away from them. It was uncertain whether Boxer had understood what Clover had said. But a moment later his face disappeared from the window and there was the sound of a tremendous drumming of hoofs inside of the van. He was trying to kick his way out. The time had been when a few kicks from Boxer's hoofs would have smashed the van to matchwood. But alas! his strength had left him; and in a few moments the sound of drumming hoofs grew fainter and died away. In desperation the animals began appealing to the two horses which drew the van to stop. 'Comrades, comrades!' they shouted. 'Don't take your own brother to his death!' But the stupid brutes, too ignorant to realise what was happening, merely set back their ears and quickened their pace. Boxer's face did not reappear at the window. Too late, someone thought of racing ahead and shutting the five-barred gate; but in another moment the van was through it and rapidly disappearing down the road. Boxer was never seen again.

Three days later it was announced that he had died in the hospital at Willingdon, in spite of receiving every attention a horse could have. Squealer came to announce the news to the others. He had, he said, been present during Boxer's last hours.

'It was the most affecting sight I have ever seen!' said Squealer, lifting his trotter and wiping away a tear. 'I was at his bedside at the very last. And at the end, almost too weak to speak, he whispered in my ear that his sole sorrow was to have passed on before the windmill was finished. "Forward, comrades!" he whispered. "Forward in the name of the Rebellion. Long live Animal Farm! Long live Comrade Napoleon! Napoleon is always right." Those were his very last words, comrades.'

Here Squealer's demeanour suddenly changed. He fell silent for a moment, and his little eyes darted suspicious glances

from side to side before he proceeded.

It had come to his knowledge, he said, that a foolish and wicked rumour had been circulated at the time of Boxer's removal. Some of the animals had noticed that the van which took Boxer away was marked 'Horse Slaughterer,' and had actually jumped to the conclusion that Boxer was being sent to the knacker's. It was almost unbelievable, said Squealer, that any animal could be so stupid. Surely, he cried indignantly, whisking his tail and skipping from side to side, surely they knew their beloved Leader, Comrade Napoleon, better than that? But the explanation was really very simple. The van had previously been the property of the knacker, and had been bought by the veterinary surgeon, who had not yet painted the old name out. That was how the mistake had arisen.

The animals were enormously relieved to hear this. And when Squealer went on to give further graphic details of Boxer's death-bed, the admirable care he had received and the expensive medicines for which Napoleon had paid without a thought as to the cost, their last doubts disappeared and the sorrow that they felt for their comrade's death was tempered by the thought that at least he had died happy.

Napoleon himself appeared at the meeting on the following Sunday morning and pronounced a short oration in Boxer's honour. It had not been possible, he said, to bring back their lamented comrade's remains for interment on the farm, but he had ordered a large wreath to be made from the laurels in the farmhouse garden and sent down to be placed on Boxer's grave. And in a few days' time the pigs intended to hold a memorial banquet in Boxer's honour. Napoleon ended his speech with a reminder of Boxer's two favourite maxims, 'I will work harder' and 'Comrade Napoleon is always right'—maxims, he said, which every animal would do well to adopt as his own.

On the day appointed for the banquet a grocer's van drove up from Willingdon and delivered a large wooden crate at the farmhouse. That night there was the sound of uproarious singing, which was followed by what sounded like a violent quarrel and ended at about eleven o'clock with a tremendous crash of glass. No one stirred in the farmhouse before noon on the following day. And the word went round that from somewhere or other the pigs had acquired the money to buy themselves another case of whisky.

CHAPTER X

YEARS PASSED. The seasons came and went, the short animals lives fled by. A time came when there was no one who remembered the old days before the Rebellion, except Clover, Benjamin, Moses the raven, and number of the pigs.

