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MANKIND

FDR. EDR. RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

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5 TH YEAR OF REVIVAL

MANKIND

Founder Editor : Rammanohar Lohia
Vol. 5, No.1, October, 1999

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MANKIND'S CREDO:1999

Exe. Edr.

I - PRELIMINARY

We published our credo in the revived *Mankind's* first issue of Oct. '95, pp. 3-12.

We supplemented this statement of Aims and Objects with a background note on Colonial History, and an Outline of the Tripolar World that has emerged after 1975, in the following issues of Nov. and Dec. 1995, pp. 3-11 in both issues.

We updated, amended and enlarged our credo and published it in Oct. 1996 and Oct. 1997, pp. 3-25 and 9-31 + 38-47 respectively.

We are now summing up our *Weltanschauung* at the commencement of our fifth year of publication i. e., in Oct. 1999.

II - TRIPLE FOCUS :

1. NATIONALISM

Mankind's Credo may be summarised as briefly as possible in the following words:

It is not possible in the current context to build a JUST Society nor is it possible to make technological and industrial advance, without stopping the Drain of Wealth from the Third World to the First.

Since, to begin with, revolutions must take place in successive national arenas, nationalist movements in every part of the Third World must receive mutual support from the peoples of the Third World and from the working class

movements of the industrially advanced countries of the First World organised in overlapping circles of G7/8, OECD, NATO, EU, and from the aspirants from the Transitional Economies of the former Communist Bloc, which are being increasingly accommodated in the Western World.

It is not possible to conceive of liberation of the exploited and oppressed masses of the First World i. e., of the workers of the industrialised countries **without blocking the Drain of Wealth from the South to the North**, from the Developing Countries to Euro-America, and its affiliates, like the Transitional Economies, and Turkey, Japan, South Korea and the White Racialist Commonwealth Members (Canada, S. Africa, Australia and New Zealand). The proletariat in Euro-America and in the OECD countries **WILL BE LIBERATED ONLY AFTER THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE THIRD WORLD ! AS LONG AS SUPER PROFITS CAN BE EXTRACTED FROM THE THIRD WORLD, IT WILL ALWAYS BE POSSIBLE TO BRIBE THE WORKERS OF THE INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES WITH HIGHER WAGES, SOCIAL WELFARE BENEFITS, AND THE LURE OF AN EFFECTIVE "SAFETY NET" !**

It is in the interest of the working masses of the Developed and

Industrialised countries to vigorously champion the national liberation movements of the Third World in order to weaken the hold of their own ruling classes upon the lives and liberties of the oppressed and the exploited everywhere in the world.

The world today is IN TRANSITION. Wars between nations have reached the problematic point when the total annihilation of humanity looms large over the globe. **BUT WITHOUT THE LIBERATION OF THE THIRD WORLD, WITHOUT THE DESTRUCTION OF STOCKPILES OF WEAPONS OF DESTRUCTION, WITHOUT UNIVERSAL DISARMAMENT, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE ON VISUALISE PERMANENT AND LASTING PEACE.**

We stand for a Federation of Socialist States of the World, and a banishment of all wars, limited or thermo-nuclear and for a World Government. **BUT THE PATH TO THIS OBJECTIVE IS DIALECTICAL.**

WE MUST LIBERATE ALL THE MAJOR COUNTRIES OF THE THIRD WORLD !

WE MUST SMASH THE ABILITY OF THE RULING CLASSES OF THE INDUSTRIALISED COUNTRIES TO BRIBE THEIR NATIONAL SEGMENTS OF THE WORKING CLASSES AND THE POOR, TO BRIBE THEM AND BUY INTERNAL SOCIAL PEACE.

THE WORLD HAS BEEN PLACED IN A PERMANENT STATE OF SMALL AND BIG WARS AND THEREFORE THE LENINIST PRINCIPLE OF REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM MUST COVER PEACE-TIME OPERATIONS OF THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY.

THE WORKING CLASSES OF THE WEST MUST UNITE WITH THE LIBERATION FIGHTERS OF THE THIRD WORLD TO OVERTHROW THE WORLD BOURGEOIS ORDER !

JUST AS CUBA ASSISTED AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, SIMILARLY THE

TRADE UNION, LEFTIST AND SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS OF EURO - AMERICAS AND JAPAN SHOULD GO ALL OUT, IN THEIR SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF THE THIRD WORLD ! REVOLUTIONARY DEFEATISM MUST BE PRACTISED BY THEM EVEN IN APPARENT PEACE - TIME !

PEOPLES OF THE THIRD WORLD MUST HELP EACH OTHER AND LOOSEN THE STRANGLEHOLD OF THE TERRIBLE *TRIMURTI* OF WB, IMF AND WTO UPON THE ECONOMIES OF THE THIRD WORLD!

2. SOCIALISM

We have presented a modern case for Socialism. FIRST OF ALL POVERTY LEADS TO GENETIC WASTE.

Everyone is born with approximately the same number of brain cells. By **malnutrition, ill-health and lack of education, the necessary concomitants of poverty, individuals are prevented from developing their full potentialities.**

As between members of a polity, so between members of the community of nations ! Great inequalities prevail between the Rich and the poor within a nation and between the rich and the Developed nations of the world and the Poor Underdeveloped nations.

It is not possible to oppress and exploit the nations of the Third World without oppressing and exploiting the working masses of the most advanced capitalist countries of the world.

The inequalities between nations promote wars between them. The privileged and powerful are forever afraid that the poor and the deprived will overthrow the tyrannical rule of the haves and establish an international order that confers benefits, to howsoever a small degree, upon the havenots.

IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO ABOLISH WARS BETWEEN NATIONS SO LONG AS THEY REMAIN UNEQUAL !

THE THIRD PLANK IN THE MODERN CASE FOR SOCIALISM, APART FROM THE ABOVE TWO OF PREVENTION OF GENETIC WASTE AND ENSURING PERMANENT PEACE, IS PROVIDED BY THE NEED TO ELIMINATE THE CYCLICAL CRISES OF OVERPRODUCTION AND UNDER - CONSUMPTION! SO LONG AS THE ENTIRE ECONOMIC LIFE OF A COUNTRY IS NOT PLANNED IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO ELIMINATE THE CYCLICAL UPS AND DOWNS OF BOOMS AND BUSTS, OF RECESSIONS, STAGNATIONS AND DEPRESSIONS !

BUT PLANNING NECESSITATES DEMOCRATIC FUNCTIONING ! UNLESS THE PEOPLE CAN MAKE

CHOICES ABOUT PRIORITIES, IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO AVOID BUREAUCRATIC MISMANAGEMENT OF THE ECONOMY !

HOWEVER, TRUE DEMOCRACY CANNOT ARISE AND THE PRIVILEGED AND THE ELITE CANNOT AND WILL NOT SELF-DESTRUCT.

THE RULING CLASSES NATIONALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY HAVE TO BE DEFEATED IN THE BATTLE - FIELDS !

THEY WILL NOT SURRENDER OR GIVE UP ! Men make history as they live and as they extract a living from within a Mode of Production.

SOCIALISM WILL NOT FALL FROM THE SKIES ! IT WILL HAVE TO BE REALISED BY HUMAN ENDEAVOUR AND EFFORT !

HUMAN EFFORT IS ALWAYS WITHIN SPECIFIC HISTORIC CONTEXT AND WILL CARRY MAN INTO THE NEXT STAGE OF SOCIETAL EVOLUTION.

WE CAN THINK ONLY AS SOCIETAL NECESSITY UNFOLDS INHERENT POSSIBILITIES FROM WITHIN THE OBJECTIVELY GIVEN MODE OF PRODUCTION !

It is an illusion that our brains can think as they like and what they like. Actually from birth onwards the human brain has been conditioned to scan the horizon, both natural - physical and societal, which itself is made up of socio-economic and politico-cultural complexes, all four being closely intertwined and enmeshed. The bourgeois notion of "Freedom of Thought" inverts the objective reality.

We are not free to think what we like, as and when we like. All science fiction writers know that whilst the characters that they have created inhabit an imaginary environment, their overall thinking, methodology and *Weltanschauung* are entirely contemporary. For instance George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four* may ostensibly deal with a supposed future, the characters of the novel think exactly like Englishmen and women of precisely the year 1949, the year in which Orwell wrote his novel. Or take Aldous Huxley's "*Brave New World*", 1932, or Yevgeny Zamyatin's *We* (1924), which probably was the original model for all Anti-Utopian fiction of the 20th century. Whatever the pattern of futuristic projection, the works remain rooted to their years of origin.

In fact that is why we are able to read these Utopians and anti-Utopians. For we are bound to them by **iron-chains of perception and reaction.**

Thus, socialism is to be willed by human beings before it is realised. But the willing is not exactly a choice, it is a necessity.

Capitalism creates its anti-thesis. As capital accumulates at one pole, working class poverty and misery

accumulate at the other pole, especially in the Third World.

Capitalism raises selfishness and personal greed to its acme and this also causes perpetual internecine conflicts between capitalist countries.

Ultimately, the oppression and exploitation of the havenots of the Third World and the incessant warfare between capitalist states lead to an overthrow of the entire capitalist system. Since the triumphs of the bourgeois classes in Europe from the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. to 15th / 19th centuries, at the end of which Mercantile Capitalism was replaced by Industrial Capitalism, the fierce exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by imperialist powers has assumed horrendous proportions. Conflicts between capitalist powers for sharing out the loot from the Third World has also reached catastrophic levels.

Both these movements --- internecine wars amongst Capitalist countries [Napoleonic wars (1795-1813), World War I (1914-1919), World War II (1939-1945)] and innumerable other major and minor conflicts --- and National Liberation Movements of the Third World (Latin America 1815 onwards, Asia 1945 onwards and Africa 1960 onwards) against Euro-American ruling classes, have created objective conditions for the rise and triumph of the Socialist Proletarian Movements in the 21st century.

3. REVOLUTION

The emphasis on the dynamics of the historic movement and on the revolutionary will of the oppressed and exploited masses also leads to the historic necessity for the exercise of revolutionary democracy.

If the overthrow of bourgeois imperialist classes and their hangers on, is not to lead to bureaucratic degeneration and state capitalism, as it happened in Russia under Stalin and in China under Mao, the strengthening of Parliamentary democracy, Trade Union democracy and Internal Party democracy become indispensable.

Otherwise small coteries of bureaucrats and gangs of usurpers will seize State power and destroy the last vestiges of freedom, as it happened when the world revolutionary wave receded after 1924. On the crest of the counter - revolutionary movement of history which ultimately created conditions for the rise of fascist gangsters in Germany, Italy and Spain, capitalism attained its barbaric zenith. Concentration camps came into being in Germany, France, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Spain and elsewhere in the Balkans and East Europe.

At the same time, the extreme forms taken by the dictatorial regimes in Europe, enabled Stalin to carry through his State Capitalist Counter - Revolution. He too created concentration camps and forced labour camps in which four to six million Russians vanished, that is, they were exterminated.

It is possible for the world bourgeoisie to create such horrors time and again. Today genocidal massacres have come to be known by the euphemism "ethnic cleansing", and / or "fundamentalist excesses". But there are no short cuts in human history. AN OUTMODED

SYSTEM WILL NOT DISAPPEAR UNLESS ALL THE POTENTIALITIES WITHIN IT HAVE BEEN REALISED.

The capitalist system has displayed a certain resilience inherent within it and shown that it was possible to acquire a second breadth after 1975. Germany and Japan were defeated but Germany could be absorbed in the NATO alliance initially and in the EU formation a few years later. Japan could be similarly accommodated within the enlarged OECD.

However, after the second breath of capitalism starting in 1975, another quarter century has passed. It is now once again apparent that limits of its expansionary positive growth have been reached.

A TRIPOLAR WORLD HAS COME INTO BEING. The USA is still militarily dominant, but economic strength, relatively speaking, has been lost. Europe is getting both economically and politically united and is beginning to challenge the supremacy of USA.

At the third pole, in the Pacific Rim of Asia, there is neither economic nor political coalescence of strategies.

However, sooner rather than later, the economic policies of the giants of this region, Japan, South Korea, China including Hong Kong and Taiwan, and ASEAN are bound to be coordinated. India, as the leader of South Asia can accelerate the coming together of the Asian bloc. If not Russia, at least the five central Asian republics of the old USSR can be pulled into the Asian vortex by sensible and far - reaching vision.

However, capitalism is once again on its last legs and this time hopefully there will be no Stalinist degeneration and backsliding.

We must remember that, in history, giant transformations take place only when things come together. Socialism, Nationalism and Revolution, when they march together, they create innumerable linkages amongst themselves and become an inexorable force.

III - THE FIVE PRIME TARGETS OF MANKIND'S MESSAGE

MANKIND'S MESSAGE IS, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, ADDRESSED TO :

- (i) REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS;
- (ii) NATIONALIST NAXALITES;
- (iii) MILITANT AMBEDKARITES;
- (iv) RADICAL ACTIVISTS; AND
- (v) SENSITIVE INTELLECTUALS

We will now take up, one after other, our exposition of the appeal addressed to these five targeted segments.

(i) REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS

It is obvious that all those who were at one time or another and to a lesser or greater extent, influenced by socialist thought, represent a considerable section of our political intelligentsia.

We have only to think of Mulayam Singh Yadav, George Fernandes, Laloo Prasad Yadav, Ram Vilas Paswan, Sharad Yadav, Janeshwar Mishra, Chandrashekhar, J. H.

Patel, Ram Dhan, Kalpanath Rai, Bindeshwari Prasad Mandal, Madhu Dandavate and hundreds of other prominent public figures who have been associated with the socialist movement.

ALMOST ALL THESE FIGURES HAVE DEGENERATED BEYOND RECOGNITION. THEY BUILT THEIR CAREERS BY LINKING UP WITH THE OLD CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY OR ITS VARIOUS METAMORPHIC TRANSFORMATIONS. (SP, PSP, SSP, RSP and so on, exhausting almost all letters of the alphabet.)

Many of these ex-socialists had even been Lohiaites. They paid lip service to Lohia as part of their career - building exercises.

Of course, Lohia died in 1967 i.e., almost one - third of a century ago. This is a long hiatus in politics, especially the kind of electoral or reformist politics in which all those named have indulged in, for the last quarter century.

They have no vision of the Socialist Federation of the Indian Sub-Continent ! They live from day to day, their sole concern is with permutations and combinations of caste and sub-castes, linguistic and other minorities and such other eddies and whirlpools of the political stream.

They are not rationalists and do not believe in any ideological vision.

They have no clear notion even of comprador ideology. In fact, they are frightened of the very word ideology.

The only principle that they possess is the pursuit of unprincipled politics.

In fact, if by some miracle socialism were to arrive in India, they would be the last to recognise its visage.

In the meantime, they dabble in dirty politics and cover themselves with the filth of career - building in a corrupt comprador environment.

Therefore, they are DOUBLY RETARDED.

On the one hand, their lusting for power and privileges within the shortest time possible, leads them into alliances of the most contemptible sort.

On the other hand, the comprador environment forces them to play second fiddle to the neo-colonial OECD powers, who operate through the Terrible Trimurti of the WB, IMF and the WTO.

We have several living ex-Prime Ministers (V. P. Singh, Chandrashekhar, Deve Gowda, and Gujral). Each of them provides career - builders of the Left with an object lesson ! Supposing George becomes the Prime Minister of India, or supposing Mulayam or Laloo or Ram Vilas or someone of that ilk succeeds to the PM's *Gaddi*, WHAT IS THE GUARANTEE THAT THEY WILL NOT FALL BEFORE THEY DIE ?

ARE THEY PLANNING TO PASS THEIR OLD AGES IN MISERY, FRUSTRATION AND DESPAIR ?

AND WHAT ABOUT THE PEOPLE OF INDIA? WHAT HAPPENS TO THEIR HOPES AND

ASPIRATIONS ?

WHAT JUDGEMENT WILL HISTORY PASS ON THEIR STINT OF SHORT - LIVED SUPREME POWER?

MANKIND'S APPEAL IS NOT ADDRESSED TO THESE CAREERISTS AND REFORMISTS.

WE BELIEVE THAT A FEW OLD SOCIALISTS STILL SURVIVE IN THE NOOKS AND CORNERS OF INDIA WHO HAVE RETAINED THEIR OLD IDEALISM AND FERVOUR.

OUR APPEAL IS ADDRESSED TO THEM. ESPECIALLY TO THE OLD LOHIAITES AMONGST THEM.

(ii) NATIONALIST NAXALITES

The Stalinist movement in India, according to their own accounts, originates around the year 1925. But its real acquisition of a mass base and trade union strength lies in the ULTRA - LEFT PERIOD of the Communist International when the minuscule communist parties of the colonies were directed through their metropolitan imperial bosses, to divide and split the broad - based Trade Union Fronts into extremist RED FLAG factional organisations. Thus arose the *Girni Kamgar Lal Bavia* Union in Bombay led by S. A. Dange, Ghate, Ranadive, G. Adhikari and others. This became the base for the operations of the clandestine communist movement in the entire country.

Whilst ostensibly the British Imperialist imposed a ban on the communists, the foreign owners of textile mills in Bombay (Sassoon family; Forbes, Forbes Cambell; James Finlay; Jardine Henderson etc.), encouraged the *Lal Bavia* Unions in order to raise the wages of textile workers and thereby blunt their competitive edge against Manchester and Liverpool imports. It was a double - edged policy which paid rich dividends.

As Muzaffar Hussain, a member of the CPM politburo discovered, S. A. Dange became a British spy in the Left movement.

The second giant accretion of strength occurred in the 1940s, when the Stalinist communists of India joined the imperialist war effort and stood out against the August 9, 1942 Movement and other Nationalist expressions of disaffection. The Stalinists called the Second World War, People's War and soundly condemned Subhas Bose and his Indian National Army as agents of fascism. They betrayed the freedom fighters of the August Movement and the Forward Blocists of Subhas Bose to the imperialist police.

At the same time they strongly supported the Divide and Rule policy enforced by British imperialism in India. The Muslim League raised the demand for the Partition of the country in 1940-41, and the Communists joined in the demand for Partition as part of their collaborationist war - time efforts.

The Partition of India became a reality in 1947, resulting in communal massacres that took a toll of six lakh

lives and rendered 1.7 crores homeless refugees within their own country. After this magnificent record of Stalinist imperialist collaboration, in the Ultra - Left period of 1929 - 34, the People's War period of 1941-45, the Pro-Muslim League and Pro-Partition period of 1941-47 and the Zdanov Mini Ultra - Left period of 1950 - 55, it should come as no surprise that the entire Stalinist Communist Movement of India is deeply permeated with anti-nationalist sentiments and collaborationist poison.

Even after the dictates of CPGB and its leaders Harry Politt and Rajni Palme - Dutt were substituted with direct contacts, following the Bulganin-Khrushchev visit to India, from 1955-56, "subordination to foreign dictates remained sacrosanct. This subordination masquerades today as internationalism."

The CPM broke away from CPI in 1964 and the CPI-ML broke away from CPI-M five years later.

But all these factions of the Communist - Stalinist Movement are steeped in collaborationism with neo-colonial powers which is disguised as "Internationalism, Secularism and Cosmopolitanism."

Mankind's appeal is addressed to those elements of the Communist - Stalinist Movement who have been disgusted with the collaborationist historical record of the Stalinist Communists and who are searching for a way to combat the neo-colonial conspiracy of Re-conquest of India and of Drain of Wealth from the poor to the rich, from the South to the North, from the Third World to the First World.

(iii) MILITANT AMBEDKARITES

In our earlier article on *Greatness Thrust Upon Ambedkar* in *Mankind*, April 1997, we had emphasised that our criticism of Ambedkar is from the Left. We had pointed out that whilst we fully supported the *dalit* demands, we condemned the compromisist and reactionary policies followed by Ambedkar and his Scheduled - Caste Federation which made him a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council from 1939 to 1946, and a member of Nehru's Cabinet from 1947, to 1951.

(iv) RADICAL ACTIVISTS

There are hundreds and thousand of young men and women all over the country who have been fighting for social justice through various fora.

Some of them have been active in the Civil Liberties and the Human Rights Movements.

Some of them have been active in the Green Environmental Protection Movements.

Some of them have been active in the Anti-Big Dam and Anti-World Bank Movements like the Narmada Bachao Andolan.

Some of them have been active in the Feminist, Equal Rights for Women, and Gender Empowerment Movements.

Some of them have been active in the Anti-Corruption Movements.

Mankind appeals to the activists of all these varied Movements to get together and engage in an intensive internal ideological debate.

Their dissatisfaction and rage with the system needs to be generalised into an ANTI - CAPITALIST AND PRO - SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN !

FURTHERMORE, ALL THESE PARTIAL DEMANDS NEED TO BE CONCENTRATED IN ONE GIGANTIC GENERALISED TRANSITIONAL DEMAND: FOR A NEW CONSTITUTION TO BE FRAMED BY A NEW CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ELECTED FOR THE FIRST TIME BY UNIVERSAL, EQUAL, DIRECT, ADULT FRANCHISE !

THIS CENTRAL POLITICAL DEMAND OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISTS NATIONALISTS AND DEMOCRATS SHOULD BE DOVE - TAILED WITH THE DEMAND :

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY CONFEDERATION OF ALL THE SOCIALIST STATES OF THE INDIAN SUB - CONTINENT INCLUDING AFGHANISTAN, PAKISTAN, INDIA, NEPAL, BHUTAN, BANGLADESH, ARAKAN, EELAM AND MALDIVES !

The peoples of the subcontinent were divided by British imperialism right from the beginning. They were unable to conquer certain parts of historic India which then became Afghanistan, Nepal and Bhutan. Because the British defined India retrospectively, in the 19th century, as those parts of the Indian sub - continent which they had successfully subdued !

Secondly, for administrative convenience they divided the Indian sub-continent into British India (60% territory and 75% of population); Princely India (40% of territory and 25% of population), Arakan, which was merged with their Myanmar conquests; Sri Lanka, which became a crown colony; Maldives which was made part of Sri Lanka for a time and later a British Indian Ocean Territory; and Yemen or Aden which was a part of the Bombay Presidency till 1937. It will be recalled that upto 1937 the whole of Myanmar was itself a part of India as was Yemen - Aden. Still earlier Sri Lanka had been a part of Madras Presidency at the end of the 18th century.

The third reason for the division of the Indian sub-continent was the operation of the *divide et impera* policy which was meant to impair and weaken India right from its birth in 1947, thus serving long term neo-colonial interests.

This trifurcation of the Indian sub-continent into West Pakistan; Residual India, including Princely India; and East Pakistan was successful till 1971 when India partly reversed the 1947 Partition and created Bangladesh out of East Pakistan. Though the Indian army liberated East Pakistan i.e., Bangladesh in 1971 with the help of Mukti Vahini which had been formed on Indian soil in the suburbs of Calcutta, the two Bengals could not be re-united to form the United Socialist States of Bengal which could have

formed a part of a New Federation of India.

If the Indian sub-continent is re-united, initially by a Customs Union and finally by a Political Union, it would have far-reaching consequences and fatally weaken the neo-colonial hold over the Third World.

If Eelam is created and joined to Tamilnadu and steps are taken to build a Ten Degree Canal across the Isthmus of Kra, the entire geo-political situation in South Asia will be fundamentally altered. The very establishment of Eelam will promote intense economic, political and military cooperation amongst the SAARC nations which will leave the neo-colonial powers shorn of much of their magnetism.

Naturally the new Confederation of the Socialist States of the Indian Subcontinent will have to combat the Structural Adjustment Programme of the Terrible Trimurti of WB, IMF and WTO.

Growth of nationalism in the Indian subcontinent will result in a tearing down of the neo-colonial edifice erected by the OECD powers (whose core is the grouping known as G-7), and will promote a people - friendly economic structure which will block the Drain of Wealth from India. This will at the same time stop Currency Devaluations and reverse the process of ever - mounting external debts.

(v) SENSITIVE INTELLECTUALS

Apart from the foregoing four targets we must not overlook the existence of a vast mass of disaffected youth in the country.

There has been no development of the Indian economy over the last half century of comprador *naukarshahi* rule.

Two-thirds of our population of nearly one billion live below the poverty line. They enjoy no job security and no Safety Network of Welfare Services. Preventive detention and denial of elementary democratic rights remain permanent features of our constitutional set up.

The energies of our youth must be galvanised by a gigantic programme of infra-structure development through a Land Army of the Dispossessed and the Deprived.

ALL THE BENEFITS OF PSEUDO-INDEPENDENCE AND TRANSFER OF POWER TO A COMPRADOR ELITE, HAVE RESULTED IN ALL THE BENEFITS OF EVEN THE HINDU RATE OF GROWTH OF ONE OR TWO PERCENT PER ANNUM, GOING TO THE MINUSCULE RULING ELITE OF THE COUNTRY.

WE MUST GROW AT THE RATE OF AT LEAST 9 OR 10% PER YEAR AND CATCH UP WITH AND SURPASS USA, UK, EU AND JAPAN !

INDIA MUST NOT ONLY BECOME A VETO - WIELDING PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, BUT MUST RE - ESTABLISH ITS INTERNATIONAL PRESTIGE WHICH HAS BEEN

ZEROISED IN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN BLOC AND THE BRETTON WOODS AGENCIES.

THE YOUTH OF THE COUNTRY MUST BE INSPIRED TO REJECT THE WESTERN CULTURAL MODEL, AND REDISCOVER THEIR NATIONAL PRIDE IN THE GLORIOUS CONTINUITY OF INDIAN HISTORY.

IN THE WORDS OF THE GREAT POET MOHAMMED IQBAL:

“Yunan Mishr Roma
Sab mit gaye jahan se,
Phir bhi magar hai baki
Hindustan hamara.”

IV: THREE STEP STRATEGY

IN ORDER TO CARRY OUT A REVOLUTIONARY TRANSFORMATION OF INDIAN SOCIETY, IT IS NECESSARY TO PROJECT A REVOLUTIONARY IDEOLOGY AND A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY.

A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY MUST PROJECT

(i) A TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME WHICH WILL HELP THE MASSES REALISE THEIR URGENT DEMANDS AND

(ii) A PLAN OF ACTION WHICH WILL IMPLEMENT THE TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME.

IN INDIAN CONDITIONS, WHERE POWER RESIDES WITH THE BUREAUCRACY AND LOK SABHA IS POWERLESS, PARTICIPATION IN PARLIAMENTARY POLITICS IS ONLY FOR PROPAGANDA AND AGITATION ! PEOPLE'S MOVEMENTS HAVE TO BE ORGANISED BY THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY WHICH WILL USE THE PARLIAMENTARY FORUM FOR PROMOTION OF SUCH MOVEMENTS ! PEOPLE'S MOVEMENTS ARE NOT TO BE CONDUCTED FOR FURTHERING OF ELECTORAL POLITICS. ON THE CONTRARY, PARLIAMENT IS TO BE UTILISED AS A TRIBUNE FOR VOICING PEOPLE'S DEMANDS AND TO BUILD UP POPULAR AGITATIONS OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT.

CURRENTLY THE LEFT FORCES ARE DIVIDED, INEFFECTIVE AND WRONG - HEADED. INSTEAD OF UTILISING MASS MOVEMENTS FOR BUILDING UP EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY SANCTIONS, THEY ARE UTILISING PEOPLE'S DEMANDS FOR FURTHERING OPPORTUNISTIC, CAREERISTIC AND REFORMIST ELECTORAL POLITICS, ESPECIALLY THE POLITICS OF ELECTORAL ALLIANCES AND POST - ELECTION COALITIONS.

OUR TRANSITIONAL PROGRAMME REVOLVES AROUND TWO CENTRAL DEMANDS :

I. FOR A NEW CONSTITUTION TO BE DRAFTED BY A NEW CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHICH WILL BE ELECTED FOR THE FIRST TIME ON THE BASIS OF A DIRECT, UNIVERSAL, EQUAL, ADULT FRANCHISE.

The shortcomings of our present Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49 formulated by a self-appointed Congress coterie of about 225 stooges are well known. The coterie could not and did not formulate a constitution for free India that would meet the urges of the bulk of the Indian people.

II. This central political demand would be matched by a central economic platform that would :

(i) RESTRICT IMPORTS TO A LEVEL BELOW THAT OF EXPORTS, INCLUSIVE OF INVISIBLE OUTGO.

(ii) THUS FURTHER ACCUMULATIONS OF FOREIGN DEBT WOULD CEASE AND REPAYMENTS WOULD RAPIDLY BE EFFECTED.

(iii) DEVALUATIONS OF RUPEE WILL BE STOPPED.

(iv) DRAIN OF WEALTH FROM INDIA TO THE G-7, EU, OECD AND NATO POWERS, AT PRESENT RUNNING AT THOUSANDS OF CRORES PER YEAR WILL BE BROUGHT TO AN END.

(v) A PEOPLE - FRIENDLY ECONOMIC PROGRAMME WILL BE IMPLEMENTED WHICH WILL REPUDIATE THE STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT PROGRAMME OF THE TERRIBLE TRIMURTI OF WB, IMF AND WTO, AND RESTORE SOVEREIGNTY TO INDIA AND OTHER THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES.

AS FAR AS NARROW ELECTORAL POLITICS IS CONCERNED, THE REVOLUTIONARY, NATIONALISTIC, SOCIALIST PARTY OF INDIA WILL ADOPT A THREE - STEP STRATEGY :

FIRST STEP: OUR PARTY WILL PROMOTE ALL POLITICAL FORCES OPPOSED TO THE COMPRADOR CONGRESS AND THE SURVILE AND CORRUPT BUREAUCRACY WHICH INHERITED THE INDIAN STATE IN 1947.

SECOND STEP: WE SHALL OPPOSE THE BOGUS *SWADESHISM* OF THE BJP AND PUT FORWARD A GENUINE NATIONALIST ALTERNATIVE WHICH WILL BE BOTH ANTI - CONGRESS AND ANTI - BJP! ARTICLE 370 AND 356 WILL BE BOTH RESCINDED. A COMMON CIVIL LAW WILL BE FORMULATED FOR ALL INDIANS.

PREVENTIVE DETENTION WILL BE MADE IMPOSSIBLE ! ALL SIMILAR DRACONIAN MEASURES UNDER VARIUS ANTI - TERRORIST ACTS WILL BE REPUDIATED.

ALL POSSIBLE DEMOCRATIC AND HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE MADE AVAILABLE TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE.

INDIA WILL CEASE TO BE A MEMBER OF THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH.

A MALAYSIAN - TYPE NATIONALIST ECONOMIC REVIVAL PACKAGE WILL BE CARRIED OUT BY INDIA.

THE CENTRAL FEATURE OF THE ECONOMIC REVIVAL PACKAGE WILL BE A FIXED EXCHANGE RATE OF THE RUPEE TO THE DOLLAR AT APPROXIMATELY PPP EQUIVALENCE.

SIMILARLY ALL STATES OF THE INDIAN UNION WILL BE MADE EQUAL BY REPUDIATION OF ARTICLE 370 WHICH MAKES J & K A SEMI-INDEPENDENT ENTITY WITH A SEPARATE CONSTITUTION AND A SEPARATE PRIME MINISTER AND *SADR-I-RIYASAT*.

SIMILARLY ALL CITIZENS ARE TODAY NOT EQUAL BEFORE LAW. THE CIVIL LAW APPLICABLE TO EACH COMMUNITY IS DISTINCT AND UNEQUAL.

SO LONG AS PREVENTIVE DETENTION AND SIMILAR LAWS REMAIN IN FORCE, INDIA CANNOT BE CALLED BY ANY STRETCH OF IMAGINATION A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY.

THIRD STEP WILL BE TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE REFORMIST ELECTORAL POLITICS OF BOTH THE SOCIALISTS AND THE STALINISTS.

TRADE UNIONS AND *KISAN SABHAS* WILL NOT BE UTILISED EXCLUSIVELY TO PROMOTE THE POLICIES OF CAREERISTS AND OPPORTUNISTS. ON THE CONTRARY THE PARLIAMENTARY FORUM WILL BE USED TO PROMOTE THE INTERESTS OF THE TRADE UNIONS AND *KISAN SABHAS*.

ELECTIONEERING WILL BE USED TO PROMOTE THE ORGANISATION OF STUDENTS, WOMEN AND YOUTH.

RESERVATIONS AND *VISESH AVSAR* WILL BE GRANTED TO SCHEDULED CASTES AND TRIBES, AS WELL AS OTHER BACKWARD CASTES, IN ORDER TO ENABLE THE *DALITS* AND THE *PIDITS* TO OVERCOME THE HISTORICAL HANDICAP.

SECULARISM WILL BE EXPOSED AS A NEO-COLONIAL DEVICE TO DIVIDE THE RANKS OF THE

MILITANT MASSES.

Secularism is a chimera. The Stalinist - Communists are basing their demand of autonomy for Kashmir in continuation of their Pro-Partition policies of the pre-1947 period. Secularism is being utilised as camouflage for their erstwhile communalist pro-Pakistan platform.

The surrender by Mulayam Singh Yadav's Samajwadi Party to communalist pressure is evident from its stand in favour of autonomous Kashmir, which will in actuality be a pro-American outpost in central Asia and a pro-Pakistan fundamentalist state like Afghanistan under Taliban rule, and like POK or Azad Kashmir of the present.

As far as Pakistanis concerned we have outlined *Eleven Roads to Indo-Pak Amity*, in *Mankind* issue of May 1999, pp. 16-18.

V: SIX MORALE - BUILDING MEASURES

To fire the imagination of the people of India and to help them recover their morale we have at various times suggested in the columns of *Mankind* the following:

(i) LAND ARMY

A land army of one million young people to carry out a vast programme of minor irrigation and land reclamation all over the country. The same land army should be utilised to build roads, lay new railway tracks and carry out many other infrastructural programmes to ensure safe water supply to every village in the country.

At least 20% of the budget should be devoted each year to education and health care divided almost equally. Another 10% should be earmarked for supplementary nutrition and for subsidised clothing and housing.

The people of India must be guaranteed in the foreseeable future either job security with living wage or unemployment insurance and social welfare benefits.

Lohia had raised this demand during the last 20 years of his life from 1947 to '67 and we reiterate his stand.

India may not be rich in capital but India is immensely wealthy in raw human labour!

IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS LABOUR IS THE CREATOR OF ALL VALUES.

CAPITAL IS NOTHING BUT CONGEALED LABOUR ALIENATED AND REIFIED.

LET THE INDIAN LAND ARMY BUILD THE INFRA-STRUCTURE OF INDIA, AND LET US TURN OUR MOTHERLAND INTO A PARADISE FOR THE POOR!

(ii) MOHAJIRISTAN

Instead of lying about secularism and autonomy for Kashmir, the progressivists and reformists of India, of both the Socialist and Stalinist varieties should concentrate on the grant of substantial autonomy to a new State of Mohajiristan which will effectively begin the process of disintegration of Pakistan as such. (Let us recollect that after 1971 former West Pakistan is all that remains of the British creation of 1947).

RELIGION DOES NOT MAKE NATIONS. THEREFORE, PAKISTAN WILL DISINTEGRATE AND SELF-DESTRUCT! PROVIDED INDIA HELPS THE VARIOUS EXISTING FISSIPAROUS TENDENCIES DEMANDING AUTONOMY / FREEDOM FOR PAKHOTOONISTAN, BALUCHISTAN AND SIND!

In other words, after the break-away of East Pakistan / Bangladesh in 1971, the next step should be a confinement of Pakistan to Punjab alone. **All the outlying Provinces / States should separate themselves with warm Indian help to become autonomous and/or independent.**

Instead of Pak supporting Kashmiri terrorists and militants with India at the receiving end, India should reverse the roles and foster movements for the autonomy/independence of Sind, Baluchistan, and Pakhotoonistan.

MOHAJIRS ARE IMMIGRANTS FROM INDIA WHO HAVE NOT BEEN INTEGRATED INTO PAKISTAN FOR THE LAST HALF CENTURY, INSPITE OF THEIR HAVING OPTED TO LEAVE INDIA AND SETTLE DOWN IN PAKISTAN IN 1947 (and later years).

They had fond hopes of being made a part of mainstream Pakistani life. On the contrary, thousands of them have been killed over the last few years in Karachi and other towns in Sind and their leader Altaf Hussein has been compelled to live in exile in London. He communicates with his followers via telephone, radio and videotape.

We should not forget that these Mohajirs are Urdu-speaking Indians who shared a common culture and history with us.

WE SHOULD MAKE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO RECLAIM THEM AND HELP THEM TO FIND THEIR FEET IN THE LAND OF THEIR CHOICE.

NOT LIP-SERVICE TO "SECULARISM" AND "KASHMIR AUTONOMY" BUT REAL FRATERNISATION WITH THE MOHAJIRS SHOULD BE OUR RESPONSE TO THE OLD BRITISH IMPERIALIST POLICY OF DIVIDE AND RULE.

