

# MANKIND

FDR. EDR. DR. RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

Volume 1, No. 6, March 1996.

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## The Container by Devilal Patidar

Beauty does not lie in the eye of the beholder. Beauty is an objective element inhering in every work of art, and is known as beauty of design or composition. Design projects above all the ideological viewpoint of the maker, who fits the design for one of four basic markets : tribal-primitive, rural-folk, urban-popular and elitist-classical. The composition alongside obviously belongs to the rural-folk category.



# MANKIND

Founder Editor : Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

Vol. 1, No. 6, March 1996

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Cover Design is by Shri Devilal Patidar, Head of the Department of Ceramics and Pottery, at Bharat Bhavan, Bhopal. Students of art may note that the white area in the design is the white of the paper.

Readers of *Mankind* who are interested in acquiring the original drawings of Shri. Devilal Patidar (The *Chappal* in the last issue and The *Container* in this issue), may send their offers to the Executive Editor. The offers will be conveyed to the artist, who will decide.



# AN OPENING STATEMENT: 6

NEITHER OM ! SHANTIH ! SHANTIH ! NOR BUDDHAM SHARANAM GACHCHAMI !  
IRA ENDS A ROTTEN CEASE-FIRE  
NERO IS FIDDLING AND HIS NAME IS MANMOHAN SINGH  
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SUPREME COURT TURNS BISMARCKIAN

NEITHER OM ! SHANTIH ! SHANTIH !  
NOR BUDDHAM SHARANAM  
GACHCHAMI !

The Indian comprador ruling classes are either pre-maturely senile or belatedly infantile.

They have preceded to "liberalise, privatise and globalise" in a completely crazy manner. They have suddenly allowed non-Indians and NRIs (NRIs are often *benami* holders for foreign interests) to invest upto 100% in Indian subsidiaries and joint ventures. They have removed all export obligations on foreign investments. They have made a thousand and one modifications in the MRTP and FERA laws. Anyone can come into India and invest in any useless consumer product and take away whatever profits he likes, out of India. The centre has given guarantees against foreign exchange fluctuations that are favourable to the foreign MNC. Patent laws have been changed to favour foreign companies especially, in the fields of pharmaceuticals and bio-technology.

All this has been done through a bureaucracy that has been traditionally allied to colonial interests. Ordinary prudence has not been exercised.

Let us consider the views expressed by Yoshihito Karibe, Chairman of the Research Institute of Self Government, a think-tank of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party:

"India should not allow itself to become a 'dumping yard' for western consumer products and obsolete technology. Instead, it should go in for production tie-ups in core areas which would enable it to become self-sufficient.

"I would not be surprised to see a

repetition of the Thai experience here, if the present trend continues."

"India with its rich natural resources continues to remain poor whereas Japan has carved out a niche for itself in the comity of nations only through its man-made resources.

"I regret that Indians had not learnt from their experience with the British East India Company. Let money (foreign direct investment) come in, but do not welcome merchants or fortune hunters.

"The academic, who is revered back home for his grasp of international politics, is one of the most vociferous proponents of an 'India-China-Japan' axis. He believes that the Asian giants should come together for stability in Asia and of course, to foil the American game plan (in Asia)". (*Times of India*, 7.2.96)

The Congress-*Naukarshahi* combine has run amok in India, in the interest of the Multi-National, and Trans-National Corporations (MNCs and TNCs). Corruption has reached such a climactic point, that foreigners and NRIs can bribe their way and secure any benefit and any term that they like from the Government of India. In fact, as proved by the Enron deal, it is Enron's lawyers who drew up the entire agreement and the Maharashtra State Electricity Board, the Maharashtra State itself, and the Central Government just signed on the dotted line.

Rupees 60 crores were paid to Sharad Pawar, his Congress cronies and important bureaucrats for the old agreement. For the revised agreement, Bal Thackeray, Manohar Joshi and Gopinath Munde must have received a somewhat scaled down "Re-educating Fees". Or

perhaps, Enron might like to call it Re-orientation Courses.

For the mass of the people, there is neither law and order, nor peace and progress.

The people of India have to gird up their loins and launch a bitter, massive, lengthy struggle to eliminate forever the Congress-*Naukarshahi* from their midst.

I am sorry to record that I have several rich friends who are Chairmen of very large industrial corporations, who are very complacent about the Indian crisis. This is what they have to say:

"You are being humourless and grim and alarmist. Nobody is going to pay back the foreign debt. Lots of people have made lots of money out of the liberalisation programme. What does corruption matter? After all, I will pay a little more, for whatever favours I want from the government. Ha ! Ha ! Ha ! " I marvel at the stupidity and the idiocy and the gullibility of our elite ruling circles.

The Indian masses will be made to pay to the limit of the last drop of their blood and sweat. After a decade or two the average expectation of life in India will decline ! In Romania it actually happened, under the super-Stalinist Ceausescu, who ruled from 1967 to 1989, when the man had to be killed ! There would be 25 states in India and many groups of talukas of the size of Kashmir Valley will be demanding autonomy and cessation from India ! There would be private armies financed by multinationals and ISI of Pakistan, who would be operating in a dozen places in India and the Indian state will lie shattered into bits and pieces.

The last Partition of 1947 trifurcated India. Before that Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan and Eelam had been separated from the Indian nation by British imperialism in the course of the late 18th and early 19th centuries itself.

In the course of the Partition of India in 1947, 6 lakh lives were lost and 17 million people migrated hither and thither, the largest single migratory movement known to human history ! Let us say that the next fragmentation exercise breaks up the country into 25 bits and that its cost is merely ten times that of the trifurcation in 1947. That means six million people will be massacred (Remember the Nelli Massacre in the North East ?) and 170 million refugees will be milling about the country, that is 17 crores of people !

I am not joking. Utter disaster awaits those who do not learn from the lessons of history. The magnitude of the impending disaster boggles my imagination ! Those who are laughing and joking and observing the increase in paper prosperity will rue the



day. The Indian ruling classes must learn not to rely upon the *naukarshahs*, who are worthless, upper caste, disloyal vermin. They have and will always kow-tow to any outside interest that pays them *chai-pani* and assures them a secure career!

By now many offsprings of many industrialist families have received the best education in India and abroad. They should immediately displace the top echelons of the bureaucracy, and bring the lower cadres under discipline. UPSC must be abolished! Constitutional guarantees of tenure for civil servant must be abrogated!

I am sorry. I have no words of comfort for the idiots and the rascals who are ruling us. I agree that my pronouncements are depressing.

I am indeed sorry. I am shouting and no one is listening! The winds are howling through the political economy of the country drowning out my voice! All those who are enjoying the high index figures of the Stock Exchanges of the country, should realise that if the value of the rupee continues to fall, that if the trade deficit continues to widen, that if the burden of foreign debt continues to increase, that if the net aid received by us is in actual reality an outflow in favour of the industrialised countries of the West and the North, the economy will surely collapse and will experience the Mexican convulsion again and again, and will reach the Somalian and Rwandan *nadirs* very soon!

No Stock Exchange prosperity can uplift national economic collapse! Foreign debts will have to be repudiated! The dollar will be at least Rs. 100 at OER (Official Exchange Rate). Foreign corporations will takeover our custom collections and other revenue collections as was the case of China and Turkey in recent times. (Iraq is already being forced to accept controlled deposits in foreign accounts for the limited sales of its oil! This and other terms are being negotiated by the US and the UN right now.)

As Yoshihito Karibe says, the UN after 50 years of existence has become the Social Security Department of the US!

Is anyone willing to listen? Will our foolish and de-nationalised ruling classes pay heed?

In the long run I am confident of the sanity and the sagacity of the Indian people, the crores of *dalits* and *pidits*, who have to

find a way out.

It is the short-term scenario that is bothering me. What is going to happen?

Tens of thousands of crores are siphoned away from the nationalised banking system, in the Securities Scam, by crooks

like Harshad Mehta. A parliamentary committee is appointed which unanimously condemns certain individuals, but nothing is done. The principal culprit, the Finance Minister Manmohan Singh, goes scot free. Ultimately, a Cabinet Minister, Shankaranand and a second rank Minister Rameshwar Thakur, are forced to resign. But, it takes over two years to get them out!

The members of Parliament have no powers under our Constitution, their unanimous report is not acted upon; and repeatedly an ATR is submitted to Parliament by the main culprit, the very Manmohan Singh himself! How can such a situation be allowed to arise?

The first Sugar Scam involved Sukh Ram, who was therefore shifted to Telecommunications. Here, he is involved in a scam of many thousands of crores of rupees; and the last and the most recent session of parliament was summoned and for a whole fortnight no business could be transacted over Sukh Ram's shenanigans. Crores of rupees public money has been wasted. Narsimha Rao is unable to force Sukh Ram's resignation, probably as he himself has shared in the loot!

In the Supreme Court P. V. Narsimha Rao's spokesman admits that a nexus exists between politicians, bureaucrats and criminals. But instead of resigning Narsimha Rao pleads "helplessness!"

Many scores of thousands of crores of rupees are looted from the people by the *naukarshahs* and the comprador Congressmen. Of course, Opposition leaders are also equally corrupt, as is proved by the re-negotiations of the Enron deal by BJP and Shiv Sena. As is proved by the Allahabad High Courts strictures against murder and rape of the Uttarakhand agitators and the attempted cover-up by Mulayam Singh and Mayawati. As is proved by the animal husbandry and fodder scandal involving at least a thousand

crores in Bihar under Laloo Prasad Yadav's administration.

The Chief Justice of India is caught red-handed in a corruption scandal and escapes impeachment by Parliament, by black-mailing the Congress Parliamentary Party into abstention from voting. The Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court is involved in a Hawala racket!

### WILL THIS LAST STRAW BREAK THE CAMEL'S BACK ?

As if this was not enough a further direct accusation has been made against the Prime Minister.

We quote :

"Former Jharkhand Mukti Morcha MP, now with the BJP, Mr. Sailendra Mahato, said today at a press conference that three days after the vote on the no-confidence motion against the Narasimha Rao Government in July 1993, he was handed Rs. 40 lakhs by his leader, Mr. Suraj Mandal, and told that the money had come from the Prime Minister.

"In a signed statement, he said that he and his three colleagues, all of whom had supported the government on that fateful day, deposited the money they received (each was paid Rs. 40 lakhs!) in the same bank on the same date. The arrangements for opening the account were made by Mr. Suraj Mandal, he stated.

"Flanked by the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, and the Rajya Sabha MP, Mr. Ram Jethmalani, Mr Mahato circulated a two-page statement giving a detailed account of the entire episode.

"He said that two days before the formal voting, Mr. Mandal, Mr. Simon Mirandi and he went to Mr. Shibu Soren's residence where they were told that the government had agreed to their demands.

"The four of them then went to the residence of Mr. Buta Singh who took them to meet the Prime Minister at Race Course Road.

"Mr. Mahato said that they were approached by Mr. Buta Singh only after the government failed to get the required number of members through Mr. Ajit Singh." (*Indian Express*, 27.2.96)

Will P.V. think of resigning even now ?

We had a nursery rhyme in our primary school. The different denizens of the jungle were condemned by the camel for possessing one crooked limb each. At the end, in a chorus, all the animals of the jungle got together to gently chide their accuser: "It is true that each of us has a crooked limb, but you Sir, have all your 18 camel's limbs completely crooked!"

Will Narsimha Rao pick up a mirror and look at the image of his camel-self, and quit at long last?

Does he not want future generations of Indians to thank him for owning at least constructive responsibility for Congress corruption? And for finally resigning?



Is there any limit to the appetite of those in power, for thieving and robbing? Can anyone doubt that the night has descended upon India?

It is not something that can be taken lightly by our rich and influential elite. Unless the rulers want to commit an open mass suicide!

And what more can I say? What is there left to say?

I am a confirmed atheist!

I am unable to chant Om Shantih! Shantih! Shantih!

Or Buddham Sharanam Gachchhami!

#### IRA ENDS A ROTTEN CEASE-FIRE

British hypocrisy and chicanery is working overtime since Friday 9th February evening, when a powerful bomb exploded killing five and injuring several hundred and destroying property worth £ 100 million (about Rs. 585.5 crores) in the London dockside in an area called South Key, East London. A lot of crocodile tears are being shed and Gerry Adams is being called a traitor, a fiend and a cruel destroyer of peace, just because he refused to condemn the bomb attack.

Actually, I don't consider any modern-day European to be worthy of being called a revolutionary. However, as an exception I have a somewhat high opinion of Adams, for he was himself once a so-called terrorist and led a movement which ultimately made the English vermin realise that it was too costly to try to retain the six little counties of N. Ireland, as a British possession. A BBC study some months ago revealed that it used to cost Britain \$ 14 billion per year to maintain its hold over N. Ireland that is, prior to the ceasefire that had been in force for the last 17 months. The price was too much and Britain has been paying it for over 25 years out of imperial pride and cussedness. I do not have the details of the break-up of the annual cost of \$14 billion. How much was due to pay and allowances of the Occupation Army and how much for rise in insurance premia, how much for military hardware lost, and how much for property damage, etc. All this I do not know. But I know that for down-sliding Britain to bear such enormous costs, year after year, was going to prove impossible. Ultimately, the camel's back broke and Britain virtually sued for peace on any terms that the Sinn Fein and its armed wing, the IRA, was willing to concede. Thus, the Cease-Fire and the Downing Street Declaration came into being at the end of 1994. It was a British surrender and the Ulster Unionists called it

a "betrayal"!