Muriel was dead, Bluebell, Jessie and Pincher were dead. Jones too was dead—he had died in an inebriates' home in another part of the country. Snowball was forgotten. Boxer was forgotten, except by the few who had known him. Clover was an old stout mare now, stiff in the joints and with a tendency to rheumy eyes. She was two years past the retiring age, but in fact no animal had ever actually retired. The talk of setting aside a corner of the pasture for superannuated animals had long since been dropped. Napoleon was now a mature boar of twenty-four stone. Squealer was so fat that he could with difficulty see out of

his eyes. Only old Benjamin was much the same as ever, except for being a little greyer about the muzzle, and, since Boxer's death, more morose and taciturn than ever.

There were many more creatures on the farm now, though the increase was not so great as had been expected in earlier years. Many animals had been born to whom the Rebellion was only a dim tradition, passed on by word of mouth, and others had been bought who had never heard mention of such a thing before their arrival. The farm possessed three horses now besides Clover. They were fine upstanding beasts, willing workers and good comrades, but very stupid. None of them proved able to learn the alphabet beyond the letter B. They accepted everything that they were told about the Rebellion and the principles of animalism, especially from Clover, for whom they had an almost filial respect; but it was doubtful whether they understood very much of it.

The farm was more prosperous now, and better organised; it had even been enlarged by two fields which had been bought from Mr Pilkington. The windmill had been successfully completed at last, and the farm possessed a threshing machine and a hay elevator of its own, and various new buildings had been added to it. Whymper had bought himself a dogcart. The windmill, however, had not after all been used for generating electrical power. It was used for milling corn, and brought in a handsome money profit. The animals were hard at work building yet another windmill: when that one was finished, so it was said, the dynamos would be installed. But the luxurie of which Snowball had once taught the animals to dream, the stalls with electric light and hot and cold water, and the three-day week, were no longer talked about. Napoleon had denounced such ideas as contrary to the spirit of animalism. The truest happiness, he said, lay in working hard and living frugally.

Somehow it seemed as though the farm had grown richer without making the animals themselves any richer—except, of course, for the pigs and the dogs. Perhaps this was partly because there were so many pigs and so many dogs. It was not that these creatures did not work, after their fashion. There was, as Squealer was never tired of explaining, endless work in the supervision and organisation of the farm. Much of this work was of a kind that the other animals were too ignorant to understand. For example, Squealer told them that the pigs had to expend enormous labours every day upon mysterious things called 'files', 'reports', 'minutes' and 'memoranda'. These were large sheets of paper which had to be closely covered with writing, and as soon as they were so covered they were burnt in the furnace. This was of the highest importance for the welfare of the farm, Squealer said. But still, neither pigs nor dogs produced any food by their own labour, and there were very many of them, and their appetites were always good.

As for the others, their life, so far as they knew, was as it had always been. They were generally hungry, they slept on straw, they drank from the pool, they laboured in the fields; in winter they were troubled by the cold, and in summer by the flies. Sometimes the older ones among them racked their dim memories and tried to determine whether in the early days of the Rebellion, when Jones's expulsion was still recent, things had been better or worse than now. They could not remember. There was nothing with which they could compare their present

lives: they had nothing to go upon except Squealer's lists of figures, which invariably demonstrated that everything was getting better and better. The animals found the problem insoluble; in any case they had little time for speculating on such things now. Only old Benjamin professed to remember every detail of his long life and to know that things never had been, nor ever could be, much better or much worse—hunger, hardship and disappointment being, so he said, the unalterable law of life.