NRIs from India, NRPs from Pakistan and NRBs from Bangladesh should be invited to freely invest in Mohajiristan, which could extend from the Gulf of Kutch to the Pakistan-Punjab border, and from the Indus river to the Rajasthan frontier. Precise boundaries cannot be drawn in this little programmatic document.

ALL THAT IS SUGGESTED IS THAT THIS MOHAJIRISTAN WILL LIE BETWEEN INDIA AND THE INDUS VALLEY AND WILL BE PROJECTED AS A COMMON NATIONAL HOME FOR URDU-SPEAKING MOHAJIRS AND SINDHI-SPEAKING INDIANS OF THE INDIAN DIASPORA.

There will be a custom's union that will ensure the unrestricted and free entry of manufactures of Mohajiristan to all the countries of the Indian sub-continent, however, the latter may be defined, as Pakistan plus India plus Bangladesh

or these three plus Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Sri Lanka and Maldives.

PENDING PRECISE ARRANGEMENTS, BOTH KANDLA IN INDIA AND KARACHI IN PAKISTAN WILL BE UTILISED AS FREE PORTS BY THE CITIZENS OF MOHAJIRISTAN AS WELL AS NRIs, NRPs and THE NRBs, ESPECIALLY BY THE SINDHI DIASPORA.

(iii) EELAM

Originally from 1983 to 1987 India stood squarely behind the demand for Eelam.

The Tamils form about 30% - 40% of the population of Sri Lanka.

They are concentrated in the North-East, in and around the Jaffna peninsula; in the East, all along the coast to Trincomalee and beyond; in Central Sri Lanka from Kandy and Anuradhapura to Nuwara-Eliya, which is the heartland of Sri Lankan plantation economy and to man which British imperialists imported indentured Indian labourers from the end of the 19th century.

In fact Tamils form such a huge chunk of the Sri Lankan population that it may be more convenient to delimit the Sinhala - speaking areas of Sri Lanka which in the main extend along the coast from a little north of Colombo to Galle in the extreme south-west (it will not have escaped the notice of the intelligent reader of *Mankind* that Sinhala itself is a daughter language of Sanskrit) and the reunification of the Socialist States of South Asia is the long term aim of all Indian Nationalists and Socialists.

Pending this eventuality and pending a custom union of all SAARC members which may be the first step towards that goal, India should throw its full weight behind the demand for Eelam i.e., a reunification of all the Tamil - speaking peoples of South India whether currently resident in Tamil Nadu or in north-east, east and central Sri Lanka.

The Socialist State of Eelam plus Tamil Nadu will meet the natural socio-economic and politico-cultural aspirations of all the Tamil - speaking peoples of South Asia. INDIA IN 1983, NOT ONLY AIR - DROPPED ESSENTIAL SUPPLIES TO JAFFNA TAMILS BUT ALSO CONVEYED KEROSENE, MEDICINE AND ELECTRIC BATTERY CELLS TO SRI LANKAN TAMILS BY NAVAL CONVOYS.

LET US ALSO NOT FORGET THAT LIBERATION TIGERS OF TAMIL EELAM WERE TRAINED AND EQUIPPED BY THE INDIAN ARMY BETWEEN 1983 AND '87 AND THE IPKF WAS ORIGINALLY SENT TO SRI LANKA IN 1987 TO AID AND ASSIST THE LTTE GUERRILLA FORCE.

THE REALISATION OF EELAM INCLUDING TAMIL NADU WILL ALTER THE ENTIRE GEO - POLITICAL BALANCE OF SOUTH ASIA AND WILL BE BITTERLY OPPOSED BY NEO - COLONIAL INTERESTS OF ANGLO - AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS. THEY HAVE DOMINATED THE EXPORT - ORIENTED PLANTATION ECONOMY OF

SINHALESE DALALS FOR THE LAST HALF CENTURY, AND SOCIALIST EELAM INCLUSIVE OF TAMIL NADU WOULD BE ANATHEMA TO THEM.

LET US RECOLLECT WITH PRIDE THAT BETWEEN 1983 AND 1987 INDIA SUPPORTED EELAM! IT WAS A SUDDEN *VOLTE - FACE* BY RAJIV'S GOVERNMENT AND THE IPKF BEGAN TO FIGHT THE CADRES IT HAD ITSELF TRAINED AND EQUIPPED WITHOUT ANY RHYME OR REASON.

THE GOI HAS NEVER EXPLAINED THE REASONS FOR THE 1987 *VOLTE FACE* AND DEBACLE!

Ultimately after failing to subdue the LTTE guerrillas, the IPKF was forced to beat an ignominious retreat and was withdrawn in 1991.

LET US MOVE FORWARD AND RESTORE THE FRATERNAL TIES BETWEEN LTTE AND THE INDIAN ARMY AND BETWEEN THE LTTE GUERRILLAS AND THE TAMIL - SPEAKING PEOPLE OF TAMIL NADU.

(iv) TEN DEGREE CANAL

We have on several occasions in the past projected our demand for a Ten Degree Canal that will pass between the Andaman and Nicobar groups of islands and will cross that part of Thailand which lies between the Andaman Sea arm of the Bay of Bengal and The Gulf of Thailand in the South China Sea, across the Isthmus of Kra. The length of the Canal would be the same as the Suez Canal, about 69 miles.

The imperialist powers were interested in building the Suez Canal in 1869 to give them access to the Indian Ocean trade which was the central focal point of world trade from times immemorial to the 19th century A.D.

Peter the Great wrote in early 18th century that "World Trade is centred upon the Indian Ocean, and he who controls the traffic across the Indian ocean rules the world!"

First the Portuguese, then the Dutch and finally the French and the English became masters of the Indian Ocean between 1498, the arrival of Vasco Da Gama in Kozhikode and 1765, the assumption of the *Divani* of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Northern Circars by the East India Company.

See also the extensive writings of Francois Bernier, Balakrishna, R. C. Dutt, B. D. Basu, Dadabhai Naoroji, William Digby, George Forster, Brooks Adams, W. W. Hunter and others which have been repeatedly quoted in *Mankind* over the last five years.

AFTER 1765 INDIA WAS DRAINED OF ITS WEALTH AND WAS EFFECTIVELY DEINDUSTRIALISED, RURALISED AND PAUPERISED. THIS IN TURN RESULTED IN A SERIES OF DEVASTATING FAMINES OF PURCHASING POWER WHICH CARRIED AWAY OVER 85 MILLION POOR LANDLESS AND LOWER CASTE AND TRIBAL INDIANS (see *Wadia and Merchant*, pp. 87-88, which estimates mortality due to starvation at 62.48 millions between 1775 and 1944. We have added to this total,

"the one-third to one half of the population of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa killed in the Great Famine of 1770" which has been attested to by W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Empire*, 1886).

The intimate causal relationship between the toll taken by these British-made famines of 1765 to 1947, and the Industrial Revolution of 1765-1860, carried out by England in its metropolis has been fully documented by William Digby (*'Prosperous' British India*, 1901) and Brooks Adams (*The Law of Civilisation and Decay*, 1955).

We had proposed in our writings that the Ten Degree Canal be financed and built by a consortium of SAARC and ASEAN nations who will carry out the project jointly, sharing the responsibilities equally.

USA will fight tooth and nail against the proposed Ten Degree Canal.

It was interested primarily in the Panama Canal which it built, owned and managed all through the Canal's existence. The Panama Canal gave access to USA East Coast ports to vast populous markets and raw material sources lying on the Pacific Rim of Asia.

The Suez Canal provided similar access to Europe via the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean Trade which was the fulcrum of World Trade from c. 6,000 B.C. to 1869 A.D.

Just as the USA is primarily concerned with the Panama Canal; and Europe with the Suez Canal, similarly SAARC and ASEAN nations of South Asia, as well as the littoral regions of East Coast of Africa and the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf nations, should be primarily concerned with the building of the Ten Degree Canal across the Isthmus of Kra.

The Ten Degree Canal would save thousands of miles of detour down the Malaysian Peninsula and Singapore and up the channel lying to the west of Borneo, for ships and tankers passing between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea.

THUS, IT WILL BE PRIMARILY AN ASIAN LINE OF COMMUNICATION AND TRADE. KOREA, JAPAN, CHINA, TAIWAN, PHILIPPINES, VIETNAM, CAMBODIA, LAOS, THAILAND, MALAYSIA, INDONESIA, SINGAPORE AND MYANMAR WOULD BE THE PRINCIPAL BENEFICIARIES.

THE PROJECTED TEN DEGREE CANAL WILL UNIFY THE NATIONS OF SOUTH - EAST ASIA AND EAST ASIA, WHICH HAD DURING THE LAST CENTURIES B.C. AND PRIOR TO 1498 A.D. HAD BEEN ECONOMICALLY AND CULTURALLY UNIFIED AND VIVIFIED BY INDIAN AND CHINESE SOCIO-CULTURAL INFLUENCES.

We must not lose sight of the fact that one of the last crimes committed by British imperialism before being kicked out of India, was to force Thailand to sign a treaty, Article 7 of which read as follows:

"Siam undertakes to construct no canal linking the Indian Ocean and the Gulf of Siam (i.e., across the Kra Isthmus) without British consent". (Source: *Keesing's Contemporary Archives*, vol. VI, 1946-48, p. 7695 of Jan. 26 - Feb. 2, 1946).

In return for this repudiation British Imperialism compelled the Government of India to grant a loan of Rs. 5

crores to Thailand carrying interest at just 3%. (Source: *Ibid*, p. 8129 of September 14-21, 1946).

We may remind our readers that we had promoted the projected Ten Degree Canal in *Mankind* issues of April 1998 (p.4) and September 1998 (p.3).

(v) INDIAN CLAIM ON ANTARCTIC

We have repeatedly urged the politically concious cadres of India to press for a registration of Indian claims to the triangular slice of lands lying between the longitudes 60° and 100° east on the ice-covered but mineral-rich continental mass of Antarctica.

There are no rival claimants to challenge India's legitimate rights which lie between the longitudinal limits of the Indian sub-continent.

Australia has already claimed possession of this area which extends Australian boundaries to cover the entire Indian Ocean, which lies between the Atlantic Ocean from Cape Town South Africa to the West Coast of Australia, from approximately Perth westwards.

Our national demand for a proper share of Antarctica will unify the peoples of our country and sub-continent and thwart the over-arching claims of the Neo-colonial Powers who are operating through their racialist proxies --- Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

We should raise this demand particularly in the conferences called by the British Commonwealth so that we stand forth emphatically against Neo-colonial interests and our demand could in course of time become the rationale for breaking the Neo-Colonial shackles that entrap us within the British Commonwealth.

(vi) NORTH SEA OIL & GAS

North sea oil and gas lie in an area of about 220,000 sq. miles (570,000 sq. kms) between the UK and the continent of Europe.

The giant Ekofisk petroleum field was discovered only in 1970 and has an estimated capacity of 300,000 barrels per day.

The North Sea was an ancient fisheries ground and the annual North Sea catch was 3.3 million tonnes of mainly herring and mackerel of which the percentage distribution between European nations was, Norway 33%, Denmark 30%, UK 11%, Sweden 7%, Netherlands 5%, Soviet Union 4%, France 3% and Germany 3%.

The oil found on the high seas belongs to the entire humanity but the European nations have hijacked the entire production since they feel that they cannot be militarily challenged in this area. More than 50% had been appropriated by UK with smaller shares claimed by Norway, Denmark, Netherlands and Germany.

There are 300 oil platforms and 10,000 kms of gas pipeline functioning in the North Sea.

(The UK had become self-sufficient in oil by 1980, and the oil revenues have substantially aided UK's balance of payments.

The total output in 1985 had reached a peak of 127.6 million tonnes, which fell to 91.6 million tonnes in 1990." (Source: *The Macmillan Encyclopaedia*, 1993).

Between 1492 and the present, the Europeans have committed indescribable barbaric crimes against the peoples of the rest of the world. We have illustrated on the back cover of *Mankind* issue of Jan-Feb '99, precise details of the genocidal massacres of Red Indians, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, the Famines of Purchasing Power in India from 1765 to 1947, and the narcotics traffic forcibly imposed upon China. Altogether, they took a toll of over 250 million human beings.

The heinous racist crimes perpetrated upon the Australian Aborigines, the Maoris and the Zulus and other African tribals continued well into the 20th century.

CONSIDERING ALL THESE ACTS OF SAVAGERY CARRIED OUT BY EUROPEANS, WE BELIEVE THAT THE THIRD WORLD IS ENTITLED TO DEMAND MANY TRILLIONS OF DOLLARS AS COMPENSATION FROM THE WESTERN NEO-COLONIAL POWERS OF EURO-AMERICA WHO ARE CURRENTLY ORGANISED IN OVERLAPPING CIRCLES AS G-7, OECD, EU AND NATO.

We believe that misappropriation of the world's resources by the former colonial powers of Euro-America must cease and **the United Nations must take over the possession of all such resources as the North sea oil and the potential mineral finds of the Antarctica.** Thereafter, the UN must be called upon to distribute the earnings from the exploitation of such resources to the peoples of the world in proportion to their populations.

As an inadequate but nevertheless important symbolic gesture the White Christian peoples of the world who have been mainly responsible for the atrocities of the last 500 years, the resources of the world as described above (North Sea oil, Antarctic minerals, etc.) may be denied their share of the earnings for the next hundred years or so. After several trillions of dollars have been allocated to the Third World in the next hundred years or so, the White Christian semi-neanderthalic peoples of Euro-America may be allowed to participate in the global sharing.

We had suggested long ago that historians, economists and experts on intellectual property rights may be asked to survey the entire world scene historically, and fix the responsibility on various sections of the European peoples, for the crimes committed against humanity over the last 500 years and determine the compensation that is due to the peoples of the Third World. **A HOLISTIC VIEW MUST BE TAKEN OF ALL THE BARBARIC CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY AND THE HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS PERPETRATED BY THE EUROPEAN WHITE CHRISTIANS OF SEMI-NEANDERTHALIC ANCESTRY, UPON THE INNOCENTS OF THE THIRD WORLD, FROM 1492 WHEN COLUMBUS DISCOVERED THE TRADE ROUTE TO THE NEW WORLD; AND FROM 1498 WHEN VASCO DA GAMA MANAGED TO REACH INDIA AND 1765 WHEN**

THE EAST INDIA COMPANY ACQUIRED THE D/WANI OF BENGAL, BIHAR AND ORISSA. THESE ARE THE THREE CRUCIAL DATES - 1492, 1498 AND 1765.

A balance sheet may be drawn up for the three or five centuries that have elapsed since these three crucial dates and all the violations of human rights of the last few hundred years should be precisely accounted for.

IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF REVENGE. IT IS MAINLY A QUESTION OF ADEQUATE COMPENSATION FOR HISTORICAL INJUSTICE !

At all meetings of the Non-Aligned Movement, SAARC, ASEAN, APEC and UN General Assembly sessions India must harp upon the need to take a holistic view of history and pinpoint Western European crimes against all the peoples of the world especially from 1492, 1498 and 1765 as explained above.

A gigantic historic balance sheet should be struck and compensation of trillions of dollars must be insisted upon. **At least the present outgo of \$550 billion per annum must immediately cease and may be set off against the historic compensation due to Asia, Africa and Latin America from the barbarians and savages of Europe.**

IT IS UNLIKELY THAT OUR VOICE WILL BE HEARD BY THE POWER ELITES OF THE NEO-COLONIAL EURO-AMERICA IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

BUT LET THE DEBATE START AND POSSIBLY IN THE 21 ST CENTURY, TOWARDS ITS MIDDLE, RESULTS MAY SLOWLY EMERGE !

POST-SCRIPT TO CREDO

Instead of reproducing a large number of pages from our earlier contributions on the subject, we have decided to give herein below the major references:

1. *Colonial history* - This has been periodised and the major landmarks have been noted in *Mankind's Credo* 1997 published in Oct. 1997, at pages 14 to 21.

2. *The Tripolar World of the 20th Century*, has been described in the same issue, at pages 11 to 13, and *the Distribution of World Economic Power* from 1945 to the present has been given on the backcover of our last issue of Sep. 1999.

3. *Capitalism's Second Breadth*, has been dealt with in the same issue of Oct. '97 pages 9 and 10.

4. *New Strategy for Socialists*, has been spelt out on pages 10 and 11 of the Oct.'97 issue. *The Case for Socialism* has been restated on pages 21 to 23.

5. *Historic Significance of 1765*, and *The British - made Famines of Purchasing Power*, of the period 1765 to 1947, have been thoroughly discussed on pages 39 to 42 of the Oct. '97 issue.

6. *The Drain of Wealth*, from the Third World to the Industrialised countries has been considered in great detail in our issue of Jul-Aug 1999 on pages 20 to 25. ■

INDIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN

FORCED TRADE DEFICITS AND HIKED EXTERNAL LOANS

Mankind Statistical Bureau

We continue our analysis of the UNDP's *Human Development Report*, 1999, which we had began in the last issue "True PPP Exchange Rates for 73 Countries," *Mankind*, Sept. '99.

We had outlined therein SEVEN STRATEGIES adopted by neo-colonial powers to extract super-profits from India and the Third World. These seven strategies were:

1. Forced Devaluations which simultaneously Depress the Value of Exports, Raise the Price of Imports and Hike the Repayment Obligations on External Loans RESTROSPECTIVELY. This Strategy was covered in our last issue, pp. 36-39.

2. Widening Trade Deficits, which eventuate in increased External Debts, which hike up in turn the Debt Service Charges and alter the Terms of Trade against the Third World countries. This Strategy is covered in the pages which follow: See column 8, Trade Deficits, 9- External Debt, 10- External Debt as % of GNP, 11- Debt Service as % of Exports and 12- Net Barter Terms at Trade of our Table "Forced Trade Deficits and Hiked External Loans".

3. A partial sharing of the total loot of the Third World with the Western working classes to ensure social peace internally in Euro-

America.

4. Restrictive racialist immigration policies that do not allow nationals of the Third World to move freely in international labour market.

5. The so-called Trade Related Intellectual Property Rights that hike up the technology transfer fees payable by the Third World.

6. Endless promotion of global consumerism, and propaganda barrage ensuring brain-washing.

7. Promotion of little wars, ethnic cleansing campaigns, cross-border terrorism and such other devices to boost sales by world armament industry.

The total debt for each Class of our table are as follows:

9 Countries of class I- \$434,764 mln.
6 Countries of class II - \$554,881mln.
9 Countries of class III- \$422,090mln.
15 Countries of class IV- \$372,596 mln.
34 Countries of class V- \$295,989mln.

**Debt total for 68 out
of 73 Countries \$2,080,320 mln.**

(Data not available for Afghanistan, Taiwan, Zaire, N. Korea and Yugoslavia FR).

This amounts to 5.65% of world GDP of \$36.95 Trillions.

Total External Debt as per
Power Blocs is given below:

Total External Debt (\$ Millions 1997)	
America	19,222
Europe	325,074
Pacific Rim of Asia	504,978
Third World	231,046
	2,080,320

Forced Devaluations have played an important part in the extraction of Surplus Value from the Third World.

The following Countries have had their currencies devalued by **over 5 times.**

37. Vietnam	5.20 times
44. Sudan	5.57 times
48. Nepal	5.19 times
55. Mozambique	5.78 times

By over 4 times,

6. India	4.23 times
41. Ethiopia	4.63 times
53. Ghana	4.84 times
65. Burkina Fasso	4.12 times
68. Cambodia	4.30 times

By over 3 times,

43. Kenya	3.36 times
46. Romania	3.02 times
50. Uganda	3.28 times
52. Sri Lanka	3.07 times
59. Madagascar	3.64 times
60. Cameroon	3.04 times
61. Ecuador	3.03 times

Terms of Trade have sharply declined for the following countries of the Third World 10. Mexico, 11. Indonesia, 23. Columbia, 26. Malaysia, 27. Czech Rep., 30. Venezuela, 32. Egypt, 34. Algeria, 35. Bangladesh, 36. Peru, 40. Tanzania, 41. Ethiopia, 43. Kenya, 45. Morocco, 48. Nepal, 50. Uganda, 51. Saudi Arabia, 52. Sri Lanka, 53. Ghana, 56. Yemen, 57. Syria, 58. Cote d' Ivoire, 59. Madagascar, 80. Cameroon, 61. Ecuador, 63. Angola, 64. Guatemala, 66. Hungary.

Terms at Trade have improved for the following OECD Members and Associates :

1. USA, 3. Japan, 4. Germany, 5. France, 8. Italy, 14. Spain, 15. S. Korea, 16. Turkey, 22. S. Africa, 24. Philippines, 25. Poland, 28. Belgium, 46. Romania.

FORCED TRADE DEFICITS AND HIKED EXTERNAL LOANS (FOR 73 COUNTRIES THAT ABSORB 90% OF WORLD GDP)

I - NINE COUNTRIES WITH NATIONAL GDP, IN PPP TERMS, OF OVER \$ 1 TRILLION IN 1997

Country	Exports \$ millions 1997	Exports as % of GDP	Manufac- tures as % of Exports	Imports \$ millions 1997	Imports as % of GDP	Trade Deficit \$ million 1997	Trade Deficit or Surplus as % of GDP	External Debt \$ mlns. as at end of 1997	External Debt as % of GNP 1997	Debt Service Ratio as % of Exports		Net Barter Terms of Trade 1987=100		Net Worker's Remittances (\$ millions)	
										1980	1995	1985	1995	1980	1995
1. USA ^A	856,000 ^a	12 ^a	81	965,700 ^a	13 ^a	-109,700.00	-1	-	-	-	-	101	102	-810*	-12,230*
2. China ^P (Incl. Hongkong)	207,303	23	85	166,759	18	+40,544.00	+5	146,697.0	16.6	-	8.6	109	105	538	350
3. Japan ^P	456,889 ^a	10 ^a	95	432,269 ^a	9 ^a	+24,620.00	+1	-	-	-	-	73	127	-	-
4. Germany ^E	569,614 ^a	24 ^a	83	541,018 ^a	13 ^a	+28,596.00	+11	-	-	-	-	84 ^c	96	-4,437 ^{c*}	-5,305*
5. India ^{TW}	44,107	12	72 ^a	59,230	16	-15,123.00	-4	94,404.2	24.9	9.3	19.6	92	150	1,186 ^c	8,506 ^c
6. France ^E	368,605 ^a	24 ^a	78	328,652 ^a	21 ^a	+39,953.00	+3	-	-	-	-	89	106	-2,591*	-1,364*
7. UK ^E	340,685 ^a	30 ^a	83	349,600 ^a	30 ^a	-8,195.00	+0	-	-	-	-	104	102	-	-
8. Italy ^E	324,046 ^a	27 ^a	89	260,606 ^a	21 ^a	+63,440.00	+6	-	-	-	-	84	107	1,609	98
9. Brazil ^{TW}	61,982	8	54	83,556	10	-21,574.00	-2	193,662.8	24.1	63.3	57.4	101	101	-80*	2773
class I 434,764.0															
II - SIX COUNTRIES WITH NATIONAL GDP, IN PPP TERMS, OF OVER \$ 500 BILLION IN 1997															
10. Mexico ^{TW}	121,772	30	81	121,896	30	-124.00	0	149,689.9	38.4	44.4	32.4	145	92	687	3672
11. Indonesia ^{TW}	60,106	28	42	60,700	28	-594.00	0	136,173.5	65.3	-	30.0	145	79	0	629
12. Canada ^A	234,297 ^a	40 ^a	63	211,487 ^a	36 ^a	+22,810.00	+4	-	-	-	-	99	100	-	-
13. Russian Fed. ^E	102,196	23	23	90,065	20	+12,131.00	+3	125,645.2	28.7	-	6.5	-	-	-	-
14. Spain ^E	148,125 ^a	26 ^a	78 ^a	143,065 ^a	25 ^a	+5,060.00	+1	-	-	-	-	82	114	1647	2119
15. S. Korea ^P	168,683	38	92 ^a	171,885	39	-3,202.00	-1	143,372.5	32.8	-	8.6	94	102	96	486
Total for class II 554,881.1															

Remarks: Power Blocs Designated as Follows: A: America, E: Europe, P: Pacific Rim of Asia, TW: Third World.

a : Data refers to 1996, **b:** Includes Luxembourg, **c:** Refers to the Federal Republic of Germany before unification, **d:** Total debt service as a % of exports of goods and services, **e:** From *Economic Survey*, 1998-99 "Pvt. Transfers" do not distinguish "Workers' Remittances" separately and lump together all sorts of Traders' Profits and Commissions made by NRIs, etc. However, that is a defect of our comprador statistics which we must accept. The bulk of "Pvt. Transfers", given here will be found to be "Workers' Remittances".

* Minus sign in the last column **Net Worker's Remittances** indicates that immigrants in these countries send out money.

III - NINE COUNTRIES WITH NATIONAL GDP IN PPP TERMS OF OVER \$ 250 BILLION IN 1997

Country	Exports \$ millions 1997	Exports as % of GDP	Manufactures as % of Exports	Imports \$ millions 1997	Imports as % of GDP	Trade Deficit \$ million 1997	Trade Deficit or Surplus % of GDP	External Debt \$ mns. as at end of 1997	External Debt as % of GNP 1997	Debt Service Ratio as % of Exports		Net Barter Terms of Trade 1987=100		Net Worker's Remittances (\$ millions)	
										1980	1995	1985	1995	1980	1995
										16. Turkey ^E	46,675	25	75	57,698	30
17. Thailand ^P	72,382	47	71	71,340	46	1042.00	1	93,415.7	62.6	18.9	154	103	100	-	-
18. Australia ^E	81,856	20 ^a	29	79,579 ^a	20 ^a	2277.00	0	-	-	-	-	110	101	-	-
19. Argentina TM	29,318	9	34	34,899	11	-5581.00	-2	123,221.4	38.7	37.3	58.7	123	120	-	-
20. Netherlands ^E	212,504	54 ^a	71	187,182 ^a	47 ^a	25322.00	7	-	-	-	-	101	103	-320*	-423*
21. Iran TM	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11,816.4	9.6	-	32.2	-	-	-	-
22. S. Africa TM	35,848	28	55 ^a	34,365	27	1483.00	1	25,221.6	20	-	12.8	101	111	-	-
23. Columbia TM	14,553	15	31	17,422	18	-2869.00	-3	31,777.4	34.4	16	26.6	124	80	68	172
24. Philippines ^P	40,284	49	45	48,777	59	-8493.00	-10	45,433.0	53	26.6	9.2	99	114	202	296
Total for class III 422,090.9															

IV - FIFTEEN COUNTRIES WITH NATIONAL GDP, IN PPP TERMS, OF OVER \$ 100 BILLION IN 1997

25. Poland ^E	35,616	26	73	41,170	30	-5554.00	-4	39,889.5	29.5	-	6.1	95	109	0	35
26. Malaysia ^P	92,877	94	76 ^a	91,360	93	1517.00	1	47,228.2	50.5	6.3	7.5	114	92	-	-
27. Czech Rep ^E	29,950	58	85	32,808	63	-2858.00	-5	21,456.3	41.8	-	14.1	98	86	-	-
28. Belgium ^E	183,718 ^a	68 ^a	-	171,012 ^a	64 ^a	12706.00	4	-	-	-	-	96 ^b	101 ^b	-270*	-393*
29. Pakistan TM	10,009	16	86	12,955	21	-29,46.00	-5	29,664.5	47.5	18.3	35.2	112	114	-	-
30. Venezuela TM	25,735	29	12	17,692	20	8043.00	9	35,541.5	41.6	27.2	31.3	166	82	-418*	-173*
31. Chile TM	20,716	27	16	22,540	29	-1824.00	-2	31,440.1	42.4	43.1	20.4	91	94	-	-
32. Egypt TM	15,251	20	40	18,820	25	-3569.00	-5	29,849.1	39	13.4	9.0	147	95	2,696	3,417
33. Greece ^E	18,841 ^a	15 ^a	52	29,295 ^a	24 ^a	-10454.00	-9	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,066	2,982
34. Algeria TM	14,681	31	3	10,534	22	4147.00	9	30,920.6	69	27.4	27.2	173	83	241	-
35. Bangladesh TM	3,075	12	87 ^a	7,656	18	-2581.00	-6	15,125.3	35.1	23.7	10.6	126	94	-	-
36. Peru TM	8,182	13	17	10,617	17	-2435.00	-4	30,495.7	48.8	44.5	30.9	111	83	0	334
37. Vietnam ^P	11,480	46	-	13,443	54	-1963.00	-8	21,629.3	89.4	-	7.8	-	-	-	-
38. Ukraine ^E	20,126	41	-	22,009	44	-1883.00	-3	10,901.3	22.2	-	6.6	-	-	-	-
39. Nigeria TM	16,286	41	-	13,677	34	2609.00	7	28,455.1	75.6	4.1	7.8	-	-	-410*	2,567
Total for class IV 372,596.5															

V - THIRTY FOUR OTHER COUNTRIES WITH A POPULATION OF OVER 10 MILLION IN 1997

Country	Exports \$ millions 1997	Exports as % of GDP	Manufac- tures as % of Exports	Imports \$ millions 1997	Imports as % of GDP	Trade Deficit \$ million 1997	Trade Deficit or Surplus % of GDP	External Debt \$ mlns. as at end of 1997	External Debt as % ofGNP 1997	Debt Service Ratio as % of Exports		Net Barter Terms of Trade 1987=100		Net Worker's Remittances (\$ millions)	
										1980	1995	1985	1995	1980	1995
40. Tanzania ^{TW}	1259 ^a	22 ^a	-	2,118 ^a	36 ^a	-859.00	-14	7,177.1	97.2	21.1	12.9	126	83	-	-
41. Ethiopia ^{TW}	1,017	16	-	1,682	26	-665.00	-10	10,078.5	159.0	7.3	9.5	119 ^a	74	-	-
42. Myanmar ^P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5074.1	-	-	8.0	-	-	-	-
43. Kenya ^{TW}	2,994	29	25	3,787	37	-793.00	-8	6,485.8	64.7	21.0	21.5	124	98	0	-4*
44. Sudan ^{TW}	-	-	3 ^a	-	-	-	-	16,326.1	182.4	-	9.2	-	-	-	-
45. Morocco ^{TW}	9,342	28	49	10,622	32	-180.00	-4	19,320.8	59.5	33.4	26.6	99	90	989	1,890
46. Romania ^E	10,359	30	79	12,802	37	2443.00	-7	10,442.1	30.2	12.6	15.7	66	111	0	3
47. Uzbekistan ^{TW}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,760.5	11.2	-	12.9	-	-	-	-
48. Nepal ^{TW}	1,296	26	95	1,856	38	-560.00	-12	2,397.7	48.6	3.3	6.9	98	85	-	-
49. Iraq ^{TW}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	21,912.0 ^a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
50. Uganda ^{TW}	826	13	-	1,335	20	-509.00	-7	3,707.9	56.5	17.3	22.1	149	58	-	-
51. Saudi Arabia ^A	2,991	45	9 ^a	4,301.7	31	19,974.00	14	19,222.0 ^a	13.5 ^a	-	-	175	92	-4,094*	-16,616*
52. Sri Lanka ^{TW}	5,507	36	-	6,569	44	-1,062.00	-8	7,638.1	51.2	12.0	6.4	106	88	152	715
53. Ghana ^{TW}	1,657	24	-	2,640	38	-983.00	-14	5,982.0	88.6	13.1	29.5	93	64	-4*	12
54. Kazhakstan ^{TW}	7,810	35	-	8,280	37	-470.00	-2	4,278.0	19.5	-	6.5	-	-	-	-
55. Mozambique ^{TW}	500	18	17 ^a	937	34	-437.00	-16	5,990.6	232.9	-	18.6	113	124	-	-
56. Yemen ^{TW}	2,489	44	-	2,966	52	-477.00	-8	3,856.3	76.7	-	2.6	131	84	-	-
57. Syria ^{TW}	5,343	30	-	7,189	40	-1,846.00	-10	20,864.7	126.4	11.4	9.3	138	78	774	385
58. Coted' Ivoire ^{TW}	4,777	47	-	4,055	40	722.0	7	15,608.6	165.3	38.7	27.4	109	81	-716*	-449*
59. Madagascar ^{TW}	773	22	28	1,064	30	-291.00	-8	4,104.7	192.2	20.3	27.0	124	82	-30*	-2*
60. Cameroon ^{TW}	2,443	27	8 ^a	2,041	22	402.00	5	9,292.9	109.2	15.2	20.4	113	79	-	-
61. Ecuador ^{TW}	5,930	30	9	5,734	29	196.00	1	14,918.4	79.4	33.9	31.0	143	71	-	-
62. Cuba ^{TW}	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35,344.0 ^a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
63. Angola ^{TW}	5,196	68	-	5,003	65	193.00	3	10,159.8	231.8	-	15.9	153	86	-	-83*
64. Guatemala ^{TW}	3,186	18	30	4,193	24	-1,007.00	-6	4,085.7	23.2	7.9	9.9	114	93	0	350
65. Burkina Fasso ^{TW}	331	14	-	721	30	-390.00	-16	1,297.1	54.3	5.9	11.8	103	103	100	29
66. Hungary ^E	20,801	45	77	21,013	46	-212.00	-1	24,373.4	55.0	-	29.7	103	97	0	-14*
67. Belarus ^E	13,469	60	-	14,386	64	-917.00	-4	1,161.5	5.2	-	18.0	-	-	-	-
68. Cambodia ^P	920	30	-	1,281	42	-361.00	-12	2,128.7	69.9	-	11.0	-	-	-	10

Total for class V 295,989.1 ~

No data available on 69. Afghanistan (Pop. 25 mln.), 70. Taiwan (Pop. 22 mln.), 71. Zaire (Pop. 45 mln.), 72. N. Korea (Pop. 23 mln.), and 73. Yugoslavia FR (Pop. 11 mln.)

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT REPORT, 1999

We are publishing herewith data sheets culled from the latest *UNDP Report, The Human Development Report, 1999*.

Despite normal liberal, bourgeois hypocrisy and obfuscation, the horrible reality of a TOTALLY UNEQUAL WORLD emerges.

It has been our practice in *Mankind* to select the most important facts and figures from successive UNDP Reports. In the last five years we have highlighted data from the *Human Development Reports* of 1992, 1996 and 1997.

We present now the significant indicators extracted from UNDP's *Human Development Report, 1999*.

A Balance Sheet of Human Development, 1990 - 97

GLOBAL PROGRESS

In 1997, 84 countries enjoyed a life expectancy at birth of more than 70 years, up from 55 countries in 1990. The number of developing countries in the group has more than doubled, from 22 to 49. Between 1990 and 1997 the share of the population with access to safe water nearly doubled, from 40% to 72%.

Between 1990 and 1997 the adult literacy rate rose from 64% to 76%.

During 1990-97 the gross primary and secondary enrolment ratio increased from 74% to 81%.

Despite rapid population growth, food production per capita increased by nearly 25% during 1990-97.

The per capita daily supply of calories rose from less than 2,500 to 2,750, and that of protein from 71 grams to 76.

During 1990-97 real per capita GDP increased at an average annual rate of more than 1%.

Real per capita consumption increased at an average annual rate of 2.4% during the same period.

During 1990-97 the net secondary enrolment ratio for girls increased from 36% to 61%.

Between 1990 and 1997 women's economic activity rate rose from 34% to nearly 40%.

Between 1990 and 1997 the infant mortality rate was reduced from 76 per 1,000 live births to 58.

The proportion of one-year-olds immunised increased from 70% to 89% during 1990-97.

Between 1990 and 1997 the share of heavily polluting traditional fuels in the energy used was reduced by more than two-fifths.

Between two-thirds and three-quarters of the people in developing countries live under relatively pluralist and democratic regimes.

GLOBAL DEPRIVATION

HEALTH

During 1990-97 the number of people infected with HIV/AIDS more than doubled, from less than 15 million to more than 33 million. Around 1.5 billion people are not expected to survive to age 60. More than 880 million people lack access to health services, and 2.6 billion access to basic sanitation.

EDUCATION

In 1997 more than 850 million adults were illiterate. In industrial countries more than 100 million people were functionally illiterate. More than 260 million children are out of school at the primary and secondary levels.

FOOD AND NUTRITION

About 840 million people are malnourished.

The overall consumption of the richest fifth of the world's people is 16 times that of the poorest fifth.

INCOME AND POVERTY

Nearly 1.3 billion people live on less than a dollar a day, and close to 1 billion cannot meet their basic consumption requirements.

The share in global income of the richest fifth of the world's people is 74 times that of the poorest fifth.

WOMAN

Nearly 340 million women are not expected to survive to age 40. A quarter to a half of all women have suffered physical abuse by an intimate partner.

CHILDREN

Nearly 160 million children are malnourished. More than 250 million children are working as child labourers.