But, as usual, Britain wanted to go back upon its word as soon as the ink was dry on the mutual signed agreement. Britain refused to hold all party talks and did not proceed sincerely with the formation of the Joint Committees between the Irish Republic and the Ulsterites, till the IRA decommissioned arms in a one-sided manner. Had Britain begun to withdraw substantial numbers

from her Occupation Army, and invited the IRA to reduce its forces proportionately, that would have been something else. But the British scoundrels were to remain in their uniforms on Irish soil and IRA was supposed to disarm!

Obviously, Major's wafer-thin parliamentary majority also enabled the Ulster Unionists, with 9 members in the House of Commons, to blackmail him. Actually, this was just an excuse. Major never wanted to implement the accord with any degree of sincerity. Major wanted to hold Kashmir-type elections in a hurry and gerrymander the Protestant minority into daiming a landslide victory. (Minority in Ireland as a whole, but majority in the 6 talukas of N.E. Ireland that they call Ulster). The IRA would have none of it and we militant socialists of India are happy to note that the IRA displayed its firm resolve to resist British imperialist double-talk and double-dealing. If the Sinn Fein and the IRA have any sense, they will learn from this incident not to trust Major or the Conservative Party or Tony Blair (who has solidly supported Major throughout) or his Labour Party, at any time in the future. Those Indian nationalists who relied on the Labour Party of Ramsay Macdonald, Clement Atlee, Harold Wilson, Harold Laski, Michael Foot, et al., know full well, what it is to be soundly betrayed.

We greet our Irish comrades in the IRA for having struck a small blow for truth, honesty and fair-dealing in international affairs. We warn them to be not taken in again in another bogus one-sided ceasefire with the British or their Ulster stooges.

*Mankind* stands for a United Ireland and calls upon the people of India to extend their hand in solidarity to the fighters for Irish Unity, who were betrayed by their comprador leaders in 1921 and who were forced to accept the Partition of Ireland.

Any overturn of imperialism-imposed partition anywhere in the world, strengthens the hands of those Indian nationalists who

#### THOSE WHO HAVE DISCARDED CLOTHES ARE NOT AFRAID OF SUNLIGHT!

The case of Suraj Mandal and P.V. Narsimha Rao is getting curiouser and curiouser.

S.K.Jain was told to provide Rs. 30 lakhs urgently in July 1993, to save the Rao government and organise defections from the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM). He paid Rs. 30 lakhs to Rao, who passed it on to Suraj Mandal, who deposited the money in the Savings Account No. 17108 in the Naoroji Nagar branch of the Punjab National Bank, New Delhi.

The JMM voted against the Opposition sponsored no-confidence motion in July 1993.

Thus far there is no dispute. The chain is complete. S.K. Jain gave 30 lakhs to Rao. Suraj Mandal deposited the amount in the bank on August 1st. And at the JMM (Soren), as per previous understanding with the Congress managed to defeat the no-confidence motion by a slender margin of 265 to 261 votes, on Sept. 28, 1993.

What is funny is the JMM leader's press statement.

"The JMM (Soren) leader told PTI here that he had on account in the Naoroji Nagar branch of the Punjab National Bank in Delhi and had been depositing money there received from various quarters as donations for running the party.

"I cannot disclose from where I have received money", Mr. Mandal said in reply to a question, but asserted it was "certainly not from Mr. Rao." (*Indian Express* 25.2.96)

According to *The Times of India* of the same date Suraj Mandal claims that the sources of his funds were secret.

If I remember right, on Sept. 28, 1993, Suraj Mandal turned up at the Parliament house dead drunk, after the vote he explained to the journalists who had gathered round him, that "he had to think of his wife and children."

Then, why is he claiming now that the sources of his funds are secret? It is obvious that Mandal, as well as Narsimha Rao, thought about Suraj's wife and children, and having thought deep and long, they acted, in broad day light.

They say that those who have discarded clothes are not afraid of sunlight!



desire Reunification of India in a New Socialist Federated States of the Indian Sub-continent !

We also will never forget the unknown Irish lady who presented a bouquet to Vasudeo Balwant Phadke, the great Indian freedom-fighter, at Pune station way back in 1880, when Vasudeo Balwant in chains was being taken into exile and imprisonment to Aden.

We also cannot forget the wonderful telegram from the family of Irish martyr McSwiney, one-time Mayor of Dublin, to Jatin Das, who was on hunger-strike in 1929, in a Delhi jail, and who paid the ultimate price for his struggle against imperialist repression and injustice. That telegram was wonderfully simple and forceful. "Freedom shall come !"

We salute all the great Irish revolutionaries who inspired, at one time, freedom-fighters all over the world, including those in India !

We call upon nationalists, socialists and revolutionaries, wherever they may be, to pause in their chores and pay a tribute to a one-minute silence to the Irish nationalists as a mark of solidarity with Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein and the IRA !

Long Live the International Solidarity of Revolutionaries !

#### **NERO IS FIDDLING AND HIS NAME IS MANMOHAN SINGH**

The latest pearl of wisdom to fall from the mouth of the shameless *chirkoot*, Manmohan Singh is that "the depreciation of the rupee against the US dollar was only a 'natural correction' and industry would have to adjust to the exchange rate fluctuations as the country integrates with the global economy." (*Times of India and Indian Express*, 13.2.1996) Does this white-collar criminal who is strutting about as our Finance Minister, does he have any sense of national pride or self-respect ? Does it not bother him, when the rupee falls in value in comparison with the other world currencies ? He did not lose any sleep, we all know from what he told us, when Harshad Mehta was looting the Public Sector Banking System, as part of the Security Scam, but does he sleep

soundly today, when the rupee has declined from Rs. 31 in '93-'95 to about Rs. 38 at the present time, February 1996 ? A fall of Rs. 7 in less than seven months !

Does he not know that "a fall by a mere paise in the exchange rate of our currency against the US dollar translates into an addition of Rs. 100 crores to our external debt, currently standing at

US \$ 100 billion.

"This debt burden increases by Rs. 10,000 crore if our currency depreciates against the US dollar by just one rupee. Add to this, the astronomical sum of the interest due until such an addition to the external debt is repaid.

"In the last nine trading days, the rupee has fallen from

Rs. 35.82 per US dollar (as on January 24, 1996) to Rs. 37.80 (on February 6, 1996) per US dollar, a fall of Rs. 2.02. This slide adds Rs. 20,200 crore to our external debt, repayable with interest in convertible foreign exchange." (R. V. Pandit, 'Our Government, Corrupt Beyond Redemption, Has Triggered Rupee's Recent Slide', *Indian Express*, 7.2.96.)

Does this miserable *naukarshah* not know that "India's oil import bill is expected to soar by another Rs. 4000 crores before the end of the current fiscal year following the downward slide in the rupee value and the cut down in refining capacity in Madras and Bombay, oil industry sources said.

"The country's oil import bill could close at anything between Rs. 22,000 to Rs. 23,000 crores by March this year as against the earlier projected figure of between Rs. 19,000 to Rs. 20,000 crores, the sources said." (*Indian Express* 7.2.96)

The CMIE has estimated that the trade deficit this year (1995-96) will be as much as 2% of GDP.

*I challenge Manmohan Singh to a public debate with me on the disastrous policy of devaluation pursued by him, from mid-1991. (A copy of this issue of Mankind, is being mailed to him under Regd. A/D.) The debate can take place at any time or place of his choice, after he has given me sufficient notice, and after he has presented to the people of India a complete audit statement relating to the Multiple and Continuous Devaluations of the Rupee, 1991 to 1996. Let him answer the following questions :*

1. From mid-1991 to the present by how much have our exports gone up and how much more have we paid for a) costlier imports and b) additional payments on account of amortisations of foreign debt and interest payments thereon ?

2. What is the total national loss involved in this regard over the last five years ?

3. If we have given up more than what we gained, why was

#### **AMEERBHAI, DAWOOD ASSOCIATE, KEY PLAYER IN JAIN HAWALA RACKET**

Bombay based Ameerbai was the conduit through which money reached the Bombay blast conspirators. In spite of his being wanted by the 137 member-countries of the Interpol, he was in touch with S.K. Jain on telephone, on 15th Jan. 1996.

Anil Jain, S.K.'s nephew from whom the floppy was seized made two calls from his phone to Ameerbai's Peking road residence in Hong Kong.

Ameer and his partner Arif purchased \$ 2.27 crore foreign exchange, from S.K., B.R. and N.K. Jain. The Jain's were paid 47.62 crores for the dollars, This was in 1988-91.

S.K. Jain refuses to comment, on the grounds that the answers would self-incriminate him.

We in India, who seek justice have to face many hurdles :

a. Money hurdles, which are the most important. The poor simply do not have the money to hire lawyers, etc. who can move matters on their behalf.

b. Bureaucratic hurdles, that is, hurdles put up by all the three sections of the bureaucracy, viz. the Civil Service, the Police and the Judiciary. We must always remember that these three wings of the bureaucracy are manned by persons who are all paid from the state treasuries, they are always in league with each other. The civil servants interpret rules framed under laws, which the judiciary interprets. The police enforce the interpretations of both, civil servants and judicial authorities and the army protects all three. The three wings of the bureaucracy are always in collusion with each other.

c. Neo-colonial hurdles. For instance, the Swiss authorities have delayed handing over of papers from 1990. The St. Kitt's forgery case has also not proceeded further since 25th May 1990, when the FIR was filed against Chandraswami and Mama Agarwal. The HDW Submarine deal is also hanging over from 5th March 1993. The Airbus A-320 scam involving Rs. 2500 crore for purchase of 31 aircraft has also been going on from 29th March 1990. S.S. Sidhu, the Aviation Secretary was the culprit. But nothing has happened. Foreign agencies and governments simply do not cooperate.

The financial, the bureaucratic and the neo-colonial hurdles add together and reinforce each other's obstructionist tactics.



it necessary to pursue the policy of "liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation" ? If abandonment of the globalisation strategy benefits our foreign exchange account why does he not adopt immediately the corrective course ?

4. We are not interested in foreigners and their subsidiaries and associates making more money in India. What I want to know is how many Indian nationals and citizens of India have gained a net amount of how much, in rupees and in dollars, over the last five years ? You have all the statistical experts at your beck and call. Ask these fellows to give their best, honest and approximate estimate of the actual amounts of net gains made by Indian nationals and foreigners separately. If there are joint ventures, then let the net gains be distributed amongst Indians and non-Indians in the proportion of their holdings. If you insist, NRI Indians can be shown as a third category.

5. Does the man-without-commonsense Manmohan Singh want us to believe that he has not known about the World Bank's International Comparison Project (ICP) for the last 18 years ? Does he think that we do not know the Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) equivalents of India's per capita. GDP at Official Exchange Rate (OER) on which the World Bank itself has been reporting year after year ? Does this mentally retarded man want to assert that the per capita GDP at PPP, which has consistently been several times the per capita GDP at OER (In 1991, India's GDP at PPP was \$ 1900 by Regression Method and \$ 1150 by Observed Method, against \$ 380 by OER), that there was any scope for devaluation ? Does this badly educated *naukarshah* think that he possesses any qualifications to presume to make a macro-economic analysis of Indian conditions, with a long term national outlook ?

*Manmohan Singh has been hiding behind his own predictions and promises.* He has been maintaining for the last five years, that Indian exports will grow, and foreign capital will lift up India, and so on and so forth.

What is the concrete evidence ? Five years is a sufficiently long period to carry out a precise statistical exercise and strike a true balance sheet. Will our ruling classes wake up and boot-out this pretentious fool of a Finance Minister, who has landed India in this terrible crisis ?

How are we going to repay the foreign debt of \$ 100 billion ? Let Manmohan Singh present us with a concrete plan spread over ten or twenty years of how exactly we are going to repay this current burden of \$ 100 billion foreign debt, *along with the additional debt that we are going to incur as per his plans*, over the next ten or twenty years of his chosen time-frame.

In *Mankind* No. 2 we had published five tables showing Trade Balance (1949-50 to 1994-95), Exchange Rate (Sept. 1946 to Oct. 1995), Terms of Trade (1960 to 1993), External Debt of India (1970 to 1995) and Debt Servicing (1970 to 1995). (A copy of *Mankind* No. 2 is also being posted to Manmohan Singh)

As per the figures that we have been able to collect, the cumulative trade deficit of India went up by more than \$ 10 billion from 1991, when it was \$ 87 billion, to the present. The external debt of India has gone up from almost \$ 84 billion, to the present level of \$ 100 billion.

What are the further predictions and promises, which this *chirkoot* wants to make now ?

I look forward to hearing from Mr. Manmohan Singh.

#### THE LONDON ECONOMIST FOLLOWS MANKIND'S LEAD

From our humble vantage point in India, we have been making international comparisons for something like 201 countries and territories. We did not know that our analysis will receive confirmation from impeccable establishment journals, so quickly

and so resoundingly.

I recollect vividly the discussion I had about a year ago, with M.L. Dantwala and Devraj Chauhan of the CMIE, who had argued against my methodology of making international economic comparisons on the basis of PPP. In fact, I had become so annoyed with Dantwala, that I had banged the phone at the end, of our acrimonious conversation because of his failure to appreciate the simple logic of PPP (Purchasing Power Parity) against OER (Official Exchange Rate).