And yet the animals never gave up hope. More, they never lost, even for an instant, their sense of honour and privilege in being members of Animal Farm. They were still the only farm in the whole country—in all England!—owned and operated by animals. Not one of them, not even the youngest, not even the newcomers who had been brought from farms ten or twenty miles away, ever ceased to marvel at that. And when they heard the gun booming and saw the green flag fluttering at the masthead, their hearts swelled with imperishable pride, and the talk turned always towards the old heroic days, the expulsion of Jones, the writing of the Seven Commandments, the great battles in which the human invaders had been defeated. None of the old dreams had been abandoned. The Republic of the Animals which Major had foretold, when the green fields of England should be untrod by human feet, was still believed in. Some day it was coming: it might not be soon, it might not be within the lifetime of any animal now living, but still it was coming. Even the tune of 'Beasts of England' was perhaps hummed secretly here and there: at any rate it was a fact that every animal on the farm knew it, though no one would have dared to sing it aloud. It might be that their lives were hard and that not all of their hopes had been fulfilled; but they were conscious that they were not as other animals. If they went hungry, it was not from feeding tyrannical human beings; if they worked hard, atleast they worked for themselves. No creature among them went upon two legs. No creature called any other creature 'Master'. All animals were equal.

One day in early summer Squealer ordered the sheep to follow him and led them out to a piece of waste ground at the other end of the farm, which had become overgrown with birch saplings. The sheep spent the whole day there browsing at the leaves under Squealer's supervision. In the evening he returned to the farmhouse himself, but, as it was warm whether, told the sheep to stay where they were. It ended by their remaining there for a whole week, during which time the other animals saw nothing of them. Squealer was with them for the greater part of every day. He was, he said, teaching them to sing a new song, for which privacy was needed.

It was just after the sheep had returned, on a pleasant evening when the animals had finished work and were making their way back to the farm buildings, that the terrified neighing of a horse sounded from the yard. Startled, the animals stopped in their tracks. It was Clover's voice. She neighed again, and all the animals broke into a gallop and rushed into the yard. Then they saw what Clover had seen.

It was a pig walking on his hind legs.

Yes, it was Squealer. A little awkwardly, as though not quite used to supporting his considerable bulk in that position, but with perfect balance, he was strolling across the yard. And a

moment later, out from the door of the farmhouse came a long file of pigs, all walking on their hind legs. Some did it better than others, one or two were even a trifle unsteady and looked as though they would have liked the support of a stick, but every one of them made his way right round the yard successfully. And finally there was a tremendous baying of dogs and a shrill crowing from the black cockerel, and out came Napoleon himself, majestically upright, casting haughty glances from side to side, and with his dogs gambolling round him.

He carried a whip in his trotter.

There was a deadly silence. Amazed, terrified, huddling together, the animals watched the long line of pigs march slowly round the yard. It was as though the world had turned upside-down. Then there came a moment when the first shock had worn off and when in spite of everything—in spite of their terror of the dogs, and of the habit, developed through long years, of never complaining, never criticising, no matter what happened—they might have uttered some word of protest. But just as that moment, as though at a signal, all the sheep burst out into a tremendous bleating of—

'Four legs good, two legs *better* ! Four legs good, two legs *better*! four legs good, two legs *better*!'

It went on for five minutes without stopping. And by the time the sheep had quieted down the chance to utter any protest had passed, for the pigs had marched back into the farmhouse.

Benjamin felt a nose nuzzling at his shoulder. He looked round. It was Clover. Her old eyes looked dimmer than ever. Without saying anything she tugged gently at his mane and led him round to the end of the big barn, where the Seven Commandments were written. For a minute or two they stood gazing at the tarred wall with its white lettering.

'My sight is failing,' she said finally. 'Even when I was young I could not have read what was written there. But it appears to me that that wall looks different. Are the Seven Commandments the same as they used to be, Benjamin?'

For once Benjamin consented to break his rule, and he read out to her what was written on the wall. There was nothing there now except a single Commandment. It ran:

ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL
BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL
THAN OTHERS.

After that it did not seem strange when next day the pigs who were supervising the work of the farm all carried whips in their trotters. It did not seem strange to learn that the pigs had bought themselves a wireless set, were arranging to install a telephone, and had taken out subscriptions to *John Bull*, *Tit-Bits* and the *Daily Mirror*. It did not seem strange when Napoleon was seen strolling in the farm house garden with a pipe in his mouth—no, not even when the pigs took Mr Jones's clothes out of the wardrobes and put them on, Napoleon himself appearing in a black coat, ratcatcher breeches and leather leggings, while his favourite sow appeared in the watered silk dress which Mrs Jones had been used to wear on Sundays.