ENVIRONMENT

Every year nearly 3 million people die from air pollution --- more than 80% of them from indoor air pollution --- and more than 5 million die from diarrhoeal diseases caused by water contamination.

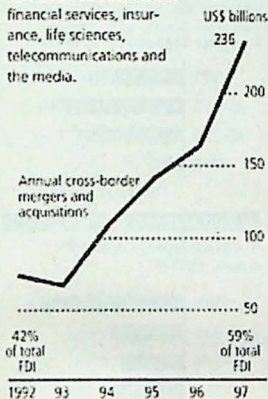
HUMAN SECURITY

At the end of 1997 there were nearly 12 million refugees.

Source: *Human Development Report, 1999*, p. 22.

Cross-border mergers and acquisitions

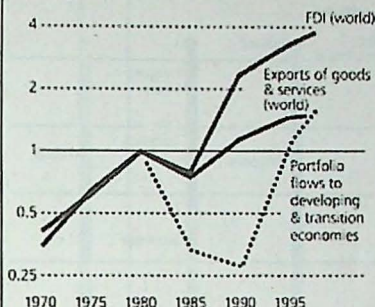
The growth in cross-border mergers and acquisitions (M&As) has become a striking trend and a major driver of FDI. In 1997 there were 58 transactions that exceeded \$1 billion each. Large M&As have been concentrated in financial services, insurance, life sciences, telecommunications and the media.



Source: UNCTAD 1998c.

Rapid growth in trade and capital flows

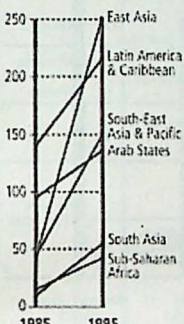
Index (1980=1)



Source: Based on data from World Bank 1999b and UNCTAD 1999.

More people are watching television ...

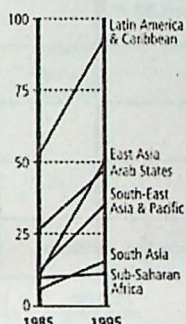
TV sets per 1,000 people



Source: Based on data from World Bank 1998c.

talking on the phone ...

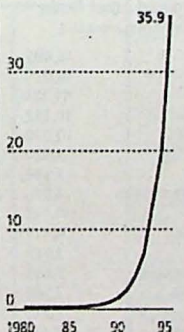
Telephone mainlines per 1,000 people



Source: Based on data from World Bank 1998c.

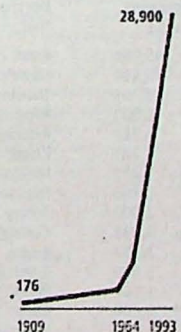
communicating on-line ... and participating in NGOs

Internet hosts (millions)



Source: Network Wizards 1998a.

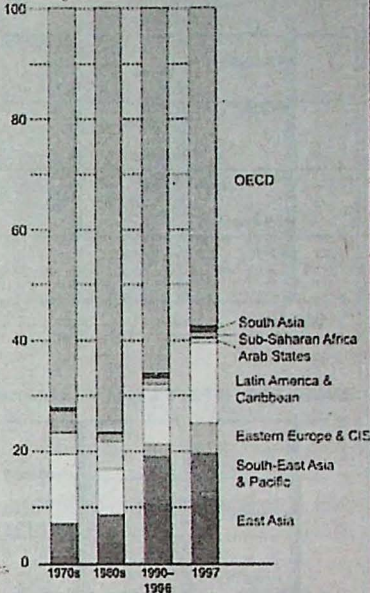
International NGOs



Source: Commission on Global Governance 1995.

Foreign direct investment—strong growth in a few regions, stagnation in others

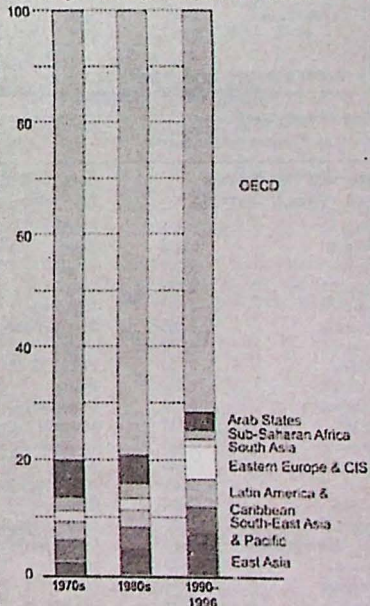
Percentage of total FDI



Source: Based on data from UNCTAD 1999.

Export shares—major regional shift

Percentage of total exports of goods and services

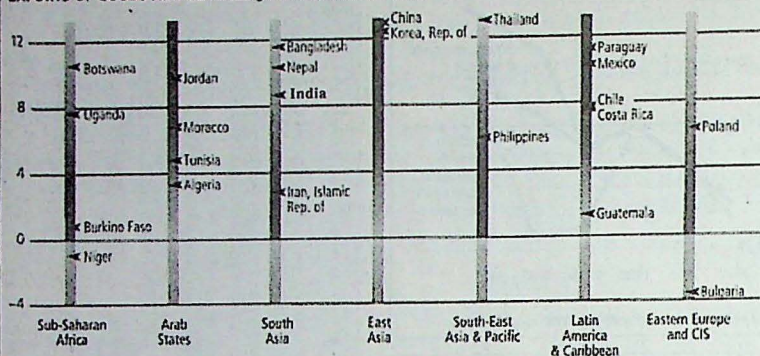


Source: Based on data from World Bank 1999b.

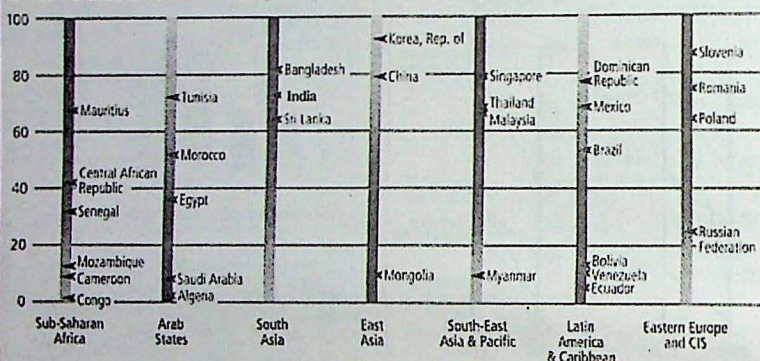
Source: Human Development Report, 1999, p. 26.

Country performance varies widely within regions

EXPORTS OF GOODS AND SERVICES growth rate, annual average, 1980-96^a



MANUFACTURED EXPORTS as a percentage of merchandise exports, annual average, 1990-97^a



a. Late 1980s to 1996/97 for Eastern Europe and CIS.

Top 20 recipients

Among developing and transition countries

Workers' remittances

1996, millions of current US\$

India	9,326
Mexico	4,224
Turkey	3,542
Egypt	2,798
Lebanon	2,503
Morocco	2,165
China	1,672
Jordan	1,544
Pakistan	1,461
Bangladesh	1,217
Brazil	1,213
Yemen	1,123
El Salvador	1,086
Algeria	1,045
Croatia	985
Nigeria	947
Dominican Republic	847
Sri Lanka	832
Indonesia	796
Tunisia	736

Totalling 88% of remittances

Foreign direct investment

1997, millions of current US\$

China	45,300
Brazil	16,330
Mexico	12,101
Singapore	10,000
Argentina	6,327
Russian Federation	6,241
Chile	5,417
Indonesia	5,350
Poland	5,000
Venezuela	4,893
Malaysia	3,754
Thailand	3,600
India	3,264
Hong Kong, China (SAR)	2,600
Colombia	2,447
Korea, Rep. of	2,341
Taiwan, province of China	2,248
Hungary	2,085
Peru	2,000
Kazakhstan	1,320

Totalling 85% of FDI

Portfolio and other flows

1997, millions of current US\$

Brazil	18,495
Mexico	16,028
Thailand	11,181
Argentina	10,132
Indonesia	10,070
China	9,920
Malaysia	7,596
Russian Federation	4,975
Turkey	4,913
Colombia	4,417
India	3,817
Czech Republic	3,459
Philippines	3,192
Chile	2,712
Venezuela	2,411
Peru	2,273
Romania	1,551
South Africa	1,281
Pakistan	1,246
Slovenia	1,033

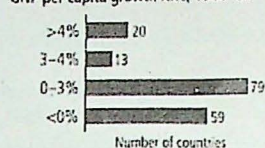
Totalling 94% of flows

How the benefits of integration are distributed

Annual averages

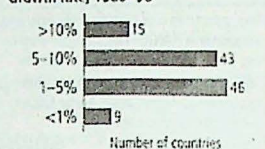
INCOME GROWTH

GNP per capita growth rate, 1980-97

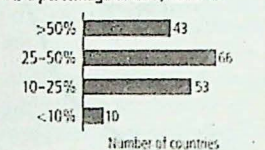


EXPORTS OF GOODS AND SERVICES

Growth rate, 1980-96

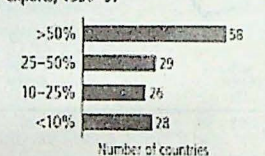


As a percentage of GDP, 1990-97



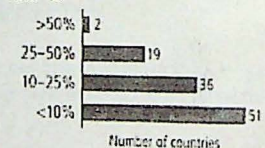
MANUFACTURED EXPORTS

As a percentage of merchandise exports, 1990-97



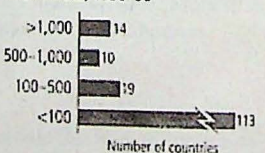
TAXES ON INTERNATIONAL TRADE

As a percentage of current revenue, 1990-96



WORKERS' REMITTANCES

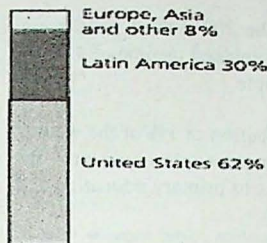
US\$ millions, 1990-96



Note: The number of countries varies from 103 to 172 depending on the database used.

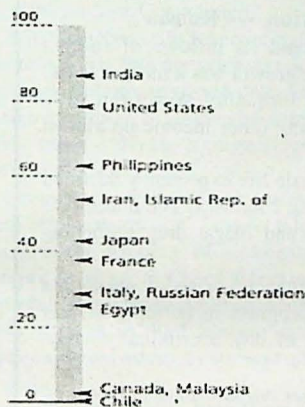
Source: All figures based on data from World Bank 1999b and UNCTAD 1999, in *Human Development Report*, 1999, p. 27.

FIGURE 1.3
Less than a third of television programming in Latin America originates in the region
 Percentage of total programming by origin



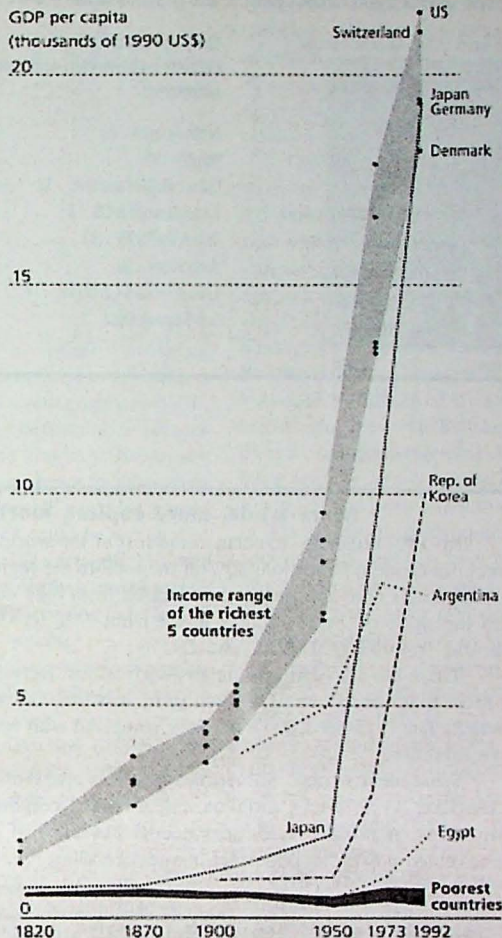
Source: UNESCO 1998b.

FIGURE 1.4
Domestic film industries struggle to hold market share
 Domestic share of film distribution, 1990-93 (percent)



Source: UNESCO 1998b, in *Human Development Report, 1999*, p.34.

Widening gaps between rich and poor since the early 19th century



World inequalities have been rising steadily for nearly two centuries. An analysis of long-term trends in world income distribution (between countries) shows that the distance between the richest and poorest country was about 3 to 1 in 1820, 11 to 1 in 1913, 35 to 1 in 1950, 44 to 1 in 1973 and 72 to 1 in 1992. More amazing is that the British in 1820 had an income about six times that of the Ethiopians in 1992!

These trends mask the fact that many countries have caught up with the most advanced. Japan, for example, had scarcely 20% of US income in 1950, 90% in 1992. Southern Europe has seen a similar trend - with 26% of US income in 1950 and 53% in 1992. Some Arab states have also seen big increases in income.

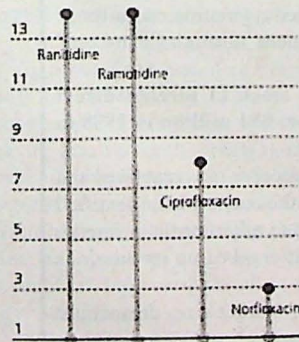
Richest and poorest countries, 1820-1992
 GDP per capita (1990 US \$)

Richest		
1820	1900	1992
UK 1,756	UK 4,593	US 21,558
Netherlands 1,561	New Zealand 4,320	Switzerland 21,036
Australia 1,528	Australia 4,299	Japan 19,425
Austria 1,295	US 4,096	Germany 19,351
Belgium 1,291	Belgium 3,652	Denmark 18,293
Poorest		
Indonesia 614	Myanmar 647	Myanmar 748
India 531	India 625	Bangladesh 720
Bangladesh 531	Bangladesh 581	Tanzania
Pakistan 531	Egypt 509	U. Rep. of 601
China 523	Ghana 462	Congo, Dem. Rep. of the 353
		Ethiopia 300

Source: Maddison 1995, in *Human Development Report, 1999*, p. 38.

Drug prices and patent costs

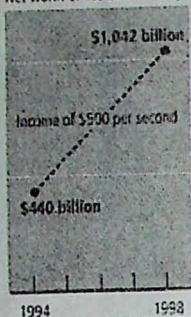
Price in Pakistan
 Index (price in India = 1)



Source: Lar Ouan 1997, in *Human Development Report, 1999*, p.26.

The world's 200 richest people are getting richer—fast

Net worth of the 200 richest people



They are global, citizens of both rich and poor countries:

North America	65
Europe	55
Other industrial countries	13
Eastern Europe & CIS	3
Asia & the Pacific	30
Arab States	16
Latin America & Caribbean	17
Sub-Saharan Africa	1

They could do a lot for world poverty:

The assets of the 3 richest people are more than the combined GNP of all least developed countries.

The assets of the 200 richest people are more than the combined income of 41% of the world's people.

A yearly contribution of 1% of the wealth of the 200 richest people could provide universal access to primary education for all (\$7-8 billion).

Source: Based on data from *Forbes Magazine* 1998, in *Human Development Report*, 1999, p. 38..

More trade, more capital, more human deprivation --- Russia

In 1997 Russia's exports to the rest of the world were \$56 billion - and its inflows of foreign direct investment \$6 billion, 30% of the total to the region. But its economic growth was a meagre 0.4%. In 1989-96 its Gini coefficient deteriorated from 0.24 to 0.48, a doubling of inequality. Wages fell 48%, with the share of wage income down from 74% to 55% and that of rent and other income up almost fourfold from 5% to 23%.

There are also serious human deprivations. Between 1989 and 1996 male life expectancy declined by more than four years to 60, two years less than the average for developing countries. The under-five mortality rate is 25 per 1,000 live births, compared with 14 in Poland. Homicides and illegal drug trafficking have increased.

What went wrong? Sometimes Russia's problems are seen as only a financial crisis --- partly due to the East Asian crisis, unfavourable external conditions and a lack of progress in building market institutions. A broader view sees deeper causes: bad governance, no rule of law, a criminal society, concentrated power, an imperfect market economy.

Source: Ruminska-Zimny 1999, in *Human Development Report*, 1999, p. 85.

Liberalising foreign investment in India

Foreign direct investment flows to India in the 1980s were insignificant, not much more than \$1 billion. But in the early 1990s India removed restriction on ownership, loosened regulation on currency transactions, expedited the review and approval process for foreign investment through "one-stop" coordination and encouraged imports of new technology.

The outcome, new opportunities for foreign investment. In 1988 the stock of foreign direct investment in India was \$1.2 billion --- in 1994, \$2.3 billion. Inflows rose from \$91 million in 1988 to \$300 million in 1994 to \$3 billion in 1997.

India developed seven export processing zones, where foreign investors receive tax incentives and can bring in duty-free imports. India also promoted private foreign investment in the country and identified enterprises for joint ventures. The government advertised broadly in newspapers and other media in foreign countries. It arranged international fairs. It sent trade delegations to countries. It cranked up its missions abroad.

What helped in this? Good human capital, enhanced technological power, market size, democratic traditions and stable politics. But they are not new. What made the breakthrough possible was the liberalisation of foreign investment and a new set of strong incentives.

Source: Lim and Siddall 1997, in *Human Development Report*, 1999, p. 87.

HAS NIRVACHAN SADAN BECOME GOVT. OF INDIA?

This is the column I never wanted to write, especially not in the midst of the greatest democratic exercise in the world. But the attitude of the three wise men in Nirvachan Sadan leaves me with no alternative but to mourn the seven deadly sins of the Election Commission.

What are these sins? According to Thomas Aquinas, they are **pride, avarice, lust, anger, gluttony, envy, and sloth**. And in seven months M. S. Gill and his merry men have given magnificent demonstrations of each.

Let us begin with pride, that which 'goeth before destruction'. I cannot think of a greater display of sickening arrogance than a Chief Election Commissioner who dares describe the voters of India as 'half literate' who may be easily led astray by surveys and exit polls.

India is far from rich, but we can be justifiably proud of our record as the world's largest democracy. But here comes Mr. Gill. No, he insinuates, those voters who upheld the parliamentary system in twelve successive Lok Sabha polls are actually dumb, driven cattle, unable to sift between fact and fiction.

(If you ask me, Gill is wrong on every count. Even assuming every exit poll is deliberately skewed --- a dubious premise to begin with I have never known such propaganda to work; all the outpourings of A.I.R. and Doordarshan couldn't save Indira Gandhi from a hammering in 1977. And in any case, I doubt if such surveys are high on the reading list of any 'half-literate'!)

What brought forth this nauseating outpouring of pride from Gill? Well, that brings up the Chief Election

Commissioner's other defining characteristics - **avarice, envy, and lust**. Gill comes off as a very greedy man. Oh, not for money, but he certainly evidences what the Oxford English Dictionary defines as the **eager desire to get or keep something for oneself, a lust for power in this instance**. I could be wrong, but he seems to **envy the authority granted to elected representatives and wants to usurp it without bothering to be tested by 'half-literate' voters**.

Wouldn't it be more democratic, he once allegedly pondered aloud, if the entire machinery of governance came under the Election Commission once the poll process began? That way, there would be no possibility of the party in power being able to unfairly influence the electorate. (Those 'half-literate' men and women at whom Gill turns up his nose, remember?) When this selfless offer found no takers amongst the politicians, the Chief Election Commissioner turned to a softer target --- the media.

'Thou shalt print no surveys or exit-polls! went the edict from Nirvachan Sadan. 'Thou shalt not travel' with the Prime Minister! followed on its heels. Hey, who elected you editor-in-chief of every newspaper, magazine, and news channel, Mr. Gill, or gave you the power to blue-pencil stories? Or are you, perhaps, unaware of the difference between Chief Election Commissioner and Chief Censor?

In passing, can we really believe that the Election Commission shall be unbiased when the **Chief Election Commissioner's lawyer of choice is**

none other than Kapil Sibal, the Congress's official spokesman? Quizzed on the topic, Gill's sniggering response was, "Well, we may choose Arun Jaitley next time!"--- a stupid quip that would be hooted at in a school debate.

Or take a look at the men appointed as the Election Commission's observers in Bellary and Amethi. D.K. Rao, whose name popped up in the infamous Tandoor murder case, was sent to Amethi; his chief distinction there was to pay homage to Priyanka Vadra Gandhi. Krishnan, the observer in Bellary, was once handpicked by a Congress regime to serve in Sultanpur (the district headquarters for Amethi). I have nothing against either man, but it would have been wiser to post them in less sensitive constituencies. Their appointments seem to have been cases of a slothful Election Commission not doing its homework. But they aren't isolated instances of that sin.

Take the issuance of identity cards. A few years ago, Laloo Prasad Yadav approached the courts for fear that the Commission might postpone polls indefinitely until the photo-card scheme was substantially complete. The Supreme Court gave the commonsense ruling that the issuance of identity cards, however desirable in itself, shouldn't act as a road block to elections. But their Lordships certainly didn't say the scheme wasn't required at all; can you think of any visible progress over the past three years?

The go-stow on the issuance of identity cards is just one of many instances where the Election Commission was caught napping. In fact, the six-month gap between the fall of the Vajpayee ministry and the completion of the election process is largely the fault of the Election Commission. We are in the middle of revising the electoral rolls, was the excuse on hand in April, 'Let the process be completed so that even those newly come of age may vote.

This was horrible logic in any case --- only those who were eighteen by New Year's Day of 1999 were to be

enrolled. If you celebrated your eighteenth birthday later than that, you were out of luck. But what most people don't know is that it was the statutory duty of the Election Commission to have the rolls ready no later than March 31, 1999. Why did Gill's men shirk this responsibility?

Come to that, even the additional time taken by the Election Commission resulted in nothing but a sloppy job. That may sound harsh, but how else would you describe an exercise where even Election Commissioner Krishnamoorthy found his name absent from the rolls?

This Election Commission is the most voluble one we have seen in fifty years. It made headlines by trying to dictate to politicians from the prime minister down. It tried

to impose its authority on the media, backing off only when the Supreme Court came to the rescue. But it has been unusually reticent when it comes to rectifying its own flaws. If you ask me, the problem isn't the 'half-literate' electorate, but a 'half-efficient' Election Commission trying to cover up its own sins of omission and commission by creating controversies elsewhere. (Which might explain the unfortunate exchange of words between George Fernandes and the Commission).

Given the many sins of the Election Commission, isn't it time to write a model code of conduct for the three wise men of Nirvachan Sadan?

(T. V. R. Shenoy in *Indian Express*, 23.9.99)

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BIO DATA OF VAJPAYEE

Political Milestones

Vajpayee became a *swayamsevak* at 15. A stint with the Indian National Congress (1942-43) saw him being jailed during the Quit India movement. He was also associated with the All India Students' Federation (AISF) in 1945. It was in Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, the Hindu Maha Sabha leader, a member of Nehru's's first cabinet, that Vajpayee found a political guru. Vajpayee is one of the founder members of the Jan Sangh (1951).

1955: Contested Lok Sabha by - election from Lucknow unsuccessfully.

1957: First time to Parliament from Balrampur defeating Congress's Hyder Hussain. Contested from Lucknow and Mathura as well, but lost both.

1962: Lost from Balrampur and Lucknow to the third Lok Sabha, Elected to the Rajya Sabha.

1987: To Parliament from Balrampur.

1971: Elected from home constituency Gwalior.

1968-73: President of the Jan Sangh

1975-77: Detained during Emergency.

1977: Riding the crest of the anti-Congress wave, defeated Shashi Bhushan of Congress in New Delhi.

1977-79: Minister for External Affairs in Janata government. Leader of the opposition after the fall of the Janata government.

1980: Won the New Delhi Lok Sabha constituency defeating C.M. Stephen of the Congress.

1980-86: President of the BJP

1984: Lost to Madhavrao Scindia in Gwalior.

1986: Rajya Sabha member till 91.

1989: To Parliament from Lucknow and Vidisha, retained Lucknow.

1991: Elected to Lok Sabha from Lucknow.

1993: Leader of BJP parliamentary party in the Lok Sabha
1996: Elected to Lok Sabha from Lucknow defeating Raj Babbar (Samajwadi Party) and from Ahmednagar against Popat Lal Patel (Congress).

May 16, 1996: Sworn in the 10th Prime Minister. Reign lasted 13 days.

1998: Won the Lucknow seat defeating filmmaker and SP candidate Muzaffar Ali.

March 19, 1998: Sworn in the 13th Prime Minister.

April 14, 1999: AIADMK withdraws support to the government. Government loses vote of confidence on April 17 by a single vote.

Atalji is a role model par excellence for all legislators- from the citation of Best Parliamentarian Award in 1994

Man of Letters

Soon after post-graduation, Vajpayee started off as a journalist with the RSS magazine *Rashtradharma*, a Hindi monthly. In 1950, he edited the organisation's Hindi weekly, *Panchajanya*. When RSS was banned, he joined *Crisis*, an English magazine, published from Allahabad. For two months he edited the group's Hindi magazine, *Karmayogi*. Later edited *Swadesh*, a popular Hindi newspaper, started by Deendayal and also the daily, *Veer Arjun*. Vajpayee started writing poems in 1939. His first poem on Taj Mahal was published in the school magazine.

Published Works:

Collection of poems:

Amar Aag Hai, Meri Ekyavan Kavitayen, Mrityu Ya Hatya, Amar Balidan, Kaidi Kavirai Ki Kundalian (poems written in jail during Emergency),

Speeches:

Lok Sabha Mein Atalji, New Dimensions of India's Foreign Policy, Jan Sangh Aur Musalman, Three Decades in Parliament, Four decades in Parliament.

Family

Born on Christmas day in 1928 (some books have it as 1924) Father Krishna Bihari Vajpayee was a school teacher. Mother Krishna Devi. They had four sons and three daughters, Atal is the youngest among the sons. Krishna Bihari had moved from his ancestral home at Bateswar in Uttar Pradesh to Gwalior as headmaster of the school in Gorkhi.

Education

BA (Hindi literature, Political science, Sanskrit literature, English) from **Victoria College** (now **Laxmibai**) **Gwalior**. Passed with first rank and scholarship for higher studies from the Gwalior state government.

MA (Political Science) from **DAV College, Kanpur**. Did **LLB** simultaneously.

Father and son studied LLB together in the same class. Krishna Bihari joined the course after his retirement.

As foreign minister created history by addressing the UN General Assembly in Hindi.

THE LINE UP FOR THE LOK SABHA ELECTIONS '99

TOTAL SEATS: 150

JAMMU & KASHMIR 6

BJP 3
CONG 6
NC 6

PUNJAB 13

BJP 3 + SAD 10
CDNG 11 + CPI 1 +
CPI(M) 1

HIMACHAL PRADESH 4

BJP 3 + HVC 1
CONG 4

HARYANA 10

BJP 5 + INLD 5
CONG + LOK DAL*

DELHI 7

BJP 7
CONG 7

UTTAR PRADESH 85

BJP 76 + JD(U) 2 + LCP-JBSP 6
CONG 77 + Lok Dal 8
SP 81 + NCP 3 + SJP 1
BSP 85

RAJASTHAN 25

BJP 25
CONG 25

NORTH



TOTAL SEATS: 131

WEST BENGAL 42

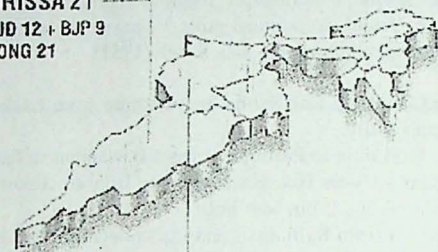
CPI(M) 32 + RSP 4 + CPI 3 + FB 3
TRINAMOOL 29 + BJP 13
CONG 42

ASSAM 14

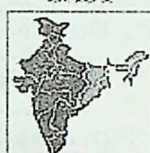
AGP 8 + CPI(M) 2 +
CPI 1 + UPPIA 1
BJP 8

ORISSA 21

BJD 12 + BJP 9
CONG 21

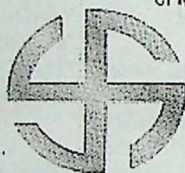


EAST



BIHAR 54

BJP 29 + JD(U) 25
RJD 35 + CONG 13 + CPI 4 +
CPI(M) 1 + MCC 1



TOTAL SEATS: 101

GUJARAT 26

BJP 26
CONG 26

MADHYA PRADESH 40

BJP 40
CONG 40



WEST



MAHARASHTRA 48

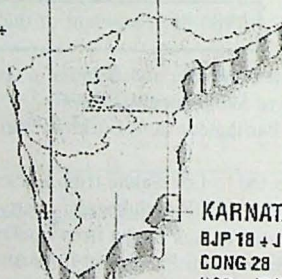
BJP 26 + Shiv Sena 22
NCP 38 + RPI 4 + SP 2 + JD(S) 2
CONG + Others*

KERALA 20

LDf > CPI(M) 14
+ CPI 4 +
JD(S) 1 + KC(J) 1
UDF > CONG 17 +
IUML 2 + KC 1

ANDHRA PRADESH 42

TDP 34 + BJP 8
CONG 42



KARNATAKA 28

BJP 18 + JD(U) 10
CONG 28
NCP + JD(S)*

SOUTH



TAMIL NADU, PONDICHERY 40

DMK 18 + PMK 8 + BJP 6 + MDMK 5 +
TRC 1 + Others 2
AIADMK 23 + CONG 12 + CPI(M) 2 + CPI
2 + INL 1
TMC 22 + Others 18

* Seat-sharing talks still on. Excluding Chandigarh, Nagaland, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya, Manipur, Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Goa, Daman and Diu, Dadra Nagar Haveli, Lakshadweep and Andamans (total seats: 18).

Source: India Today, August 30, 1999, p.28

RAJYA SABHA SEATS

RIGHTIST FORCES		CENTRIST FORCES		LEFTIST FORCES	
BJP	INC	JD	REGIONAL	STALINIST	SOCIALIST
ALLIES	ALLIES	& IND			
45	64	9	11 (TDP)	17 (CPM)	9 (SP)
5 (SS)	2 (IUML)		3 (TMC)	7 (CPI)	2 (FB)
3 (BJD)			7 (DMK)		1 (RSP)
5 (SAD)			3 (NC)		
			2 (AGP)		
			1 (MVA)		
			1 (JMM)		
			1 (ASDC)		
			1 (HVC)		
			1 (SSP)		
			1 (AIADMK:II)		
			14 (INDEP)		
			4 (BSP)		
			6 (AIADMK)		
			9 (RJD)		
			1 (KC)		
			1 (INLD)		
			1 (HVP)		
58	66	9	68	24	12

TOTAL SEATS: 245
 RULING PARTY: 81
 OPPOSITION : 132
 INDEPENDENTS: 14
 OTHERS: 10
 8

- NOMINATED BY PRESIDENT ON
 RECOMMENDATION OF PRIME MINISTER

Source: Outlook, July 19, 1999, p.37.

MUSLIM REPRESENTATION IN LOK SABHA

Year	No. of Muslim MPs
1952-57	36
1957-62	24
1962-67	32
1967-70	29
1971-77	27
1977-79	32
1980-84	46
1985-89	41
1989-91	33
1991-96	28
1996-98	26
1998-	27

Muslim % in terms of total members

1952-57	7.27
1980-84	8.50
1998-	4.99

Source: Outlook, September 20, 1999, p.19.

POPULATION OF MUSLIMS AS % OF TOTAL INDIAN POPULATIONS

Year	%
1961	10.7
1971	11.2
1981	11.4
1991	11.7

Source: India '99, p.16.

ABBREVIATIONS FOR POLITICAL PARTIES

- AC- ARUNACHAL CONGRESS
- ADMK- ANNA DRAVID MUNNETRA KAZHAGAM
- AIADMK- ALL INDIA ANNA DRAVID MUNNETRA KAZHAGAM
- ASDC- ASSAM STUDENTS DEVELOPMENT COUNCIL
- BJD- BIJU JANATA DAL
- BJP- BHARATIYA JANATA PARTY
- BSP- BAHUJAN SAMAJ PARTY
- CPI- COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
- CPM- COMMUNIST PARTY (MARXIST)
- DMK- DRAVID MUNNETRA KAZHAGAM
- FB- FORWARD BLOC
- HLD- HARYANA LOK DAL
- HVC- HARYANA VIKAS CONGRESS
- HVP- HARYANA VIKAS PARTY
- INC- INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
- INCT- INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (RAJASTHAN)
- INLD- INDIAN NATIONAL LOK DAL
- IUML- INDIAN UNION MUSLIM LEAGUE
- IND- INDEPENDENT
- JD- JANATA DAL
- JP- JANATA PARTY
- JMM- JHARKAND MUKTI MORCHA
- KCP- KERALA CONGRESS PARTY
- KCM- KERALA CONGRESS (MANI)
- MGP- MAHARASHTRAVADI GOMANTAK PARTY
- MVA- MAHARASHTRA VIKAS AGHADI
- MPP- MANIPUR PEOPLES PARTY
- NC- NATIONAL CONFERENCE
- PWP- PEASANTS & WORKERS PARTY
- RSP- REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST PARTY
- RJD- RASHTRIYA JANATA DAL
- SAD- SHIROMANI AKALI DAL
- SP- SARVODAYA PARTY
- SSP- SAMYUKTA SOCIALIST PARTY
- SS- SARVAJANIK SABHA
- SDF- SIKKIM DEMOCRATIC FRONT
- SJP- SAMAJWADI JANATA PARTY
- TMC- TAMIL MANILA CONGRESS
- UGP- UNITED GOANS' PARTY

Hunger In Third World Needs Political Solution

That food is a political commodity calling for political treatment, not merely "pure economic" solutions, was clearly illustrated when the European Parliament held a two-day debate in September 1998 in Strasbourg on the problems posed by Third World hunger.

Jorgen Nielsen, a member of the Liberal Democratic Group, stated that a 30-per cent expansion of the area given over to agriculture in the Third World was possible. But this was impeded by "innumerable factors of a human technical, financial and political nature, which are holding up the expansion and modernisation of agricultural production."

His German Socialist colleague Katharina Focke, was more cutting: "The European Community's food aid policy is still dictated by political interests rather than any intention to promote development", she said.

Frances Moore-Lappe, the author and campaigner who helped setup the "Rome Declaration Group" as an alternative to FAO's World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, argued that **food aid increases the Third World's dependency on foreign aid and aggravates the imbalance, between food production and export crops.**

A recent report of the World Food Council established by the UNO in 1974, links the "political sensitivity of food issues" with "the high and growing concentration of international grain supplies in one geographical region, i.e., North America" and the dangers to

world food security from possible climate, logistical and political factors." These are seen as good enough reasons to call for the development of alternative sources of supply to the Third World countries.

Some experts like Moore-Lappe argue that there is enough food to go around comfortably, right now. The world's grain production suffices, she says, to give each human being a daily calorie intake equivalent to that of the average North American. Other sources, like Population Concern, come up with different arithmetic: an even distribution of the world's food production would yield a per capita intake of more than 1,600 calories and 59 grams of protein and this is, according to FAO, what an average body requires daily while at rest.

The latest study of the International Wheat Council says Third World demand for wheat, rice and coarse grains like barley could rise by 55 per cent by the turn of the century. Its import needs may double. But world prices, depressed now by the current surplus, are likely to rise. But the auguries are scarcely good.; The European Parliament president Lord Plumb of Britain, talks of the "paradoxical problems of plenty."

At GATT, the 95-nation world trade body USA is campaigning for freer trade in food and an end to subsidies for farmers. But the Europeans who argue against the US scheme fear that it could mean more farmers without work. In reply, the USA

has proposed phasing out all subsidies to farmers by year 2000 --- an argument that freeing trade in food was one answer, especially benefiting Third World farmers. Hugh Corbett, director of London's Trade Policy Research Centre, explained that subsidies created surpluses which were dumped in world markets. "And if you are dumping food in Africa under the label of food aid, the effect is to push the price down and lead farmers to shift to, say growing livestock which eat up all the grass. And then you get famine," he said.

The so-called Cairns Group of major farm nations among them Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada and Indonesia, have welcomed the US plan. "The US proposal is a concrete starting point for our negotiations," pointed out Leppoldo Tettamanti, Argentine ambassador to GATT. He emphasised that in the long run the prime need for Third World countries is to substantially hike agricultural production.

Increasing agricultural production invariably raises the issue of availability of land --- a question on which expert opinions vary. Optimists reckon that for each person on the planet there are about 3.7 hectares of cultivable land, plus another hectare divided between pasture and forest. And, they say, less than half a hectare, per person is actually under cultivation. But some experts, basing their calculations on a study made by a US presidential advisory committee, say that at best there are 3,200 million hectares of cultivable land, of which only half are being used. They add that even if agricultural productivity does not increase, population growth would exhaust the available land by 2010.