*Mankind's* readers will readily appreciate that the OER is an artificial "political" quantification, based on the relationships of power that subsist between the great industrial powers of G-7, EU, and OECD, on the one hand, and the poor developing countries on the other. The OER is mainly a reflection of the degree of indebtedness, the gap in the trade balance, the foreign finance capital investments, and so on of the developing countries, and the leverage that these elements collectively provide to the IMF and the WB to depress the value of the national currency concerned.

As a matter of fact, *the OER has become the principal instrument by which the neo-colonial powers exploit the Third World.* Instead of hitting and cutting down the prices of individual unique tropical products (like jute, tea, coffee, rubber, cocoa, cashew, banana, oil seeds, spices, silk and many mineral products), the neo-colonial bankers depress the entire range of the national exports of a country, by forced devaluations and depression of the OER.

That is why, PPP is the only fair comparison that can be made under present bourgeoisie world order. But our comprador mind is such that it won't look beyond the traditional methodological framework. And upto fairly recently that is, upto the last few years, the traditional method of comparison was always at OER, and this was dinned into the hands of the economists of the Third World, that is why I had such an abrasive argument with Dantwala and Co.

Anyway, I stand vindicated.

*Mankind* Vol. 1, No. 1, October 1995 carried the column *India's Place in the Sun* (pp. 55-62), which clearly established that Indian national GDP at PPP (Purchasing Power Parity) was higher than that of France, Italy, Britain, Brazil, Russia and Indonesia. (*Mankind* has brought out a Special Statistical Supplement with its issue No. 4/5, Jan-Feb, 1996, p. 43-58, which reproduces these figures. This Supplement is available separately and has been priced at Rs. 5/- net and may be ordered by our readers as permanent reference and as a suitable gift for their friends.)

Now comes the confirmation from the London *Economist*, latest issue, as reported in *Times of India*, Mumbai, 19.2.96 :

"Feb. 18 : India's gross domestic product (GDP), measured on a purchasing power parity (PPP), was higher than that of France, Italy, Britain, Brazil, Russia and Indonesia in 1914, according to the latest issue of *The Economist*.

"China in 1994 with GDP of just under 3 trillion US dollars emerged as the second biggest (We, in *Mankind* had placed China, third, on the basis of the 1991 data, available then, with national Chinese GDP of 2.34 trillion at PPP.), economy in the world after United States, followed by Japan, Germany and India. (In *Mankind* we had established the order 1. USA, 2. Japan, 3. China, 4. Germany and 5. India, on the basis of the 1991 data. Our calculations for 1994 confirm the revised order 1. USA, 2. China, 3. Japan, 4. Germany and 5. India.)

"According to the magazine, the size of the countries' economies could be compared by converting their GDP into dollars using PPP." (*Times of India*, Mumbai, 19.2.96, p. 16)



This confirms *Mankind's* methodology. We do not wish to claim that *The Economist* has lifted its ideas from us, though this might have actually happened. *Mankind's* priority of about six months, in any case, is quite obvious. But, *The Economist's* acceptance of our methodology is certainly heartening.

We however claim to be several steps ahead of *The Economist* and such other Western media. We predict that *The Economist* and other reputable economic journals from Euro-America and Japan are going to follow our footsteps and make logical international comparisons along the lines laid down by us :

1. We have not only taken the national GDP figures at PPP, but we have worked out the national to world proportions for about 201 countries and territories.

2. We have not only carried out the tabulations for 1991, but also for 1960, both at PPP, thus providing a comparative study of change over 31 years.

3. We have given the changes in 31 years at PPP of national to world proportions, also indicating the gain or loss in proportionate data.

4. We have suggested two other parameters of Area and Population.

5. We have accordingly provided the national to world proportions for Populations in mid-1960 and mid-1991, and for Area in 1991.

*Mankind* is very happy to have made a significant contribution to the methodology of research in economic statistics.

Let us see how soon the great economists of the world, including the Economics Nobel Laureates catch up with the Mankind Statistical Research Bureau.

#### BHAMPAKGIRI AND PANGABAAZI

Mahbub Ul-Haq is once again in the news. This miserable *naukarshah* had been a Pakistani Finance and Planning Minister, and having been found unfit for the job, has wormed his way in the last decade to a prominent position in the international bureaucracy of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

He belongs to the typical bureaucratic breed of the sub-continent. Big talkers, hollow and cynical gesture-makers, unprincipled and vulgar careerists, evil, corrupt fellows, expert at passing the buck, and upper caste rotters totally without conscience, they are well-known in Maharashtra as *bhampaks*. In Punjab I am told they are known as *pangas*.

That is, they are all sound and fury without any substance. Like T.N. Seshan, who hogged the headlines for a few months, and then equally swiftly faded as the Supreme Court straightened him out. Or like Kiran Bedi, who was such a cheapskate and mean hussy that she thought she could get away with murder. On the one hand, she showered electronic typewriters and other favours upon the self-confessed mass murderer Charles Sobhraj, and on the other collected the Magsaysay, and similar awards, for her self-acclaimed deep interest in penology and reform of Tihar Jail.

Or take the cases of the innumerable Indian *naukarshahs*, who pretend to be Progressivists, even semi-Marxists. Like Manmohan Singh, who enthusiastically served a lefty outfit abroad, at a hefty salary and perks, an outfit chaired by Nkrumah, ex-President of Ghana, for quite sometime; and then popped up in India to join the Congress, and drive India to ruin at the behest of the World Bank and the IMF.

What is the real worth of these Seshans, these Bedis, these Manmohans and these Mahbub Ul-Haqs, who are mere *bhampaks* and *pangas*? All they want to be, is to be in the lime light! Mahbub Ul-Haq prepared a very radical-sounding *UNDP Human Development Report* in 1992 (from which *Mankind* has quoted

extensively in an adjoining note). Mahbub created a lot of media splash, and predictably there followed the 1993, 1994 and 1995 *HD Reports*, which went on watering down the liberal prescriptions and pronouncements of the 1992 Report, more and more, on the homeopathic principle of increasing potency by dilution, so that today the *HD Reports* are indistinguishable from the parallel *World Development Reports* of 1993, 1994 and 1995, by the World Bank!

Mahbub has been merely persuing this Seshan-Bedi-Manmohan strategy! Hold forth at press conferences at great length, go on self-laudating and shouting great personal achievements and then *phoos-phoos*, the loud hiss of the deflated windbag (they must be consoling themselves that "Anyway I did create a sensation for sometime, and after all, *duniya jhukti hai, jhukanewala chahiye*"! [The world bows, to he/she who makes it bow!])

I well remember the deliberate Pakistani leak to the Indian media, some years ago, claiming that Indira's ghost writer had copied a nugget from Mahbub. I am sure that it happened, for what is the basic intellectual equipment of miserable odd fellows like Manmohan Singhs, Montek Singh Ahluwalias, I. G. Patels, Rangarajans, Venkitramanans, Narsimhams, do they know enough about colonial history, so that instead of guffawing at "East India Company days", they would begin to combat neo-colonial strategies? Do they possess the national, long-term broad outlook, which alone would enable them to pursue macro-economic goals?

They go to some expensive public school, take some silly courses and pass a few UPSC tests, or may be add a degree or two from some foreign university, whose main function is to find and encourage comprador agents. With this kind of furniture in the head, they think that they are all-knowing and all-powerful. They have never participated in any real life struggles, which test either moral fibre or the tensile strength of their national cultural inner core. The people of the country they rule have not elevated them at the crest of any mass movement or popular struggle. Their life has been determined by their career goals. How and why should they be expected to serve the people? Such a notion is totally foreign to them.

They are hereditary mental slaves of the colonialists, yesterday, and of the neo-colonialists, today. That is their social milieu. Such is their collective career path! They have never found it necessary to carry the extra baggage of ideals. Selfishness is all that they know, it is their universe. Public service for them means self-service!

Let us return to *chirkoot* Mahbub. As Indira's ghost's ghost he apparently contributed a para or two to some undistinguished speech by the dumb lady. So what? My friend Dr. Lohia used to call Indira, "*Gungi Gudiya*!" (dumb doll!) It was an accurate characterisation.

Those in power don't need any intelligence or grasp or depth or reach! 99% of their time is spent in meeting favour-seekers, who must necessarily explain what they want and how the *sarkar* can grant the favour without obviously violating any democratic norm, or explain how justly these norms can be violated for a fair equivalent in cash! Indira did just that, sat silent, the petitioners tied themselves in knots, explaining humbly and at length what they wanted and what Indira could grant without exposing herself.

I can personally vouch for Indira being dumb. I can give several instances, but one will suffice.

The late Kamalnayan Bajaj was my school mate, alongwith Indira, who was of course our senior. Kamalnayan gave a tea and Bombay-bhel party upon an afternoon in the mid-60's, at his 2, Ferozeshah Road, MP's residence in Delhi, where Indira was the chief guest. She was then small fry, a mere Info. and Broad. Minister in Lal Bahadur Shastri's Cabinet. I was then Kamalnayan's guest,



and in any case I had been specially invited as an alumni of the Pupil's Own School and was particularly introduced to Indira as her and Kamalnayan's and sister Om Agarwal's ex-schoolmate.

The Bajaj family was present in full strength. Kamalnayan, Ramkrishna, Rahul, Shekhar, Savitribahen, Ombahen, Madalsabahen, I don't recollect the rest.

As usually happens at such high teas, the small talk revolved round foreign travel (everybody chipping in with some small proud recollection) and some recently acquired possessions. (In those days, electronic goods were not so various, but there were fridges, cars, clothes, record-players and I think TV sets had also just begun to make their appearance.)

I was getting fed up to the gills with this kind of silly chatter and was about to escape, when Indira suddenly opened her mouth to put her foot into it. "I was in Kenya at the Tree Top Hotel just the other day, they had put up a very interesting sign next to the ladder : 'She went up a princess and came down a queen !' (girlish giggle) Wasn't that a wonderful way of recording a great event ?!"

I couldn't help intervening :  
Granted that royal titles descend by birth and since George VI was bound to die one day or night, his successor was sure to be sleeping somewhere, up a few steps of the plinth if on the ground floor, or up a few flights of stairs if not on the ground floor ! What's so significant about the Tree Top Hotel, when Eliza's hereditary succession is of no earth-shaking significance ?

Kamalnayana had a mischievous glint in his eyes and a flickering smile on his face, as he heard my interjection. I don't know about Rahul, who was always, I think a bit more staid and conservative and status-quoist. Rahul always liked to support those in power, unlike his father, who had a more unorthodox and possibly mischievously independent outlook ! I was quickly "shush-shushed" and one of the ladies intervened to change the subject !

Now, even as party-time small talk, what is there to admire in the Kenyan signboard ? It is down right vapid and sycophantic ! There is nothing very witty or remarkable about it ! Perhaps, Indira's wide-eyed reaction was due to her inherited compradorist Anglophilism, which considers every royal succession to be great event ! Or perhaps her reaction was an indication of her own dynastic outlook ! I don't know and really don't care. *All that I can conclude*, without going into any intricate analysis, *is that it was a pretty dumb thing to say.*

Perhaps, Indira became a little more circumspect, as she matured. Possibly she learnt to become more of a *Gungi Gudiya*, playing it cagey and safe, as she elevated herself to the PM's *gaddi*. (Not because of my little intervention in 1965-66 surely, but in a general way because of her awareness of the numerous *faux pas*, here, there and everywhere, especially with foreigners, which she must have been committing ! She was especially wary with foreigners, as it was her dynastic proclivity to flatter and impress them.)

Anyway, Indira, in my humble opinion, was a pretty dumb lady. All her school teachers knew her as one ! (A petty liar too, but more of that on another occasion.)

After breaking up Pakistan, against the combined might of Anglo-America and China; after really climbing to the top of the world in 1971, this *Gungi Gudiya* gave up in Shimla, what the *Mukti Bahini* and our army had achieved in Dacca. And on top of that she had permitted some idiotic ghost-writer in her entourage, perhaps lover-boy Mathai, to pick up some stray ramblings of our *Panga-Bhampak* Mahbub Ul-Haq ! Unwittingly certainly, but a ghosting of a ghost from Pakistan should have been detected by the PMO's procedural routine (After that particular *faux pas*, I don't recollect any such major instance of aping the ape, coming to light. If they could tighten up later, surely they could and should have prevented the contretemps earlier !)

Now this Mahbub is back with a bang. He has been touring India and has penned two long and transparently mischievous centre page articles in the *Times of India*, 12/13.2.1996. Mahbub is playing his normal dirty tricks. Mahbub was a favourite of Dictator Zia, who made him Finance and Planning Minister and then dropped him in 1986. After that this international intriguer and career-persuing rat has manoeuvred himself into a top UNDP slot.

I do not possess the office records of the CIA or the ISI, hence I cannot definitely say that Mahbub is a paid agent of one of these two notorious agencies. All that I can say is that for sure he has chosen the role of being an enthusiastic unpaid volunteer of one of the two ! Only a CIA or ISI agent could have written *The Times* edit page articles. (Under the Zia military dictatorship, Mahbub must have naturally been very close to the ISI and to its boss the CIA !)