A week later, in the afternoon, a number of dogcarts drove up to the farm. A deputation of neighbouring farmers had been invited to make a tour of inspection. They were shown all over the farm, and expressed great admiration for everything they saw, especially the windmill. The animals were weeding

the turnip field. They worked diligently, hardly raising their faces from the ground, and not knowing whether to be more frightened of the pigs or of the human visitors.

That evening loud laughter and bursts of singing came from the farmhouse. And suddenly, at the sound of the mingled voices, the animals were stricken with curiosity. What could be happening in there, now that for the first time animals and human beings were meeting on terms of equality? With one accord they began to creep as quietly as possible into the farmhouse garden.

At the gate they paused, half frightened to go on, but Clover led the way in. They tiptoed up to the house, and such animals as were tall enough peered in at the dining room window. There, round the long table, sat half a dozen farmers and half a dozen of the more eminent pigs. Napoleon himself occupying the seat of honour at the head of the table. The pigs appeared completely at ease in their chairs. The company had been enjoying a game of cards, but had broken off for the moment, evidently in order to drink a toast. A large jug was circulating, and the mugs were being refilled with beer. No one noticed the wondering faces of the animals that gazed in at the window.

Mr Pilkington, of Foxwood, had stood up, his mug in his hand. In a moment, he said, he would ask the present company to drink a toast. But before doing so there were a few words that he felt it incumbent upon him to say.

It was a source of great satisfaction to him, he said—and, he was sure, to all others present—to feel that a long period of mistrust and misunderstanding had now come to an end. There had been a time—not that he, or any of the present company, had shared such sentiments—but there had been a time when the respected proprietors of Animal Farm had been regarded, he would not say with hostility, but perhaps with a certain measure of misgiving, by their human neighbours. Unfortunate incidents had occurred, mistaken ideas had been current. It had been felt that the existence of a farm owned and operated by pigs was somehow abnormal and was liable to have an unsettling effect in the neighbourhood. Too many farmers had assumed, without due enquiry, that on such a farm a spirit of licence and indiscipline would prevail. They had been nervous about the effects upon their own animals, or even upon their human employees. But all such doubts were now dispelled. Today he and his friends had visited Animal Farm and inspected every inch of it with their own eyes, and what did they find? Not only the most up-to-date methods, but a discipline and an orderliness which should be an example to all farmers everywhere. He believed that he was right in saying that the lower animals on Animal Farm did more work and received less food than any animals in the country. Indeed he and his fellow-visitors today had observed many features which they intended to introduce on their own farms immediately.

He would end his remarks, he said, by emphasising once again the friendly feelings that subsisted, and ought to subsist, between Animal Farm and its neighbours. Between pigs and human beings there was not and there need not be any clash of interests whatever. Their struggles and their difficulties were one. Was not the labour problem the same everywhere? Here it became apparent that Mr. Pilkington was about to spring some carefully-prepared witticism on the company, but for a moment

he was too overcome by amusement to be able to utter it. After much choking, during which his various chins turned purple, he managed to get it out: 'If you have your lower animals to contend with,' he said, 'we have our lower classes!' This *bon mot* set the table in a roar, and Mr Pilkington once again congratulated the pigs on the low rations, the long working-hours and the general absence of pampering which he had observed on Animal Farm.

And now, he said finally, he would ask the company to rise to their feet and make certain that their glasses were full. 'Gentlemen,' concluded Mr Pilkington, 'gentlemen, I give you a toast: To the prosperity of Animal Farm!'

There was enthusiastic cheering and stamping of feet. Napoleon was so gratified that he left his place and came round the table to clink his mug against Mr Pilkington's before emptying it. When the cheering had died down, Napoleon, who had remained on his feet, intimated that he too had a few words to say.