The seriousness of the problem does not end here, but stretches into the vital question of the extent of undernourishment. The vast majority of the undernourished live in Asia; over a third of India's population consumes less than 75 per cent of the calories they need. One in every three children in sub-Saharan Africa is undernourished and four per cent are on the verge of starvation.

Widespread undernourishment has long co-existed with sufficiency or

(contd. on p. 41)

Finance Capital Today

-World's Most Deadly Parasite

Today, only one in every seventy dollars that changes hands on the world currency markets actually pays for trade in goods and services.... the entire balance finds speculative outlets. This speculative capital results in little or no creation of jobs, no creation of assets, no creation of goods, but gives huge profits to a handful of international sharks who control it. It functions like a leech on the 'productive' economy, sucking out the surplus from the worker, devastating an entire populace, not merely of one country, but the entire globe. If eighty years ago Lenin saw finance capital as being moribund, decadent, parasitical; then today that same finance capital is a thousand times more moribund, a thousand times more decadent and a thousand times more parasitical. It is now like a twin-headed monster, with one head in the 'productive' economy (FDIs) and one in the speculative economy (FIIs), fattening from the blood of the oppressed masses the world over. And these vampires suck and suck and suck... killing, destroying thousands, each day, each hour. But, Dracula-like, in order to mask its true character, it has two faces --- one, gentlemanly, polished up by the pen-pirates of the media; the other venomous, with its fangs extracting blood from its prey.

It is not just the millions killed in genocidal mania in the Balkans. Rwanda, etc; it is not just the millions more massacred by imperialists butchers like

Marcos, Mobutu, Pinochet, Fujimori, Suharto or their refined avatars like Indira Gandhi, Vajpayee or Gujral; it is not just the millions more exterminated, 'ethnically cleansed', 'purified' by racist, Zionist, communalist or casteist regimes --- it is the millions and millions who die each day through poverty, hunger, starvation, curable diseases and by the brutal arms of the state. It is this that finance capital has bequeathed to the world, making it a living-hell for most. Yet it has successfully numbered a large section of the middle-classes into passivity, insensitivity and indifference by a continuous blasting from the electronic and print media, and by a set of values that seeks crude self-promotion, self-gratification and self-indulgence as the only goal in life.

Finance capital, or imperialism, still has all the basic characteristics outlined by Lenin eighty years back in his pathbreaking work, 'Imperialism-the Highest stage of Capitalism'... only today, each of those characteristics have got far more accentuated. The concentration of production and the size of the monopolies and multinationals has reached unbelievable proportions; the export of capital has seen a geometric increase since the 1970s and more particularly since the 'globalisation' of the 1990s; the merging of bank capital and industrial capital, and the creation on the basis of this 'finance capital' of a financial oligarchy has become even more fused, more cohesive - with the

state playing a catalytic role; and the fierce contention for re-division of world markets, continues apace with US, Europe and Japan leading the battle for a greater slice of the cake. Finally, the fact that imperialism means war, is even more evident today by the continuous sabre-rattling of US imperialism and by the militarisation of its economy, in a desperate attempt to maintain its world hegemony in the face of the other growing economic powers --- particularly of Europe and Japan.

In this article we shall, first, take a historical view of the growth of finance capital in the post-war period; we shall then analyse the enormous centralisation of capital, in both production and finance; we shall then turn to the gigantic leaps in the export of capital and also the growing debt burden, particularly of the third world; and finally we shall see the disastrous impact of such a parasitical system.

History

Following World War II, USA dominated the world economy. With the crushing of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan, the devastation of European industry, and the loss of more than 20 million Soviet lives together with one quarter of its industrial assets and most of its farm and transport infrastructure --- the US owned roughly half of the world's entire wealth. Never had a single 'empire' (not even Rome) engulfed such overwhelming power and control over the entire globe. And, immediately after the war, at the Bretton Wood's dining table, sat the two major imperialist powers, USA and the UK, to carve out the world in their interests. The first, a swiftly soaring imperial superpower whose economic muscle power had enormously swelled between 1941 and 1944, the other, a debilitated empire thrashing at the throes of disintegration. In 1944, at the Bretton Woods Conference in New Hampshire, was born the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank - the IMF, as an instrument for short-term credit, the Bank for long-term loans - acting as the twin arms of international finance capital. The General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was also set

up in order to regulate trade, in the interests of the imperialists.

At Bretton Woods, was decided the fate of the future world financial system, tied hand and foot to US imperialism's financial interests. The headquarters of these two financial bodies was to be based in Washington.... and the Dollar was made the anchor currency, tied to gold at the rate of \$35 for one ounce. Other major currencies were to be fixed against the dollar, to be agreed by the US-dominated IMF. For every \$35 presented by a Central Bank of any country to the US, the US had to present one ounce of gold. At that time the USA had cornered 70% of the world's gold stocks in order to meet claims.

The post-war years saw the triumphant march of US imperialism. Not merely was US money and Marshall "aid" reimbursed at exorbitant interest rates, but US corporate capital seized entirely new markets like the tobacco industry in Germany. Further, US geo-political control was reinforced thanks to an ascendant and subservient European political elite that gained from being on the American payroll in many ways. For example, huge financial transfers were lavished on the Christian Democratic Party in Germany, the Conservative Party in the UK, the Vatican, and even (as was revealed in 1994) the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in Japan had been financed by the CIA for nearly three decades.

The 1945 post-war boom resulted from a big pool of purchasing power accumulated during the war years in North America, together with the huge potential markets of war-shattered Europe and Japan. In addition, the US instigated war in Korea and Indochina bestowed golden gifts to the US arms industry, as well as powered the Japanese boom. Japan's post-war take-off owed much to the massacres of Asian people by US-generated wars. Once those conditions that triggered the immediate postwar boom petered out, towards the end of the 1960s, capitalism's instability quickly resurfaced. The table below gives a picture of the pre-war, wartime and post-war growth rates of the major imperialist powers.

The post-war boom is clearly visible from the table in the period 1948 to 1971. Besides, in this period, exports in the OECD countries (i.e. the major 24 capitalist countries) grew by 8.8% per year. But, with 1971, the new crisis began, and the growth rate slowed.

In the first decade after the war the main form of foreign investment was imperialist-state-investment (officially known as public-long-term capital). This US capital, mainly in the form

Growth in Industrial Output ¹ (in per cent)				
Period	Japan	Germany	USA	UK
1890-1913	8.6	4.2	5.9	2.2
1913-1938	9.5	2.2	2.0	2.0
1938-1948	-5.4	-5.8	7.4	2.2
1948-1971	16.7	8.4	4.0	3.1
1971-1980	4.8	2.0	3.0	1.0

of grants and loans, went into rehabilitation of the war-torn economies in Europe and Japan, and, in the third world into the consolidation of semi-feudal, semi-colonial state structures. They were accompanied by large 'military assistance' in order

to contain communism, encircle the socialist states and police the world.

In the next period, from the mid-1950s until the early 1970s, private direct investment occupied a central position in overseas expansion of capital. The requirements and possibilities of global accumulation called forth the massive export of productive capital (FDI). In particular, this involved the expansion and diversification of multinational (TNC) operations in the third world. Between 1955 and 1973, US private direct investment overseas increased five-fold. In the third world, the so-called 'import substitution' development, was not a programme of autonomous national development, as portrayed by the revisionists --- foreign capital was heavily involved. For example, between 1960 and 1972, the value of US direct investment holdings in Latin America nearly doubled.

But, by the late 1960s, the rumblings of a crisis, began to disturb this so-called 'Golden Era' of post-war capitalism. The very system on which Bretton Woods was based, got smashed by the US itself.... with the reckless printing of dollars. The US financing of the Vietnam war, a series of budget deficits, swelling inflation, mounting debts, and, faced with a wave of speculation against the dollar - the entire system collapsed. Once the supply of dollars (in America and abroad) overtook the stock of gold at Fort Knox.... the system was in deep trouble. Finally, President Nixon, at his wits end, without even consultation of his IMF 'partners', arbitrarily declared, in August 1971, the inconvertibility of the dollar into gold.

But the crisis and havoc in the economy only deepened. Desperate attempts were made to salvage at least one part of the Bretton Woods system --- the fixed exchange rate mechanism. The dollar was devalued twice, in swift succession.... but to no avail. Finally, by March 1973, all efforts were abandoned, fixed exchange rates were abolished and a floating exchange rate system was introduced. **With this step the seeds were sown for the future gigantic growth in speculative capital on the currency markets.** Exchange rates were henceforth determined by buyers and sellers **on the market, that** became increasingly deregulated as one country after another abandoned exchange controls. Traders began to exchange currencies for purely speculative purposes, that had nothing to do with trade or investments in assets. And in late 1973, came the final straw that broke the back of the then prevailing international financial system --- the overnight quadrupling of crude oil prices. The 'Oil Shock' repudiated all semblance of monetary discipline and international co-operation.

All these factors combined to create a deep stagnation in the world economy. From 1973 to 1987 economic growth in the developed countries slowed to 2.6% annually and export growth dropped to 4.7% annually.

With this slump in the world economy the outlet for private direct investment abroad dwindled. But, beginning in the mid-1970s and continuing through the 1980s, private bank lending --- i.e. debt --- creating flows of capital on commercial terms - became the predominant form of foreign investment in the Third World. And with this, came the debt-trap,

strangling the Third World countries in a web of indebtedness.

The large deficit-financing and printing of dollars to finance America's war machine... led to a surfeit of dollars all over the world. Particularly, a gigantic sum of Eurodollars, as these came to be known, accumulated in European banks. Added to this, was the huge stock of petro-dollars generated through the rise in oil prices, which also found their way to the big banks based in Europe. This was coupled with the 1973-74 global turn down --- the most serious since the Great Depression. All this resulted in an enormous pool of loanable funds at the disposal of commercial banks, with no investment outlet. This, then went as loans to Third World countries, specifically to Brazil, Mexico and Argentina. Between 1974 and 1982 about \$285 billion was lent to non-oil producing underdeveloped countries.

The expansion of loan capital (debt) in the 1970s was an important means by which imperialist capital generated profits in the Third World, in a climate of narrowing investment possibilities. From 1971 to 1981 the Third World Debt grew from \$70 billion to \$600 billion. Its service cost rose from \$20 billion to over \$120 billion. Simultaneously, the giant American banks like, Citi Bank, began earning 40% of its profits from underdeveloped countries, from only 7% of its assets.

With the terms of trade deteriorating at a fast pace through the 1970s, with a rise in the interest rates on the debt, and with the second 'Oil Shock' in 1979 and the onset of a sharp global recession in 1981-82.... a number of Third World countries went bankrupt and defaulted on their external debts. By 1982, Latin America's external debt was \$318 billion, while its trade surplus was a mere \$30 billion --- not even sufficient to pay the interest on the debt. By 1984 all new loans, were infact going merely to refinance the existing debt. The Latin American countries were caught in the quicksand of the debt trap.

In 1982, the IMF interyened in Latin America's debt crisis, and with it came the IMF's Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP).... i.e. to squeeze the last drop of blood out of the people in order to service the foreign debt. Its effect began to tell by the late 1980s when inflation reached gigantic proportions (1,600 % in Brazil, 3500 % in Argentina) leading to severe economic decline and mass destitution. But this resulted in explosions of violence, like in the oil-rich Venezuela. In the face of increasing violence, the imperialists stepped in with their 'Brady Plan' in 1990, to reschedule the loans and organise a bail-out through the IMF, World Bank and an International Consortium (to which Japan contributed a large amount).

Meanwhile, by the late 1970s, the developed countries were themselves facing a severe crisis --- growing unemployment, high inflation and stagnation. The stagflation culminated in the recession of 1981-82. To pull the economy out of crisis, the bitter medicine prescribed was Thatcherism and Reaganomics. This was nothing but a massive attack on the working-classes of Britain and America, coupled with huge concessions to big business. The so-called 'supply-side' economy entailed revival of the market through: big tax concessions which raised the purchasing power of the

elite, large deficit financing and privatisation. The weak recovery that followed through the 1980s, curbed inflation, but unemployment sky-rocketed and people's condition deteriorated phenomenally.

Also, during this period, Germany and particularly Japan grew at a rate much faster than America. The President of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development observed, "The signs of America's relative decline are converging and unquestionable. Japanese productivity is increasing at three times the US rate, while European productivity increases at twice the US rate." For example, in the USA ten lawyers graduate for each engineer. In Japan ten engineers graduate for each lawyer. Germany had twice the number of scientists and engineers per capita, than the USA.

Simultaneous to this, with the dismantling of financial barriers with the introduction of a floating exchange rate and with the lack of investment opportunities due to recessionary conditions, the 1980s saw a massive spurt in speculative capital. **To the anarchy of the market economy was added the anarchy of the financial system.** Trading in currencies, in securities, in equities on the stock exchanges grew to unbelievable proportions. Advances in information technology allowed huge sums of money to be shifted from country to country in a matter of seconds. Within the global financial web, money transited from one banking haven to the next, in the intangible form of electronic transfers. The cost of a multi-million dollar transfer was just 18 cents. **By the 1990s, through the aggressive promotion of 'globalisation', speculative capital like a mad elephant was already trampling under foot national economies, smashing financial barriers, destroying currencies, subverting governments ... and forcing the entire world economies to bow to its strength.** By 1991, international bank loans which were only 4% of the GNP of the industrial countries in 1980, rose to 44% of their GNP. Outstanding international bonds had reached the huge figure of \$1.7 trillion (one trillion = thousand billion) by 1991.

As we shall see later, 1991 was only the beginning. In the next seven years finance capital has grown astronomically --- in private direct investments, in a burgeoning debt and, most of all, in the sphere of speculative capital. **But, the gigantic growth of such a parasitical economy, has made it excessively fragile and prone to sudden shocks and crashes.** Black Monday on October 19, 1987, with the crash of the New York Stock Exchange, saw \$2,000 billion wiped out, the collapse of the savings and loan institutions and big banks in the USA in 1990/91 was saved only by massive infusion of (public) money by the government, amounting to 3% of its GDP, the 1994 Bond market crash saw another \$1,500 billion wiped out, the bankruptcy of the Mexican economy in 1994 involved the gigantic bail-out of \$50 billion. And all this pales into insignificance compared to the present crisis in South East Asia and the collapse (of large number of Japanese financial companies and banks. The South East Asian crisis has already involved a bail-out of \$100 billion and this is not working. Last year the GDPs of South Korea and Malaysia declined by over 6%. The Russian economy has collapsed.

And now Latin America, particularly Brazil has been seriously hit. In Brazil the GDP is likely to shrink by 6% this year; the REAL in the first three months of this year was devalued by 44%; and to cover the \$41.5 billion IMF-bailout, the puppet Brazilian government plans to extract a massive \$23.5 bn in just one year through tax hikes and spending cuts. The crisis is threatening to engulf all the world economies.

Already according to a report, it is being predicted that the Asian crisis will cost one million American jobs as cheap imports will come in and exports from America to these countries will be hit by austerity measures.² *The Economist*, a major apologist for finance capital, pictures a similar impact when it says, "Most Wall Streeters expect Asia's turmoil to knock around half a percentage point from America's growth rate this year. The more pessimistic expect growth to fall by a full 1%, with America's trade deficit worsening sharply."³ With the crash of the Rouble the Dow Jones stock index plunged 554 points on August 31, 1998 --- its second largest decline in the history of the New York Stock Exchange. The German economy has been severely hit by the Russian collapse as it has lent a huge \$75 bn to the Russian public and private sectors. Japan recorded a negative growth rate as high as 2.8% in 1998. *The Economist*, also describes the hopeless situation thus : "While the remedies currently on offer are clearly not working --- the mixture of tight government budgets, high interest rates and liberalising economic reforms, supplemented by loans arranged by the IMF has failed to stabilise anything --- it is not obvious what would work better."⁴

Such then is the history of the evolution of finance capital in the post-war period leading to one of its most serious crisis ever. The IMF austerity measures outlined above by *The Economist* will only worsen the conditions in these countries and push them deeper into the tightening grip of finance capital. Now, the imperialists, in order to shift the blame from themselves, have launched a tirade against the 'corrupt' governments of South East Asia... as though they alone are to blame for the collapse and not the system. Suddenly, the 'miracle economies' have become 'crony capitalism'.⁵ Their major stooges, have become incompetent, corrupt dictators. What they, of course, do not say is that the 'corrupt' dictators were propped up, pampered and fattened by the imperialists themselves, as a bulwark against communism. Now that their roles are over, their time has run out, they can be discarded; and more effective agents put in their place. The Marcos, Mobutus, Pinochets, Suhartos, may be replaced by neo-liberal 'reformers' - merely old wine in new bottles !!

Now let us turn to analysing each of the separate aspects of finance capital as it exists today.

CENTRALISATION OF CAPITAL

As part of the restructuring of capital in this period of globalisation, a massive wave of mergers and acquisitions are creating even more gigantic conglomerates. Already large conglomerates are forming into even bigger and bigger combines, which wield even greater control on not only

markets but on every aspect of life of countries in which they operate. The total value of these mergers and acquisitions in merely the USA in the seven year period 1988-1994 was \$2.8 trillion; while on a global basis it was \$6 trillion.⁶ In the last three years it has reached record levels. Last year saw record number of mergers in both America and Europe. The process continues and in Europe it is likely to be even larger in order to catch up with the bigger conglomerates of America.

Here, we shall first look at the trans - national corporations (TNCs), and then the banks.

(i) The TNCs

Today, there are roughly 44, 000 TNCs with close to 2,80,000 foreign affiliates worldwide. Of these, the top 300 TNCs, excluding the financial institutions, own 25% of the world's productive wealth.⁷ A mere 1% of the top TNCs own half the total stock of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI)⁸.

A small handful of 15 TNCs control the market in 20 key commodities. They control 90% of the world's wheat trade, 70% of the rice trade, 80% of the tea and coffee trade, 90% of the timber cotton and tobacco trade, 80% of the copper, 60% of oil, 90% of iron ore....

The top 5 companies typically account for 35-70% of total sales across a range of products. The following table gives the percentage of world sales by sector of the top 5 TNCs in the year 1992⁹:

Consumer Durables	70%
Cars and Trucks	58%
Aerospace	55%
Electronic Components	53%
Oil, Steel, Personal Computers and Media industries	50% each

To get an idea of the truly gigantic size of these TNCs, and consequently the power they wield over economies and even governments, can be seen from the fact that, the combined sales of the world's top 200 corporations are far greater than a quarter of the world's economic activity. Their combined sales are larger than the combined economies of all countries except the biggest nine. In other words, they exceed the combined economies of 182 countries --- there being 191 countries at the latest count. If we exclude the 9 biggest economies (those of the US, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, UK, Brazil, Canada and China) the combined GDP (Gross Domestic Product) of the remaining 182 was \$6.9 trillion. However, the combined sales of the top 200 corporations amounted to \$7.1 trillion.¹⁰

The top 200 have almost twice the economic clout of the poorest four-fifths of humanity. According to the UN, some 85% of the world's GDP is controlled by the richest fifth of humanity. Hence the poorer 4.5 billion people in the world account for only \$3.9 trillion of economic activity; this is only a little over half the combined revenues of the Top 200's \$7.1 trillion.

Number of Companies in the Top 500 ¹²			
	1997	1996	1995
USA	175	162	153
Japan	112	126	141
Germany	42	41	40
France	39	42	42
Britain (including two British/Dutch)	37	36	34
Total of the 5 major countries	405	407	410
Others :			
Switzerland	12	14	
South Korea	12	13	
Italy	13	13	
Netherlands	10	9	
Canada	8	6	

The share of the global economic activity of these top 200 has grown rapidly ever since 1982. Whereas in that year the sales of these top 200 amounted to 24.2% of global GDP, it had risen to 28.3% in 1995.¹¹ Besides, TNCs account for 70-80% of all Research and Development (R & D) expenditure and 80-90% of all technology payments.

If we look at a countrywise break-up of the top 500 TNCs we find that over 80% belong to the top five countries. Also due to the severe slump in the Japanese economy, in the last two years a number of companies have dropped out of the top 500 listing. The above chart gives a picture of the number of TNCs in the top 500 belonging to the major countries. The fluctuations in their economies are reflected in the number of companies in the top 500. While Japan grew very fast to nearly equal that of America, the present slump has pushed it temporarily back. Europe has been steadily growing.... though slow, it is soon catching up with America. Today, of the top 500, USA has 175, E.U. 154 and Japan 112.

There is a misnomer that these giant corporations, because of their international reach, no longer ally with any one country and are world bodies. That they are multinational and not transnational. Though generally referred to as multinational corporations, a more correct term for most would be transnational corporations. Strictly, a TNC is one in which ownership is with one country while a MNC is multinational, or where ownership is with more than one country. The bulk are TNCs while only a few, particularly in Europe (e.g., Shell, Unilever) are MNCs.

Firstly, even at a very superficial observation it is incorrect to assume that these corporations are not closely tied to the rulers of a particular country as governments and their political leaders are today aggressively pushing the TNCs of their own country at the cost of competitors from other countries. Second, governments are very closely tied to their TNCs, in assisting them with subsidies, tariffs and other trade concessions and even funding gigantic sums (of peoples' money) to collapsing banks in their respective countries. And thirdly a study has shown that, though TNC operations may be transnational, its ownership and control are very much in the hands of the parent company. For example, the proportion of foreign-born board members of America's 500 leading companies in 1991 was just 2.1% --- the same as ten years earlier. 13 Japanese multinationals will be even more tightly controlled by Japanese; while in Europe there will be more interlinking of directors from the major European countries linked to the political union that is taking place.

Now if we look at the top 10 MNCs in the world, we get yet another picture of their gigantic size. The above chart gives a picture of their sales, profits and their change in ranking in the last two years. Again here we find that the Japanese companies have slipped from their top positions in 1995. We also find an enormous drop in profits of all the Japanese giants (except Toyota).

The top 500 global giants had combined revenues in

The Top 11 MNCs ¹⁴ (1996 and 1997)								
Ranking 1995	Ranking 1996	Ranking 1997	Company	Country	Revenue (\$ billion)		Profits (\$ million)	
					1996	1997	1996	1997
(4)	(1)	1	General Motors	USA	168	178	4,963	7,000
(7)	(2)	2	Ford	USA	147	154	4,446	7,000
(2)	(3)	3	Mitsui	Japan	145	143	322	270
(1)	(4)	4	Mitsubishi	Japan	140	129	394	390
(10)	(6)	5	Royal Dutch Shell	British/Dutch	128	128	8,887	7,800
(3)	(5)	6	Itochu	Japan	136	127	111	loss (800)
(9)	(8)	7	Exxon	USA	119	122	7,510	8,500
(12)	(11)	8	Wal-Mart Stores	USA	106	119	3,056	3,500
(6)	(7)	9	Marubeni	Japan	124	111	178	140
(5)	(9)	10	Sumitomo	Japan	119	102	loss (1293)	200
(8)	(10)	11	Toyota Motors	Japan	109	95	3,426	3,700

1997 of \$11,454 billion on which they earned profits of \$452 billion. Though revenues increased in 1997 by just 0.2%, profits increased by 12%. If we compare the revenues of General Motors with the GDP of a number of Asian countries, we can imagine the power the TNCs wield. In 1993, the GDP of India was \$225 billion, Singapore \$55 billion, Hongkong \$90 billion, Malaysia \$64 billion, Thailand \$125 billion and Indonesia \$145 billion.¹⁵

But these giants are rapidly becoming even bigger, as there appears no end to the wave of mergers and acquisitions (M & A). With 1997 reaching an all-time record of M & As at \$1.6 trillion; in just the first half of 1998 the amount of M & As has doubled the previous years' figure already reaching (upto June 30 '98) \$1.4 trillion. The banking industry led the merger wave, closely followed by the telecommunication companies. Such giants, with enormous money-power at their disposal, easily dominate the comprador bourgeoisie of Third World countries. Even in a big country like India, the biggest comprador company, Tata's TISCO, had a revenue of just over Rs. 10,000 crores or \$2.4 billion --- i.e. 1.4% of General Motors. Market capitalisation of TISCO varied from \$2 to \$3 billion, and only about 20 comprador companies had a market capitalisation over Rs. 1000 crores or \$0.2 billion.

(ii) Banking

The chief function of banks is to act as middlemen in the making of payment --- to recycle deposits as loans. Through this, they transform inactive money capital into active money capital: that is to say, capital yielding profit. As Lenin said, *"they collect all kinds of money revenues and place them at the disposal of the capitalist class."* He added, *"As banking develops and becomes concentrated in a small number of establishments, the banks grow from modest middlemen into powerful monopolies having at their command almost the whole money capital of all the capitalists and small businessmen and also the larger part of the means of production and sources of raw materials in any one country and a number of countries. This transformation of numerous modest middlemen into a handful of monopolists is one of the fundamental processes in the growth of capitalism into capitalist imperialism."*¹⁶

If this was the situation eighty years back, today the size of banking monopolies is multiplied a hundred fold. The degree of concentration and monopoly in banking capital can be seen from the fact that a handful of banks today dominate the capitalist countries.... and even these are fast merging. In fact some of the biggest mergers and acquisitions have been amongst banks. In just the first six months of 1998 bank mergers alone amounted to more than \$320 billion --- equal to the total worldwide mergers four years back. In Germany it is the three giants --- Deutsche Bank, Dresdner Bank and Commerzbank; in Japan it is the six giants - Sumitomo Bank, Fuji Bank, Sakura Bank, Sanwa Bank, Dai-ichi Kaneyo Bank and Tokyo-Mitsubishi Bank; in France it is the four giants - Societe Generale, Credit Lyonnais, Banque National de Paris and Cie de Suez; and in the USA it is the five giants - Chase Manhattan, Bank of America, Nations Bank First Union, Bank One Corporation

etc. Though many small banks exist, these dominate the banking world.... and the small ones are fast being wiped out or bought over. For example, late last year First Union bought over the Philadelphia based bank, Corestates, worth \$ 16.6 billion. In 1998 there was the gigantic \$70 billion merger of Travelers Group Inc's merger with Citicorp. And in Europe in one of the biggest mergers ever, there was the \$29 billion merger of Swiss Bank Corp with Union Bank of Switzerland.

Taking a global view, at the end of 1990, 15 of the largest banks in the world had assets totaling \$5 trillion, an amount three times larger than that possessed by the 100 largest banks worldwide in 1976, and far higher than the value of entire world trade in 1990. The extent of concentration in banking can also be seen from the fact that the 31 banks in the Top 200 (corporations) have combined assets of \$10.4 trillion and sales of more than \$800 billion.¹⁷

On a countrywise basis, we find Japan has risen as the dominant financial power in the world (their banks though, have been the worst hit by the present slump in the economy). Yet, historically if we look at the development of banking, we find that in 1976, of the six largest banks worldwide, three were US, two French and one German --- by far the largest being Bank of America and Citi Bank (both US). The Japanese were then absent from this club of superbankers. Ten years later, in 1986, five of the six biggest banks were Japanese, with Citibank occupying sixth place. A year later, all six were Japanese --- and owned assets worth \$2.4 trillion. This was the situation a year back. The gigantic bank mergers in America and Europe in the last year would have somewhat altered the rankings. Yet Japan continues to be the biggest financial power. Japan has accumulated some \$12 trillion in savings.... it now supplies roughly half the net savings used by the world's borrowers, of which some \$270 billion was funneled into US treasuries (*Newsweek*, February 2, '98).

Such gigantic monopolies have served to concentrate enormous funds in their hands. For example, US pension funds, which exceed \$4 trillion, and account for a third of all corporate equities and 40% of corporate bonds, are mainly managed by the trust departments of these giant banks, thus giving them unprecedented financial power.

But besides commercial banks, there are two more exceedingly powerful financial institutions. These are the insurance companies and investment (or merchant) banks. These too are dominated by giant monopolies.

The giant insurance companies, like Prudential, use money made by selling insurance for investment in enterprises. While banks use people's deposits, the insurance companies utilise their savings through insurance schemes. Here too vast sums of money find their way into the giant TNCs. As in banking so also in insurance, it is Japan that leads. In Japan's life-insurance industry, premiums account for 40% of the world total. The eight biggest companies have assets of \$1.3 trillion (145 trillion Yen). The industry employs some four lakh salespeople. Nippon Life alone, Japan's and the world's biggest life insurance company, employs 76,000 of them.¹⁸ In Europe too, mergers of the

European giant insurance companies are creating monoliths. Two years back, two big French Insurance groups, A & A and UAP, merged to form the biggest insurance conglomerate in Europe. But late 1997, the German insurance giant Allianz tookover the French insurance giant AGF (Assurances Generales de France) to become the number one insurance company in Europe with a yearly premium income of \$64 billion.¹⁹

The investment banks are dominated by American giants. Often they are mere arms of the main banks, who have fund-management wings. For example, Deutsche Bank has Deutsche Morgan Grenfell (DMG), Britain's NatWest bank has NatWest Markets (NWM) as its investment bank. These investment banks 'manage' huge funds and by reason of their strategically placed shareholdings, are powerful forces in a large number of enterprises. It is they who stride the market of speculative capital, organise mergers and acquisitions, trade in bonds and currency markets and reap in huge profits. For example, Merrill Lynch, the largest investment bank in the world, earned a 28% return on capital in 1996/97. Here too it is the top 10 investment banks that dominate this sector. With a spate of mergers and acquisitions, the monopolies are growing larger and larger. In 1990 the top 10 accounted for 41% of the business of the 25 largest investment banks, by 1996 this had increased to 62%. Of the top ten, eight are American. The following is a picture of the percentage market share of the biggest investment banks --- Merrill Lynch - 10%; Chase Manhattan - 8%; J. P. Morgan - 9.5%; Goldman Sachs - 9.3%; Morgan Stanley - 9%; CS First Boston - 6%; Solomon Brothers 5.5%; Lehman Brothers - 5% UBS - 4%; Bear Stearns -3%, Citicorp - 3%; Deutsche Morgan Grenfell - 3%.²⁰

The creation of a financial oligarchy can be seen by the interlinking on the board of directors of these banks and financial institutions with the industrial conglomerates. Also on these boards are top bureaucrats and politicians indicating the close links with the State. This is best shown by taking a few examples. Take just the British/Dutch Oil giant, Shell. Some of the names on its boards of directors are : Robert McNamara (former US Defence Secretary, former president of Ford Motors, former president of the World Bank); also on the board are directors from Rothschild, Lazards, Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank, Sun Life Insurance, RTZ.... On the board of Unilever is the president of the Bank

of England, and members of the boards of Barclays Bank, Citibank, Bank of Ireland. Also its board comprises several former heads of the civil service from the foreign office. On the board of British Petroleum, there are directors from the boards of Deutsche Bank, Barclays Bank, Allied Irish Banks.... and also a former Commander-in-Chief of the British Land forces and a former head of the diplomatic services. Deutsche Bank has a sizable stake in DaimlerChrysler. And in Japan, banking and industrial capital are completely interwoven in the big conglomerates.

Finally it must be said that the crisis in the economy has hit the banks and financial institutions the worst --- in both, the third world and the developed countries. Morris Goldstein of the Institute of International economics, estimated that three-fourths of the world's economies have been hit by banking crises over the past 15 years. He estimates that the under-developed countries alone have spent \$250 billion bailing out their banks. Also, some of the major banks in USA, France, Germany, Britain collapsed and had to be bailed out by their respective governments involving billions of dollars. Now a series of giant Japanese banks and financial institutions have crashed. And even after those crashes the situation is getting worse with estimated bad debts amounting to a gigantic \$600 billion (nearly twice India's GDP). Earlier last year the Japanese government (the Diet) decided to spend \$230 billion to rescue the banking system.²¹ Also, the first casualty of the present crisis in South East Asia has been the banks and financial institutions with a large number of them crashing --- including the largest bank in the region, the Hong Kong based Peregrine Investment Bank with a one billion dollar debt.

This crisis in the banking and financial system only indicates the extreme fragility of this system where, in the era of 'globalisation' speculative capital has come to dominate the money markets. And in each bankruptcy the losers are the people, while the magnates and leaders siphon off their huge profits to safe havens. If the bankruptcy is allowed, it is the ordinary depositors who lose their money, and if the government spends billions to rescue a bankrupt bank, again it is people's tax money which is used to prop up private enterprise. Both ways, the people lose, while the business magnates gain.

(Reproduced from *People's March*, May-June, 1999)

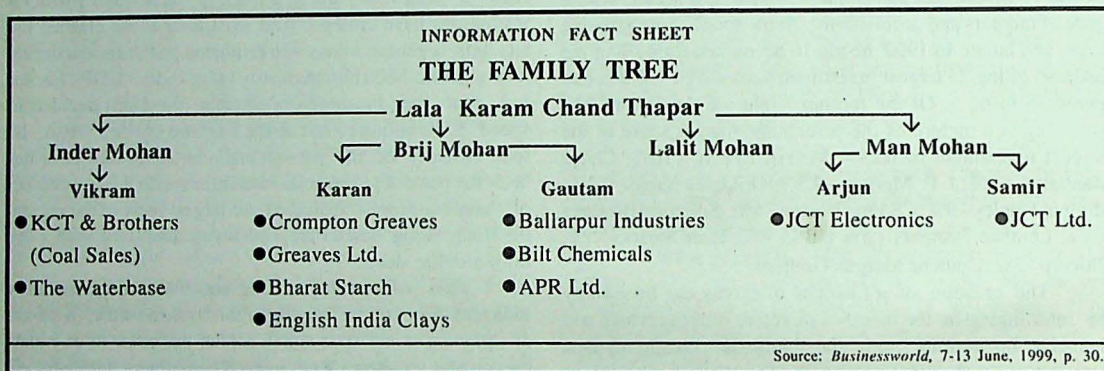
NOTES

- (1) UNCTAD Secretariat calculations as quoted in the book '*Rise and Fall of Economic Liberalism*' by Fredric. F. Clairmont.
- (2) Report of Jeff Faux, president of pro-Labour Economic Policy as quoted in the *Economic Times*, January 21, '98.
- (3) *The Economist*, January 17, '98.
- (4) *The Economist*, January 10, '98.
- (5) See *Newsweek*, January 26, '98.
- (6) '*Rise and Fall of Economic Liberalism*' by Fredric. F. Clairmont
- (7) *The Economist* - A Survey of Multinationals, March 27, '93; UNCTAD FIGURES'.
- (8) *UN World Investment Report*, '93.
- (9) *The Economist*, March 27 '92.
- (10) *The Top 200 - The Rise of Global Corporate Power* by Sarah

Anderson and John Cavanaugh, September 1966 (Henceforth *The Top 200*).

- (11) *Ibid*.
- (12) *Fortune*, August 4, '97; August 4, '98.
- (13) *The Economist*, June 24, '95.
- (14) *Fortune*, August 4, '97; August 4, '98.
- (15) *Jata's Statistical Outline of India*, 1995-96.
- (16) *Lenin - Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*.
- (17) *The Top 200*.
- (18) *The Economist*, June 21, '97.
- (19) *The Economist*, November 22, '97.
- (20) *The Economist*, June 21, '97.
- (21) *The Economist*, January 17, '98.

INFORMATION FACT SHEET FIVE MOST RUTHLESS JOB SLASHERS (No. of people employed)					INFORMATION FACT SHEET BIGGER AND BETTER		
					INS VIRAT		Advance Defence Ship
	1994-95	1995-96	1996-97	1997-98			
Bharat Coking Coal Ltd.	148,448	145,857	140,883	134,157	Length (m)	227	250
Steel Authority of India	195,767	193,678	188,996	181,665	Width (m)	48.8	53
Tata Iron & Steel Co.	76,432	72,621	68,352	64,753	Displacement*	28,700	32,000
Eastern Coalfields Ltd.	163,000	162,000	158,000	153,000	Speed (knots)	28	32
Bharat Heavy Electronics Ltd.	68,932	67,133	65,061	62,502	Crew	1,350	1,200
					Fighters	12	18
					Helicopters	8	10
					Cost (Rs. crore)	1,900	2,000est
Source: <i>Businessworld</i> , 7-13 June, 1999, p. 18.					Source: <i>Naval HQ</i> , * tonnes		
					Source: <i>India Today</i> , May 24, 1999, p. 49.		



INFORMATION FACT SHEET HOW TO MAKE A FAKE		
Ingredients/process used by reputed companies	Ingredients/process used by sub-standard mills	Effect on finished textiles
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Better quality yarn. ● High-grade chemical used. ● Better quality dyes, like Sandoz, used. ● Combination like 70/30 p/v accurately depicted. ● Mill cloth has to be softened at a later stage of production. ● Full number of pik required per weight. ● Processing cost almost Rs.17 per meter. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Poor quality yarn. ● Low-grade chemical used. ● Sub-standard dyes like sulphur used. ● Combination falsely depicted. ● Cloth is soft from the start. ● Less number of pik done. ● Processing cost 70 paise per meter. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Durability and appearance of cloth is affected. ● Quality of finish and colour is inferior. ● Colour fades fast, shine disappears. ● Low weight strength and fuzzy appearance. ● Uncomfortable to the skin. ● More pik means sturdier cloth, greater durability and a better fall. ● Improper finishing.
Source: <i>Outlook</i> , 7 June, 1999, p. 39.		