After offering India much unsolicited trite advice about improving Indo-Pak mutual economic and political relations, Mahbub gets down to the bare bones !

"Why not accept a UN Trusteeship for the next ten-fifteen years, over both India-held and Pakistan-held Kashmir ?"

Why ? On what grounds is India's sovereignty sought to be abridged ?

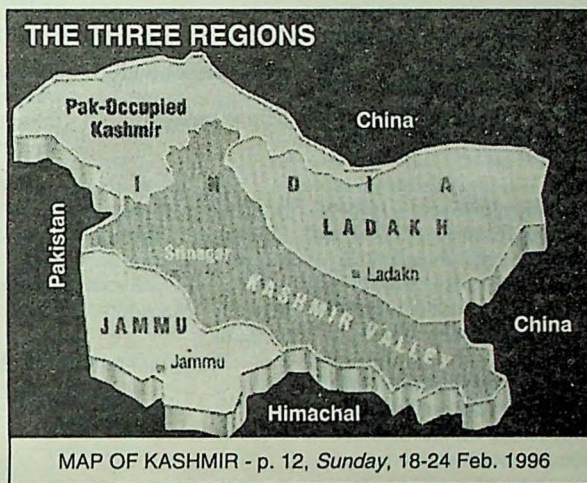
As *Mankind* has repeatedly argued :

a) the bulk of the J & K State is made up of Ladakh (including Aksai Chin) and Kargil. There is no dissidence there. In fact, there is no population there !

b) the bulk of the population of the J & K State is resident in Jammu and Kishtwar (including Kathua, Udhampur and Doda). There is no dissidence there.

c) Thus, J & K is to be given autonomy; or handed over to USA acting through its Security Arm, the UN; or placed under Pakistani influence (Why would Pakistan not tribally invade an Autonomous Kashmir tomorrow and who is going to prevent it ?); for no reason except that Pakistan, USA and UK are thirsting for a revenge upon India for the humiliation that they suffered in the Bangladeshi War of 1971 !

d) Kashmir Valley is about 15,000 km<sup>2</sup> in area, with a unfudged population of just about 2/3 million and without any natural resources ! (Except perhaps for tourism, including sex tourism !) Are any three and a half talukas of India, bribed by outsiders and infiltrated by terrorists, entitled to demand autonomy ?





e) *Autonomy for Kashmir is not even intended to be for development of Kashmiri language and culture.* The official language of Kashmir is Urdu, the same as that of Pakistan. The repositories of Kashmir culture, the *pandits* are covering in refugees camps in Delhi and Jammu. Thus, Kashmir is to be made autonomous for the greater development of Pakistani language and culture. The Sufi culture of Kashmir is to be drowned in the Sunni Fundamentalist culture of West Punjabi chauvinism !

As far as secularism is concerned the secularists of India are to strive, might and main to expand the area and influence of non-secular Pakistan and non-secular Pakistan-occupied Azad Kashmir ! Doesn't the Progressivist Mahbub realise the absurdity of such a demand ?

g) "The secularists and fancy leftist Progressivists" (i.e., the ex-Stalinists who had supported the Partition of India in 1947) know very well that they cannot have the cake and eat it too. Either Hari Singh acceded to India on 26th October 1947, or he did not. If he did, and no Progressivist claims that he did not, India acquired a national frontier from that day. Thereafter it is for the Indian people to decide what to do within their own national frontiers. Whether Hari Singh had some reservations in his mind or whether the Congress Party led by Mountbatten and Nehru had made some promises to UN, USA, and UK or not, the Indian people are not bound by any such conjectural happening. All States of the Indian Union are equal and shall always remain so. The Indian polity and state are not bound by Congress commitments to neo-colonial powers !

h) What is the guarantee that a *Mukti Bahini* will not have to be formed once again in India, to liberate Kashmir from Pakistani oppression, and to develop Kashmiri language and culture, just we had to do in 1971 at the time of the liberation of Bangladesh ?

i) Why should not a *Mukti Bahini* be formed forthwith by India to help the *Mohajir Qaumi Movement* of Indian Muslim refugees, our kith and kin, to realise autonomy for them, within or without Pakistan ?

j) If the Chakmas of Chittagong and Biharis of Bangladesh cannot be absorbed by Bangladesh, which we created in 1971; and if MQM, Jiyo Sindh, Baluch and Pathan freedom movements cannot realise their legitimate, socio-economic and cultural aims in West Pakistan;

then why should India believe in the validity of the two Nation Theory which led to the Partition of 1947 ?

k) Why should not Indian nationalists, socialists and revolutionaries, why should they not immediately strive for a New Union of Federated Socialist States of India ?

In conclusion, let us recognise that we cannot prevent UN personnel, even spies, double agents and agent provocateurs, from touring India at their own or at UN expense.

We cannot prohibit even Pakistani overt agents from visiting a SAARC country like ours.

But surely we should attach no importance to their propagandist demands ! I consider the demand for a UN-controlled Kashmir for ten / fifteen years to be a Pakistani dirty trick ! Mahbul Ul-Haq is free to believe in whatever he pleases, but he cannot be allowed to pretend that he is anything more than a Pakistani agent trying to subvert our national sovereignty !

He and his ilk must be made to realise that we Indians are not gullible fools, who will be taken in by their voluntary or paid work for the CIA and / or the ISI !

### JAIN HAWALA, THE MOTHER OF ALL SCAMS

The Indian press has been full of the Jain *Hawala kand*, everyday for the last few weeks. Naturally so, for everyday

members of Rao's Cabinet are submitting their resignations, every one of them so hungry for the power that fetches them cash bribes of lakhs of rupees (occasionally crores too), that he waits till the last possible moment before departing in disgrace.

Already before the Jain *Hawala Scam* the following Ministers of Rao's Cabinet were forced to resign, being tainted by corruption.

Let us recapitulate.

1. Madhavsinh Solanki	Foreign Minister	Gave letter at Davos to Swiss Foreign Minister asking for delay in Bofors Case
2. P. Chidambaram	Commerce Minister (Restored)	Securities Scam 1992
3. B. Shankaranand and	Health Minister	Securities Scam 1992
4. Rameshwar Thakur	Rural Development Minister	Securities Scam 1992
5. Kalpanath Rai	Food Minister (presently in jail)	Sugar Scam and Dawood Scam and Jain Hawala Scam
6. Mrs. Sheela Kaul	Urban Development Minister	Housing Allotment Scam
7. P. K. Thungon	Urban Development Minister	Housing Allotment Scam

In addition, "there are other ministers who have come under cloud but continue in office — Petroleum Minister, Satish Sharma for irregular allotment of petrol pumps; Steel Minister, Santosh Mohan Dev for the attempted privatisation of the Bailadilla mines, and Communications Minister, Sukh Ram for irregularities in licensing procedures for telecom services." (*Indian Express*, 11.2.96).

The Jain *Hawala Scam* has so far taken the toll of

	Bribe Amount (Rs. Lakhs)		
8. Balram Jakhar	83.25	Agriculture Minister	Resigned
9. Madhavrao Scindia	100.00	Human Res. Dev. Minister	Resigned
10. V. C. Shukla	90.86	Water Res. and Parl. Aff. Minister	Resigned
11. Buta Singh	7.50	Civil Supplies, Consumer Affairs and Public Distribution Minister	Resigned
12. Kamal Nath	22.00	Textiles Minister	Resigned
13. Arvind Netam	0.50	Agricultural State Minister	Resigned
14. Kalpanath Rai	76.50	Food Minister	In Jail
15. Mrs. Krishna Sahi	2.00	Civil Supplies Minister	
16. R. K. Dhawan	50.00	Urban Dev. Minister	
17. Rajesh Pilot	10.00	Environment Minister	Resignations expected
18. A. R. Antulay	10.00	Health Minister	any day
19. Ajit Panja	5.00	Coal Minister	
20. Pranab Mukerjee	10.00	Foreign Minister	

Approximately three-quarters of his government being involved in the Jain *Hawala Scam*, the following additional politically prominent people are under indictment :



Bribe  
Amount  
(Rs. Lakhs)

Bhajan Lal	100.00	CM., Haryana
Shivshanker	26.94	Governor of Sikkim
Motilal Vora	11.00	Governor of UP
N. D. Tiwari	25.88	Ex CM., UP
Jaffer Sharief	15.00	Ex Railway Minister
Natwar Singh	23.00	Ex Minister
L.P. Sahi	5.50	Ex Minister
Dinesh Singh	10.00	Ex Minister
R. Gundu Rao	15.00	Ex CM., Karnataka
M. J. Akbar	5.00	Congress MP
M. D. Bairage	5.00	Congress MP
Charanjit Yadav	5.00	Congress MP
Arjun Singh	10.50	Ex Minister
S. C. Shukla	5.00	Ex CM., M.P.
A. K. Sen	20.00	Ex Minister
B. D. Dhakne	10.00	Ex Minister
Chandulal Chandrakar	5.00	Congress MP
Jagnnath Pahadia	5.00	Congress MP

All the above are Congress big-wigs of the present. There are some figures involved, who are now in Opposition, but whose background is of Congress :

Arif Mohamed Khan	762.86	Ex Minister
Devi Lal & Son & Grandson	80.00	Ex Minister
Arun Nehru	35.00	Ex Minister

The prominent Opposition leaders are :

L. K. Advani	60.00
M. L. Khurana	3.00
Sharad Yadav	5.00
Yashwant Sinha	21.19
Jayalalitha	50.00
Kailash Joshi	10.00
P. Kaushik	1.00
V. K. Malhotra	1.00
S. R. Bommai	52.00
Kalyan Singh Kalvi	95.00
Har Mohan Dhavan	110.00

As far as political fall-out goes, this is the biggest scam of all, in the history of Congress misrule of India from 1947 to the present. Never before have so many central ministers been involved in a single scam of such magnitude !

Every reputable journal has come out with their versions of the Jain diary of the period January '88 to May '91. Great ingenuity has to be expended in summarising and displaying the highlights of the disgusting details. The latest is that bribes continued to be paid till December 1995, and a Jain *Hawala* floppy has surfaced to establish the continuity. (See *Jain Floppies Show Payments Were Made Till End of '95, and Jain Floppies Reveal More Sordid Saga of Hawala Payment, Indian Express, 21.2.96*)

We had ourselves referred to the Jain Hawala Scam in our first issue of Oct. 1995 (pp. 42-46 and 50).

As far as the dimensions of the scam are concerned, the latest tally by (Feb. 23, 1996) is as follows :

## Consolidated List of Payments Made By Jains

(Rs. crores)

A. "Departmental Expenses" (Payments made to Government / Public sector employees / Organisations)	308.22
B. "Other Expenses" (Payments made to family members, friends and other business associates)	2195.39
C. "Political Expenses" (Payments made to political leaders and political parties)	3418.21
D. Miscellaneous, and payments whose category could not be fixed	127.62
Grand Total	6049.44

(See Table on p. 17, *Frontline*, Feb 23, 1996)

To the foregoing, we must add the further probable criminal wrong-doings between July and Dec. 1995, as revealed by the floppies seized from Anil Jain, when the Enforcement Directorate Officials stumbled across a trail linking S. K. Jain to Ameeruddin Habib, the man through whom the Jains procured Rs. 47.5 crores for pay-offs to politicians and bureaucrats.

This shows that between 1991 and 1995 also the Jains were carrying on merrily with their dirty tricks, for which period we have a "confessional" gap, i.e., a period of four years, for which the Jains have provided neither a diary nor a floppy. (Furthermore, there may be an immense number of other transactions carried on by the Jains, beyond the purview of the diary of 1988-81 and the floppy of second half 1995, both of which have fallen into police hands. But a lot more still might come to light !)

If our readers will refer to the short table of major corruption scandals, which we had put down in *Mankind* No. 1 (p. 44), they will find that the Jain Hawala Scam is merely a few thousand crores of rupees, i.e., it is much less than the *tens of thousands of crores* listed against "No. 1 : Securities Scam"; "No. 3 : Nationalised Banks Bad Debt Scam"; "No. 9 : Irrigation Scam"; "No. 12 : PSU Privatisation Scam"; and "No. 27 : N.K.P. Salve Ispat Group Scam".

Of course, in the last six months Oct. 1995 to Feb. 1996, several other scams have surfaced, of which possibly the biggest is the *Out-of-Turn Allotment of Government Housing on Special Compassionate Grounds*, involving 8,700 apartments and bungalows. Our *naukarshahi* has become so reckless, bold and cannibalistic, that it is demanding gratification for out-of-turn allotment of government housing to government servants. That means that corruption has reached a point of no return. Some *Naukarshahs* are devouring other *naukarshahs* ! The sharks are now feeding on their own entrails !

In addition, to this Housing Scandal, involving Sheela Kaul, R.K. Dhavan and such other lumpen-compradors in positions of power, there was the Telecom Scandal of thousands of crores involving Sukh Ram, who had been involved in a Sugar Scam prior to his being shifted from Food to Telecommunications. But very recently the Supreme Court, which is the fourth wing of the *naukarshahi* (the other three wings are the Civil Service, the Police and the Army), has exonerated the Double-Scam *chirkoot* Sukh Ram, probably because the Prime Minister himself is involved in the kick-backs from the parties favoured by Sukh Ram. The Supreme Court, as we know, has been handling the Prime Minister's own corruption cases with kid gloves.