Like all Napoleon's speeches, it was short and to the point. He too, he said, was happy that the period of misunderstanding was at an end. For a long time there had been rumours—circulated, he had reason to think, by some malignant enemy—that there was something subversive and even revolutionary in the outlook of himself and his colleagues. They had been credited with attempting to stir up rebellion among the animals on neighbouring farms. Nothing could be further from the truth! Their sole wish, now and in the past, was to live at peace and in normal business relations with their neighbours. This farm which he had the honour to control, he added, was a co-operative enterprise. The title -deeds, which were in his own possession, were owned by the pigs jointly.

He did not believe, he said, that any of the old suspicions still lingered, but certain changes had been made recently in the routine of the farm which should have the effect of promoting confidence still further. Hitherto the animals on the farm had had a rather foolish custom of addressing one another as 'Comrade'. This was to be suppressed. There had also been a very strange custom, whose origin was unknown, of marching every Sunday morning past a boar's skull which was nailed to a post in the garden. This too would be suppressed, and the skull

had already been buried. His visitors might have observed, too, the green flag which flew from the masthead. If so, they would perhaps have noted that the white hoof and horn with which it had previously been marked had now been removed. It would be a plain green flag from now onwards.

He had only one criticism, he said, to make of Mr Pilkington's excellent and neighbourly speech. Mr Pilkington had referred throughout to 'Animal Farm'. He could not of course know—for he, Napoleon, was only now for the first time announcing it—that the name 'Animal Farm' had been abolished. Henceforward the farm was to be known as 'The Manor Farm'—which, he believed, was its correct and original name.

'Gentlemen,' concluded Napoleon, 'I will give you the same toast as before, but in a different form. Fill your glasses to the brim. Gentlemen, here is my toast: to the prosperity of The Manor Farm!'

There was the same hearty cheering as before, and the mugs were emptied to the dregs. But as the animals outside gazed at the scene, it seemed to them that some strange thing was happening. What was it that had altered in the faces of the pigs? Clover's old dim eyes flitted from one face to another. Some of them had five chins, some had four, some had three. But what was it that seemed to be melting and changing? Then, the applause having come to an end, the company took up their cards and continued the game that had been interrupted, and the animals crept silently away.

But they had not gone twenty yards when they stopped short. An uproar of voices was coming from the farmhouse. They rushed back and looked through the window again. Yes, a violent quarrel was in progress. There were shoutings, bangings on the table, sharp suspicious glances, furious denials. The source of the trouble appeared to be that Napoleon and Mr Pilkington had each played an ace of spades simultaneously.

Twelve voices were shouting in anger, and they were all alike. No question, now, what had happened to the faces of the pigs. The creatures outside looked from pig to man, and from man to pig and from pig to man again: but already it was impossible to say which was which. ■

(CONCLUDED)

(contd. from p.54) **STORY OF THE INA - 4**

armistice if she had to sue for peace through Russia? Thus, the whole question of Netaji contacting the Russians with view to enlisting their aid bristled with many difficulties. But Netaji was a born optimist. He was bent on pressing the Japanese hard to put him in touch with the Russians. He was prepared for a rebuff from the Russians. He was prepared even to be immobilised after reaching Russian territory. so, it was finally decided that Netaji must keep up the effort to reach Russia anyhow.

In the middle of June 1945 came news from India that the British viceroy, Lord Wavell, had made an offer to the Congress high command to take some more Indians on his

executive council in return for India's active cooperation in the British war effort. Netaji immediately flew to Singapore and broadcast to India for a month, appealing to Gandhiji and other top-ranking Congress leaders not to arrive at a compromise with Wavell, but to keep India's independence as an international problem and not a domestic issue of the British empire. He pleaded with the Congress high command to wait for the British Labour Party to come into power in the impending general election, in the hope of getting a much better deal than from Churchill. The Wavell conference in Simla failed and Netaji heaved a sigh of relief. ■

(To be contd.)