INFORMATION FACT SHEET

STEEP RISE IN PEOPLE'S TELE - BILLS

No. of calls @ 5-min/call	Your old bill amount* Rs.	New bill amount* @ 3-min/call Rs.	You will have to pay X'tra Rs.
200	441.00	680.00	239.00
250	483.00	753.00	270.00
300	525.00	840.00	315.00
400	609.00	1015.00	406.00
500	693.00	1190.00	497.00
600	798.00	1365.00	567.00
800	1113.00	1786.00	673.00
1000	1218.00	2205.00	987.00

* Inclusive of all Rental and Service Tax.

The Mumbai Grahak Panchayat has started a campaign to protest against the steep hike in telephone rental and call charges. As part of the campaign, The Panchayat has brought out a ready reckoner comparing the old and new rates. Local call charges are to be charged at three-minute per call instead of five-minute per call. Bi-monthly rental charge has been increased from Rs. 380 to Rs. 500 with effect from May 1.

Source: Times, 5.6.99.

INFORMATION FACT SHEET

**TRENDS IN INDIA'S
EXTERNAL TRADE**

(US \$ Million)

Year	Exports	Imports	Trade Balance
96-97	33,106	38,548	-5,442
97-98	32,441	38,807	-6,367
98-99	33,641	41,887	-8,245

Source: The Times of India, Mumbai, May 21, 1999.

INFORMATION FACT SHEET

**ON A THIN LINE BETWEEN AYURVEDIC AND
ALLOPATHY**

Some traditional 'ayurvedic' medicines which are repackaged and marketed after questionable research and clinical trials

DRUGS	TARGET	DRUG COMPANY
New Livfit	Hepatitis B	Dabur
Ayurvedic Concepts	Quality of life	Himalaya Drug Company
Chyavanprash	Mouth ulcers/Skin reactions/ General well-being	Zandu Dabur
Stress.com	Depression	Dabur
Megamind Plus	Loss of memory	Dalmia Centre
Learnol Plus	Mental deficiency in children	Dalmia Centre
Memory Plus	Loss of memory	CDRI, Lucknow
Diabecom	Diabetes	Himalaya Drug Company
Rejuva	Stress	Sunova
Greenem	Acne/Diabetes	Dabur
Nopane	Arthritis	Sunova

Source: Outlook, 7 June, 1999, p. 54.

INFORMATION FACT SHEET

**STOLEN MONEY
FROM INVESTORS**

COMPANY	DUES*
Kuber Group	600
JVG Group	550
CU Marketing	400
Lions Group	100
Hoffland Finance	80
Devi Gold	40
Megabyte Leasing & Finance	40
Easwari Finance	27
Maxima Finance	25
Bharathi Gems and Jewels	25
Balu Jewellers	20
J.S. Bhatt & Associates	18
Ramesh Car Finance	17
Dealwel	14
Sneham Finance	12

* Amount in crore

Source: India Today, June 21, 1999.

ADAVI DAGINA VENNELA

(Moonlight Locked in the Woods)

Achanta Sarada Devi

Tapati was the daughter of Kamaiya's first wife. She had lost her mother when she was three years old. Tapati could not remember her mother at all. As she grew older, she had longed for some image of her mother and tried to visualise what she might have looked like. They lived such an old-fashioned life in the village that there was not even a picture of her anywhere. Perhaps her mother had never had a photograph taken! Perhaps her mother had always worn a blue sari. Poor thing! Perhaps that was the only sari she had possessed. Whenever Tapati recalled her childhood, she heard a blue sari rustle as it moved, and then come close. That was the only fragment of her mother that remained with her.

After his first wife's death, Kamaiya found it impossible to look after the little girl and manage the household all by himself. He married again. His second wife, Latangi, had no family except a brother, Sarabhaiya, who was a sick man. When his sister married, he too had moved to Kamaiya's house. Latangi managed the household quite efficiently, and her brother helped her with the farm work. Tapati did not grow to like or feel close to Latangi. Latangi was some new person, and Tapati had no idea why she had come or when she would go. She watched her nervously from afar. Latangi was not inclined to draw the child closer to her either. She gave the child odd jobs to do and kept her at a distance with her cold eyes. There was no tenderness in Latangi's makeup. As a child, she had struggled through by herself, with no one to turn to. Though no one could be

blamed for her situation, she had grown bitter and treated everyone harshly. The day she stepped into Kamaiya's house, she felt that the place was hers, that she was its mistress.

Tapati was barely nine when Latangi handed over all the household chores to her. Fat now, and covered with jewels, Latangi settled down comfortably on the single cot. An idea struck her. If only Tapati were married to Sarabhaiya, both of them would continue to live with her. Tapati could go on doing the housework. Her brother would settle down, and besides, she would be rid of the burden of having a stepdaughter. She promptly conveyed her idea to Kamaiya, who in any case never had the courage to go against anything that Latangi said. Since his first wife's death he was like a living corpse, in terror of Latangi.

The brief ceremony was almost like a make-believe doll's wedding. Tapati herself hardly felt any change in her life except for the yellow thread that now hung around her neck to symbolize her married state. Sarabhaiya looked after her more gently than before, and also exercised his authority more obviously. That was all the difference. But before the year had passed, Sarabhaiya's illness worsened and he died within two days. Latangi moaned. It was all Tapati's ill luck, she concluded. Tapati herself was not yet of an age to understand much. She had not grown fond of Sarabhaiya. But she had not disliked him either. He had simply been like any other member of the household. Now he was gone, and she did not understand why. Everyone around her cried, but she herself sat there

and stared. By evening, when things had quieted down, the thought suddenly struck her that she wouldn't be able to comb her hair neatly any longer or put the *kumkum* on her forehead, or wear flowers like her neighbours Vanaja and Lila did. Suddenly she was overwhelmed with grief and wept bitterly, all alone. After a while she fell asleep. The next morning she felt a little relaxed, and forgot the pain of the previous night. Gradually she learned to move around with hair unkempt, and went through the motions of her housework mechanically.

Kamaiya was heartbroken when he saw Tapati come of age. Overworked and tired though she always was --- and dressed in drab clothes --- there was still something beautiful about her. Like the moonlight, she glowed with a soft radiance. Kamaiya felt extremely guilty. The injustice that he had inflicted on his daughter rankled in his heart. After his wife had died, he had neglected the child in every sense, and had given in to Latangi like a slave. He had not even objected to his own daughter's marriage to his brother-in-law, who was known to be a sickly man. Now he himself was old. What would her life be like after he was gone? What could he do for her now? He spent many sleepless nights with these anxieties haunting him. He would not have any peace of mind until she was married again, until he had found a mother-in-law who would care for her in every way. But it was impossible in his village. He could not show his face in public if he married off his widowed daughter again. In any case, Latangi would allow no such thing to happen as long as she was alive. The truth was just beginning to dawn upon him --- that he and Tapati were really her slaves. One day Kamaiya set off without telling anyone what he had in mind. He just said he had to fulfill a vow to some god in Padamatapalli village and that he had to take Tapati along. Before a surprised Latangi could even question him, he had left, bag and baggage. She noticed him leaving the village in the darkness.

Kamaiya had known Sastrulu of Padamatapalli for quite some time, so he

went directly to his house. He explained why he had come. Sastrulu immediately took the whole burden upon himself. He told Kamaiya about a possibility in the same village. The man, Anantam, was the son of a woman called Ramalakshmi.

Ramalakshmi's house stood a little beyond the village. It was more like a small cattle shed on the side of the road to the city. Bullock carts and human beings sometimes passed in front of it, but at night there was nobody around. Behind the house was the wilderness of a thick forest. How far that forest extended and what lay beyond it, Ramalakshmi did not know. She always kept the back door shut after dusk. Occasionally during the day she would leave the door open and sit there staring into the forest.

Ramalakshmi's only son had little schooling. During the day he kept accounts in a shop in the village, and after that he sat at the counter and played cards the whole night long at Ratnamma's house. He even slept there. Ratnamma did not have a good reputation, and the whole village gossiped about their relationship.

It was years since Anantam had lost his wife, and she had hardly ever lived with him. Her mother's house was in the next village, and since she was sickly and didn't much like her husband or her family life, she had chosen to live with her mother most of the time. They had two children. When she died, Ramalakshmi had brought both children home and reared them. Anantam was now forty, and both children were over twelve. Yet Ramalakshmi wanted to see her son married again so that she would have a companion, someone to help her, someone to take care of the house after her death. She had told Sastrulu about it. She did not mind who the girl was --- it was enough if she was a good person. And it was this proposal that Sastrulu put forth to Kamaiya.

Kamaiya took Tapati to Ramalakshmi's house. Ramalakshmi was drawn by Tapati's innocence and her beauty. Kamaiya did not hide anything from Ramalakshmi --- he told her that this would be the girl's second wedding, that she had been married before, but that must have seemed to her like a sort of doll's wedding. Ramalakshmi also did not try to hide anything, and talked about her son and their situation very frankly. She was not well off either. Her son earned very little --- barely enough for his card playing and his other pleasures. The family just managed. Kamaiya listened to it all and was still willing. Where would he get a better proposal for a second marriage? Ramalakshmi seemed to be a good woman, and he felt she would cherish Tapati and shelter her; she would wrap the girl into her womb. After all, what happiness did the girl have in her mother's home? Here she would soon have two children and be the mistress of her own family.

They got the wedding over with quietly in Ramalakshmi's house. Tapati had been running a high fever that day --- nearly a hundred and four --- and found it difficult to sit up on the wedding dais even for an hour. Ramalakshmi did not buy a new sari for her daughter-in-law; she did not have the money. Kamaiya asked his daughter whether she would like him to buy her one. "No," she said. She just sat there in her old sari, half-dazed, scarcely knowing what was happening. Then, barely able to keep her eyes open any

longer, she fell asleep without even eating. By evening she felt a little better. Kamaiya was relieved and took leave of her, placing her hand in Ramalakshmi's. He started home, feeling freed of a burden and satisfied that he had fulfilled his responsibility.

The marriage did not affect Anantam's life. He came home as usual to eat, as if to a hotel, and if he went out at night, he would return early in the morning to sleep. Ramalakshmi had only two rooms. The first, the largest, was where they cooked, ate, and sat. It had two doors, one of which opened onto the roadside and the other onto the trees in the woods. A little stretch of open space served as the backyard, where they scrubbed the pans, washed the clothes, and dried them. Sometimes other things were put out to sun there. At night the space was enveloped in darkness and the back door was kept tightly shut. Next to the big room was a small one. It had one door and a tiny window, and was stacked with trunks, bundles, and other things. A small folding cot, which stood in one corner, filled the room. The short time that Anantam was at home he spent lying on that cot.

Tapati's fever dropped after a week. Then she simply took on all the work of the house without anyone's asking her to. Ramalakshmi was a supporting presence and the children grew close to Tapati. Anantam didn't disturb her in any way. During the short time he was at home, she was silent and kept her distance, and after he left, when she was with the children and her mother-in-law, she was her usual self. She felt life was much better in this house than it had been in her parental home. Ramalakshmi did not snap at her as Latangi used to, but spoke to her affectionately, and what little she gave her to eat was given with love. Ramalakshmi stayed close to her, as a mother would. Tapati had never known this kind of affection. The tendrils of her young heart curled around Ramalakshmi.

Ramalakshmi chided her son, "Even though this child of gold has come into our house, you have not mended your evil ways. She is so innocent. Surely we will have to pay for this one day." But Anantam's heart was deaf. It had hardened into stone and there was nothing that could soften it. Ramalakshmi wept. Once, when Anantam returned at night, she woke Tapati up. She combed the girl's hair, wiped her face, put vermilion on her forehead, and smilingly told her to go and sleep in the inside room. Tapati crept in timidly. Anantam was sleeping there on the folding cot. He did not seem to have a care in the world. Tapati stood for a while, watching him. Then she pushed some of the bundles aside and made space for herself to sleep. Soon she got used to this routine. Ramalakshmi would wake Tapati up, she would go in, watch Anantam sleeping, and fall asleep in a corner. One day the pattern was suddenly disrupted. Tapati stumbled on a trunk and fell. There was a clatter, her hand was scraped and bled. Anantam woke up. He was furious. "Can't even sleep in this bloody house," he shouted, and flung a dirty pillow onto the floor. Tapati was terrified. She crept back into the other room.

Ramalakshmi heard the scream and saw Tapati's bleeding hand. She felt as though she had done something

terrible. She wiped Tapati's hand clean with a wet cloth and smeared some lime paste on it. Never again did she wake Tapati up, or ask her to go in to her son.

Sometime later Govindaiya, one of the village elders, came to visit Ramalakshmi. Govindaiya was a rich man, rich enough to lend money to everyone in the village. He had been away for six months on a pilgrimage with his wife, who suffered from asthma. Each day she thought she was going to die, but was determined she would not do so without setting her eyes on holy places like Kashi and Rameswaram. So when she had insisted that they go on a pilgrimage, Govindaiya had no choice but to go. They were childless, and Govindaiya was both very fond of his wife and terrified of her.

When they got back to the village, Govindaiya heard about Tapati. One day he went to take a look at her on the pretext of visiting Ramalakshmi. Tapati's face seemed to glow like a piece of the moon itself. An ugly glint crept into his eyes.

In some people, the ugliness of the mind can clearly be seen on the face. Even an innocent person is frightened by it. Govindaiya was talking to Ramalakshmi. He inquired about her welfare and joked with her familiarly, but his gaze never shifted from Tapati, even for an instant. Tapati felt as if serpents and centipedes were crawling all over her. She felt frightened. She rose and went into the next room and sat on the folding cot. After some time, Govindaiya left. As he was going, he whispered something in Ramalakshmi's ear. Tapati could barely hear what he was saying. It sounded as though he was saying he would be back.

Tapati went to Ramalakshmi. Her face looked drained. Ramalakshmi knew exactly what Govindaiya meant by his last words. A mixture of anger and sadness churned through her. She was disgusted by Govindaiya. Neither old age nor pilgrimages had changed the man. To think that human nature can change was an illusion, but there was nothing she could do. It was Govindaiya who had helped her when her husband had died. It was Govindaiya who had paid for her, son's education. It was Govindaiya who had found him a job. It was Govindaiya who had paid for the funeral expenses when she had lost her daughter-in-law. It was Govindaiya who had given her this house at the edge of the village. Outside the shadow of Govindaiya's patronage there was no life for Ramalakshmi. She must swallow all her hatred as she must swallow both her anger and her pride, and give in. Even so, when her eyes fell on Tapati's innocence, her heart thudded inside her. She grew restless. Somehow, she felt, she must save the child from this danger.

At dinner Ramalakshmi begged her son to stay home that night at least. Anantam threw his plate down and left in a

rage. Ramalakshmi was upset. If she had kept her mouth shut, he would have at least eaten properly, she thought. As the night advanced, her fears increased. Tapati was sleeping peacefully. As Ramalakshmi looked at her, a knife cut at her heart. She trembled. What could she do for the girl now? Slowly, she woke Tapati up.

"Are you afraid of the darkness?" she asked her.

"No," said Tapati sleepily.

Ramalakshmi breathed again. "Govindaiya said he would come. Stay out in the backyard until he leaves. I will call you in later," she said anxiously. Tapati did not understand anything. Govindaiya's name somehow reminded her of the *karanam* (A *karanam* is a village accountant and is always a brahmin.) of her own village. When Tapati was a small girl Latangi had sent her to his house on some errand. There was no one at home except the *karanam*. Eagerly he had called out to her. "Come, my child, come," he had said, and suddenly embraced her. Neither that tone nor the embrace were like ones used to caress a little girl. He had squeezed her. Tapati felt disgusted and scared. She screamed and struggled to release herself from those ironlike hands, and ran all the way home, her body scratched and bruised all over. She was puzzled. Why were these memories coming back now? Tapati started trembling. She got up immediately and went into the backyard. Ramalakshmi shut both the front door and the back door, and waited fearfully, alone, the whole night. Both children were fast asleep.

That night Anantam did not return, and neither did Govindaiya come. His wife had been taken ill. She had another attack of asthma and would not let him move out. Ramalakshmi did not sleep that night either. She was terrified that Govindaiya might arrive anytime, and was anxious about Tapati, alone in the dark. There was nothing she could do; she couldn't even call her in. She waited, agonized. As it became light she grew relieved, and opening the back door, called out to Tapati. Tapati did not reply. Ramalakshmi was stunned. She stepped out and searched all round. Tapati was nowhere to be found.

When day broke, she walked a little further and looked around. There, huddled under the trees, was Tapati, sleeping. Ramalakshmi walked slowly up to her and tried to wake her. But Tapati did not stir. Neither did she utter a word. Never again would she open her eyes or look at anyone. Ramalakshmi broke down and wept. Tapati had gone silently, but she would remain in Ramalakshmi's heart. No one knows exactly what passed through Tapati's mind as she walked alone into the forest that night when fear gripped her heart.

Translated by Rama Melkote.

(Source: *Women Writing in India: 600 B.C. to the Present*, vol. II, 20th Century, 1993.)

ACHANTA SARADA DEVI

(b 1922)

Achanta Sarada Devi published her first short story in the journal *Chitrangi* in 1945, and has now more than a hundred stories to her credit. Although her style is apparently

simple, she has been generally acknowledged as a writer's writer rather than as a popular one because of the multiple levels of meaning evoked by her symbolism. There is a bareness and melancholy about the vision of life her stories

provide, and her women characters often struggle with an inarticulate grief. In "Paripoyina Chilaka" (The Parrot that Flew Away), the title story of a 1963 collection, she uses the house as a symbol of female imprisonment and is able to explore enclosure as well as escape. The story draws parallels between the life of the protagonist, Kamakshamma, and the caged parrot she tends with great care and affection. There is nothing Kamakshamma can really complain about: her husband provides her with every material need and is kind. Yet an inexplicable restlessness troubles her always.

The story translated here, taken from the collection *Marichika* (Mirage), 1969, also explores the theme of confinement and exposure. Tapatī is reared in a prisonlike house, and marries into another. A woman whose innocence glows like moonlight, she manages to eke a minimal existence out of whatever emotional sustenance comes her way. In this story the house, harsh as it is, and the affection of parents-in-law within the household, are also protection against the

rapacious sexuality of the world outside. When she is left unprotected and alone in the open, the twist of the rough thread that ties her to life comes apart.

Sarada Devi hails from Vijayawada, and studied at both Women's Christian College and Presidency College in Madras. She is married to the artist and writer Achanta Janakiram who, she says, encourages and influences her. From 1954 to 1977 she was professor of Telugu at the Padmavathi Women's College in Tirupati. Her writing, she comments, is a hobby. As literary influences she names Rabindranath Tagore and Devulapalli Krishna Sastry, a well-known Telugu Romantic poet. She also admires the work of Anton Chekhov and Katherine Mansfield.

Sarada Devi has published five collections of short stories: *Pagadalu* (Corals), 1960; *Vokkanati Atithi* (The Guest on That Day), 1965; *Marichika*, 1969; *Paripoyina Chilaka*, 1963; and *Vanajallu* (A Drizzle), 1989. In 1980 she received the Andhra Pradesh Sahitya Academy Award. ■

(contd. from p. 28)

Hunger In Third World

near-sufficiency of food supply on a global scale. An irrational system of distribution is normally blamed for this situation. It is already a cliché that one third of the world's population consumes half the world's food.

Extreme and widespread undernourishment is associated with famine, which is linked to persistent long-term poverty. But rich people do not starve. The idea of famines wiping out whole societies, as though the bad weather did not hit all in equal measure, is far-fetched and can usually be traced to sensationalist history-writing rather than a real record of what happened. Recent exponents of the linkage between poverty and famines have dispelled some of the myths surrounding this historical view of famine as nature's leveller, striking out indiscriminately at classes and societies that meteorological chance causes it to alight on.

At the height of the recent crisis, Africa is still growing most of the food it consumes. Even in famine there is always some food. Who has ever seen a starving military

officer or merchant, let alone aid worker? It is a question of who has access to that food.

Another question which is debated by experts is whether machines do a better job than men in increasing agricultural output. Japan, with two workers per hectare, is a good indicator of what manpower can achieve: India lags behind with only half as many people on the land. China feeds its population with only half the cultivated acreage of India. Again, manpower, not high technology, is the key. In fact, technology need not mean costly machines and industrial inputs. The technique of crop handling, pest control and storage, all adaptable to large unaided manpower, could cut back the phenomenal losses suffered every year in Third World food production. The FAO illustrates this with the 10 per cent annual loss in Third World grain output, which amounts to about 100 million tonnes. A staggering figure indeed.

Source: Satyabrata Rai Chowdhari in *Financial Express*, 2.6.99.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN NINETEENTH CENTURY MAHARASHTRA

THE PERIOD OF DISAFFECTION - 3

1870s TO 1905

Sharayu Mhatre

EDUCATION AND THE PRESS

In order to consider the developments in the field of education within our region, we have to place them in the proper perspective. This national perspective is determined by three principal factors.

1) Throughout the British period, India remained an overwhelmingly illiterate country. The rate of illiteracy was 95.5 per cent in 1881, 93 per cent as late as 1921, and even in 1941, it did not improve beyond 88 per cent (Wadia and Merchant, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-28).

2) The total expenditure on education rose from Rs. 36 lakhs in 1860-61 to Rs. 1.21 crores in 1870-71, Rs. 1.88 crores in 1881-82, about Rs. 3 crores in 1891-92 and Rs. 4 crores in 1901-2 (Table On p. 456 of *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Indian Empire*, vol. IV, 1909). The figures for 1860-61 are not comparable. However, of the gross totals, the component of central aid was 74 lakhs in 1881-82 and rose to Rs. 1.04 crores in 1901-02 (*Ibid.*, p. 444). Thus, even at the latter date, it was less than 2 per cent of the net expenditure of the government of India. (*Ibid.*, Table on p. 202). It is difficult to get the figure for total expenditure in 1860-61. However, since it was Rs. 28 crores in 1856-57, Helen Lamb, *op. cit.*, p. 471, Rs. 35 crores in 1869-70, Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer*, 881, Vol. IV, p. 457, the total net expenditure may be presumed to be around Rs. 30 crores in 1860-61. The total expenditure of Rs. 36 lakh rupees on education would therefore be just over 1 per cent).

3) The overwhelming proportion of this expenditure was made on higher and secondary education. For instance, in 1881-82, 80 per cent of the money,

Table : 1

Year		High Schools		Middle Schools		Primary Schools		Special Schools	
		No.	Attendance	No.	Attendance	No.	Attendance	No.	Attendance
1820	Boys	-	-	1	216	4	250	-	-
"	Girls	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1830	Boys	1	250	1	140	2	1372	-	-
"	Girls	-	-	1	100	-	-	-	-
1840	Boys	1	550	1	150	-	-	-	-
"	Girls	-	-	1	120	-	-	-	-
1850	Boys	1	916	1	142	7	733	-	-
"	Girls	-	-	1	127	-	-	-	-
1860	Boys	2	901	9	1301	6	608	2	138
"	Girls	-	-	2	150	3	485	-	-
1870	Boys	8	2994	30	3814	32	1791	2	155
"	Girls	-	-	-	-	9	1151	1	10
1880	Boys	14	3539	23	3878	43	3894	2	355
"	Girls	-	-	9	1029	20	2064	-	-
1890	Boys	26	8829	26	2616	108	10364	5	980
"	Girls	11	850	10	672	36	3931	-	-
1900	Boys	28	7682	30	1843	129	9859	8	912
"	Girls	11	1229	14	843	55	4936	3	17
1909	Boys	27	11176	36	2587	167	17043	11	1320
"	Girls	12	1586	14	1185	61	7736	1	28

Source : Bombay City Gazetteer, Vol. III, p. 125.

which was a little less than Rs.2 crores (*Ibid.*, Table on p. 456), was spent on less than 1/6 of the total number of pupils under instruction in the country (R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *op. cit.*, vol. 10, 1965, p.64).

Within this context, of a permanent ocean of illiteracy, more or less complete state neglect and a marked elitist bias in allocation of the little money that was made available, we may consider the developments in education within our region from the middle '70s to the end of the first decade of this century.

In Bombay city, between 1872 and 1882, several new English-medium schools were started and female education, in particular, received considerable attention. (The Government Gujarati Girls' School at Charni Road, 1873, the first Marathi girls' school at Kamathipura, 1876, Parsi girls' school, 1871, Bene Israeli girls' school, 1874, etc.) Co-education was promoted by the American Mission high school 1877 and Muslim education was encouraged by the Anjuman-i-Islam in 1875. The J. J. School of Art, hitherto managed by a committee as an aided institution was taken over by the Educational Department in 1873-74 (*Bombay City Gazetteer*, vol. III, pp. 115-17).

In 1882, an Education (Hunter) Commission was appointed which laid down that the maximum rate of government aid should be limited to 50 per cent of the total expenditure of an institution, and that municipal and local funds should be devoted to primary education. This policy was executed in 1886-87. As a result of the Commission's recommendations in 1890 all the primary schools in Bombay were handed over to the Municipal Corporation. Scientific research and culture were sought to be promoted by the foundation of the Bombay Natural History Society in 1883, the Anthropological Society in 1883, and the Bombay Art Society in 1888. The Veterinary College was opened at Parel in 1886 and the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute in 1887 (*Ibid.*, pp.117-19).

During the next period, 1897-1909, another Education (Curzon) Commission made its recommendations which, *inter alia*, created, according to the Calcutta University (Sadler) Commission "the most completely governmental universities in the world." (Nurullah and Naik, *op. cit.*, p.260). A specialised school for training sanitary surveyors was opened by the Bombay Municipality in 1901. The progress of school education in Bombay is summarised in the Table 1 on previous page.

The Bombay University was constituted under an Act of 1857 and its constitution was considerably modified by another Act of 1904. The following 17 colleges and collegiate institutions were recognised in the different faculties (*Ibid.*, pp. 127-28):

Table : 2

I. Elphinstone College, Bombay, In Arts	1860
II. Deccan College, Poona, In Arts	1860
III. Wilson College, Bombay, In Arts	1861
IV. St. Xavier's College, Bombay, In Arts	1869

V. Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, In Arts for the purposes of the Examination for the B.A. degree	1879
VI. Rajaram College, Kolhapur, In Arts for the purposes of the Previous and Intermediate Arts Examinations.	1880
VII. Baroda College, In Arts	1881
VIII. Fergusson College, Poona, In Arts	1884
IX. Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, In Arts for the purposes of the Examination for the B.A. Degree	1885
X. Dayaram Jethmal Sind College, Karachi, In Arts	1887
XI. Bahauddin College, Junagadh, In Arts	1901
XII. Professor Gujjar's Techno-Chemical Laboratory, Bombay, In Arts for the purpose of Branch VI, (Chemistry) of the M.A. Examination	1907
XIII. Government law School, Bombay, In law	1860
XIV. Grant Medical College, Bombay. In Medicine and in Arts for the purposes of the B.Sc. Examination.	1860
XV. The Cama and Albless Hospitals, Bombay, In Medicine for the purpose of Branch II (Midwifery) of the M.D. Examination	1907
XVI. Poona Agricultural College, In Engineering, for the purposes of the examinations for the degree of Bachelor of Agriculture.	1907
XVII. College of Science, Poona, In Civil Engineering; and in Arts for the purposes of Examinations for the B.Sc. degree	1865

Upto 1909, the University had conferred 5 honorary degrees of L.L.D.s, 4 upon Englishmen and only one upon an Indian (R. G. Bhandarkar). As of 1909, the total endowment funds of the University amounted to 13 lakhs and the total annual income, presumably for 1908-9, was 2.25 lakhs and the expenditure was 1.89 lakhs. The cumulative picture of university results are tabulated in Table 3 on next page.

The social background of the students of the institutions of higher learning reflected the privileged positions enjoyed by the Indian upper castes, including the trading communities and the service castes. In 1875, of 245 students of Elphinstone College, 36 per cent were Brahmins, 35 per cent Parsis, 7 from Hindu trading and 5 Prabhus, a service caste. In 1882 the proportion of Brahmins and Parsis had decreased to 33 and 26 per cent whilst that of the Hindu trading castes and Prabhus had jumped to 21 and 10 per cent respectively. The Deccan College of Poona was almost exclusively a Brahmin college with 93 per cent of its students from that caste in 1882. In the same year it was found that 34 per cent of Elphinstone students were sons of government servants, another 12 per cent sons of those in service with native states making up nearly half the total. 13 per cent were sons of merchants and 13 per cent, sons of professionals, composing another quarter of the total.

Of the first seven judges of the Bombay High Court of the turn of the century, the first being Nanabhai Haridas in 1884, three were Saraswat Brahmins (Shantaram Narayan, K.T. Telang and N. G. Chandavarkar), 2 were Chitpavan Brahmins (V. N. Mandlik and M. G. Ranade) one was a Gujarati Kayasth i.e., of a service caste, and one a Sulemani Bohra (B. Tyabji, see Dobbin, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-70).

We will note only the educational developments in Poona district, since Bombay and Poona were the leading educational centres which provided the model for all the other districts. Following the Report of the Education (Hunter) Commission, a system of grants by

examination results for the purely private schools was adopted by the government. In consequence the private or indigenous primary schools were pulled into the government orbit, and having lost their independence by the beginning of the 20th century, the problems of the old type of indigenous schools ceased to exist (Gadgil, *Poona*, etc., p.251).

As for secondary education in Poona, the type that led to the matriculation examination for entrance to institutions of higher learning was by far the most important throughout the period. The other part of secondary education which may be described as technical, industrial or specialised education, was neglected (*Ibid.*, p. 275). An important development was that of the New English School of 1881 which in turn led to the formation of the Deccan Education Society and the establishment of the Fergusson College by it in 1885. The New English School and the Deccan Education Society set up a type in educational effort and organisation which was, in time, to be widely copied in Maharashtra and to lead to a considerable multiplication of institutions of both secondary and higher learning all over the region (*Ibid.*, p. 278). The rapid progress till 1895 in secondary education was held up abruptly and in 1901, there were appreciably fewer pupils than in 1891. But by 1911, the forward stride had been resumed. Yet there was a marked fall in the number of girls' schools in 1911 as compared with 1901 (*Ibid.*, pp.281-2).

With regard to university education we have already

Table : 3							
Passed in	1861	1871	1881	1891	1909	1909	Total No. Passed Till end of 1909
Matriculation	39	227	388	916	1,218	1,638	34,331
Bachelor of Arts	4	14	36	129	238	331	5,533
Bachelor of Science	-	-	2	3	6	14	156
Licentiate of Medicine and Surgery	4	6	14	22	28	89	1,064
Licentiate of Agriculture	-	-	-	-	1	-	52
Bachelor of Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-	26	26
Licentiate of Engineering	-	2	16	9	35	35	747
Bachelor of laws	-	-	5	35	142	154	1,788
Master of Laws	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Master of Arts	-	1	3	6	12	53	484
Doctor of Medicine	-	-	-	1	-	2	9
Master of Civil Engineering	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Source: *Bombay City Gazetteer*, vol. III, p. 129.

referred to the establishment of the Fergusson College. In 1878-79, a forest class and an agricultural class were added to the Poona College of Science which had grown out of the old Poona Engineering Class and Mechanical School of 1854. The agricultural classes were separated from the College of Science in 1908 and an independent College of Agriculture was established in that year. Possibly to concentrate legal training in Bombay, the Government Law class was discontinued in the same year (*Ibid.*, p. 279). The overall picture of secondary and higher education for Poona is included in table given above).

The Press

In journalism, the Bombay papers continued their established tone of moderation and conservatism. The weekly *Gujarathi* appeared in 1879 to be followed by *Kaiser-e-Hind* in 1882 and *Hindi Punch* in 1888. By 1909, there were 131 newspapers and periodicals printed in Bombay and the number of books annually published by the local presses ranged from 700 to 1,000. In 1903, the Times of India building came up as a symbol of British propaganda organisation. As far as the *Times* was concerned, its range of interests were confined to -

"the First and Second Afghan Wars, the conquest and annexation of sindh, the Abyssinian War, the famine of 1877-78, the Tibetan Expedition, the Delhi Coronation Darbar of 1902-03 and the Indian Tour of Their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales in 1905-06." (*Bombay City Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp.148-49).

The Bombay Gazette kept on changing hands and its list of contributors included a galaxy of imperialist personalities from John Connon, Chief Presidency Magistrate, through Bartle Frere and Alexander Grant, Governors, to George Birdwood and Lockwood Kipling (*Ibid.*, pp. 149-50). The staid and commercial *Bombay Samachar* passed into the hands of the Minocher Homji family. The *Bombay City Gazetteer* commended its performance with -

"The tone of its articles is moderate and it exercises a wholesome influence upon the Gujarati press in outlying districts of the Presidency." (*Ibid.*, p. 150).

The *Rast Gofiar* edited from 1861 to 1902 by K. N. Kabraji was also warmly commended by the servicemen writing the gazetteer :

"The *Rast Gofiar* has always represented the views of the educated reformers of the Parsi community and preserved an attitude of strict loyalty to the British Government." (*Ibid.*, p. 151. We have noticed supra that the *Rast Gofiar* was founded by D. Naoroji and Kursondas Mulji's *Saty Prakash* had merged into it.)

At a banquet held in 1901 to celebrate the jubilee of the paper, Curzon himself sent a telegram congratulating Kabraji upon his honourable conduct of the paper for the greater part of 50 years, and upon setting "a standard of sound sense, sobriety and loyalty in journalism, which is a credit to the Indian press."

In the same manner, *Jame Jamshed* was greeted by the *Bombay City Gazetteer* for its "vehement opposition to the ideals and methods of the Indian National Congress." (*Ibid.*) The *Indu Prakash* also comes in for praise :

"One of the oldest and most influential Anglo-Marathi journals is the *Indu Prakash* which was started in 1862 for advocacy of social, religious and political reforms. In 1892, it appeared as a bi-weekly and in 1904 as a daily evening paper. Among its most distinguished editors have been the late Mr. Justice Ranade, the later Mr. Justice Telang and Sir N. G. Chandavarkar." (*Ibid.*, pp. 150-52).

It is also noted with a tinge of regret that the weekly *Gujarathi* founded in 1879 -

"is the most influential Gujarat Hindu journals in Bombay and is a staunch upholder of the views of the Indian National Congress." (*Ibid.*, p. 151).

B. M. Malabari's weekly *Indian Spectator* and monthly *East and West* created a storm in a tea cup for a little while on the issue of the Age of Consent Act 1891 which piece of legislation remained a dead letter and successive Census Commissioners right through the British period went on recording innumerable child marriages. Keshab Chandra Sen who had joined forces with Malabari and had been lionised by English society in India and in England, just as Malabari had been, got his own daughter married at a most tender age to the Maharaja of Cooch-Behar.

All these great battles of social reform were irrelevant from the point of view of the masses, were largely promoted by the British to distract the people from the basic tasks facing them, and were in any case, conducted by both the Indian elite and the British bureaucracy with abundant cynicism. The Indian elite put aside all reformist ideals when it suited them, for instance, Ranade married a little girl fit to be his daughter and the bureaucracy after conducting a campaign that confirmed its social superiority, either passed laws that remained unimplemented or forbore from passing laws under the plea of non-interference in the religion of their subjects.

V. K. Chiplunkar

The most exciting journalism of the period was provided by the Poona papers. We have already referred to *Shatpatren* (A Hundred Letters) by Lokhitwadi (Gopal Hari Deshmukh). Since Lokhitwadi was a loyalist, Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar (1850-1852) took up the cudgels on behalf of the nationalists. In his monthly *Nibandhmala* (1874-1880), he mounted an all-sided attack on Lokhitwadi and went straight to the heart of the matter.

"In other countries, the people cannot tolerate abuse of their own nation. In our country, the praise of the nation is intolerable. Elsewhere self-praise is admired just as here self-condemnation is loved...."