Look at the Jain *hawala* case itself ! Everyone else is being indicted and is resigning, but the man who is primarily responsible for this scandalous state of affairs, is quietly continuing to rule.



Let the winds release their fury ! Let the waters rise up and flood the land ! Our little Rao will stick to his rickety chair upto the last possible day of his five year term. He hasn't a ghost of a chance of coming back to reoccupy the broken down ramshackle contraption, that is called the *raj gaddi* of India ! Therefore, he must continue ! He will continue !

We have no interest in the minute gossipy details relating to the *Hawala* entries. But certain general features of this "strange" case are noteworthy.

1. It's an extraordinary atmosphere of amorality, which is prevailing in Delhi. Nobody is the least bit worried about receiving or giving illegal gratification, cash in brief cases is transported here and there quite freely. The Jain Brothers are introduced at various parties and are taken to the residences of various ministers, including the Prime Minister and are told to give so many lakhs. Not just that ! They are even told the purpose for which the money is intended. (e.g. Surinder Jain is told that Rs. 30 lakhs is needed by P.V. Narsimha Rao to pay Suraj Mandal, MP of Jarkhand Mukti Morcha in July 1993, in order to defect and save the minority Congress government from debacle. Mandal's bank account is credited with that exact amount on that very day but he says he received the money from a secret source that he is unwilling to identify but it was not Rao ! And he admits to voting for Rao against the no confidence motion on that very day (*Indian Express* 25.2.96) It is all cosy, chatly and friendly. Narsimha Rao even suggests payment of a crore or two, which Surinder Jain decides not to give.

What is a crore or two, here or there ? That is no reason to spoil a beautiful relationship !

That the whole thing is completely illegal, dirty and evil is not suggested by anyone. R. K. Dhawan takes Jain to Narsimha Rao and everything is fixed up.

Similarly, Rajiv is to receive ten and a half crores and Satish Sharma is to act as the middle-man. (Apart from Ottavio Quattrocchi, who has conveniently run away from the country.) In turn Satish Sharma advises Jain to debit the amount in the name of Lalit Suri, in whose hotel the deal is struck.

Everyone knows that Jain is a mere *dalal*. He not only pays out money but it is readily accepted that he is entitled to receive commissions also, and not a small amount. In one single transaction involving the Bhilai Engineering Company, the kingpin of the Jain empire, ten crores are due to him, which he actually receives !

Where is morality ? Where is ethics ?

Such questions simply do not arise !

2. If the name S. K. Jain conjures up a vision of some vegetarian mild mannered yellow *bindied* man, nothing could be further from the truth. This Jain is a Army Jain, an Assistant Adjutant General in the British Army and was given the title of *Raosaheb* by the British. *Raosaheb* Jyoti Prasad Jain's four children were all well-educated by the standards of the times, that is from the 1930s onwards. One son, Balwant, became an engineer in the late '40s, and established a business in Bhilai in 1956. This grew into the Bhilai Engineering Corporation, by the late '60s or the early '70s. Then Surinder emerged as the real wheeler-dealer and the go-getter. He began his operations from Delhi in 1972. He shifted from a modest home in Model Basti in New Delhi to a fifty crore luxury villa at Mehrauli combining lavish landscape gardening and general extravagance. Surinder Kumar Jain popularly called as "S. K.", threw terrific parties at his farm house, which were attended by Prime Ministers and all the leading Congressmen in the country. (There may have been a sprinkling of Opposition leaders, especially from the BJP; who also received the largesses, but naturally the lion's share went to the Congress and the

*naukarshahs*, who have ruled the country almost continuously from 1947.) These are not god-fearing and simple-living *bania* business types. These Jains are a different breed. They are high-flying and apparently highly sophisticated people.

The streak of ruthlessness and cruelty became exposed when after the murder of Shankar Guha Niyogi in Sept. 1991, his wife accused Balwant of murdering her husband. As a matter of fact Niyogi had organised the registered and unregistered labourers, who worked in the mines of Dalli Rajhara and the industrial units of Bhilai, under the banner of the Chhattisgarh Mukti Morcha (CMM). The Bhilai Industrialists Association, under the leadership of the Jains entered into an open confrontation with CMM. This ultimately led to Shankar's murder. Asha Niyogi now wants the murder case against the Jains to be re-examined in the light of revelations of the *Hawalakand*.

Just reading in the papers the name of the Jains conjures up a picture totally different from reality. These are a different breed. The real life Jains belong to the British army tradition. They are true *naukarshahs*, like Khushwant Singh's family (Sir Sobha Singh), real estate magnates and belonging to the *chai-pani* culture of the PWD. It may be noted that Balwant had floated a construction company also. (The Jains later diversified into power, fertilizers, mining, cement and food processing.)

These are completely cynical elements, who can over a cock-tail, with a modest laugh and a cough, order a hit-man to eliminate a trade unionist in some distant town.

Look at Khushwant . He will decide to write about a host or a hostess, on the basis of whether a bottle of the choicest scotch was sent to him or not, the preceding evening. *And he not only writes as per the amount and quality of the scotch received, but he boasts that he has done so !* This is a cynical world of hi-fashion and vulgar display of wealth. It is a world of British Army Jains, of Raosahebs and Sirs and other title-holders, from the last days of the British *raj*.

These are the comprador killers of the Congress-naukarshahi combine, who have been lording it over us, for the last 50 years. They are not pretty, they are extremely ugly and their blood-thirsty and blood-smearing fangs are visible behind every grin and guffaw that emerges upon an evening at swank parties in the lawns of sleek farm-houses.

3. And mind you the Russians are directly involved with the Jains :

"The deal was that the Russian company would be awarded the contract conditional to the payment of Rs. 15 crores as political costs. The foreign concern, being constrained by certain niceties, chose to route the payment through the Jain's company Bhilai Engineering Corporation (BIG). And the then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, himself having certain qualms, chose to take the money through his trusted proxy, Satish Sharma. The latter in turn, as a measure of abundant precaution, sought to put the onus for receiving the funds on another member of the Gandhi inner circle — Lalit Suri. The transaction, according to Jain's statement of March 11, 1995, was concluded in the premises of Suri's hotel, the Holiday Inn (*Frontline*, Feb. 23, 1996, p.6)

Thus, we have now a category of progressive bribe-givers and progressive bribe-takers. Isn't it shameful for the Russians, who have signed a friendship treaty with us of 1971, to be indulging in these clandestine *hawala* transactions ? And this money was given to Rajiv in early 1991, when more or less everything in Russia was publicly owned by the state. Privatisation may have proceeded apace over the last five years, but before that what were the Stalinist *naukarshahs* of Russia doing in India ? And how much of the private loot did they share with the local CPI and CPI-M, all through the Stalin and Brezhnev eras ?



4. The remarkable thing is that Rajiv was directly taking bribes from the Jains. In addition to the 10.5 crores received through Lalit Suri and Satish Sharma, there is a direct payment of 2 crores to Rajiv by S. K. Jain in March 1991.

We know from other sources that Rajiv received kickbacks from the Bofors deal, the H.D.W. Submarines purchase, the West moreland helicopter acquisitions, the Boeing scam and so on. The total amount would exceed many hundreds of crores. Let us say that the total is 1000 crores ! All the time, this total gratification amount of say 1,000 crores would be earning an annual interest of between 100 to 200 crores !

Can any family in India spend on itself as much as 100 to 200 crores, every year, year after year ? In other words, whether you start with an initial corpus of 500 crores or 750 crores or 1000 crores, you are in any case accumulating interest at such a rate that you are unable to exhaust the income. Therefore, even if you start with a 100 crores, it will very soon become many hundreds of crores, and if you started with a 1000, it will become many thousands of crores in no time !

It is at this point that the question arises : Why do you need so much money ? Why do you want so much money ?

If it is going to go on accumulating at a terrific rate, why is it that you want to own in your personal and private name, such an ever-increasing amount ?

May be, I haven't learnt to think in the capitalist way ! That is why, I don't understand this acquisition for the sake of more acquisition, for the sake of still more acquisition !

I am tempted to think that wars which periodically destroy capital accumulations of several generations are an absolute necessity for the capitalist system. Because unless redistributions are periodically organised, the system would choke itself to death by sheer excess of endless accumulation !

5. The intimate connection with terrorism must be noted. Everything started with the arrest of one Kashmiri extremist (Lone) in 1991. In order to discover the precise transactions which enable the Kashmiri terrorists to acquire arms, the police raided the premises of several business-houses. And in that process the Jain diary fell into their hands. (And now the floppy has come into the police clutches.) We must admire the secular character of the Jain family. We must also praise the secular character of the entire Congress-Naukarshahi combine in New Delhi !

They don't mind whether Muslims are killing Hindus in Kashmir or whether the Bombay blasts are killing hundreds of innocent civilians in the streets of Bombay. They are above all communal considerations. They are merely indulging in a whole series of complicated monetary transactions, which incidentally are paying for some arms deliveries to some people somewhere. These arms are used naturally, for killing, maiming and terrorising. That is all a mere by-product of the entries and counter-entries by some *hawala* dealers and some banks.

In other words, terrorism has a very benign face. It is the normal visage of a peace-loving bania.

What a fantastic world, an up-side down world, in which we are living !

6. We must not forget that all this happened way back in 1991, and that the CBI sat over the entire matter for nearly five years ! A former Joint Director of CBI has accused the CBI and the Enforcement Department for four long years of inaction in the *hawala* case.

"Mr. Madhavan said it was only when the Supreme Court started cracking the whip and ordering all the heads of the

departments concerned to attend each hearing and report the progress made, did these agencies start going through the motions of some activity." (*The Times of India*, 11.2.96)

It is staggering to believe that the Jains could have by themselves exercised such pulls that tell the Supreme Court was instigated to act by two journalists, a complete lid could be placed upon the whole affair ! It is my belief that the entire system, the entire structure of the comprador state is such that it aids and abets criminal operations like those of the Jains. The Jains may murder a trade union activist, they may help Kashmiri terrorists to acquire arms, they bribe Prime Ministers, Governors, Cabinet Ministers, Chairmen of Public Sector Corporations, other eminent bureaucrats, police officials and so on and so forth. But nothing will happen to them for years and years. And in fact, many of the bribe-takers have died, and by the time all the legal tangles are tied up, most of the bribe-givers will be dead and gone.

Therefore, the question is : who is going to be punished and when is this likely to happen ?

As Charles Sobhraj has shown you can tie up the Indian legal system into such knots, that ultimately, in about twenty years or so you can go absolutely scot free ! Is this the direction in which the Jain Hawala Scam is really heading ?

7. The most material question remains : how are the Indian people going to be compensated ?

Consider the tens of thousands of crores of rupees involved in the Securities Scam ! A Joint Parliamentary Committee (JPC) was set up. At long last, it came to a *unanimous* conclusion. But nothing happened. The nodal ministry, i.e. the Finance Ministry, went on submitting a series of Aciton Taken Reports (ATRs) and the Parliament went on rejecting them. Ultimately, two Ministers resigned.

A mountainous labour produced a mouse !

And nothing has been recovered from anyone as yet !

So how are the Indian people going to receive justice ? Who is going to ensure that justice is done to the Indian people and that such justice is openly seen to be done ?

The Jain *Hawalakand* teaches us that the demoralisation of the Indian people is verily complete. India has descended into the umbra of total darkness !

#### THE HORRORS OF 1947 PARTITION STILL HAUNT US

They say that there are about 2 crore Bangladeshi illegal immigrants in India, (*Frontline*) and that they are the so called economic refugees. They are unemployed in their own country and there is not enough land to go round in tiny Bangladesh. (144,000 km<sup>2</sup>)

I can hardly believe it! I know of small Bengali-speaking settlements in Bombay. I have also been to Seema Puri in Jamna Par, Delhi. I met a few Bengali youth there who bitterly complained about the bad name that certain Bengali prostitutes were giving them. Sorry, they are now called CSW, (Commercial Sex Workers). I have heard even more about the Bangladesh infiltration into Assam.

About 2 crore Bangladeshi being economic refugees in India, I can only believe the story provided the economic inequalities within Bangladesh are far greater than those in India. But this apparently is not true!

Let us glance at Table 30 of the *World Development Report 1995* of the World Bank. This provides both the dimensions for all three countries of the subcontinent.



### Income Distribution and PPP Estimates of GNP

	Area '000 km <sup>2</sup>	Pop. '93	Per Capita PPP of GNP '93
Bangladesh	144	115.2	\$ 1290
India	3,288	898.2	\$ 1220
Pakistan	796	122.8	\$ 2170

### Income Distribution and PPP Estimates of GNP

Year	Percentage Share of Income or Consumption						
	Bottom Quintile	Second Quintile	Third Quintile	Fourth Quintile	Highest Quintile	Highest 10 %	
Bangladesh 1988-89	9.5	13.4	17.0	21.6	38.6	24.6	
India 1989-90	8.8	12.5	16.2	21.3	41.3	27.1	
Pakistan 1991	8.4	12.9	16.9	22.2	39.7	35.2	

All that we can say, on the basis of present level of available information is that the reports of lakhs of Bangladeshis hiding in different corners of the country, seem to be highly exaggerated.

If the above data is reliable, and I have no reason to doubt the figures; two conclusions emerge.