ECONOMIC REALITIES

	INDIA	PAKISTAN
1. Area	3,288,368 km ^{2*}	796,095 km ^{2**}
India is about 4 times Pakistan in extent.		
2. Population-1997	961 million	137 million
Indian Pop. is about 7 times that of Pakistan .		
3. National GDP-PPP-1997	\$1,587 billion	\$218 billion
Indian GDP-PPP-1997 is about 7.28 times that of Pakistan.		
4. Per Capita-GDP-PPP-1997	\$1,670	\$1,560
Indian Per Capita GDP-PPP-1997 was about 7% more than of Pakistan. Pakistan's GDP-PPP-1997 declined by 30% in just two years from \$2209 in 1995 to \$1560 in 1997.		
5. National GDP-PPP-1997 as % of World	4.29%	0.59%
6. Imports CIF 1997	\$59,230 million	\$12,955 million
7. Exports FOB 1997	\$44,107 million	\$10,004 million
8. Trade Deficit	-\$15,123 million	-\$2,946 million
9. Trade Deficit as % of GDP 1997	4%	5%
10. External Debt 1997	\$94,404 million	\$29,664 million
11. External Debt as % of GNP 1997 at OER	25.24%	44.14%
12. Debt Servicing 1997 as % of Exports	19.5%	35.2%

Notes: *: Including Jammu and Kashmir State of 240,300 km², of which Pakistan has illegally grabbed 32.5% and China has seized 17.8%, with 7.5% lost in thin air, and India is in lawful possession of just about 42%.

** : Excluding 78,114km² illegally grabbed from India, mainly in 1947-48.

Sources: Line 1: India, A Reference Annual, 1953, GOI, p.1 for India and Encyclopedia Britannica, 1983 edn., Macropedia, vol.13, p.892 for Pakistan.

Lines 2-3: World Development Report, by World Bank, 1998-99, Table 1, p.190-1.

Line 4: Human Development Report, by UNDP, 1999, Table 1, p.134-7.

Line 5: World Development Report, 1998-99 as cited.

Lines 6-9: Human Development Report, 1999, p.47.

Lines 10-12: Human Development Report, 1999 by UNDP, pp.193-7. (OER : Official Exchange Rate)

MILITARY CONFRONTATION

	INDIA	PAKISTAN
Strength	980,000	520,000
Reserves (All forces)	800,000	513,000
Para Military Forces	19,47,300	144,000
Organisation	5 Field armies, 11 corps 3 Armoured divisions 4 Rapid divisions 18 Infantry divisions 9 Mountain divisions 1 Artillery division 5 IA brigades 9 Infantry/ Mountain brigades 3 Independant Artillery brigades 18 Air Defence brigades	9 Corps Hq 2 Armoured divisions - 19 Infantry divisions - 1 Artillery division 7 IA brigades 6 IMI brigades, 9 II brigades 9 Artillery brigades 1 Air Defence Command with 3 Air Defence Groups and 8 Air Defence brigades 18 Hatf 1,2 7 Engineering brigades 3 Armed Recce Regiments 17 Army Aviation Squadrons
Equipment	3314 Main Battle Tanks 1707 Recce APCs 4175 Towed Artillery 180 Self-Propelled Artillery 150+ MRLs 2400 Air Defence Guns 1800 Surface-to-Air Missiles	2120 Main Battle Tanks 850 APCs 1590 Towed Artillery 240 Self-Propelled Artillery 770 MRLs 2000 Air Defence Guns 850 Surface-to-Air Missiles
Army aviation	199 Helicopters	85 Survey/Liaison aircraft 90 Observation Helos 20 Attack Helicopters 114 Transport Helicopters

IA- Independant Armoured, IMI - Independant Mechanised Infantry, II- Independant Infantry, SSM- Surface-to-Surface Missile.

APCs- Armoured Personnel Carriers, MRLs- Multiple Rocket Launchers.

Source: Outlook, June 14, 1999.