"Motivation is the root of all action. If the morale is broken, then how can the hands act creatively? If our children are taught from an early age two great principles that all that your forefathers said or did was pure foolishness, that those rich rulers which providence has recently established over us possess all the wisdom of the world, that our ways must be held in contempt and the ways of the English must be faithfully imitated, then the consequence is certain. The same sprout will grow into a tree.... The consequences are to be seen everywhere. National trade has languished whilst empty noise has promoted foreign commerce; the people did not increase their democratic control over administration whilst the native states fell under British paramountcy. Blowing constantly the trumpet of the English government has created such a situation that we despise life in this country, we feel that to live here is to subject oneself to penalties and endless difficulties. 'We are fools', 'We are scoundrels', and such repeated statements made over the last thirty years have sapped the self-respect of our people and made them impotent. They have begun to feel that they can do nothing and that we are born to bear sorrows. The people have become heart-broken. They think that only favours from the government can accomplish anything. ... The fruits of the philosophising by Lokhitwadi and such others is that we have become shamefully ignorant of our own country and are indifferent and negligent towards our own history.... Our ancient knowledge and arts have been nearly lost or at least are in a thoroughly corrupted condition. Our national virtues have one by one disappeared and in their place vices arising out of abject dependence have seized hold of us.... This smug group cannot feel insulted when they themselves or their forefathers are abused. How can they when they have repeatedly degraded themselves by eternal servile flattery? And the queer results of the current imperial rule are visible all around us - viz., more and more laws, novel taxes, the fear of famine every year, the infliction of collective fines upon those who complain of being beset by robbers and bandits, and so on. But what does all this matter to Rao Bahadur and his group? From the moment that they became acquainted with the twenty-six letters of English alphabet, they have adopted two great principles: that the first in brain power stand our English educators and employers; the second are their favourite students and faithful retainers, meaning themselves. The first named are separated from heaven by just a hair-

breadth and next to them, we are distanced by merely two hair-breadths." (V. V. Sathe, ed., *Nibandhmala*, 1926, pp. 1088, 1150, 1194, 1199, 1084, 1089. My translation of Marathi original).

Lokhitwadi's excessive zeal in commending the English appalled other journalists besides Chiplunkar. For instance, Lokhitwadi quite casually made statements like the following:

"Generally, the English are more industrious, wise, clever, truthful and honest than our people. Our people are not of this calibre. Out of a hundred Englishmen, five are liars but out of a hundred Hindus, five are honest.... Those virtues which are needed for political administration are absent among Hindus, who do not know the art of government... etc." (*Nibandhmala*, p. 1055 and see also A. K. Priolkar, ed., *Lokhitwadikrut Nibandhsangrah*, 1967, on almost any page. This is one of the endlessly repeated themes of Lokhitwadi's writings.)

That Lokhitwadi had been found out can be seen from the following note published in V. N. Mandlik's quite conservative journal, *Native Opinion*:

"We regard Mr. Gopalrao's publishing his manifesto as merely making of so much political capital. The word Reformer has become very cheap amongst us; but after a very careful examination into the documents, we cannot hold that this officer has yet proved his title to be a reformer. We hope he may become one, as years roll on; but it will require a life-long self-sacrifice and untiring labour and perseverance on his part before we can admit him into the rolls of our Luthers or Tukarams." (Quoted in *Nibandhmala*, p. 1120 n).

B. G. Tilak

Vishnu Chiplunkar died in 1882, just after having passed the torch to Bal Gangadhar Tilak. The latter's journalistic career may be said to have begun with the launching in 1881 of the *Mahratta* and *Kesari* respectively in English and Marathi. It was fiery journalism and *Kesari* became immensely and immediately popular. His income in the early part of this century was estimated by the British police to be about Rs.30,000 per annum, a sum which would probably be equivalent to ten times that in current rupees (*Source Material for a History of the Freedom Movement of India*, Vol. II, 1958, p. 197). How rich and influential Tilak became as a result of his newspaper enterprise can be gauged from the fact that he offered Rs.50,000 to R. Tagore for a non-political cultural tour of the West which M. K. Gandhi induced Tagore to turn down (H. Banerjee, *Rabindranath Tagore*, 1971, p. 120 and S. L. Karandikar, *Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak* undated, pp. 494-S, 503-4). Within a short time after the conclusion of his unsuccessful libel case against the British-financed English journalist, V. Chirol, Tilak was able to collect from the public Rs. 3 lakhs that he had spent on the litigation (Karandikar, *op. cit.*, pp. 636-37).

The British authorities tried to intimidate the national press by making an example of Tilak. He was involved in

four trials; in 1882 (imprisoned for four months), in 1897 (18 months but released a little earlier), in 1902 (convicted by lower court but exonerated by High Court), and in 1908 (6 years imprisonment and exile to Mandalay and term served fully).

Lawless Laws

The suppression of the right of freedom of speech was carried out very thoroughly by the British, not only by special laws affecting the press (e.g. Lytton's Gagging Act, The Newspapers (Incitement to Offences) Act of 1908, the Indian Press Act which replaced it etc.) but by the ordinary law of the land, i.e., the Criminal Code. We have already referred to the political nature of this code and this can be illustrated by reference to the following sections:

Revised (1898) Section 124 A of the Indian Penal Code:

"Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards Her Majesty or the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine."

New Section 153 A. I. P. C. :

"Whoever, by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representations, or otherwise, promotes or attempts to promote feelings of enmity or hatred between different classes of Her Majesty's subjects shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both."

Amended Section 505, I. P. C. :

"Whoever makes, publishes or circulates any statement, rumour or report,

(a) with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, any officer, soldier or sailor in the army or navy of Her Majesty or in the Royal Indian Marine or in the Imperial Service Troops to mutiny or otherwise disregard or fail in his duty as such; or

(b) with intent to cause, or which is likely to cause, fear or alarm to the public, whereby any person may be induced to commit an offence against the State or against the public tranquillity; or

(c) with intent to incite, or which is likely to incite, any class or community of persons to commit any offence against any other class or community; shall be punished with imprisonment which may extend to two years, or with fine, or with both." (S. Natarajan, *A History of the Press in India*, 1962, pp. 137-38).

The law was implemented in a completely reckless and arbitrary manner by the bureaucracy, so that, as we have stated in Chapter 4, there was total uncertainty about whether an offence had been committed. Annie Besant submitted a memorandum to the committee headed by Tej Bahadur Sapru which examined the Press Laws in 1921:

"That which was safe in Bombay entailed forfeiture in

Madras, so that an embarrassed Editor had to find out what were the particular subjects on which his own Governor was sensitive. Even in the same province there is no uniformity. An Anglo-Indian editor in Madras was allowed to make the most violent attacks on Indians who advocated the reforms that are now law. But if an Indian paper replied to the attack, it found itself accused of exciting hatred. A Christian paper attacked the Muslims in an insulting way but the Government took no notice, while a Muslim paper was censored for attacking Christians." (*Ibid.*, p.175).

In fact, Tilak was convicted in 1897 by stretching the meaning of the words "excites, or attempts to excite disaffection" in Section 124 A (see above) to cover "absence of affection." (*Ibid.*, p. 154) However, this should not surprise us since the British rule over India was right through "autocratic and despotic." (See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1973, under Commonwealth of Nations.) Under all such quasi-military dictatorships, "rule of law" is merely a camouflage to cover gross illegalities.

Mahratta

We must not assume that it was any kind of revolutionary programme that Tilak projected. As a matter of fact, in the very first issue of *Mahratta* (January 2, 1881), Tilak's editorial -

"proclaimed the urgency of combating the following evils of British administration : (1) ryotwari system of tenure, (2) destruction of native municipal and judicial institutions, (3) grinding taxation, (4) costly government machinery, and (5) extirpation of local industry and of native aristocracy... Very characteristic too is the declaration in favour of Indian States. It said: 'With reference to the Native States, our policy will always be for the uninterfered continuance of such States and to shield the Native Princes from uncalled for interference on the part of the political agents.' " (T.A. Parvate, *Marathi Journalism*, 1969, p. 9)

P. Bannerjee

It must not be supposed that the press is any the less venal today than it was in those days. Panchcowrie Banerjee, a leading journalist gave the following evidence before the Sapru Committee on Press (See above) :

"More or less we editors and printers are dummies in the hands of our proprietors. I am not ashamed to confess that we are obliged at times to take to seditious writings by our proprietors because it sells.... My name and Surendranath's name are published in the front page of the *Bengalee*. Similarly they have allowed my name to be printed in the *Nayak* because it has a commercial value.... I do not know why you should give protection to the Indian Princes. It is the Princes who come to us with their own wrongs and grievances with a bundle of money behind. Why should the British Government give protection to the Maharaja of this and that place when he goes to Bengal or the United Province. with a good jingling bundle of rupees? We do no business with Maharajas on credit. They must put down the money first before getting an article written by any of

us." (S. Natarajan, *op. cit.*, pp.176-77).

An interesting exchange took place between the Chairman, Sapru, who was a director of the *Bombay Chronicle*, and Panchcowrie :

Question: Don't you think the editor is responsible there and not the Directors?

Answer : Not always the editor, poor man, he has so many gods to propitiate. Take the case of Horniman, he has been under various Boards of Directors; just under the Board which was composed of Moderates, then under Home Rulers.

Question: Do you mean to say that a powerful personality like Mr. Horniman would be influenced by a Board of Directors?

Answer : What was he when he was on the staff of the Statesman?"

(*Ibid.*, p. 177. For self-confessed venality of the Indian press, see J. N. Sahni, *The Lid Off: Fifty Years of Indian Politics*, 1921-1971, 1972, and Truth About the Indian Press, as well as Inder Malhotra's review of the latter in *Times of India*, 17.11.1974).

Crawford Case

We shall be considering separately Tilak's politics a little later in this Chapter. His journalistic and political careers necessarily overlap. Possibly his greatest journalistic triumph was his public exposure of the corrupt practices of Arthur T. Crawford. This Britisher had a long record of official malpractices in Bombay city, which alarmed even English businessmen who attempted to censure his highhandedness and financial irregularities. Fortunately, Crawford managed to obtain Pherozeshah Mehta's approbation, a sudden *volte face* which drew public ire to Mehta and allowed Crawford to obtain transfer to Poona (Homi Mody, *Pherozeshah Mehta*, 1967, pp. 34-38). But there Tilak caught up with Pherozeshah Mehta's newly discovered friend. Crawford set up a network for bribe-collection through one H. Inamdar who was convicted as a result of Tilak's campaign. Though his principal agent was so named and sentenced for receiving illegal gratification, the British managed to acquit Crawford of the charge of accepting bribes. However, he was held guilty of receiving loans from his subordinates and dismissed. from service (N. G. Jog, *Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak*, 1970, p.39). The finest tribute, though left-handed, that could be paid to a journalist was proffered by the same Crawford through his "*Our Troubles in Poona and the Deccan*," 1897. In this raving, hysterical outburst, Crawford heaped every abuse that he could think of upon the editor of *Mahratta*. (See in particular Chapters 5 and 6 and the most amusing "Temperature chart of the Poona Native Press, 1857 to 1897", wherein an imaginary hospital patient's treatment card is prepared for Tilak with appropriate remarks by Matron Britannia, Nurse Mary Britain and Inspector-General John Bull. See also Karandikar, *op. cit.*, pp. 90, 91 and 95)

Tilak On Social Reform:

Tilak had the statesman's acumen to perceive that social reform agitation was a distraction and an irrelevant matter:

"I do not hold that social reconstruction must be undertaken prior to political emancipation. I attach much greater importance to the latter. Without the power to shape our destiny, our national regeneration cannot, in my opinion, be effected and I have throughout my career tried to preach and emphasise these views. When I opposed the Age of Consent Bill, I did so mainly on this ground. I did not think, nor do I think now, that a legislature, which is not wholly responsible to the public, is competent to deal with social questions." (quoted by Jog, *op. cit.*, p. 36).

He was also aware of the narrow limits of the appeal of social reforms:

"In my opinion, the evil of prohibition of widow-re-marriage is not a general one but is confined only to Brahmins and such other castes as have thought fit to imitate Brahmin customs and manners." (*Ibid*).

Undoubtedly Tilak need not have been led from this unexceptionable political standpoint to a defence of orthodoxy. But possibly his journalist's instinct made him seek instant popularity in the midst of the end-of-the-century-climate of conservatism that prevailed particularly in a non-industrial city like Poona. We shall have occasion later on to pick up this thread and to show that even here, in practice, as distinct from his journalistic writings, he was a far bolder spirit than many reformers.

Summary of Journalistic Developments

Whilst there were several other journals in Poona and the other districts, particularly G. G. Agarkar's *Sudharak* (1888), the Ahmadnagar Mission Society's *Dnyanodaya* (1842, still extant) and S. M. Paranjpe's *Kal* (1898-1910), the scene was dominated as trend-setters in turn by Jambhekar's *Darpan*, D. Naoroji's *Rast Goftar* and K. Mulji's *Satyaprakash*, to be followed by Bhai Mahajan's *Prabhakar* (in which Lokhitwadi's *Shatpatren* were published, and V. N. Mandlik's *Native Opinion* reaching a climax at the turn of the century in Chiplunkar's *Nibandhmala* and Tilak's *Kesari* and *Mahratta*).

Indian National Congress

We have reviewed the activities of the five political organisations that precede the Indian National Congress. They collectively provided the background against which we may view the developments related to the foundation of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Its first session was to be held at Poona at the end of this year but due to a threatened cholera epidemic, the venue was shifted to Bombay city. In other words, our chosen area of study, the Maharashtra region was deeply involved in the rise and growth of the Indian National Congress during the first quarter century of its existence. As a matter of fact, till 1947, or even upto the mid-fifties, Bombay was the headquarters of the nationalist

political movement and played an important role in determining its character. The soil for this preeminence of Bombay in nationalist politics was prepared during the two decades under review.

The formation of the Indian National Congress at the instigation of Viceroy Dufferin, and under the tutelage for two decades of a former Secretary of the Home Department, who had served the British faithfully through the First War of Independence when rebels were being blown from the mouths of cannons, is too well-known to need reiteration. Nevertheless, the bare minimum of documentation may be cited. W. C. Bonnerjee, the first Congress President, was the original source of the disclosure of the imperialist manoeuvre, but much more evidence has since accumulated. (R. C. Majumdar, ed., *H.C.I.P.* Vol. 10, Chap. XV; Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. 1, 1946, Ch. 1; R. P. Aiyar and L. S. Bhandare, *The Congress Caravan*, 1945, p. 10 for a brief biography of Bonnerjee; *Source Book for a History*, etc. Vol. II, for Ranade's version that Hume and Wedderburn, two bureaucrats, were responsible for the birth of the Congress, pp. 5-6; Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 546-50 for note on A. O. Hume (1829-1912); and W. Wedderburn, *Biographical Sketch of Allan Octavian Hume*, 1913).

This does not mean that the Indian middle class elite was not already moving towards the projection of some such national forum. As we have noticed in Chapter I, Sarvajanic Kaka wanted to utilise the Delhi Durbar of 1877 itself for forming such a national organisation. Surendranath Banerjea, an unjustly dismissed I. C. S., was inspired by the same durbar to think of a national organisation. (Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 525, and J. C. Bagal, *History of the Indian Association, 1876-1951*, 1953, pp. 80-81.) In fact, it has been suggested recently that Hume wanted to by-pass Banerjea "a dismissed civil servant", and that is why, whilst Banerjea was busy with his National Conference in Calcutta, the I. N. Congress was held in Bombay (*A Source Book...* etc., Vol. II, p. 1). Anyway, the wishes of the alien elite as represented by the bureaucracy and of the native middle class elite coincided and the Congress came into being.

We should bear in mind the words of Damodar Chapekar that till 1920, when M. K. Gandhi revised the constitution, the Congress was an annual tamasha, where, as a ritual, loyalty to British empire was reaffirmed and greetings conveyed to the occupant of the throne in England. Within this overall limitation, the early history of the Congress to 1908 can be divided in three phases:

(i) The very first few years when eminent bureaucrats and native princes attended, participated and some of them even presided over the annual sessions. The delegates were treated to gala parties at governor's mansions. Oratorical triumphs were attempted during open sessions for the benefit of the press and the public. The atmosphere was of deep and intimate collaboration.

(ii) After the first few years, the bureaucrats in service and the native princes were warned off from too public a demonstration of ideological affiliation with the Congress.

Nevertheless, ex-civilians and Britishers with business stake in India continued to preside over the annual, largely social gatherings.

(iii) A change came over with the commencement of the Anti-Partition, Boycott and *Swadeshi* Agitation of 1905-11. Gokhale and Naoroji who presided over the sessions of 1905 and 1906 at Banares and Calcutta respectively, made a few verbal concessions to the less moderate position held by Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipan Chandra Pal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Aurobindo Ghosh. Thereupon the British bureaucracy began to pull strings and Pherozeshah Mehta supported by several other moderates of Bengal, Bombay and Madras, took charge of matters. In 1907 the Congress was seized by these excessive moderates who were anxious to accept the Morley-Minto Reform Scheme. The trio of Lal, Bal, and Pal, with Aurobindo, was eliminated from the organisation. It was not till 1916 that the Congress was re-entered by these less enthusiastic moderates. This turn in events of re-entry or re-capture of the Congress by Tilakites and Besantites, falls outside the scope of this dissertation.

The kind of resolutions passed and agitations launched by the Congress have been summarised by the semi-official historian of the Congress :

"The burden of these utterances (Congress Resolutions and Presidential Addresses) was that English people are essentially just and fair, and that if properly informed they would never deviate from truth and the right, that the problem was the Anglo-Indian and not the Englishman, that what was wrong was the system and not the individual, that the Congress was essentially loyal to the British Throne and fell foul only of the Indian bureaucracy, that the English Constitution was the bulwark of popular liberties everywhere and the English Parliament was Mother of Democracy all over, that the British Constitution was the best of all constitutions, that the Congress was not a seditious body, that the Indian politicians were the natural interpreters of Government to the people and of people to Government, that Indians must be admitted into public services in larger measure, should be educated and made fit for high positions, that Universities, the Local Bodies and the public services should form the training ground for India, that the legislature should be thrown open to election and the right of interpellation and discussion of budgets should be conceded, that the Press and the Forest Laws should be relaxed, the Police should become friendly to the people, that the taxes should be moderate, that the military expenditure should be curtailed by India's burdens being at least shared in part by England, that the Judicial and the Executive must be separated, and Indians should be given a place in the Executive Councils of the Provincial and the Central Governments and in the Council of the Secretary of State, that India should have direct representation in the British Parliament at the rate of two members to each Province, that the non-Regulation Provinces should be brought into line with the Regulation ones, that eminent Englishmen in the public life of England should be sent over as Governors instead of members of the Civil Service, that simultaneous competitive examinations should

be held in India for the Services, that the annual drain to England should be stemmed and indigenous industries fostered, that Land Revenue should be reduced and Permanent Settlement should be adopted." (P. Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 60).

In order to reinforce his contention "that the politicians of the earlier half of the Congress Jubilee Term (1885-1935, meaning 1885-1910 - S. M.) were not the enemies of the Government," the writer, the first edition of whose work was published by the Congress Working Committee, added :

"Imagine a proposal placed before men like W. C. Bonnerjee or Surendra Nath Banerjee, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta or Pandit Ayodhya Nath, Lal Mohan Ghose or Man Mohan Ghose, Subramania Aiyar or Ananda Charlu, A. O. Hume, or W. Wedderburn, which pleaded for a boycott of foreign goods or of councils, courts and colleges or a scheme of Civil Disobedience of select laws. It requires no imagination to see that they would have been scandalised by such ideas." (*Ibid.*, p. 59).

He further referred to several official pronouncements from the Congress platform, *viz.*,

(i) D. S. Majithia, Chairman, Reception Committee, 1893; **"The Congress represented the greatest glory of British Rule in this country."**

(ii) N. R. Sayani, President, Twelfth Congress, 1696: **"A more honest or sturdy nation does not exist under the sun than this English Nation."**

(iii) A. N. Bose, President, Fourteenth Congress, 1898: **"The Educated classes are the friends and not the foes of England --- her natural and necessary allies in the great work that lies before her."** (*Ibid.*, p. 61).

As far as we have been able to gather, the Congress claimed four notable successes due to its activities:

1. "Indian Councils Act, 1892, disappointing though it was regarded as the first victory of the Congress and its method of constitutional agitation." (R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, vol. 10, p. 548).

Whatever be the merits of the claim, the actual achievement was not only disappointing but was quite illusory. The Simon Commission summed up the position in stating that "the word election was never used in the statute" and that "there was no approach to a parliamentary system." (*Report*, 1920, p. 116).

Furthermore, contrary to popular belief that the system of communal representation through separate electorates was inaugurated through the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909, the fact of the matter is that this pernicious principle was introduced by the Indian Councils Act of 1892.

"Directions were given that representation should be provided for certain classes and interests, among which the Muhammadans were named; but the regulations did not confer the right of selection upon any community, and it was left to the Governor or Lieutenant - Governor after the various bodies (local municipalities, etc.) had made their choice, to fill the nominated seats not held by officials (there was an official majority provided in all cases - S. M.) in such a manner as would, in his opinion, secure a fair representation of the

claims of the different communities." (*Ibid.*, p. 183).

2. The second claim is with respect to the Indian Councils Act of 1909, commonly known as Morley-Minto Reforms. R. C. Majumdar has gathered together all the evidence and has shown that Gokhale on behalf of the Congress and in consultation with the Viceroy Minto and Secretary of State Morley was responsible for the developments. The Congress had to pay the price of getting rid of the so-called extremists which it did in the 1907 session at Surat (*op. cit.*, vol. 11, 1969, pp. 122-24).

But once again as the Simon Commission noted, the achievement was negligible :

"The greater part of these additional members (of the Councils) were non-officials who were elected either by groups of local authorities, large landholders, trade associations or universities.... The distribution of seats on the Indian Legislative Council was such as to secure an official majority.... The control exercised by the Executive over Legislative functions was thus preserved.... In a frequently quoted passage, Morley declared, 'If it could be said that this Chapter of reforms led directly or indirectly to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India, I, for one, would have nothing at all to do with it'.... A third feature of the government of British India which remained un-impaired ... was the supervising and controlling power, over the whole field of Indian legislation and administration, of Home authorities - that is to say of the Secretary of State with his constitutional responsibility to Parliament." (*Simon Commission Report*, pp. 117-19).

3. The third claim is a general one in respect of building up the political consciousness of the Indian people (Tara Chand, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 552). **There were broadly speaking, four simultaneous significant political agitations and activities proceeding in the country, viz., the Congress agitation which embraced the Indian upper classes; the Anti-Partition, Swadeshi and Boycott Agitation, which included the lower middle classes; the terrorist movement which also involved the lower middle classes; and lastly the working class**

actions generally manifested through sporadic strikes, which, as we have seen in an earlier section of the Chapter, began to involve railway and textile workers in increasingly larger numbers since the late nineties. To what extent, these four movements contributed to the rise of political consciousness among Indian masses can not be separately assessed. **Undoubtedly, some small contribution must have been made by the Congress, particularly by journals sympathetic to it.** But it must be borne in mind that after the Surat split of 1907, the Congress had lost even a minimal level of contact with popular movements, and that it was too busy collaborating with the British under the Morley-Minto Reforms to be even interested in mass political agitation.

4. The fourth claim made on behalf of the Congress was that leading Congressmen obtained suitable "governmental recognition." (Sitaramayya, *op. cit.*, p. 64). The writer states that from Madras alone the Congress had to its credit six judges and six Executive Councillors. He also gives the example of Tyabji and Chandavarkar who presided over Congress sessions before becoming judges of the Bombay High Court and Chimanlal Setalvad who became an Executive Councillor. In the same way, he cites the names of A. Chaudhuri and S. P. Sinha from Bengal (*Ibid.*, p. 63). Pherozeshah Mehta's knighthood and Gokhale's C. I. E. award are also mentioned (*Ibid.*, p. 64).

This claim is undoubtedly true. Congressmen were honoured by British imperialism. The fact that eventually in 1947 a part of India was handed over smoothly to the Congress and that in the preceding 62 years, a series of reforms - the Indian Councils Act, 1892, the Indian Councils Act, 1909, the Dyarchy Constitution of 1919-21, the Federal Constitution of 1935-37 - were carried through, shows that collaboration and negotiations of terms of partnership did take place between the two parties. Whether these arrangements and showering of recognitions upon Congress leaders really conferred honour upon them, or exactly the opposite, is however a moot point. ■

I - LINGUISTIC ERAS IN INDIAN HISTORY

Sr. No.	Linguistic Eras	Time Frame	Language of the Elite, Official Language of the State	Language of Religion	Language of the people at the district and taluka level	Linkages with Modes of Production (MOP)
1.	VEDIC OR EARLY SANSKRIT (See table on following pg.)	c. 6,000/ 4,500 B.C. to c. 700 B.C.	Vedic Sanskrit	Vedic Sanskrit	Mainly Regional Recensions, into which the <i>Samhitas</i> , the <i>Brahmanas</i> , the <i>Aranyakas</i> and the <i>Upanishads</i> were cast. The four <i>vrittis</i> or Styles into which the country was divided were <i>Bharata</i> , <i>Satvata</i> , <i>Kesika</i> and <i>Aryabhata</i> .	Corresponds with the Pastoralist Class Society or Sapta Sindhu Culture, misnamed Indus Valley Civilisation by Western pseudo-scholars, which culture extended from c. 6,000 B.C. to c. 700 B.C.
2.	PRAKRITS	c. 700 B.C. to 320 A.D.	Prakrits	Prakrits	Prakrits like Pali, Ardhamagadhi, Maharashtri, Paisachi, Sauraseni, Gaudi, etc; turning into Apabhrranshas.	Corresponds with the First Phase of Indian Feudalism namely the Ecclesiastical or Sangha Monastic phase of c. 700 B.C to 320 A.D.
3.	CLASSICAL OR LATER SANSKRIT	320 A.D. to 1290 A.D.	Classical Sanskrit	Classical Sanskrit	Lower, Middle and Upper Apabhrranshas turning into Vernaculars.	Corresponds with the Second Phase of Indian Feudalism, the Samanta or Classical Phase - 320 A.D. to 1290 A.D.
4.	URDUS- the spoken languages and dialects of the cantonments and garrison towns, and VERNACULARS	1290 A.D. to 1556 A.D.	Urdu with heavy admixture of Turkic and Persian vocabularies	Arabic. The State, supported Islam, but Hindus continue to use Sanskrit.	Various Urdu. The main vernaculars crystallise as Brijbhasha, Awadhi, Mewati, Mewadi, Malwi, Khariboli, Vrachada, Pushto-Pukhto, Gurumukhi, Bhojpuri, Khasboli, Pahadi, Maithili, Shina, Telugu, Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, etc.	Corresponds with the Third or Iqta (Militarist) phase of Indian Feudalism, 1290 A.D. to 1556 A.D.
5.	PERSIAN	1556 A.D. to 1835 A.D.	Persian	Arabic for 25% of the population and Sanskrit for 75%.	Vernaculars evolving into into modern idioms.	Corresponds with the Fourth and Fifth, the Mansabdari (Bureaucratic), and Pendhari (Bandit) phases of Indian Feudalism and overlaps with early period of British colonial capitalist conquest .
6.	ENGLISH	1835 A.D. to 1999 A.D.	English	Sanskrit and Arabic as above.	Various modern vernaculars, namely Urdu-Hindi, Punjabi, Sindhi, Pashtu-Pukhtu, Rajasthani, Gujarati, Marathi, Malayalam, Tamil, Sinhalese, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese, Bhojpuri, Maithili, Chhatisgarhi, Pahari, Kannada, Nepali, etc.	Corresponds with latter part of colonial capitalist and first part of comprador capitalist phases of bourgeois MOP.

THE VEDIC TEXTS: AFFILIATIONS, REGIONAL AND LITERARY

	Śākhā (branch)	Samhitā (compilation)	Brāhmaṇa	Āraṇyaka	Upaniṣads	Śrautasūtra	Regional Affiliation
Ṛgveda	Śākala Bāskala	Śākala Bāskala	Aitareya Kauṣītakī	Aitareya Kauṣītakī	Aitareya Kauṣītakī	Āsvalāyana Śāṅkhāyana	Sapta-Sindhu
Yajurveda Black	Kāṭhaka Maitrāyaṇa Taittirīya	Kāṭhaka Maitrāyaṇa Taittirīya	Kaṭha Taittirīya	Kaṭha Taittirīya	Kaṭha Maitrāyaṇa Taittirīya Śvetāśvatara	Kāṭhaka Mānava Vārāha Baudhāyana Vādhūla Bhāradvāja Āpastamba Hiranyakeśiṇ Vaikhānasa	South and West India
Yajurveda White	Mādhyam̐dina Kāṇva	Vājasaneyi Kāṇva	Bṛhad	Śatapatha	Bṛhadāraṇyaka Isā	Kātyāyana	Eastern India
Sāmaveda	Kauthuma- Rāṇāyaṇīya Jaiminiya	Kauthuma- Rāṇāyaṇīya Jaiminiya	Pañcaviṃśa Jaiminiya Śātyāyana	Āraṇyaka- samhitā Jaiminiya Upaniṣad- Brāhmaṇa	Chāndogya Kena	Lātayāyana Drāhyāyana Ārṣyakalpa Jaiminiya	Sapta-Sindhu or Northwest India
Atharva- veda	Śaunaka Paippilāda	Śaunaka Paippilāda	Gopatha Gopatha		Muṇḍaka Māṇḍūkya Prašna Muṇḍaka Māṇḍūkya Prašna	Vaitāna Vaitāna	Popular Magical and Shamanistic Content and probable affiliation to Mid-lands or Heartlands of India (UP, MP, Rajasthan, Bihar, Maharashtra, Andhra and Karnataka)

Source I: *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1983 ed., *Macropaedia*, vol. 8, p. 935.

II: For Regional Affiliations, see R. C. Majumdar, ed., *History and Culture of the Indian People*, vol. I, *The Vedic Age*, 1951, chapters XVI, XX, XXIV of Books Five, Six and Seven.

STORY OF THE INA - 5

S. A. AYER

CRUEL FATE

It was now mid-July 1945 and Netaji left Singapore for Seramban in Malaysia where some urgent INA affairs demanded his attention. There was no radio set in the guest-house where Netaji was staying in Seramban. He received news of Russia's declaration of war on Japan on the trunk telephone on August 10, 1945. What did the Japanese expect Netaji to do now?

Did they expect him to declare war on Russia, as he was an ally of Japan? Netaji's acid test was not what Japan expected him to do. His only test was what would be in India's interest. He decided that it would not be in India's interest to declare war on Russia and lose his only chance of continuing the struggle for India's freedom. In the meanwhile, the Russians were advancing fast into Japanese occupied Manchuria.

At 2 a.m. August 12, Dr Lakshumiyah and Ganapathy reached the guest-house where Netaji was staying in Seramban after a non-stop drive all the way from Singapore and broke the stunning news that Japan had surrendered. That was the darkest hour in the INA's two-year struggle for India's liberation. The staggering news at one stroke shattered all of Netaji's dreams. Everything looked bleak for the INA. If Japan has been knocked out of the war, how can the INA carry on alone the war against the Anglo-Americans? The INA may stop fighting for want of military hardware, but it shall not surrender. The INA may be taken

prisoner, but the officers and men would not admit defeat or show the white flag. The INA would keep the flame of patriotism burning bright. This was Netaji's immediate reaction to the news of Japan's surrender and its disastrous implications for the INA. Netaji kept awake till 5a.m., quietly thinking out the next steps to be taken. Urgent instructions were issued to the entire Independence League organisation and the INA units throughout East Asia, except, of course, **Burma which the British had reoccupied.** A visionary dreaming glorious dreams of Free India of the future, Netaji was a down-to-earth realist when it came to quick planning and immediate action to deal with the tragedy following Japan's defeat. What should the three million Indian patriots in east Asia do now? Their sacrifices and sufferings had few parallels in the history of nations fighting for liberation from alien rule. The rich had offered their wealth and the poorest of the poor including labourers, hawkers and cobblers had offered all they had in this world, and also their lives. At Netaji's bidding they had all gone literally freedom-mad. Their enthusiasm had been raised to fever-pitch. They had expected any moment to march into Free India.

Cruel fate brutally rang the curtain down on their dreams. Suddenly they had to adjust themselves to the psychological shock. But the shock was only momentary. They looked round and saw the INA standing with its head erect

though it had ceased fighting. Its spirit stood supreme among commanders of the World War. He did not consider himself beaten, because he was Supreme Commander of revolutionary army which would never admit defeat. The reverse was only temporary. Netaji had told his army over and over again: "Only that army is defeated which *thinks* it is defeated." A truly revolutionary army would defy any power or combination of powers on earth. That is the spirit that animated the entire INA when World War II ended with the surrender of Japan.

With three million high-spirited Indians and the unbeaten INA behind him, Netaji stood firm as a rock. He faced the harsh realities of the military failure of his life's mission. But he was supremely confident of the supiritual success of his military effort. He had no doubt in his mind that when the whole truth of the INA's heroic fight under the Azad Hind government's leadership against the heavily armed British, and the planting of India's national tricolour in Moirang (Manipur) on April 14, 1944 came to be known to the people of India, the hearts of India's millions would swell with pride. And that would bring about a psychological revolution throughout the country and shake the British empire in India to its foundations.

After hearing of Japan's surrender when he was in Seramban, Netaji, the man of action, had not a moment to lose. He immediately dashed by car to Singapore on August 12, 1945, reached there in the evening and after a hurried wash and dinner went into marathon conferences with his ministers and advisors. As in Rangoon, so in Singapore, the question again was: What should Netaji do? Should he stay with his troops in Singapore and allow himself to be taken prisoner? If not, where should he go? Would the Japanese help him to contact the Russians? No final decision was taken though the cabinet was more or less in continuous session day and night from August 12 to 14. The cabinet discussed Netaji's possible fate in his presence as if it was discussing somebody

else, and Netaji himself also participated in the talks in an impersonal, objective way. Netaji still insisted that he would remain with his soldiers and be taken prisoner. This was a tentative decision.

But the situation underwent a sudden change when A.N. Sarker, legal advisor to the provisional government, unexpectedly arrived from Bangkok on the evening of August 14 with an important message from the Japanese military authorities for Netaji. The cabinet members more or less guessed that the Japanese had promised to extend facilities to Netaji to reach the Russian-occupied territory in Manchuria. Thereafter, their responsibility would end and Netaji would be on his own. It would be up to him to contact the Russians in Manchuria and take the risk of being taken prisoner. But Netaji was confident that the Russians in Manchuria would take the earliest opportunity to transfer the custody of such an important Indian national leader to the highest authorities in Moscow. That was all he wanted. That was what he had tried to do four years earlier, in 1941, when he made frantic efforts to contact the Russian ambassador in Kabul and ask for a passport to Moscow. Because he failed to enlist Russian ambassador's help, he had to be satisfied with the Italian embassy's help to reach Germany as the second best arrangement. But he never abandoned his plan to make Moscow his base of operations one day, if all his other plans failed.

ADVENTURE INTO THE UNKNOWN

On August 15, 1945, Japan's surrender was officially announced by the radio stations of the world. Netaji and his cabinet unanimously decided that he must leave Singapore the next morning for Bangkok, enroute to the Russian-held territory in Manchuria. Netaji sat up all night on the 15th, issuing exhaustive orders to all units of the IIL and the INA as to how the civilians must be protected by the INA, how the INA must conduct itself vis-a-vis the victorious Anglo-Americans and how the girls of the Rani of Jhansi Regiment must be looked after and provided with adequate rations and funds to see them through the anguish of enemy reoccupation of the territory.

Earlier in the day, Netaji sent for Colonel C.J. Stracey and gave him clear instructions to finish the erection of memorial to the martyrs of the Azad Hind Fauj on the seaface in Singapore, where Netaji had laid the foundation stone on August 8. Stracey solemnly promised to have the memorial erected before the British landed in Singapore. **One of the first acts of the British after landing in Singapore was to demolish the memorial to the war-dead of the patriotic army, a piece of vandalism without parallel in civilised warfare.**

Before leaving Singapore, Netaji issued his two last special orders of the day on August 15, 1945. In one, addressed to the INA on the surrender of Japan, he assured the INA: "the roads to Delhi are many, and Delhi still remains our goal." In another, a special message addressed to Indians in east Asia,

Netaji said:

"In this unprecedented crisis in our history, I have only one word to say. Do not be depressed by our temporary failure. Be of good cheer and keep up your spirits. Above all, never for a moment falter in your faith in India's destiny. There is no power on earth that can keep India enslaved; India shall be free and before long. *Jai Hind.*"

It was nearly the dawn of August 16 when Netaji rose from his desk and did a little hurried packing of his few personal belongings including a cloth bundle for what he called his "adventure into the unknown". He was leaving Singapore for the last time and he took with him on this fateful journey Colonel Habibur Rahman, Deputy Chief of Staff, Colonel Pritam Singh, and the present writer. We took off in a bomber plane after 10 a.m. and landed in Bangkok the same afternoon. News of Netaji's arrival in Bangkok spread among the entire Indian community in the city in a matter of minutes, and from then on till Netaji and party left for the airport the next morning, Netaji's residence and its approaches were filled with milling crowds of Indians, anxious to know about Netaji's next move and his next destination. He had his dinner around midnight and met and talked to military and civilian officers and local Indian leaders till the early hours of the morning before snatching a little sleep.