(a) There cannot be two crore Bangladeshi refugees in our country, whatever the BJP may say, and however many drives the BJP-Sena government of Maharashtra may launch to discover and expel the poor Bengali-speaking folk from the slums of Mumbai. The per capita GNP at PPP is higher in Bangladesh than in India.

(b) The dimension of inequality is more horrendous in India. The bottom quintile of the population absorbs 9.5%, 8.8% and 8.4% for Bangladesh, India and Pakistan respectively.

It doesn't make economic sense for Bangladeshis to become economic refugees in India where the per capita PPP income is lower and where the inequalities are greater.

Therefore, there is only one possibility: that the landless labourers in Bangladesh who are about one-third of the rural population, if not more, are being assisted by elements of the Indian *Naukarshahi* to acquire ownership of land in Tripura and Assam. This is possible and must have happened to some extent. For land hunger in India too, is acute and another straw in the wind is that there are fewer complaints of land encroachments by Bangladeshis from Meghalaya and Mizoram, where tribal cohesiveness and collective safeguarding of common lands is far more secure. This is for *Mankind* readers from the North-east to verify and comment upon.

However, this is one side of the story.

In reality three major tragedies have occurred in the last half a century.

1. The partition / trifurcation of India in 1947 resulted in the greatest mass movement of peoples known to human history. It was spread over a greater number of years in the East than in the West. But human suffering was no less, especially as the refugees from East Pakistan were given much less compensation and aid than those from West Pakistan.

2. Between 1947 and 1971 Bangladesh suffered a terrible degree of oppression and exploitation from West Pakistan, which sucked Bangladesh almost dry.

3. In 1971, finally Bangladesh revolted, the *Mukti Bahini* was formed inside and outside Bangladesh. There were one million refugees that gathered in and around Calcutta by late 1971.

Unfortunately there was no revolutionary party in India. Lohia was dead! I am not exaggerating, I am not fantasising, but had Lohia been alive, he would have ensured a much greater degree

of fraternisation between Indian Socialist militants and the *Mukti Bahini*. It is even conceivable that an isolated Bangladesh would not have come into being. Instead of that there would have been a United Socialist state of all Bengal federated to a new Union of India. "Amar Sonar Bangal" would have embraced the entire delta of Ganga and Brahmaputra, of Bhagirathi, Padma, Jumna and Meghna.

Alas that was not to be! A superb revolutionary opportunity was lost!

We should not allow the ghost of the partition of 1947 to haunt us for ever. We should move forward and unite the peoples of the two Bengals!

**LONG LIVE LOHIA!**

**FORWARD TO A UNITED SOCIALIST BENGAL!**

**FORWARD TO A UNITED SOCIALIST SUB-CONTINENTAL INDIA.**

### MANKIND'S HISTORICAL ANALYSIS CONFIRMED

In the section *Ulti Khopdi*, in *Mankind* No. 1, Oct 1995 (pp. 31-37) and No. 2, Nov. 1995 (pp. 38-43), We had analysed the Four Pillars of Compradorism, namely, the Mystique of the Aryan Invasion Theory; the Insignificance of the Perso-Macedonian Alexander III; the Imperial Shakespeare Industry; and the Bogus Indispensability of English as State Language in India.

Within the above quartet of themes, we had in particular taken up the claims of the "upstart crow", "preening in borrowed feathers", Willy "Shake-scene" as an example of colonial brain-washing.

We were the other evening (21.00 hours on 17.2.96) playing with our remote and happened to have hit the TNT movie channel, which was then showing *Seven Seas to Calais* (1963; Director: Rudolph Mats; Cast: Keith Mitchell, Rod Taylor; A swashbuckling tale of the life and times of Sir Francis Drake)

It was to our simple colonial eyes, quite shocking to see the simplistic depiction of Eliza I's thieving and sharing of robbery and loot with the ruffian Drake. We had thought that England would try to hide these deeds of royal infamy and crime, and not flaunt them about so shamelessly. We were wrong! The Neo-Colonial reconquerors of India of today, are vulgar and brash to the nth degree, and are confident of passing off the villainy of Eliza I not as a despicable episode, but to be treated as a humorous foible of an eccentric character!

We had in our issues *MK1* and *MK2* argued that this (1558 - 1603 and 1603 - 1625, the reigns of Eliza I and Jimmy I) was a period of "primitive accumulation" for British capitalism i.e., a period of national - level and scale thievery, banditry and loot for Britain, and that patronage of great drama was inconceivable on the part of British royalty in such times!

It is like asserting that great art was produced under the patronage of Hitler and his fascist gang in Germany from 1933 to 1945. Or that Leni Riefenstahl (film), Norbert Schulze (music), Arno Breker (sculpture) and Albert Speer (architecture) were great geniuses.

This is simply inconceivable!

Great Art has been and can be produced only during Great Creative Periods in World History!

For instance, when society takes a leap forward and Agricultural Feudalism is established following the Buddha - Mahavira - Gosala period when the Sixteen Mahajanapadas came into being after 700 bc in India; or the great centuries during which the Chin, the Han, the Tang and the Ming dynasties ruled China, or when the Achaemenid, the Parthian and the Sassanian dynasties ruled Persia; or when the Incas and the Aztecs ruled Central America and the Andes.



Great Art is not possible at all times. It is not gestated in all nations at all times.

You cannot retrospectively confer greatness on Shakespeare, just as you cannot upon Leni Riefenstahl. As Susan Sontag wrote in *Fascinating Fascism*, exploring the theory and practice of fascist aesthetics. Sontag's criticism was written in the '70s, when Riefenstahl's book of photographs, *The Last of the Nuba*, was released :

"Fascist aesthetics include but go far beyond the rather special celebrations of the primitive (i.e. the barbaric, the cruel and the horrible - Exe. Edr. *Mankind*) They flow from and justify a preoccupation with situations of control, submissive behaviour, extravagant effort, and the endurance of pain; they endorse two seemingly opposite states, egomania and servitude.

"The relations of domination and enslavement take the form of a characteristic pageantry, the massing of groups of people, around an all-powerful, hypnotic leader-figure or force. Fascist art glorifies surrender, it exalts mindlessness, it glorifies death." (*Times of India*, 18.2.96)

Similarly, we may analyse the Elizabethan Art of Primitive Bourgeois Accumulation of late 16th and early 17th centuries;

As exemplified in Willy Shakes-Scene's *oeuvre*, the Art of Primitive Accumulation emphasises boisterous, swash-repetitious egomania; expansive rantings; endless quibbles that pass for wit and philosophy; rhetorical extravaganzas; costume drama of appearances, luxury and empty gestures; sordid intrigues covered up by tawdry finery; monotonous, boring and repitious verse that rhymes like *tukbandi*; artificiality and insincerity of expression by characters that are flat and two-dimensional; comedies that merge in tragedies, melodramatic exaggerations that have no worthwhile plot or underpinning; empty bombast that hollows out the characters who can suffer no real tragedy as they are mere caricatures.

I think the above will suffice as a summary of the gestalt, the total structure of Shakespearean theatre.

Just as Drake was not alone, but merely one of the gang of ruffians, bandits, robbers, thieves and cutthroats who were operating around Elizabeth's court and in partnership with her (Hawkins, Frobisher, Raleigh, Drake and so many others). Similarly, Shakespeare was far from alone. In fact, it is impossible to distinguish Shakespeare from the motley crowd of foul-mouthed, high-swearing drunkards, grooms-men, horse-holders, dialogue and scene-swappers, cut-and-paste hacks, poetasters and actors-cum-producers-cum-writers of Philip Henslowe's stable of those days. They formed dramatic companies (King's Men, Queen's Boys, Lord Chancellor's Toadies, etc.); divided shares in Theatre and Public Houses; produced, wrote and directed prompt copies of sets of scenes and acts compiled by actors' gangs; put together or swapped with each other verse dialogues and costumed rantings; rattled the sabers and doffed helmets; constantly got into drunken brawls with each other and dunned Phillip Henslowe for small handouts to tide them over the next drinking bout.

In the days of "Primitive Accumulation", there was no question of any morality or ethics ! Each buccaneer, privateer, pirate, bandit and cutthroat with whom Elizabeth I shared the loot and whose voyages she financed, was a law unto himself. He was not amenable to any discipline or social constraints. How can such lumpens patronize a theatre that appeals to the finer and more delicate sentiments? Where is the question of pity, compassion, generosity of heart, loyalty, truthfulness, justice, fairplay or any other higher sentiment?

The Gauleiters and the commandants of Hitler's concentration camps, were they creating great art when they removed the tattooed skins of Jews to make lamp-shades?

In the same way, Shakespeare's times were not such that great theatre could have been enacted. We are not blaming poor little Willy. The times were out of joint. He could not flatter a court which was financing criminal adventures in the Caribbean and at the same time produce dramas that purged from the audiences "horror and pity".

We are not suggesting that Shakespeare or some other true dramatic genius of his time, could not have transcended the limitations of his times and produced lasting literature. After all within 24 years of Willy's death the Cromwellian revolution unfolded, and during the lifetime of his godson Davenant, Charles I lost his head. It was possible for Shakespeare to have such forebodings, such doubts, such anxieties that were to be realised so soon! But in order to express such feelings and thoughts, Shakespeare would have had to write an entirely different set of dramatic works. He could not have flattered the Eliabethan and Stuartian courts; could not have become a successful popular playwright; could not have risen from the ranks of horse-grooms and actors to become a producer of plays in theatres which he partly owned.

It is not possible for him to have done both the things at the same time. He can do only one or the other. Be successful and treat the court as a sychophant. Or be a discerning critic and make his audience aware of the possibility of the impending royal doom!

Not both ! One or the other.

Shakespeare chose his bed to lie in. Perhaps the second best-bed which he bequeathed to his wife. As James Joyce used to say: he had the will but Anne Hath-a-way ! We believe that Anne here stands for the Social Setting.

#### SUPREME COURT TURNS BISMARCKIAN

In the middle of the last century, Otto von Bismarck (1815 - 1898) made a shrewd observation that the social revolution would never happen in England, because the English people were completely absorbed in horse-race gambling. Bismarck reasoned that a gambler never objects to social inequalities or to the riches of the aristocracy. "Whilst in Germany" he opined, "if anyone has a splendid riding horse, the German would ask himself, why he shouldn't have one too ?"

Our Supreme Court has at long last come to an identical conclusion.

A landmark 52-page judgement was delivered by a Supreme Court bench comprising of Justice Kuldip Singh, Justice B.L. Hansaria and Justice S.B. Muzumdar on 12th Jan. 1996.

Justice Kuldip Singh resorted to sloganising at the end of the prolonged litigation. He said : "Long live the race horses!"

The Tamil Nadu Horse Races Act, of 1974, had banned wagering and betting on horse racing. The Madras High Court had held that horse racing was a game of chance and hence it was gambling.

The ruling Dravidian parties in Tamil Nadu had branded horse-racing and betting, as well as consumption of liquor as social evils. The Madras Race Club had challenged the act in 1975.

Since then various legal manoeuvres were being conducted by the racing fraternity and the successive governments of Tamil Nadu. M.G. Ramchandran was strongly opposed to gambling.

Ultimately, the 22 year old legal imbroglio came to an end in a total victory for the horse racing interests. The Supreme Court defined racing as a game of skill, and a trade.

I think the capitalists, who spend their entire waking hours in the acquisitive pursuit, like to have a little excitement added to their selfish greed. If horses are pulled, if in all sorts of nefarious ways gamblers pool their resources and rig the results of races, all that adds a little spice and zest to the game!



If horses win according to pedigree and form, where is the fun?

It is the intrigue, the behind-the-scenes sleights-of-hand, the dirty stable talk, the outwitting of competing coterie, the little manoeuvres, the occasional stabbing in the back, the betrayal with finesse, and so on, this is what makes the capitalist mouth salivate and drool.

Above all, it is the spectacle of enormous sums being thrown away and scattered like a fire-works display, that capitulates the capitalist mind. He finds in the multitude cheering for money, so lustily, so dementedly, a spectacle of eternal fascination!

The poor lose their shirts. The rich shrug off their losses with a smile.

This is the outward appearance. The inside story is plain and simple. The State and the Club can never lose, they collect their taxes and the Club retentions out of every rupee that is betted.

They are on to a sure thing and will always make money, no matter which horse wins.

There is a third group, which also keeps on winning, like the licensed bookies, the horse-breeders, the trainers, the jockeys and a select group of horse-owners, they have so many tax benefits and other incentives that ultimately, they keep on adding to their coffers.

Let us look at the obverse. The poor are sure to lose, because the pool from which their winnings are going to come is already depleted by taxes; club retentions; bookies' margins, and other incidentals. The poor have no inside information, and they are unable to influence the jockeys to pull or push their mounts.

The question is, will our Supreme Court succeed in averting the social revolution? Will Bismarck's remarks prove prophetic for India too?

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# WILLIAM BLAKE : REVOLUTIONARY OR REBEL ?