Early on the morning of August 17, 1945, Netaji left for the Bangkok airport after a round of tearful farewells to those who had stayed on overnight at the bungalow. These including Parmanand, the supplies minister, Major-General J.K. Bhonsle, Chief of Staff, P.N. Pillai, Netaji's personal secretary at the Singapore and Rangoon headquarters, and Bhaskaran, Netaji's confidential stenographer from the day the leader landed in Singapore in July 1943. Netaji's party on the flight from Bangkok to Saigon now included Colonel Habibur Rahman, Colonel Gulzara Singh, Colonel Pritam Singh, Major Abid Hasan, Netaji's only Indian companion in the ninety-day submarine voyage from Germany to Japan in 1943, Debnath Das, advisor and general secretary of the League headquarters in Rangoon, and the present writer. General Isoda, Mr. Hachiya and Mr. Negishi, the Japanese interpreter, were also in the party. We were in two planes and landed at Saigon around 10 a.m. and drove straight to the residence of Naraindas, an office-bearer of the League in Saigon. From the airport, General Isoda flew immediately to Dalat, a health resort and headquarters of Field Marshal, Count Terauchi, the supreme commander of the Japanese forces in the south-eastern region. General Isoda returned from Dalat early in the afternoon and drove straight to Netaji's residence.

Perhaps the most poignant moment of his life was when he had to decide in a matter of minutes whether he should accept a single seat offered to him in a Japanese bomber to go on his last known flight. The bomber was waiting at the Saigon aerodrome with its engines running and ready to take off at a minute's notice. Not far away from the aerodrome, in

the house where Netaji had moved in only a few hours earlier, hurried consultations took place with all the participants standing. All formalities had been cut down. Nobody asked anybody else to sit down or have a glass of water though they were all thirsty because of the strain and the heat of the day. The Japanese were adamant that they could not offer him more than one seat; it was a case of take it or leave it. If he took it, he would be going alone without even one of his associates accompanying him; no Indian would know at first hand if anything happened to Netaji on that flight. If he did not take that seat and get away from Saigon, then the victorious Anglo-American forces, expected to land in Saigon any day, would surely take him prisoner. That would be the end of all his plans to get away from the Anglo-American forces and continue the freedom fight from congenial soil. So, it was a most agonising decision he had to take. In his own mind, he took it; his advisors reluctantly agreed when he pressed them for a quick answer; he decided to go alone without even one of his associates accompanying him. **At the last moment, the Japanese offered one more seat and Colonel Habibur Rahman accompanied him on that last known flight from Saigon.**

LAST KNOWN FLIGHT

Netaji and Habib said 'Jai Hind' to the five of us left behind, before they entered the bomber. The Japanese had promised Netaji that they would provide us with a plane to join him as early as possible. **We were stranded in Saigon for two days with no news of Netaji.** Then on the 19th the Japanese offered to fly one of us to Japan and the others to Hanoi. They gave us the impression that the one flying to Japan would soon be joining Netaji and the others would be with him later. They left it to us to decide which one of us would take the seat in the plane to Japan. **My comrades insisted that I should. I did.**

The plane took off for Japan at about 11 a.m. and a few moments before it was airborne a couple of Japanese hinted to me that something had happened to Netaji. I was hurrying to board the plane and had no chance to ask them any questions. When the plane landed at the Canton airport for refuelling in the evening, the Japanese Colonel who was escorting me broke to me the stunning news that Netaji had died as a result of a crash on Formosa Island the day after he had left Saigon. I told the Colonel point-blank that no Indian in east Asia or India would believe the Japanese story of Netaji's fatal plane crash unless they took Netaji's body to Singapore or at least to Tokyo. When I reached Tokyo on August 22, 1945, Japanese foreign ministry officials with tears in their eyes repeated the story of the crash and sought my help in drafting an announcement of Netaji's plane crash over Tokyo Radio for the first time. Indians in east Asia heard the news with a shock but refused to believe it, just as I had warned the Japanese.

HISTORICAL TRIAL

When the Anglo-Americans reoccupied east Asia, the British took the INA officers and men as prisoners and

transported them to India and lodged large numbers of them in the Red Fort, Delhi, and the Kabul lines in the New Delhi cantonment. That was an irony of fate. About seventeen thousand men of the INA were brought to India as prisoners-of-war. They were to have marched into Delhi as victors, hoisted the national tricolour on the viceroy's house and held a victory parade inside the Red Fort. Instead, they found themselves prisoners-of-war inside the Red Fort, awaiting trial for waging war against the British king. This was the position in October/November 1945.

The INA no doubt failed to win the war of freedom on the battle-field; but, in what Major Hugh Toye in his book *The Springing Tiger* calls its "thunderous disintegration" after reaching India, the INA positively hastened the end of British rule in this country.

World War II ended in mid-August 1945. Then whispers were heard in India that some twenty thousand men of the INA were confined in the Red Fort, Delhi, and that six of them had already been shot. The subject was too dangerous for public comment in India when the war was still on. But on August 20, Jawaharlal Nehru in his first statement to the press said:

".... Now a very large number of the Indian National Army, as it is called, are prisoners and some of them at least have been executed... At any time it would have been wrong to treat them too harshly but at this time— when big changes are impending in India— it would be a very grave mistake leading to far reaching consequences if they were treated just as ordinary rebels. The punishment given to them would in effect be a punishment to all of India and all Indians and a deep wound would be created in millions of hearts...."

This set the tone for the whole country and the INA immediately became a burning topic throughout the land and public opinion demanded the release of the men. The government tried to mollify public opinion by promising lenient treatment to the rank-and-file "those soldiers who yielded to pressure" and "were so misguided as to join the forces raised by the enemy". But this was a futile and unrealistic face-saving device, as all the seventeen thousand odd men were totally unrepentant and were fully prepared to take the worst punishment for deliberately waging war against the king.

The Congress Working Committee met in Poona in mid-September and declared that "it would be a tragedy if these officers and men were punished for the offence of having laboured, however mistakenly, for the freedom of India. They can be of greatest service in building up a new and free India." The Committee urged the release of the men and women of this army. A week later the Congress Working Committee consisted of national stalwarts like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Bhulabhai Desai, Kailas Nath Katju, Jawaharlal Nehru, Asaf Ali (convenor) and Raghu Nandan Saran with powers to co-opt. Others among defence counsel were Rai Bahadur Badri Das, Kanwar Sir Dalip Singh, ex-judge, Lahore high court,

(contd. on p. 67)

YOU NEVER CAN TELL

(A Play in 4 Acts)

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

(1856-1950)

[ACT II]

On the terrace at the Marine Hotel. It is a square flagged platform, glaring in the sun, and fenced on the seaward edge by a parapet. The head waiter, busy laying napkins on a luncheon table with his back to the sea, has the hotel on his right, and on his left, in the corner nearest the sea, a flight of steps leading down to the beach. When he looks down the terrace in front of him he sees, a little to his left, a middle aged gentleman sitting on a chair of iron laths at a little iron table with a bowl of lump sugar on it, reading an ultra-conservative newspaper, with his umbrella up to defend him from the sun, which, in August and at less than an hour after noon, is toasting his protended insteps. At the hotel side of the terrace, there is a garden seat of the ordinary esplanade pattern. Access to the hotel for visitors is by an entrance in the middle of its facade. Nearer the parapet there lurks a way to the kitchen, masked by a little trellis porch. The table at which the waiter is occupied is a long one, set across the terrace with covers and chairs for five, two at each side and one at the end next the hotel. Against the parapet another table is prepared as a buffet to serve from.

The waiter is a remarkable person in his way. A silky old man, white haired and delicate looking, but so cheerful and contented that in his encouraging presence ambition stands rebuked as vulgarity, and imagination as treason to the abounding sufficiency and interest of the actual. He has a certain expression peculiar to men who are pre-eminent in

their callings, and who, whilst aware of the vanity of success are untouched by envy.

The gentleman at the iron table is not dressed for the seaside. He wears his London frock coat and gloves; and his tall silk hat is on the table beside the sugarbowl. The excellent condition and quality of these garments and the gold-rimmed folding spectacles through which he is reading, testify to his respectability. He is about fifty, clean-shaven and close-cropped, with the corners of his mouth turned down purposely, as if he suspected them of wanting to turn up, and was determined not to let them have their way. He keeps his brow resolutely wide open, as if, again, he had resolved in his youth to be truthful, magnanimous, and incorruptible, but had never succeeded in making that habit of mind automatic and unconscious. Still, he is by no means to be laughed at. There is no sign of stupidity or infirmity of will about him; on the contrary, he would pass anywhere at sight as a man of more than average professional capacity and responsibility. Just at present he is enjoying the weather and the sea too much to be out of patience; but he has exhausted all the news in his paper, and is at present reduced to the advertisements, which are not sufficiently succulent to induce him to persevere with them.

THE GENTLEMAN [yawning and giving up the paper as a bad job] Waiter!

WAITER. Sir? [coming to him].

THE GENTLEMAN. Are you quite sure

Mrs Clandon is coming back before lunch?

WAITER. Quiet sure, sir. She expects you at a quarter to one, sir. [The gentleman, soothed at once by the waiter's voice, looks at him with a lazy smile. It is a quiet voice, with a gentle melody in it that gives sympathetic interest his most commonplace remark; and he speaks with the sweetest propriety, neither dropping his aitches nor misplacing them, nor committing any other vulgarity.]

He looks at his watch as he continues] Not that yet, sir, is it? 12.43, sir. Only two minutes more to wait, sir. Nice morning, sir!

THE GENTLEMAN. Yes: very fresh after London.

WAITER. Yes, sir : so all our visitors say, sir. Very nice family, Mrs Clandon's, sir.

THE GENTLEMAN. You like them, do you?

WAITER. Yes, sir. They have a free way with them that is very taking, sir, very taking indeed: especially the young lady and gentleman.

THE GENTLEMAN. Miss Dorothea and Mr Philip, I suppose.

WAITER. Yes, sir. The young lady, in giving an order, or the like of that, will say, "Remember, William: we came to this hotel on your account, having heard what a perfect waiter you are." The young gentleman will tell me that I remind him strongly of his father [the gentleman starts at this] and that he expects me to act by him as such. [With a soothing sunny cadence] Oh, very pleasant, sir, very affable and pleasant indeed!

THE GENTLEMAN. You like his father! [He laughs at the notion].

WAITER. Oh sir, we must not take what they say too seriously. Of course, sir, if it were true, the young lady would have seen the resemblance too, sir.

THE GENTLEMAN. Did she?

WAITER. No sir. She thought me like the bust of Shakespeare in Stratford Church, sir. That is why she calls me William, sir. My real name is Walter, sir. [He turns to go back to the table, and sees Mrs Clandon coming up to the terrace from the beach by the steps]. Here is Mrs. Clandon, sir. [To Mrs Clandon in an unobtrusively confidential tone]

Gentleman for you, maam.

MRS CLANDON. We shall have two more gentlemen at lunch, William.

WAITER. Right, maam. Thank you, maam. [He withdraws into the hotel].

Mrs Clandon comes forward looking for her visitor, but passes over the gentleman without any sign of recognition.

THE GENTLEMAN [peering at her quaintly from under the umbrella] Dont you know me?

MRS CLANDON[incredulously, looking hard at him]Are you Finch M'Comas?

M'COMAS. Cant you guess? [He shuts the umbrella; puts it aside; and jocularly plants himself with his hands on his hips to be inspected].

MRS CLANDON. I believe you are. [She gives him her hand. The shake that ensures is that of old friends after a long separation]. Where's your beard?

M'COMAS. [humorously solemn] Would you employ a solicitor with a beard?

MRS CLANDON [pointing to the silk hat on the table] Is that your hat?

M'COMAS. Would you employ a solicitor with a sombrero?

MRS CLANDON. I have thought of you all these eighteen years with the beard and the sombrero. [She sits down on the garden seat. M'Comas takes his chair again]. Do you go to the meetings of the Dialectical Society still?

M'COMAS[gravely] I do not frequent meetings now.

MRS CLANDON. Finch: I see what has happened. You have become respectable.

M'COMAS. Hav'nt you?

MRS CLANDON. Not a bit.

M'COMAS. You hold to our old opinions still?

MRS CLANDON.As firmly as ever.

M'COMAS. Bless me! And you are still ready to make speeches in public, in spite of your sex [Mrs Clandon nods]; to insist on a married woman's right to her own separate property [she nods again]; to champion Darwin's view of the origin of species and John Stuart Mill's Essay on Liberty [nod]; to read Huxley, Tyndall, and George Eliot [three nods]; and to demand University degrees, the opening of the professions, and the parliamentary franchise for women as well as men?

MRS CLANDON[resolutely] Yes : I have not gone back one inch; and I have educated Gloria to take up my work when I must leave it. That is what has brought me back to England. I felt I had no right to bury her alive in Madeira : my St Helena, Finch. I suppose she will be howled at as I was; but she is prepared for that.

M'COMAS. Howled at! My dear good lady: there is nothing in any of those views nowadays to prevent her marrying an archbishop. You reproached me just now for having become respectable. You were wrong : I hold to your old opinions as strongly as ever. I dont go to church; and I dont pretend I do. I call myself what I am: a Philosophic Rad.cal standing for liberty and the rights of the individual, as I learnt to do from my master Herbert Spencer. Am I howled at? No: I'm indulged as an old fogey. I'm out of everything, because Ive refused to bow the knee to Socialism.

MRS CLANDON [shocked] Socialism.

M'COMAS . Yes: Socialism. Thats what Miss Gloria will be up to her ears in before the end of the month if you let her loose here.

MRS CLANDON[emphatically] But I can prove to her that Socialism is a fallacy.

M'COMAS [touchingly] It is by proving that, Mrs Clandon, that I have lost all my young disciples. Be careful what you do: let her go her own way. [With come bitterness] We're old fashioned: the world thinks it has left us behind. There is only one place in all England where your opinions would still pass as advanced.

MRS CLANDON[scornfully unconvinced] The Church, perhaps?

M'COMAS. No: the theatre. And now to business! Why have you made me come down here?

MRS CLANDON. Well, partly because I wanted to see you— M'COMAS [with good -humoured irony] Thanks.

MRS CLANDON.— and partly because I want you to explain everything to the children. They know nothing; and now that we have come back to England it is impossible to leave them in ignorance any longer.[Agitated] Finch: I cannot bring myself to tell them. I—

She is interrupted by the twins and Gloria. Dolly comes tearing up the steps, racing Phil, who combines terrific speed with an unhurried propriety of bearing which, however, costs him the race, as Dolly reaches her mother first and almost upsets the garden seat by the precipitancy of her embrace.

DOLLY. [breathless] It's all right, mamma. The dentist is coming; and he's bringing his old man.

MRS CLANDON. Dolly, dear : dont you see Mr M'Comas? [M'comas rises, smiling].

DOLLY.[her face falling with the most disparagingly obvious disappointment] This ! Where are the flowing locks?

PHILIP [seconding her warmly] Where the beard? the cloak? the poetic exterior?

DOLLY. Oh, Mr M'Comas, youve gone and spoiled yourself. Why didnt you wait till we'd seen you?

M'COMAS [taken aback, but rallying his humour to meet the emergency]Because eighteen years is too long for a solicitor to go without having his hair cut.

GLORIA[at the other side of M'Comas] How do you do, Mr M'Comas? [He turns; and she takes his hand and presses it, with a frank straight look into eyes].We are glad to meet you at last.

M'COMAS. Miss Gloria, I presume? [Gloria smiles assent; releases his hand after a final pressure; and retires behind the garden seat, leaning over the back besides Mrs Clandon] And this young gentleman?

PHILIP. I was christened in a comparatively prosaic mood. My name is—

DOLLY. [completing his sentence for him declamatorily] "Norval. On the Grampian hills"—

PHILIP [declaiming gravely] "my father feeds his flock, frugal swain"—

MRS CLANDON[remonstrating] Dear, dear children: dont be silly. Everything is so new to them here, Finch, that they are in the wildest spirits. They think every Englishman they

meet is a joke.

DOLLY. Well, so he is: it's not our fault.

PHILIP My knowledge of human nature is fairly extensive, Mr M'Comas; but I find it impossible to take the inhabitants of this island seriously.

M'COMAS. I presume, sir, you are Master Philip [offering his hand].

PHILIP [taking M'Comas's hand and looking solemnly at him] I was Master Philip: was so for many years; just as you were once Master Finch. [He gives the hand a single shake and drops it; then turns away, exclaiming meditatively] How strange it is to look back on our boyhood!

DOLLY [to Mrs Clandon] Has Finch had a drink?

MRS CLANDON [remonstrating] Dearest: Mr M'Comas will lurch with us.

DOLLY. Have you ordered for seven? Don't forget the old gentleman.

MRS CLANDON. I have not forgotten him, dear. What is his name?

DOLLY. Chalkstones. He'll be here at half past one. [To M'Comas] Are we like what you expected?

MRS CLANDON [earnestly, even a little peremptorily]

Dolly: Mr M'Comas has something more serious than that to tell you. Children: I have asked my old friend to answer the question you asked this morning. He is your father's friend as well as mine; and he will tell you the story of my married life more fairly than I could. Gloria: are you satisfied?

GLORIA [gravely attentive] Mr M'Comas is very kind.

M'COMAS [nervously] Not at all, my dear young lady: not at all. At the same time, this is rather sudden. I was hardly prepared—er—

DOLLY [suspiciously] Oh, we don't want anything prepared.

PHILIP [exhorting him] Tell us the truth.

DOLLY [emphatically] Bald headed.

M'COMAS [nettled] I hope you intend to take what I have to say seriously.

PHILIP [with profound gravity] I hope it will deserve it, Mr. M'Comas. My knowledge of human nature teaches me not to expect too much.

MRS CLANDON [remonstrating] Phil—

PHILIP. Yes, mother: all right. I beg your pardon, Mr M'Comas: don't mind us.

DOLLY [in conciliation] We mean well.

PHILIP. Shut up, both.

Dolly holds her lips. M'Comas takes a chair from the luncheon table; places it between the little table and the garden seat, with Dolly on his right and Phil on his left; and settles himself in it with the air of a man about to begin a long communication. The Clандons watch him expectantly.

M'COMAS. Ahem! Your father—

DOLLY. How old is he?

PHILIP. Sh!

MRS CLANDON [softly] Dear Dolly: don't let us interrupt Mr M'Comas.

M'COMAS [emphatically] Thank you, Mrs Clandon. Thank you. [To Dolly] Your father is fifty-seven.

DOLLY [with a bound, startled and excited] Fifty-seven!!

Where does he live?

MRS CLANDON Dolly! Dolly!

M'COMAS [stopping her] Let me answer that, Mrs Clandon. The answer will surprise you considerably. He lives in this town.

Mrs. Clandon rises, intensely angry, but sits down, again, speechless: Gloria watching her perplexedly.

DOLLY: [with conviction] I knew it Phil: Chalkstones is our father!

M'COMAS. Chalkstones!

DOLLY. Oh, Crampstones, or whatever it is. He said I was like his mother. I knew he must mean his daughter.

PHILIP [very seriously] Mr M'Comas: I desire to consider your feelings in every possible way; but I warn you that if you stretch the long arm of coincidence to the length of telling me that Mr Crampton of this town is my father, I shall decline to entertain the information for a moment.

M'COMAS. And pray why?

PHILIP. Because I have seen the gentleman; and he is entirely unfit to be my father, or Dolly's father, or Gloria's father, or my mother's husband.

M'COMAS. Oh, indeed! Well, sir, let me tell you that whether you like it or not, he is your father, and your sister's father, and Mrs Clandon's husband. Now! What have you to say to that?

DOLLY [whimpering] You needn't be so cross. Crampton isn't your father.

PHILIP. Mr M'Comas: your conduct is heartless. Here you find a family enjoying the unspeakable peace and freedom of being orphans. We have never seen the face of a relative: never known a claim except the claim of freely chosen friendship. And now you wish to thrust into the most intimate relationship with us a man whom we don't know—

DOLLY [vehemently] An awful old man [reproachfully] And you began as if you had quite a nice father for us!

M'COMAS [angrily] How do you know that he is not nice? And what right have you to choose your own father? [Raising his voice] Let me tell you, Miss Clandon, that you are too young to—

DOLLY [interrupting him suddenly and eagerly] Stop: I forgot! Has he any money?

M'COMAS. He has a great deal of money.

DOLLY [delighted] Oh, what did I always say, Phil?

PHILIP. Dolly: we have perhaps been condemning the old man too hastily. Proceed, Mr M'Comas.

M'COMAS. I shall not proceed, sir. I am too hurt, too shocked, to proceed.

MRS CLANDON [struggling with her temper] Finch: do you realise what is happening? Do you understand that my children have invited that man to lunch, and that he will be here in a few moments?

M'COMAS [completely upset] What! Do you mean? am I to understand? is it—

PHILIP [impressively] Steady, Finch. think it out slowly and carefully. He's coming: coming to lunch.

GLORIA. Which of us is to tell him the truth? Have you thought of that?

MRS CLANDON. Finch: you must tell him.

DOLLY. Oh, Finch is no good at telling things. Look at the mess he has made of telling us.

M'COMAS. I have not been allowed to speak. I protest against this .

DOLLY [taking his arm coaxingly] Dear Finch : dont be cross.
MRS CLANDON. Gloria: let us go in. He may arrive at any moment.

GLORIA [proudly] Do not stir, mother. I shall not stir. We must not run away.

MRS CLANDON. My dear: we cannot sit down to lunch just as we are. We shall come back again. We must have no bravado. [Gloria winces, and goes into the hotel without a word]. Come, Dolly. [as she goes to the hotel door, the waiter comes out with a tray of plates, etc. for two additional covers].

WAITER. Gentlemen come yet, maam?

MRS CLANDON. Two more to come still, thank you. They will be here immediately. [She goes into the hotel].

The waiter takes his tray to the service table.

PHILIP. I have an idea. Mr M'Comas: this communication should be made, should it not, by a man of infinite tact?

M'COMAS. It will require tact, certainly.

PHILIP. Good! Dolly: whose tact were you noticing only this morning?

DOLLY[seizing the idea with rapture] Oh yes, I declare!

PHILIP. The very man! [Calling] William!

WAITER. Coming, sir.

M'COMAS[horrified] The waiter! Stop ! stop! I will not permit this. I—

WAITER[presenting himself between Phil and M'Comas] Yes, sir.

M'Comas's complexion fades into stone grey: all movement and expression desert his eyes. He sits down stupefied.

PHILIP. William: you remember my request to you to regard me as your son?

WAITER [with respectful indulgence] yes, sir. Anything you please, sir.

PHILIP. William : at the very outset of your career as my father, a rival has appeared on the scene.

WAITER. Your real father, sir? Well, that was to be expected, sooner or later, sir, wasnt it? [Turning with a happy smile to M'Comas] Is it you, sir?

M'COMAS [renerved by indignation] Certainly not. My children know how to behave themselves.

PHILIP. No, William: this gentleman was very nearly my father: he wooed my mother, but wooed her in vain.

M'COMAS [outraged] Well, of all the —

PHILIP. Sh ! Consequently, he is only our solicitor. Do you know one Crampton, of this town?

WAITER. Cock-eyed Crampton, sir, of the Crooked Billet, is it?

PHILIP. I dont know. Finch: does he keep a public house?

M'COMAS [rising, scandalised] No, no, no. Your father, sir, is a well known yacht builder, an eminent man here.

WAITER[impressed] Oh! Beg pardon, sir, I'm sure. A son of Mr Crampton's! Dear me!

PHILIP. Mr Crampton is coming to lunch with us.

WAITER [puzzled] Yes, sir. [Diplomatically] Dont usually

lunch with his family, perhaps, sir?

PHILIP [impressively] William: he does not know that we are his family. He has not seen us for eighteen years. He wont know us. [To emphasise the communication, Phil seats himself on the iron table with a spring, and looks at the waiter with his lips compressed and his legs swinging].

DOLLY. We want you to break the news to him, William.

WAITER. But I should think he'd guess when he sees your mother, miss.

Phil's legs become motionless. He contemplates the waiter raptly

DOLLY [dazzled] I never thought of that.

PHILIP. Nor I. [Coming off the table and turning reproachfully on M'Comas] Nor you!

DOLLY . And you a solicitor!

PHILIP. Finch: your professional incompetence is appalling. William: your sagacity puts us all to shame.

DOLLY. You really are like Shakespeare, William.

WAITER. Not at all, sir. Dont mention it, miss. Most happy, I'm sure, sir. [He goes back modestly to the luncheon table and lays the two additional covers, one at the end next the steps, and the other so as to make a third on the side furthest from the balustrade].

PHILIP [abruptly seizing M'Comas's arm and leading him towards the hotel] Finch : come and wash your hands.

M'COMAS. I am thoroughly vexed and hurt, Mr. Clandon-
PHILIP [interrupting him] You will get used to us. Come, Dolly [M'Comas shakes him off and marches into the hotel. Phil follows with unruffled composure].

DOLLY [turning for a moment on the steps as she follows them] Keep your wits about you, William. There will be fireworks.

WAITER. Right, miss. You may depend on me, miss.[She goes into the hotel].

Valentine comes lightly up the steps from the beach, followed doggedly by Crampton. Valentine carries a walking stick. Crampton, either because he is old and chilly, or with some idea of extenuating the unfashionableness of his reefer jacket, wears a light overcoat. He stops at the chair left by M'Comas in the middle of the terrace, and steadies himself for a moment by placing his hand on the back of it.

CRAMPTON. Those steps make me giddy. [He passes his hand over his forehead]. I have not got over that infernal gas yet.

He goes to the iron chair, so that he can lean his elbows on the little table to prop his head as he sits. He soon recovers, and begins to unbutton his overcoat. Meanwhile Valentine interviews the waiter.

VALENTINE. Waiter!

WAITER[coming forward between them] Yes, sir.

VALENTINE. Mrs Lanfrey Clandon.

WAITER [with a sweet smile of welcome] Yes, sir. We're expecting you, sir. That is your table, sir. Mrs Clandon will be down presently, sir. The young lady and gentleman were just talking about your friend, sir.

VALENTINE. Indeed!

WAITER [smoothly melodious] Yes, sir. Great flow of spirits, sir. A vein of pleasantry, as you might say, sir.

[Quickly, to Crampton, who has risen to get the overcoat off]

Beg pardon, sir, but if you'll allow me [helping him to get the overcoat off, and taking it from him] Thank you, sir. [Crampton sits down again, and the waiter resumes the broken melody]. The young gentleman's latest is that you're his father, sir,

CRAMPTON. What!

WAITER. Only his joke, sir, his favorite joke. Yesterday, I was to be his father. Today, as soon as he knew you were coming, sir, he tried to put it up on me that you were his father: his long lost father! Not seen you for eighteen years, he said.

CRAMPTON [startled] Eighteen years!

WAITER. Yes, sir. [With gentle archness] But I was up to his tricks, sir. I saw the idea coming into his head as he stood there, thinking what new joke he'd have with me. Yes, sir: that's the sort he is: very pleasant, ve—ry off hand and affable indeed, sir. [Again changing his tempo to say to Valentine, who is putting his stick down against the corner of the garden seat] If you'll allow me, sir? [He takes Valentine's stick]. Thank you, sir. [Valentine strolls up to the luncheon table and looks at the menu. The waiter turns to Crampton and continues his lay]. Even the solicitor took up the joke, although he was in a manner of speaking in my confidence about the young gentleman, sir. Yes, sir, I assure you, sir. You would never imagine what respectable professional gentlemen from London will do on an outing, when the sea air takes them, sir.

CRAMPTON. Oh, there's a solicitor with them, is there?

WAITER. The family solicitor, sir: yes, sir. Name of M'Comas, sir. [He goes towards the hotel entrance with the coat and stick, happily unconscious of the bomblike effect the name has produced on Crampton].

CRAMPTON [rising in angry alarm] M'Comas! [Calling to Valentine] Valentine! [Again, fiercely] Valentine!! [Valentine turns]. This is a plant, a conspiracy. This is my family! my children! my infernal wife.

VALENTINE [coolly] Oh indeed! Interesting meeting! [He resumes his study of the menu].

CRAMPTON. Meeting! Not for me. Let me out of this.

[Calling across to the waiter] Give me that coat.

WAITER. Yes, sir. [He comes back, puts Valentine's stick carefully down against the luncheon table; and delicately shakes the coat out and holds it for Crampton to put on]. I seem to have done the young gentleman an injustice, sir, havn't I, sir?

CRAMPTON. Rrrh! [He stops on the point of putting his arms into the sleeves, and turns on Valentine with sudden suspicion]. Valentine: You are in this. You made this plot. You—

VALENTINE [decisively] Bosh! [He throws the menu down and goes round the table to look out unconcernedly over the parapet].

CRAMPTON: [angrily] What d'ye—

M'Comas, followed by Phil and Dolly, comes out, but recoils on seeing Crampton.

WAITER [softly interrupting Crampton] Steady, sir. Here they come, sir [he takes up Valentine's stick and makes for the hotel, throwing the coat across his arm.]

M'Comas turns the corners of his mouth resolutely down and crosses to Crampton, who draws back and glares,

with his hands behind him. M'Comas, with his brow open than ever, confronts him in the majesty of a spotless conscience. WAITER [aside, as he passes Phil on his way out] I've broke it to him, sir.

PHILIP. Invaluable William! [He passes on to the table]

DOLLY [aside to the waiter] How did he take it?

WAITER [aside to her] Startled at first, miss: but resigned: very resigned indeed, miss. [He takes the stick and coat into the hotel].

M'COMAS [having stared Crampton out of countenance] So here you are, Mr Crampton.

CRAMPTON. Yes, here: caught in a trap: a mean trap. Are those my children?

PHILIP [with deadly politeness] Is this our father, Mr M'Comas?

M'COMAS [stoutly] He is.

DOLLY [conventionally] Pleased to meet you again. [She wanders idly round the table, exchanging a grimace with Valentine on the way].

PHILIP. Allow me to discharge my first duty as host by ordering your wine. [He takes the wine list from the table. His polite attention, and Dolly's unconcerned indifference, leave Crampton on the footing of a casual acquaintance picked up that morning at the dentist's. The consciousness of it goes through the father with so keen a pang that he trembles all over; his brow becomes wet; and he stares dumbly at his son, who, just sensible enough of his own callousness to intensely enjoy the the humor and adroitness of it, proceeds pleasantly] Finch: some crusted old port for you, as a respectable family solicitor, eh?

M'COMAS [firmly] Apollinaris only. Nothing heating. [He walks away to the side of the terrace, like a man putting temptation behind him].

PHILIP. Valentine—?

VALENTINE. Would Lager be considered vulgar?

PHILIP. Probably. We'll order some. [Turning to Crampton with cheerful politeness] And now, Mr Crampton, what can we do for you?

CRAMPTON. What d'ye mean, boy?

PHILIP. Boy! [Very solemnly] Whose fault is it that I am a boy?

Crampton snatches the wine list rudely from him and irresolutely pretends to read it. Philip abandons it to him with perfect politeness.

DOLLY [looking over Crampton's right shoulder] The whisky's on the last page but one.

CRAMPTON. Let me alone, child.

DOLLY. Child! No, no: you may call me Dolly if you like; but you must call me child. [She slips her arm through Phil's; and the two stand looking at Crampton as if he were some eccentric stranger].

CRAMPTON [mopping his brow in rage and agony, and yet relieved even by their playing with him] M'Comas: we are—ha! — going to have a pleasant meal.

M'COMAS [resolutely cheerful] There is no reason why it should not be pleasant.

PHILIP. Finch's face is a feast in itself.

Mrs. Clandon and Gloria come from the hotel. Mrs

Clandon advances with courageous self-possession and marked dignity of manner. She stops at the foot of the steps to address Valentine, who is in her path. Gloria also stops, looking at Crampton with a certain repulsion.

MRS CLANDON. Glad to see you again, Mr Valentine. [He smiles. She passes on and confronts Crampton, intending to address him with complete composure; but his aspect shakes her. She stops suddenly and says anxiously, with a touch of remorse] Fergus: you are greatly changed.

CRAMPTON [grimly] I daresay. A man does change in eighteen years.

MRS CLANDON [troubled] I— I did not mean that. I hope your health is good.

CRAMPTON. Thank you. No: it's not my health. It's my happiness: that's the change you meant, I think. [Breaking out suddenly] Look at her, M'Comas! Look at her; and [with a half laugh, half sob] look at me!

PHILIP. Sh! [Pointing to the hotel entrance, where the waiter has just appeared] Order before William!

DOLLY [touching Crampton's arm warningly] Ahem!

The waiter goes to the service table and beckons to the kitchen entrance, whence issue a young waiter with soup plates, and a cook, in white apron and cap, with the soup tureen. The young waiter remains and serves: the cook goes out, and reappears from time to time bringing in the courses. He carves, but does not serve. The waiter comes to the end of the luncheon table next to the steps.

MRS CLANDON [as they assemble at the table] I think you have all met one another already today. Oh no: excuse me. [Introducing] Mr Valentine: Mr M'Comas. [She goes to the end of the table nearest the hotel]. Fergus: will you take the head of the table, please.

CRAMPTON. Ha! [Bitterly] The head of the table!

WAITER [holding the chair for him with inoffensive encouragement] This end, sir. [Crampton submits, and takes his seat]. Thank you, sir.

MRS CLANDON. Mr Valentine: will you take that side [indicating the side next the parapet] with Gloria? [Valentine and Gloria take their places, Gloria next Crampton and Valentine next Mrs Clandon]. Finch: I must put you on this side, between Dolly and Phil. You must protect yourself as best you can.

The three take the remaining side of the table, Dolly next her mother, Phil next his father. Soup is served.

WAITER [to Crampton] Thick or clear, sir?

CRAMPTON [to Mrs Clandon] Does nobody ask a blessing in this household?

PHILIP [interposing smartly] Let us first settle what we are about to receive. William!

WAITER. Yes, sir. [He glides swiftly round the table to Phil's left elbow. On his way he whispers to the younger waiter] Thick.

PHILIP. Two small Lagers for the children as usual, William; and one large for this gentleman [indicating Valentine]. Large Apollinaris for Mr M'Comas.

WAITER. Yes, sir.

DOLLY. Have a six of Irish in it, Finch?

M'COMAS [scandalised] No. No, thank you.

PHILIP. Number 413 for my mother and Miss Gloria as before;

and—[turning inquiringly to Crampton] Eh?

CRAMPTON [scowling and about to reply offensively] I—
WAITER [striking in mellifluously] All right, sir. We know what Mr Crampton likes here, sir. [He goes into the hotel].

PHILIP [looking gravely at his father] You frequent bars. Bad habit!

The cook, followed by a waiter with hot plates, brings in the fish from the kitchen to the service table, and begins slicing it.

CRAMPTON. You have learnt your lesson from your mother, I see.

MRS CLANDON. Phil: will you please remember that your jokes are apt to irritate people who are not accustomed to us, and that your father is our guest to day.

CRAMPTON [bitterly] Yes: a guest at the head of my own table. [The soup plates are removed].

DOLLY [sympathetically] It's embarrassing, isn't it? It's just as bad for us, you know.

PHILIP. Sh! Dolly: we are both wanting in tact. [To Crampton] We mean well, Mr Crampton; but we are not yet strong in the filial line. [The waiter returns from the hotel with the drinks]. William: come and restore good feeling.

WAITER [cheerfully] Yes, sir. Certainly, sir. Small Lager for you, sir [To Crampton] Seltzer and Irish, sir. [To M'Comas] Apollinaris, sir. [To Dolly] Small Lager, miss [To Mrs Clandon, pouring out wine] 413, madam. [To Valentine] Larger Lager for you, sir. [To Gloria] 413, miss.

DOLLY [drinking] To the family!

PHILIP [drinking] Hearth and Home!

Fish is served.

M'COMAS. We are getting on very nicely after all.

DOLLY. [critically] After all! After all what, Finch!

CRAMPTON [sarcastically] He means that you are getting on very nicely in spite of the presence of your father. Do I take your point rightly, Mr M'Comas?

M'COMAS [disconcerted] No, no. I only said "after all" to round off the sentence. I—er—er—er—

WAITER [tactfully] Turbot, sir?

M'COMAS [intensely grateful for the interruption] Thank you, waiter: thank you.

WAITER [sotto voce] Dont mention it, sir. [He returns to the service table]

CRAMPTON [to Phil] Have you thought of choosing a profession yet?

PHILIP. I am keeping my mind open on that subject. William!

WAITER. Yes, sir.

PHILIP. How long do you think it would take me to learn to be a really smart waiter?

WAITER. Cant be learnt, sir. It's in the character, sir. [Confidentially to Valentine, who is looking about for something] Bread for the lady, sir? yes, sir. [He serves bread to Gloria, and resumes, at his former pitch] Very few are born to it, sir.

PHILIP. You dont happen to have such a thing as a son, yourself, have you?

WAITER. Yes, sir: oh yes, sir. [To Gloria, again dropping his voice] A little more fish, miss? you wont care for the joint in the middle of the day.

GLORIA. No, thank you.

The fish plates are removed, and the next course served.

DOLLY. Is your son a waiter too, William?

WAITER [serving Gloria with fowl] Oh no, miss: he's too impetuous. He's at the Bar.

M'COMAS [patronisingly] A potman, ch?

WAITER [with a touch of melancholy, as if recalling a disappointment softened by time] No, sir; the other bar. Your profession, sir. A Q.C., sir.

M'COMAS [embarrassed] I'm sure I beg your pardon.

WAITER. Not at all, sir. Very natural mistake, I'm sure, sir. I've often wished he was a potman, sir. Would have been off my hands ever so much sooner, sir. [Aside to Valentine, who is again in difficulties] Salt at your elbow, sir.

M'COMAS. Democracy, Crampton! Modern democracy!

WAITER [calmly] No, sir, not democracy: only education, sir. Scholarships, sir. Cambridge Local, sir. Sidney Sussex College, sir. [Dolly plucks his sleeve and whispers as he bends down]. Very good thing for him, sir: he never had any turn for real work, sir [He goes into the hotel, leaving the company somewhat overwhelmed by his son's eminence].

VALENTINE. Which of us dare give that man an order again!

DOLLY. I hope he wont mind my sending him for ginger-beer.

CRAMPTON [doggedly] While he's a waiter it's his business to wait. If you had treated him as a waiter ought to be treated, he'd have held his tounge.

DOLLY. What a loss that would have been! Perhaps he'll give us an introduction to his son and get us into London society.

The waiter reappears with the ginger-beer.

CRAMPTON [growling contemptuously] London society! London society! You're not fit for any society, child.

DOLLY [losing her temper] Now look here, Mr Crampton. If you think—

WAITER [softly, at her elbow] Stone ginger, miss.

DOLLY [taken aback, recovers her good humour after a long breath, and says sweetly] Thank you, dear William. You were just in time [[She drinks].

M'COMAS. If I may be allowed to change the subject, Miss Clandon, what is the established religion in Madeira?

GLORIA. I suppose the Portuguese religion. I never inquired.

Dolly. The servants come in Lent and kneel down before you and confess all the things they've done; and you have to pretend to forgive them. Do they do that in England, William?

WAITER. Not usually, miss. They in some parts; but it has not come under my notice, miss. [catching Mrs Clandon's eye as the young waiter offers her the salad bowl] You like it without dressing, maam: yes, maam, I have some for you. [To his young colleague, motioning him to serve Gloria] This side, Jo. [He takes a special portion of salad from the service table and puts it beside Mrs Clandon's plate. [In doing so he observes that Dolly is making a wry face]. Only a bit of watercress, miss, got in by mistake [he takes her salad away].

Thank you, miss. [To the young waiter, admonishing him to serve Dolly afresh] Jo. [Resuming] Mostly members of the Church of England, miss.

DOLLY. Members of the Church of England? Whats the subscription?

CRAMPTON [rising violently amid general consternation] You see how my children have been brought up, M'Comas. You see it: you hear it. I call all of you to witness— [He becomes inarticulate, and is about to strike his first recklessly on the table when the waiter considerably takes away his plate].

MRS CLANDON [firmly] Sit down, Fergus. There is no occasion at all for this outburst. You must remember that Dolly is just like a foreigner here. Pray sit down.

CRAMPTON. [taken aback] What? Oh! Cheese, cheese.

DOLLY. Bring a box of cigarettes, William.

WAITER. All ready, miss. [He takes a box of cigarettes from the service table and places them before Dolly, who selects one and prepares to smoke. He then returns to his table for the matches].

CRAMPTON [staring aghast at Dolly] Does she smoke?

DOLLY [out of patience] Really, Mr Crampton, I'm afraid I'm spoiling your lunch. I'll go and have my cigarette on the beach. [She leaves the table with petulant suddenness and goes to the steps. The waiter strikes a match and adroitly lights her cigarette]. Thank you, dear William. [She vanishes down the steps].

CRAMPTON [furiously] Margaret: call that girl back. Call her back, I say.

M'COMAS [trying to make peace] Come, Crampton: never mind. She's her father's daughter: thats all.

MRS CLANDON [with deep resentment] I hope not, Finch. [She rises: they all rise a little]. Mr Valentine: will you excuse me? I am afraid Dolly is hurt and put out by what has passed. I must go to her.

CRAMPTON. To take her part against me, you mean.

MRS CLANDON [ignoring him] Gloria: will you take my place whilst I am away, dear. [She crosses to the steps and goes down to the beach].

Crampton's expression is one of bitter hatred. The rest watch her in embarrassed silence, feeling the incident to be a very painful one. The waiter discreetly shepherds his assistant along with him into the hotel by the kitchen entrance, leaving the luncheon party to themselves.

CRAMPTON [throwing himself back in his chair] Theres a mother for you, M'Comas! Theres a mother for you!

GLORIA [steadfastly] Yes: a good mother.

CRAMPTON. And a bad father? Thats what you mean, eh?

VALENTINE [rising indignantly and addressing Gloria]

Miss Clandon: I -

CRAMPTON [turning on him] That girl's name is Crampton, Mr Valentine, not Clandon. Do you wish to join them in insulting me?

VALENTINE [ignoring him] I'm overwhelmed, Miss Clandon. It's all my fault: I brought him here: I'm responsible for him. And I'm ashamed of him.

CRAMPTON. What d'y' mean?

GLORIA [rising coldly] No harm has been done, Mr Valentine. We have all been a little childish, I am afraid. Our party has been a failure: let us break it up and have done with it. [She puts her chair aside and turns to the steps, adding, with slighting composure, as she passes Crampton] Goodbye, father.

She descends the steps with cold disgusted indifference. They all look after her, and so do not notice the return of the

waiter from the hotel, laden with Crampton's coat, Valentine's stick, a couple of shawls and parasols, and some camp stools, which he deposits on the bench.

CRAMPTON [to himself, staring after Gloria with a ghastly expression] Father! Father!! [He strikes his fist violently on the table]. Now—

WAITER [offering the coat] This is yours, sir, I think, sir. [Crampton glares at him, then snatches it rudely and comes down the terrace towards the garden seat, struggling with the coat in his angry efforts to put it on. M'Comas rises and goes to his assistance: then takes his hat and umbrella from the little iron table, and turns towards the steps. Meanwhile the waiter, after thanking Crampton with unruffled sweetness for taking the coat, picks up the other articles and offers the parasols to Phil]. The ladies' sunshades, sir. Nasty glare off the sea today, sir: very trying to the complexion, sir. I shall carry down the camp stools myself, sir.

PHILIP. You are old, Father William; but you are the most thoughtful of men. No: keep the sunshades and give me the camp stools [taking them].

WAITER [with flattering gratitude] Thank you, sir.

PHILIP. Finch: share with me [giving him a couple]. Come along. [they go down the steps together].

VALENTINE [to the waiter] Leave me something to bring down. One of these [offering to take a sunshade].

WAITER [discreetly] That's the younger lady's, sir.

[Valentine lets it go]. Thank you, sir. If you'll allow me, sir, I think you had better take this. [He puts down his burden on Crampton's chair, and produces from the tail pocket of his dress coat a book with a lady's handkerchief between the leaves to mark the page]. The elder young lady is reading it at present. [Valentine takes it eagerly]. Thank you, sir. The Subjection of Women, sir, you see. [He takes up the burden again]. Heavier reading than you and I would care for at the seaside, sir. [He goes down the steps].

VALENTINE [coming rather excitedly to Crampton]

Now look here, Crampton: are you at all ashamed of yourself?

CRAMPTON [pugnaciously] Ashamed of myself! What for?

VALENTINE. For behaving like a bear. What will your daughter think of me for having brought you here?

CRAMPTON [heartrent] She told you what I am: a father: a father robbed of his children..What are the hearts of this generation like? Am I to come here after all these years? to see what my children are for the first time! to hear their voices! and carry it all off like a fashionable visitor; drop in to lunch; be Mr.Crampton? Mister Crampton! What right have they to talk to me like that? I'm their father : do they deny that? I'm a man, with the feelings of our common humanity: have I no rights, no claims? In all these years who have I had round me? Servants, clerks, business acquaintances. I've had respect from them. Aye, kindness. Would one of them have spoken to me as that girl spoke? Would one of them have laughed at me as that boy was laughing at me all the time? [Frantically] My own children! Mister Crampton ! My-

VALENTINE. Come, come! they're only children. She called you father.

CRAMPTON. Yes: "goodbye, father." Goodbye ! Oh yes : she got at my feelings : with a stab!

VALENTINE [taking this in very bad part] Now look here, Crampton: you just let her alone : she's treated you very well. I had a much worse time of it at lunch than you.

CRAMPTON. You!

VALENTINE [with growing impetuosity] Yes : I. I sat next to her; and I never said a single thing to her the whole time: couldn't think of a blessed word. And not a word did she say to me.

CRAMPTON. Well?

VALENTINE. Well? Well??? [Tackling him very seriously, and talking faster and faster] Crampton: do you know what's been the matter with me today? You don't suppose, do you, that I'm in the habit of playing such tricks on my patients as I played on you?

CRAMPTON. I hope not.

VALENTINE . The explanation is that I'm stark mad, or rather that I've never been in my real senses before. I'm capable of anything : I've grown up at last: I'm a man; and it's your daughter that's made a man of me.

CRAMPTON [incredulously] Are you in love with my daughter?

VALENTINE [his words now coming in a perfect torrent]

Love ! It's life, it's faith, it's strength, certainty, paradise-

CRAMPTON [interrupting him with acrid contempt]

Rubbish, man! What have you to keep a wife on? You can't marry her.

VALENTINE. Who wants to marry her? I'll kiss her hands; I'll kneel at her feet; I'll live for her; I'll die for her; and that'll be enough for me. Look at her book! See! [He kisses the handkerchief]. If you offered me all your money for this excuse for going down to the beach and speaking to her again, I'd only laugh at you. [He rushes buoyantly off to the steps, where he bounces right into the arms of the waiter who is coming up from the beach, The two save themselves from falling by clutching one another tightly round the waist and whirling one another round].

WAITER [delicately] Steady, sir. steady!

VALENTINE. [shocked at his own violence] I beg your pardon.

WAITER. Not at all, sir, not at all. Very natural, sir, I'm sure, sir, at your age, The lady has sent me for her book, sir. Might I take the liberty of asking you to let her have it at once, sir.

VALENTINE. With pleasure, And if you will allow me to present you with a professional man's earnings for six weeks- [offering him Dolly's crown piece?]

WAITER [as if the sum were beyond his utmost expectations] Thank you, sir: much obliged. [Valentine dashes down the steps]. Very high-spirited young gentleman, sir, very manly and straight set up.

CRAMPTON [in grumbling disparagement] And making his fortune in a hurry, no doubt. I know what his six weeks' earnings come to. [He crosses the terrace to the iron table, and sits down].

WAITER [philosophically] Well, sir, you never can tell.

That's a principle in life with me, sir, if you'll excuse my having such a thing, sir. [Delicately sinking the philosopher in the waiter for a moment] Perhaps you haven't noticed that you hadn't touched that seltzer and Irish sir, when the party broke up.

[He takes the tumbler from the luncheon table and sets it before Crampton]. Yes, sir, you never can tell. There was my son, sir! who ever thought that he would rise to wear a silk gown sir? And yet, today, sir, nothing less than fifty guineas. What a lesson, sir!

CRAMPTON. Well, I hope he is grateful to you, and recognises what he owes you, as a son should.

WAITER. We get on together very well, very well indeed, sir, considering the difference in our stations.

[Crampton is about to take a drink] a small lump of sugar, sir, will take the flatness out of the seltzer without noticeably sweetening the drink, sir. Allow me, sir, [He drops a lump of sugar into the tumbler]. But as I say to him wheres the difference after all? If I must put on a dress coat to shew what I am sir, he must put on a wig and gown to shew what he is. If my income is mostly tips. and theres a pretence that I dont get them why his income is mostly fees, sir and I understand theres a pretence that he dont get them! If he likes society, and his profession brings him into contact with all ranks, so does mine too, sir. If it's a little against a barrister to have a waiter for his father, sir, it's a little against a waiter to have a barrister for a son: many people consider it a great liberty, sir, I assure you, sir, Can I get you anything else, sir?

CRAMPTON. No, thank you. [With bitter humility] I suppose theres no objection to my sitting here for a while: I cant disturb the party on the beach here.

WAITER. [with emotion] Very kind of you, sir, to put it as if it was not a compliment and an honor to us, Mr Crampton, very kind indeed. the more you are at home here, sir, the better for us.

CRAMPTON [in poignant irony] Home!

WAITER [reflectively] Well, yes, sir :thats a way of looking at it too, sir. I have always said that the great advantage of a hotel is that it's a refuge from home life, sir.

CRAMPTON. I missed that advantage today, I think.

WAITER. You did, sir : you did. Dear me! It's the unexpected that always happen, isnt it? [Shaking his head] You never can tell, sir : you never can tell. [He goes into the hotel].

CRAMPTON [his eyes shining hardly as he props his drawn miserable face on his hands] Home! Home! [Hearing someone approaching he hastily sits bolt upright. It is Gloria, who has come up the steps alone, with her sunshade and her book in her hands. He looks defiantly at her, with the brutal obstinacy of his mouth and the wistfulness of his eyes contradicting each other pathetically. She comes to the corner of the garden seat and stands with her back to it, leaning against the end of it, and looking down at him as if wondering at his weakness: too curious about him to be cold, but supremely indifferent to their kinship. He greets her with a growl]. Well?

GLORIA. I want to speak to you for a moment.

CRAMPTON.[looking steadily at her] Indeed? Thats surprising. You meet your father after eighteen years; and you actually want to speak to him for a moment! Thats touching: isnt it?

GLORIA .All that is what seems to me so nonsensical, so uncalled for.What do you expect us to feel for you? To do for you? What is it you want? Why are you less civil to us than other people are? You are evidently not vey fond of us : why

should you be? But surely we can meet without quarrelling. CRAMPTON [a dreadful grey shade passing over his face] Do you realise that I am your father?

GLORIA. Perfectly.

CRAMPTON. Do you know what is due to me as your father?

GLORIA. For instance—?

CRAMPTON [rising as if to combat a monster] For instance! For instance !For instance , duty, affection, respect, obedience—

GLORIA [quitting her careless leaning attitude and confronting him promptly and proudly] I obey nothing but my sense of what is right. I respect nothing that is not noble. That is my duty. [She adds, less firmly] As to affection, it is not within my control. I am not sure that I quite know what affection means. [She turns away with an evident distaste for that part of the subject, and goes to the luncheon table for a comfortable chair, putting down her book and sunshade]. CRAMPTON [following her with his eyes] Do you really mean what you are saying?

GLORIA. [turning on him quickly and severely] excuse me: that is an uncivil question. I am speaking seriously to you ; and I expect you to take me seriously . [She takes one of the luncheon chairs; turns it away from the table; and sits down a little wearily, saying] Can you not discuss this matter coolly and rationally!

CRAMPTON. Coolly and rationally! No I cant. Do you understand that? I cant.

GLORIA[emphatically] No. That I cannot understand. I have no sympathy with—

CRAMPTON.[shrinking nervously] Stop! Dont say anything more yet: you dont know what youre doing. Do you want to drive me mad?[She frowns, finding such petulance intolerable. He adds hastily] No: I'm not angry : indeed I'm not. Wait, wait: give me a little time to think. [He stands for a moment, screwing and clinching his brows and hands in his perplexity; then takes the end chair from the luncheon table and sits down beside her, saying, with a touching effort to be gentle and patient] Now I think I have it. At least I'll try.

GLORIA [firmly] You see! Everything comes right if we only think it resolutely out.

CRAMPTON [in sudden dread] No: dont think. I want you to feel: thats the only thing that can help us. Listen! Do you— but first— I forgot. Whats your name ? I mean your pet name. They cant very well call you Sophronia.

GLORIA [with astonished disgust] Sophronia! My name is Gloria. I am always called by it.

CRAMPTON[his temper rising again] Your name is Sophronia, girl : you were called after your aunt Sophronia, my sister : she gave you your first Bible with your name written in it.

GLORIA.Then my mother gave me a new name.

CRAMTPON. [angrily] She had no right to do it. I will not allow this.

GLORIA. You had no right to give me your sister's name. I dont know her.

CRAMPTON. Youre talking nonsense.There are bounds to what I will put up with. I will not have it. Do you hear that?

GLORIA [rising warningly] Are you resolved to quarrel?

CRAMPTON[terrified, pleading] No, no: sit down. Sit down, wont you? [She looks at him, keeping him in suspense. he forces himself to utter the obnoxious name]. Gloria. [She marks her satisfaction with a slight tightening of the lips, and sits down]. There! You see I only want to shew you that I am your father,, my - my dear child. [The endearment is so plaintively inept that she smiles in spite of herself, and resigns herself to indulge him a little]. Listen now. What I want to ask you is this. Dont you remember me at all? Your were only a tiny child when you wére taken away from me; but you took plenty of notice of things. Cant you remember someone whom you loved, or [shyly] at least liked in a childish way? Come! someone who let you stay in his study and looks at his toy boats, as you thought them? [He looks anxiously into her face for some response, and continues less hopefully and more urgently] Someone who let you do as you liked there, and never said a word to you except to tell you that you must sit still and not speak? Someone who was something that no one else was to you— who was your father?

GLORIA [unmoved] If you describe things to me, no doubt I shall presently imagine that I remember them. But I really remember nothing.

CRAMPTON [wistfully] Has your mother never told you anything about me?

GLORIA. She has never mentioned your name to me.[He groans involuntarily. She looks at him rather contemptuously, and continues] Except once; and then she did remind me of something I had forgotten.

CRAMPTON [looking up hopefully] What was that?

GLORIA [mercilessly] The whip you bought to beat me with.

CRAMPTON[gnashing his teeth] Oh! To bring that up against me! To turn you from me! When you need never have known. [Under a grinding, agonised breath] Curse her!

GLORIA [springing up] You wretch! [With intense emphasis] You wretch! You dare curse my mother!

CRAMPTON. Stop; or youll be sorry afterwards. I'm your father.

GLORIA. How I hate the name! How I love the name of Mother! You had better go.

CRAMPTON. I— I'm choking. you want to kill me. Some- I— [His voice stifles: he is almost in a fit].

GLORIA. [going up to the balustrade with cool quick resourcefulness, and calling over it to the beach] Mr Valentine!

VALENTINE [answering from below] Yes.

GLORIA. Come here for a moment, please. Mr Crampton wants you. [She returns to the table and pours out a glass of water].

CRAMPTON[recovering his speech] No: let me alone. I dont want him. I'm all right, I tell you. I need neither his help nor yours. [He rises and pulls himself together] As you say, I had better go. [He puts on his hat]. Is that your last word?

GLORIA. I hope so.

He looks stubbornly at her for a moment; nods grimly, as if he agreed to that; and goes into the hotel. She looks at him with equal steadiness until he disappears, when, with a gesture of relief, she turns to Valentine, who comes running up the steps.

VALENTINE [panting] Whats the matter? [Looking round]

Wheres Crampton?

GLORIA. Gone.[Valentine's face lights up with sudden joy, dread, and mischief as he realises that he is alone with Gloria. She continues indifferently] I thought he was ill; but he recovered himself. He wouldnt wait for you. I am sorry. [She goes for her book and parasol].

VALENTINE. So much the better. He gets on my nerves after a while. [Pretending to forget himself] How could that man have so beautiful a daughter!

GLORIA.[taken aback for a moment; then answering him with polite but intentional contempt] That seems to be an attempt at what is called a pretty speech. Let me say at once, Mr Valentine, that pretty speeches make very sickly conversation. Pray let us be friends, if we are to be friends, in a sensible and wholesome way. I have no intention of getting married; and unless you are content to accept that state of things, we had much better not cultivate each other's acquaintance.

VALENTINE [cautiously] I see. May I ask just this one question? Is your objection an objection to marriage as an institution, or merely an objection to marrying me personally? GLORIA I do not know you well enough, Mr Valentine, to have any opinion on the subject of your personal merits. [She turns away from him with infinite indifference, and sits down with her book on the garden seat]. I do not think the conditions of marriage at present are such as any self-respecting woman can accept.

VALENTINE [instantly changing his tone for one of cordial sincerity, as if he frankly accepted her terms and was delighted and reassured by her principles] Oh, then thats a point of sympathy between us already. I quite agree with you: the conditions are most unfair. [He takes off his hat and throws it gaily on the iron table]. No : what I want is to get rid of all that nonsense. [He sits down beside her, so naturally that she does not think of objecting, and proceeds, with enthusiasm] Dont you think it a horrible thing that a man and a woman can hardly know one another without being supposed to have designs of that kind? As if there were no other interests! no other subjects of conversation! As if women were capable of nothing better!

GLORIA. [interested] Ah, now you are beginning to talk humanly and sensibly, Mr Valentine.

VALENTINE [with a gleam in his eye at the success of his hunter's guile] Of course! two intelligent people like us! Isnt it pleasant, in this stupid convention-ridden world, to meet with someone on the same plane? someone with an unprejudiced enlightened mind?

GLORIA[earnestly] I hope to meet many such people in England.

VALENTINE[dubiously] Hm! there are a good many people here: nearly forty millions. Theyre not all consumptive members of the highly educated classes like the people in Madeira.

GLORIA[now full of her subject] Oh, everybody is stupid and prejudiced in Madeira : weak sentimental creatures. I hate weakness; and I hate sentiment.

VALENTINE. Thats what makes you so inspiring.

GLORIA[with a slight laugh] Am I inspiring?

VALENTINE. Yes. Strength's infectious.

GLORIA. Weakness is, I know.

VALENTINE [with conviction] You're strong. Do you know that you changed the world for me this morning? I was in the dumps, thinking of my unpaid rent, frightened about the future. When you came in, I was dazzled. [Her bow clouds a little. He goes on quickly] That was silly, of course; but really and truly something happened to me. Explain it how you will, my blood got— [he hesitates, trying to think of a sufficiently unimpassioned word]—oxygenated: my muscles braced; my mind cleared; my courage rose. Thats odd, isnt it? considering that I am not at all a sentimental man.

GLORIA [uneasily, rising] Let us go back to the beach.

VALENTINE [darkly: looking up at her] What! you feel it too?

GLORIA. Feel what?

VALENTINE. Dread.

GLORIA. Dread!

VALENTINE. As if something were going to happen. It came over me suddenly just before you proposed that we should run away to the others.

GLORIA [amazed] Thats strange: very strange! I had the same presentiment.

VALENTINE [solemnly] How extraordinary! [Rising] Well: shall we run away?

GLORIA. Run away! Oh no: that would be childish. [She sits down again. He resumes his seat beside her, and watches her with a gravely sympathetic air. She is thoughtful and a little troubled as she adds] I wonder what is the scientific explanation of those fancies that cross us occasionally

VALENTINE. Ah, I wonder! It's a curiously helpless sensation: isnt it?

GLORIA [rebellng against the word] Helpless?

VALENTINE. Yes, helpless. As if Nature, after letting us belong to ourselves and do what we judged right and reasonable for all these years, were suddenly lifting her great hand to take us— her two little children — by the scruffs of our little necks, and use us, in spite of ourselves, for her own purposes, in her own way.

GLORIA. Isnt that rather fanciful?

VALENTINE [with a new and startling transition to a tone of utter recklessness] I dont know. I dont care. [Bursting out reproachfully] Oh, Miss Clandon, Miss Clandon: how could you?

GLORIA. What have I done?

VALENTINE. Thrown this enchantment on me. I'm honestly trying to be sensible and scientific and everything that you wish me to be. But — but—oh, dont you see what you have set to work in my imagination?

GLORIA. I hope you are not going to be so foolish—so vulgar—as to say love.

VALENTINE. No, no, no, no. Not love: we know better than that. Let's call it chemistry. You cant deny that there is such a thing as chemical action, chemical affinity, chemical combination: the most irresistible of all natural forces. Well, youre attracting me irresistibly. Chemically.

GLORIA [contemptuously] Nonsense!

VALENTINE. Of course it's nonsense, you stupid girl. [Gloria recoils in outraged surprise]. Yes, stupid girl: thats a scientific

fact, anyhow. You're a prig: a feminine prig: thats what you are. [Rising] Now I suppose you've done with me for ever. [He goes to the iron table and takes up his hat].

GLORIA [with elaborate calm, sitting up like a Highschool-mistress posing to be photographed]. That shews how very little you understand my real character. I am not in the least offended. [He pauses and puts his hat down again]. I am always willing to be told my own defects, Mr Valentine, by my friends, even when they are as absurdly mistaken about me as you are. I have many faults— very serious faults of character and temper; but if there is one thing that I am not, it is what you call a prig. [She closes her lips trimly and looks steadily and challengingly at him as she sits more collectedly than ever].

VALENTINE [returning to the end of the garden seat to confront her more emphatically] Oh yes, you are. My reason tells me so: my knowledge tells me so: my experience tells me so.

GLORIA. Excuse my reminding you that your reason and your knowledge and your experience are not infallible. At least I hope not.

VALENTINE. I must believe them. Unless you wish me to believe my eyes, my heart, my instincts, my imagination, which are all telling me the most monstrous lies about you.

GLORIA [the collectedness beginning to relax] Lies!

VALENTINE [obstinately] Yes, lies. [He sits down again beside her] Do you expect me to believe that you are the most beautiful woman in the world?

GLORIA. That is ridiculous, and rather personal.

VALENTINE. Of course, it's ridiculous. Well, thats what my eyes tell me. [Gloria makes a movement of contemptuous protest]. No: I'm not flattering. I tell you I dont believe it. [She is ashamed to find that this does not quite please her either]. Do you think that if you were to turn away in disgust from my weakness, I should sit down here and cry like a child? GLORIA [beginning to find that she must speak shortly and pointedly to keep her voice steady] Why should you, pray?

VALENTINE. Of course not: I'm not such an idiot. And yet my heart tells me I should: my fool of a heart. But I'll argue with my heart and bring it to reason. If I loved you a thousand times, I'll force myself to look the truth steadily in the face. After all, it's easy to be sensible: the facts are the facts. Whats this place? it's not heaven: it's the Marine Hotel. Whats the time? it's not eternity: it's about half past one in the afternoon. What am I? a dentist: a five shilling dentist!

GLORIA. And I am a feminine prig.

VALENTINE [passionately] No, no: I cant face that: I must have one illusion left: the illusion about you. I love you. [He turns towards her as if by the impulse to touch her were ungovernable: she rises and stands on her guard wrathfully. He springs up impatiently and retreats a step]. Oh, what a fool I am! an idiot! you dont understand: I might as well talk to the stones on the beach. [He turns away, discouraged].

GLORIA. [reassured by his withdrawal, and a little remorseful] I am sorry. I do not mean to be unsympathetic, Mr Valentine; but what can I say?

VALENTINE [returning to her with all his recklessness of manner replaced by an engaging and chivalrous respect] You

can say nothing, Miss Clandon. I beg your pardon: it was my own fault, or rather my own bad luck. You see, it all depended on your naturally liking me. [She is about to speak: he stops her deprecatingly] Oh, I know you must tell me whether you like me or not; but—

GLORIA [her principles up in arms at once] Must not! Why not? I am a free woman: why should I not tell you?

VALENTINE [pleading in terror, and rereating] Dont. I'm afraid to hear.

GLORIA [no longer scornful] You need not be afraid. I think you are sentimental, and a little foolish; but I like you.

VALENTINE. [dropping into the nearest chair as if crushed] Then it's all over. [He becomes the picture of despair.]

GLORIA [puzzled, approaching him] But why?

VALENTINE. Because liking is not enough. Now that I think down into it seriously, I dont know whether I like you or not.

GLORIA [looking down at him with wondering concern] I'm sorry.

VALENTINE [in an agony of restrained passion] Oh, dont pity me. Your voice is tearing my heart to pieces. Let me alone, Gloria. You go down into the very depths of me, troubling and stirring me. I cant struggle with it. I cant tell you—

GLORIA [breaking down suddenly] Oh, stop telling me what you feel: I cant bear it.

VALENTINE[springing up triumphantly, the agonised voice now solid, ringing, and jubilant] Ah, it's come at last: my moment of courage. [he seizes her hands: she looks at him in terror]. Our moment of courage! [He draws her to him; kisses

her with impetuous strength; and laughs boyishly]. Now youve done it, Gloria. It's all over: we're in love with one another.[She can only gasp at him]. But what a dragon you were! And how hideously afraid I was!

PHILIP'S VOICE [calling from the beach] Valentine!

DOLLY'S VOICE. Mr Valentine!

VALENTINE. Goodbye. Forgive me. [He rapidly kisses her hands and runs away to the steps, where he meets Mrs Clandon ascending].

Gloria, quite lost, can only stare after him.

MRS CLANDON. The children want you, Mr Valentine[She looks anxiously round]. Is he gone?

VALENTINE [puzzled] He? [Recollecting] Oh, Crampton. Gone this long time, Mrs Clandon. [He runs off buoyantly down the steps].

GLORIA [sinking upon the bench] Mother!

MRS CLANDON [hurrying to her in alarm] What is it, dear?

GLORIA [with heartfelt appealing reproach] Why didnt you educate me properly?

MRS CLANDON [amazed] My child: I did my best.

GLORIA. Oh, you taught me nothing: nothing.

MRS CLANDON. What is the matter with you?

GLORIA [with the most intense expression] Only shame! shame!! shame!!! [Blushing unendurably, she covers her face with her hands and turns away from her mother]. ■

(To be continued)

(contd. from p. 55)

THE STORY OF INA-5

and P.N. Sen, ex-judge, Patna high court. So, it was a galaxy of Indian legal talent that spontaneously ranged itself in defence of the INA.

Mahatma Gandhi, who was then staying in the Harijan Colony in Delhi, met INA officers both inside and outside the Red Fort.

When I met Jawaharlal Nehru in Delhi on December 1, 1945 while waiting to give evidence for the defence and told him about the INA men all over east Asia still waiting to be repatriated to India, he said, "I do not want these men to be lost in the vast sea of Indian humanity when they reach here."

In a foreword to Moti Ram's classic documentary record of the historic Red Fort trial of Shah Nawaz, Sehgal and Dhillon, Jawaharlal wrote on January 17, 1946:

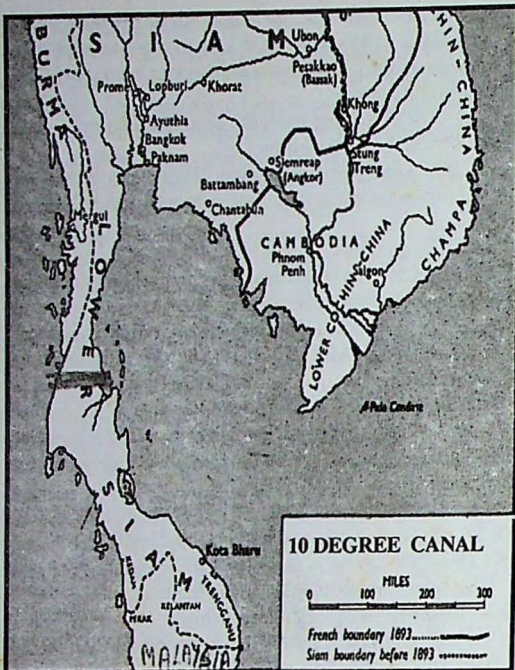
"The trial dramatised and gave visible form to the old contest 'England versus India'. It became... a trial of strength between the will of the Indian people and the will of those who held power in India. And it was the will of the people that triumphed in the end."

This is the psychological backdrop against which Shah

Nawaz, Sehgal and Dhillon were tried by a military court presided over by Major-General Blaxland on the second floor of the dormitory inside the Red Fort. Sir N.P. Engineer, Advocate-General of India, was counsel for the prosecution. The trial was opened to the press and the public and the country was literally flooded with columns and columns of newspaper reports of the proceedings.

The Red Fort proceedings absorbed public interest to the exclusion of everything else. As the saga of the INA was revealed to the public for the first time, public enthusiasm broke all bounds; the country was aflame with a sense of pride and regained self-respect. The whole nation felt its manhood vindicated by the fact that a liberation army organised, officered and led wholly by Indians had given battle to the alien ruler on many fronts on the Burma-India border and had come within an ace of driving the British out of Assam and Bengal, and possibly out of India. ■

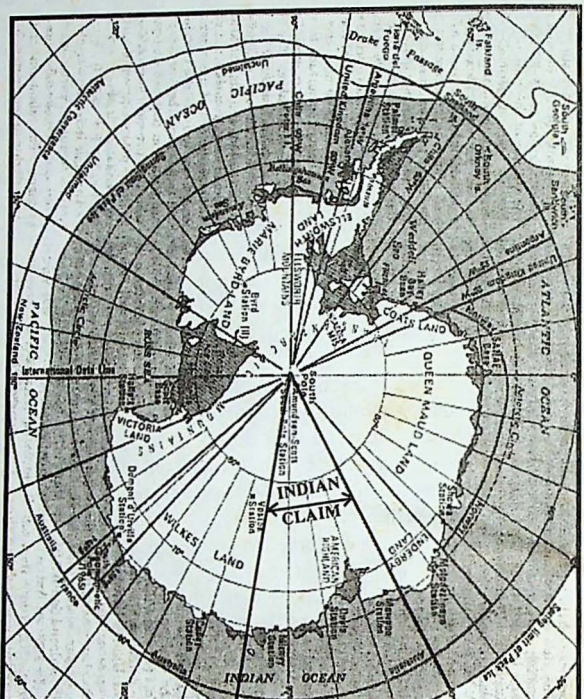
(To be continued)



10 DEGREE CANAL

THE TEN DEGREE CANAL AS THE NAME SUGGESTS PASSES ALONG 10° NORTH LATITUDE BETWEEN THE ANDAMAN AND NICOBAR ISLANDS AND CUTS ACROSS THE ISTHMUS OF KRA WHICH BELONGS TO THAILAND (OLD SIAM). THIS PART OF THAILAND LIES BETWEEN BURMA TO THE NORTH-WEST AND MALAYSIA TO THE SOUTH-EAST. THE ISTHMUS OF KRA NARROWS AT TEN DEGREES TO JUST ABOUT 70 MILES.

Source: DGE Hall: *History of S. E. Asia*, 1987, p. 729.

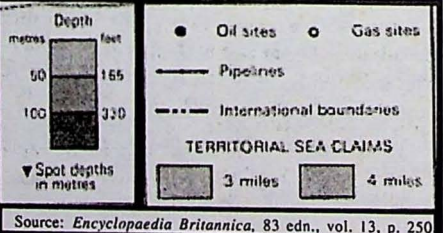
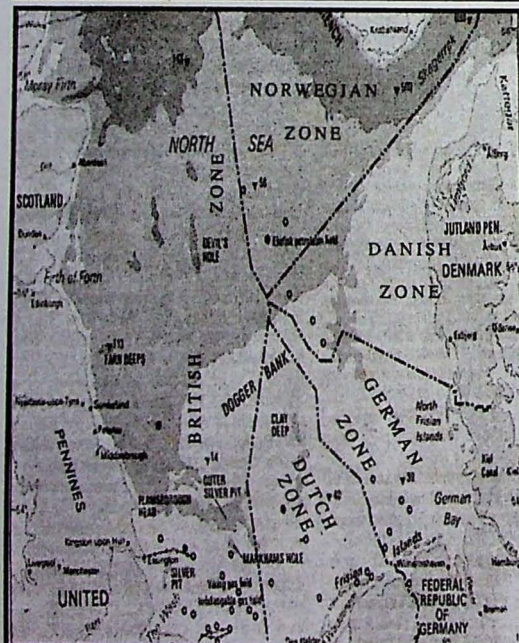


ANTARCTIC TERRITORIAL CLAIMS, TO RETAIN STATUS QUO UNDER THE TERMS OF A TREATY SIGNED BY 12 NATIONS ON DEC. 1, 1959. THE TREATY DEDICATES ANTARCTICA FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES ONLY AND IN EFFECT INTERNATIONALISES THE ENTIRE CONTINENT. (ICE SHELVES ARE INDICATED BY DARKER AREAS)

ONLY A SMALL AREA OF THE CONTINENT IS UNCLAIMED LYING BETWEEN 90°W TO 150°W.

AUSTRALIAN CLAIM IS THE MOST EXTENSIVE, FROM 45° TO 160° E OR SOME 115 DEGREES OF LONGITUDE. INDIA MUST CLAIM A SLICE OF 40° OF LONGITUDE LYING BETWEEN 60° TO 100° E, CURRENTLY CLAIMED BY AUSTRALIA.

Source: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 73 edn., vol. 2, p. 4A.



Source: *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 83 edn., vol. 13, p. 250