John Christopher Batty

The Oxford Dictionary definition of the word 'revolution' is composed of two different and seemingly incompatible parts : 1. revolving, single completion of orbit or rotation, cyclic recurrence; and 2. reversal of conditions, fundamental change, forcible substitution by subjects of new government or ruler for the old. 'Reversal of conditions' and 'fundamental change' hardly seem compatible with 'cyclic recurrence', and in this paradox there lies a tragic irony. If the first definition 'a single completion of orbit' is taken as the primary meaning of the word, then the second definition — 'fundamental change' or 'reversal of conditions' — seems only to be half the story, or a different story entirely. It is the last of the second set of definitions 'forcible substitution by subjects of new government or ruler for the old' that points the irony : it presupposes an eventual return to the same position — that of 'subjects and ruler' — and it contains scope to incorporate 'reversal of some conditions' but excludes 'fundamental change' precisely because it does not preclude 'cyclic recurrence' as 'fundamental change' would. The irony occurs when one realises that revolution — an act of absolute faith in the imagination, purporting to effect a 'fundamental change', a transfiguration of the world into Paradise — is perhaps subject to a 'cyclic recurrence' similar to that of the leaves of a tree or the darkness-light-darkness cycle of a day; and that it will always be that the original condition will spawn the desire for freedom from that condition, will spark the imagination, and that once the desire has been acted upon the imagination will not be strong enough to sustain the new condition, and subsequently the original condition will be re-attained and the cycle recommence. It is a somewhat pessimistic view, but it seems that anything short of world-wide revolution — a universal awakening of conscience — will inevitably fall short of its promises.

In the later half of the 18th century, just such a universal happening seemed possible to and was prophesied by the poet

and visionary William Blake (1757-1827).

Recently, it has often been said that Blake's thought is as relevant today as it was in his lifetime, if not more so. And, even a cursory comparison of the two eras brings up certain similarities. For instance, Britain in the latter half of the 18th century, as a result of the Industrial Revolution, was fast becoming the first Industrial-Capitalist-Democracy; just, as in the later half of the 20th century, it can be said, that as a result of the Technological Revolution, America is the first Technological-Capitalist-Democracy; and as in Blake's day British Imperialism (especially in the context of America) was the target of contemporary radical thought; so today, American Imperialism is the central target of present-day radical thought. Although, in the 18th century the immediate concern of the radical was the exploitation of the worker (workers then having no really organised defence against employers) and nowadays the concern is with the spiritual exploitation (easily achieved with the use of mass media) and the resultant alienation, the problem is still one of exploiters and the exploited. And, as with the alienated youth of today — the student rebellions in France, Japan, America, London, Mexico, Italy, Holland etc. — one perceives the emanations of possible universal upheaval (the international solidarity of the students is often remarked upon); so in the 18th century with the American Revolution 1775, and the French Revolution 1789, for both of which there was apparently plenty of sympathy in Britain, there was the same kind of feeling in the air, and William Blake, one of the chief sympathisers, felt very strongly, the beginnings of universal upheaval, and after having written of 'America' — 'The French Revolution' — 'Europe' — 'Visions of the Daughters of Albion' — he went on in 'The Song of Los' (etched in 1795) to prophesy revolution spreading all over the globe, finally to Asia ...

The Kings of Asia heard  
The howl rise up from Europe,  
And each ran out from his Web,

From his ancient woven Den;  
For the darkness of Asia was startled  
At the thick-flaming, thought creating  
fires of Orc.

Given these similarities between the late 18th century and today, it is hardly surprising that a good part of the work of an 18th-century poet should be concerned with revolution and have revolutionary sympathies. But, although Blake is often quite rightly named 'revolutionary' as with 'reversal of conditions' in the Oxford Dictionary's definition of the word, it is not the whole story.

Blake was born and lived in London for most of his life. In 1768 at the age of 11 he was sent by his father, a hosier, to Par's Drawing School in the Strand thus sparing him the tedium of a conventional schooling. In August 1772 he was apprenticed to James Basire and spent much of the next five years making drawings, often in Westminster Abbey, for the Society of Antiquaries to whom Basire was engraver. When he was 21 he became a student in the newly-established Royal Academy, but disagreements with the keeper, and Reynold's recommendation that he should 'work with less extravagance and more simplicity, and correct his drawing' (to which remark Blake took great exception), ensured that he only stayed a short time. But, though he had, presumably, a solid grounding in the visual arts and admits to admiration for, and the influence of 'Michael Angelo, Rafael, and the Antique'; his art of poetry was completely self-taught, for his early training in drawing precluded the commonplace instruction in the classics and Latin Grammar. It is often found in the self-taught that their method of learning breeds an independent attitude, an inclination to test all things for themselves, and a refusal to compromise that is often misconstrued as wilful stubbornness; and so it was with Blake, though, because of vivid imagination coupled with an intensely visual mind, Blake saw everything he imagined, and thus his inclination to test everything, to question everything was not to test against any intellectual yardstick, but against his own imagination, so that he became, not a poet with a message to be proved by intellectual reasoning, but a poet with a vision. His emphasis lay on creation rather than reform. One further result of self-teaching is a mistrust, if not a hatred, of authority — perhaps because the authority of a teacher is absent from the process : this Blake also had : the only authority he consulted or even acknowledged was that of his own imagination; he was his own man, his own authority, and he makes his position clear in 'Jerusalem' chap. 1 :



"I must Create a System or be enslav'd by another Man's."  
"I will not Reason & Compare : my business is to Create."

Blake's hatred of authority prevades everything he wrote or did; it is generally represented by father figures in his works, i.e. Urizen in the revolutionary poems; and it embraced every form of authority on earth from kings and bishops to politicians. The only persons he revered were men of genius, and, in Blake, these are synonymous with artists. In fact, to Blake, art was religion :

Man is All Imagination, God is Man & exists in us & we in him.

The Eternal Body of Man is The Imagination, that is, God himself

... It Manifests itself in his Works of Art (In Eternity All is Vision).

*(Laocoön Aphorisms)*

The Workshop of God is : Honouring his gifts in other men each according to his genius, and loving the greatest men best : those who envy or calumniate great men hate God; for there is no other God.

*(Marriage of Heaven and Hell)*

A Poet, a Painter, a Musician, an Architect : the Man or Woman who is not one of these is not a Christian.

You must leave Fathers & Mothers & Houses & Lands if they stand in the way of Art.

Prayer is the Study of Art.

Praise is the Practise of Art.

Fasting & c., all relate to Art.

The outward Ceremony is Anti christ *(Laocoön Aphorisms)*

So William Blake was a self-taught single minded man who distrusted all authority, a man who would make his own way in the world abiding by his own self-tested beliefs, but not a man so single minded that he was insensitive to the condition of his environment and his fellow man, for the appalling social conditions of the 18th century were a constant source of misery to him. And although the mis-comprehension of his poetry forced him to work in the solitude of the unpraised and unrewarded, there was no question of his being a complete hermit for he was a man capable of love and firm friendship; but above all he was his own man — he refused to compromise what he believed and attempted to live his life accordingly. He was, plainly and simply a rebel, but not a rebel for the sake of being so, his rebellion was well-founded and sincere; basically, authority compromised his ideal of freedom — man's freedom to act on his desires, the freedom to act imaginatively — and this conflict between imagination (representing freedom) and authority (representing reason) forms the basis of the unending personal dialogue that is at the core of all his works.

Then, it is hardly surprising that such a rebel in the latter half of the 18th century with the American Revolution in 1775 and

the French Revolution in 1789 should be roused to eulogies of political revolution, to envisage universal upheaval; for revolution, the liberation it prophesies and the imagination it requires to be effected, falls directly in line with his personal convictions. Thus, Blake was one with his revolutionary friends such as Tom Paine and Henry Fuseli when they met above Joseph Johnson's bookshop in London in the 1790s. And, again because of his ideals, it is also hardly surprising that, when the universal revolution he hoped for failed to materialise — the Americans still kept owning slaves, and the French Revolution by 1796 had developed into a tyranny under Napoleon — Blake became bitterly disappointed and ceased from revolutionary writings. It seemed to him that, after all, revolution had been a facet in a full cycle which had substituted one tyranny for another, and, consequently the symbolism in his poetry shifted accordingly. But, though many people make the mistake of thinking that here comes a split in Blake's work — from that of revolutionary to religious — there is, in fact, no difference of basic attitude; he was hardly the radical become reactionary — a transition which in recent years so many Angry Young Men have achieved with such facility. It was, that he had become bitterly disillusioned with politics and politicians ...

I am really sorry to see my Countrymen trouble themselves about Politics. If Men were Wise, the Most arbitrary Princes could not hurt them. If they are not wise, the Freest Government is compell'd to be a Tyranny. Princes appear to me to be Fools, Houses of Commons & Houses of Lords appear to me to be fools; they seem to me to be something Else besides Human Life.

*(Public Address : written 1810)*

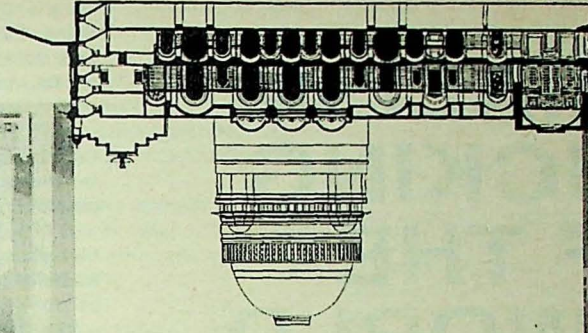
... and his personal dialogue of conflict between imagination and reason shifted its focus from political revolution toward a more comprehensive view of mankind embodied in religion. For, it will be remembered, that his attitude to religion was hardly that of his contemporaries; his hatred of Deism is inextricably bound up with his hatred of authority, political or otherwise.

Thus William Blake's disillusionment and subsequent mistrust of politics did not radically alter his essential thesis; for that was not founded in politics but in a visionary philosophy which he mistakenly thought he might see realised in his own time by political means. Because politics to him was only a medium, if it was inadequate, it was dispensable.

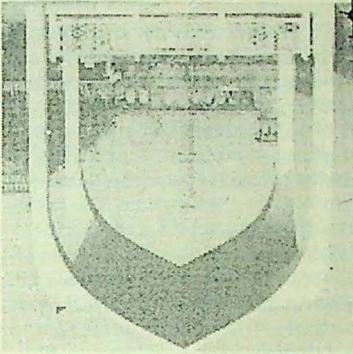
To some extent Blake's disillusionment with politics, is today paralleled in the attitude of the alienated youth in America and the very loose political attitude of the American New Left whose political scope is wide enough to include every form of dissent from hard-core Marxism to the a-political drop-out philosophy of the Hippies. But, even there, the dissenters are being forced into a confrontation, to organise themselves, to present an alternative authority — and once again the tragic irony that is incorporated in the word revolution is raising its ugly head.



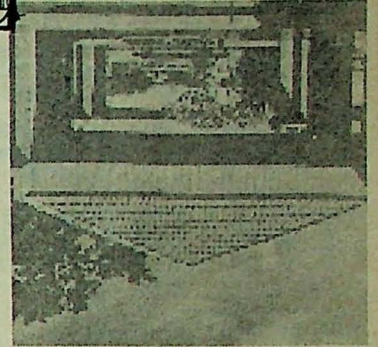
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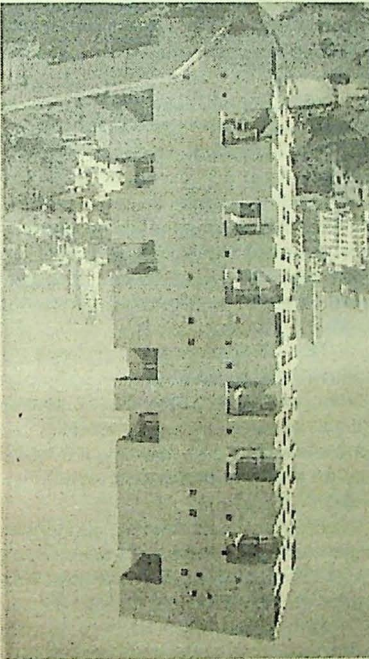
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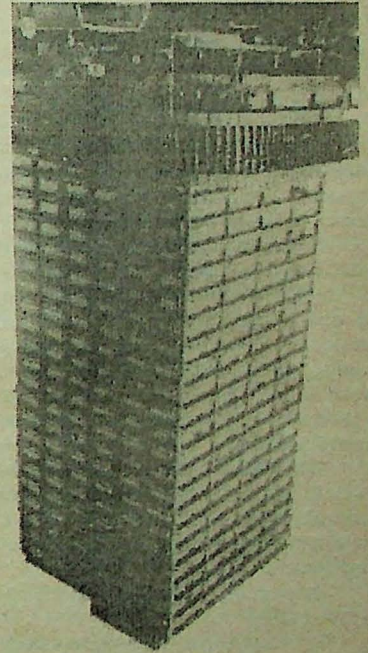
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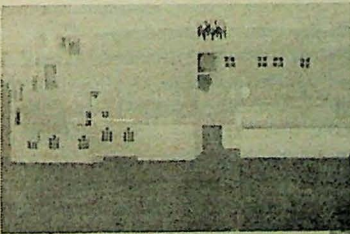


# ULTA-ZAMANA OR DISJOINTED TIMES

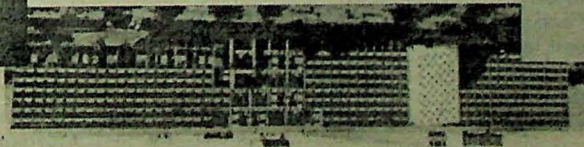
Neo-colonialism, the Sucking  
Dry of the Third World

Naukarshahi, the Ruination of  
All Norms

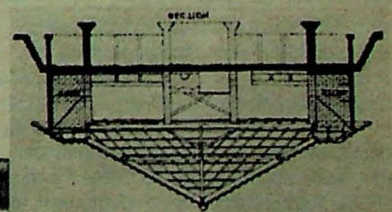
Indira Gandhi Inst. of Dev., Bombay



Secretariat Chandigarh



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# NEO - COLONIALISM, THE SUCKING DRY OF THE THIRD WORLD

## COMPRADOR LINGUISTICS

### TEST BAN TREATY AND INDIA

### CHOMSKY, NADER AND WTO

### THE SECURITY SIEVE THAT IS INDIA

### INDIA IS A STRANGE COUNTRY

### CRUEL AND COMIC ANTICS

## COMPRADOR LINGUISTICS

I wish that we in India, did not uncritically accept the neo-colonial linguistic formulations, which are being thrust upon us by the World Bank.

First, why are foreign loans being called aid? The only aid, in truth can be in the form of grants. If loans are given, however compradoristically grateful an individual borrower may be, from the loan-giver's point of view, it is an investment, which is fetching him an interest-shaped income, the rate for which was mutually agreed upon.

World Bank's official reports for the last 18 years, admit that the grants component of what they call Official Development Assistance (ODA) has been insignificant.

Let us consider the following findings by the UNDP:

1. "According to a World Bank study, trade restrictions reduce developing countries' GNPs by 3% — an annual loss of \$ 75 billion. Another estimate suggests that, for textiles and clothing alone, phasing out the Multi-Fibre Arrangement could increase the exports of developing countries by about \$ 24 billion a year." (p. 6)

2. "Twenty of twenty four industrial countries now are more protectionist than they were 10 years ago. Almost 28% of all OECD imports from developing countries are affected by non-tariff barriers." (p. 6)

3. "In fact, only 7% of the world trade is in full conformity with GATT principles." (p. 6)

4. "Global market restrictions and unequal partnership cost the developing countries about \$ 500 billion — around 20% of their GNP." (p. 6)

5. "ODA currently amounts to only 0.35% of the combined GNP of the OECD countries, compared with the international target of 0.7%." (p. 7)

6. "A global debt bargain — A new bargain must be struck with the severely indebted nations to halt the current debt-related net transfer of \$ 50 billion a year from the developing to the industrial countries." (p. 9)

7. "Between 1960 and 1989, the countries with the richest 20% of world population increased their share of global GNP from 70.2% to 82.7%. The countries with the poorest 20% of world population saw their share fall from 2.3% to 1.4%. The consequences for income inequalities have been dramatic. In 1960, the top 20% received 30 times more than the bottom 20%, but by 1989 they were receiving 60 times more. The Gini coefficient, a statistical measure of inequality, rose to an intolerable level that far exceeds anything seen in individual countries (from 0.69 to 0.87, on a scale where zero is perfect equality and 1.00 is total inequality)." (p. 34)

8. "South Asia, with some of the poorest people in the world, receives \$ 5 per person. The countries receiving aid in the Middle East, with three times South Asia's per capita income, get \$ 55 per person." (p. 44)

9. "Allocations as a proportion of the recipient country's GNP can vary dramatically for no good reason — 0.5% for India, for example, 17% for Egypt, 38% for Tanzania and 77% for Mozambique." (p. 44)

10. "Only a quarter of aid goes to the 10 countries that together have about three-quarters of the world's poorest people." (p. 44)

11. "Countries that spend a lot on the military (more than 4% of GNP) are rewarded with roughly twice as much aid per capita as countries that spend more modestly — between 2% and 4% of GNP." (p. 45)

12. "In 1983-89, rich creditors received a staggering \$ 242 billion in net transfers on long-term lending from indebted developing countries." (p. 45)

13. "The total external debt of developing countries has multiplied thirteenfold in the last two decades: from \$ 100 billion in 1970 to around \$ 650 billion in 1980 to around \$ 1,350 billion in 1990." (p. 45)

14. "The IMF, by contrast, has for several years been taking money out of Africa ... \$ 0.7 billion a year in 1986-90." (p. 46)

15. "Real interest rates have been four times higher for poor nations than rich ones. Developing countries effectively paid 17% a year on their foreign debt during the 1980s, while rich nations paid only 4%." (p. 48)

16. "The market for agricultural produce is also distorted — by import barriers and by \$ 300 billion a year in agricultural subsidies and price supports in industrial countries, reducing the export opportunities for developing countries." (p. 48)

17. "This lack of market opportunities for developing countries costs them at least \$ 500 billion a year, 10 times what they receive in foreign assistance." (p. 48)

18. "The major reason is that investment is generally more profitable in rich countries than in poor ones. This might seem strange since capital is theoretically supposed to enjoy a higher return where it is scarce, but in practice, this does not seem to be the case. In the major industrial economies, the average rate of return on non-residential capital stock in recent years has been 17%. In the developing countries, the return has been around 12%." (p. 53)

19. "Commodity prices have fallen steeply in the last decade. Between 1980 and 1991, the weighted index for a group of 33 primary products (excluding energy) declined by almost half — from 105 to 57." (p. 59)



20. "The most significant is the Multi-Fibre Arrangement (MFA), which denies developing countries an estimated \$ 24 billion a year in export earnings." (p. 63)

(*Human Development Report, 1992*)

Secondly, year after year, and month after month, the government has been releasing to the press, announcing NET AID OUT-FLOW. Why is it calling this negative transfer as Aid ?

Let us take three recent clippings : "*Trade Deficit Crosses \$ 3.5 Billion* .

The trade deficit during the first nine months of the current fiscal year works out to be \$ 3534.86 million which is higher than the deficit of \$ 2011.46 million during the corresponding period of last financial year." (*Indian Express, 1.2.76*)

"*Trade Gap Widens*

Despite a robust growth of a little over 24% in exports, the whopping 29.3% surge in imports resulted in a substantial widening of the trade deficit. (\$ -0.73 in April-Dec. 1993; \$ - 2.01 in April-Dec. 1994; \$ -3.53 in April-Dec. 1995." *Indian Express, 9.2.96*)

"*Net Aid Outflow Rs. 3,165 Crore*

As per the latest available statistics, the gap between external aid inflow and outflow continued to rise : during the first eight months (April - November) of 1995-96, net aid inflow (gross aid receipts minus repayments minus interest payments) was minus Rs. 3,165 crore. In the corresponding period last year net aid inflow, though negative, was in a relatively smaller figure of minus Rs. 1,418 crore.

"During the period, gross external assistance at Rs. 3,932 crore was lower than that of Rs. 4,939 crore or by 20.4 per cent.

"The repayment of principal, at Rs. 4,099 crore, during the same period was higher than that of Rs. 3,526 crore last year or by 16.3 per cent. Interest payment too was higher, at Rs. 2,998 crore, from Rs. 2,831 crore last year or by 5.9 per cent.

"Repayment of principal and interest payments together amounted to Rs. 7,097 crore as against Rs. 6,357 crore last year.

"Gross external assistance consisted of Rs. 2,626 crore loan, Rs. 581 crore grants and Rs. 725 crore non-government loans." (*Indian Express, 12.2.96*)

So, why do our *naukarshahs* insist on calling these net outflows as AID ? Why should it be called even NEGATIVE AID ?

Let us sum up the total situation.

1. The total "aid" given by the industrialised countries is just 0.35% of their combined GNP.

2. The net transfers from the poor countries to the rich is more than ten times what is being allocated to them as "aid".

3. Lack of market opportunities is costing the developing countries \$ 500 billion a year, ten times what they receive in foreign "assistance".

4. In 1983-89, a staggering \$ 242 billion was transferred out of the poor countries to the rich.

5. The terms of trade have moved adversely for the developing countries, from 105 to 57, between 1980 and 91.

There has been no AID from the rich to the poor countries.

There has never been any. There have been only loans given for which the poor have been forced to compete with each other. Those who patronise the armament industry of the West or supply oil to the West or do both, get preferential treatment in loan disbursements.

Money is realised from the blood and sweat of the poor, from the developing countries, at ten times the rate at which so-called ODA is being given.

Let us in India, at least, burst this hypocritical balloon of neo-colonialism.

Let us clearly state that no aid is being received.

Let us call a spade, a spade and affirm that net transfers or

out-flows are taking place, from the poor countries to the rich countries.

Let us call them interest payments, or dividends, or profits or tribute.

Let us call it anything, except aid or assistance.

## TEST BAN TREATY AND INDIA

Our favourite pastime since 1947, and more particularly, from mid-1991, has been to kiss the imperialist boot that is bearing down upon us. We are doing everything in our power, with a little *masala* of corruption, inefficiency and bureaucratic rigmarole, to please the Western powers. We are "liberalising, privatising and globalising" like the dickens ! We have thrown all caution to the winds. We have removed all export obligations of all concerns, that gobble-up foreign exchange in imports. All consumer goods producing sectors are open to foreign MNCs, and so are all financial services, except insurance, which probably will open up to alien interests immediately after the next elections. Foreigners can invest upto 100% in Indian subsidiaries and joint ventures. All patent laws have been modified to accommodate foreign concerns.

In fact, so sweepingly stupid and short-sighted has been our globalisation drive that serious commentators from Japan like Yoshihito Karibe have come out with advice that we should not be so idiotic.

However, nothing is enough for the neo-colonial powers. The more India concedes, the more they want to bend India.

Therefore, we know that there are no takers for *Mankind's* advice and it is going to fall on deaf ears. Nevertheless, we will tender our advice, rather we shall assert our national pride.

India will not and cannot sign any unequal treaty, which makes India, a second class nation.

We are a nation of ninety crores. We shall accept no provision, no convention, no rule, no law, that gives us less rights than any other nation in the world.

Of course, we must possess the nuclear deterrent. If Israel, Pakistan, and South Africa can have the atom bomb, I don't see how we can avoid possessing it.

*Our possession of the atomic device is the only real deterrent in this real world.*

Secondly, we should conduct as many tests (all underground), which would convince the other nuclear powers and the aspirants to such status, that we have an effective device, that is capable of being deployed at short notice and is battle-ready. The purpose of the tests should be to convince the world, that the deterrent in our possession is real and effective.

*Mankind* believes that India should courteously and firmly inform all the major powers of the world that India does not wish to discuss any detail with them of any rule, convention or treaty, which to the remotest degree discriminates against India, and which abbreviates in any measure Indian sovereignty and freedom of choice.

India cannot countenance any CTBT that allows France and China to carry on tests in Sinkiang and South Pacific, whilst India is to be prevented from testing at Pokharan, Rajasthan, or any other place of its choice.

India does not wish to argue its case. India is not concerned about nit-picking. India's position is manifest and clear. It is a nation of ninety crores or something like one-sixth of humanity. So long as nation states exist and so long as some such nation states are pursuing neo-colonial policies, it is not possible for India to give up any of its national rights. *The poor in India must defend themselves as a nation, against the machinations of the EU, NATO, OECD, NAFTA and the G-7.*

This is another instance which exposes the foolishness of



our Eurocentric internationalists, who are also known as Stalinist-Progressivists. I don't think it necessary to argue the obvious. The nations of the world are today divided into industrialised countries and developing nations. It is not possible for the Third World of the developing nations to combat the neo-colonial *trimurti* of WB, IMF and GATT, without appealing to and arousing the national pride of the Indian people.

India's attitude has been grossly misunderstood. If the United States or United Kingdom or any other member of the OECD should dare to give any advice to India on Kashmir or Test Ban Treaty or our Missile Development Programme, we should summon the offending countries ambassador to our External Affairs Ministry and deliver a stern warning to all of them, that India does not accept any interference in its external affairs and expects other nations not to advise India on any matter of political, economic or military nature.

It is an extremely shameful thing that in the case of Enron, the Maharashtra Government agreed to participate in the arbitration proceedings in London. How could such a disgusting thing have ever taken place? India does not recognise any power, that is above the powers inhering in its Constitution, and even the Government of India has no powers to surrender any part of the Indian national sovereign rights to any country in the world, outside India.

India's membership of any International Organisation is subject to the eternal proviso that India does not abrogate its sovereignty in any way whatsoever. All treaties and accords by the party in power are inherently and forever subject to revision and modification by the succeeding government, if the earlier government is found to have succumbed to neo-colonial pressures in any way.

In the case of the revised Enron deal the Government of Maharashtra should not be allowed to get away with murder. Whether Enron withdraws the arbitration proceedings or not, and especially, as the London Courts order has gone in favour of Enron, India and Maharashtra do not recognise the validity of any proceedings that abridge our sovereignty.

The revised agreement with Enron or proposals to that effect, should be totally abrogated immediately on the grounds that Enron has indulged in anti-National activities and adopted neo-colonial postures in its dealings with India. It is absolutely urgent that we assert the elementary self-respect of our Indian nation.

LONG LIVE INDIAN NATIONALISM !

FORWARD TO A NEW FEDERATION OF THE SOCIALIST STATES OF THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT !

DOWN WITH THE PSUEDO-INTERNATIONALISM OF THE EUROCENTRIC PROGRESSIVISTS !

LONG LIVE THE PATRIOTIC FERVOUR OF THE DALITS AND PIDITS OF OUR ANCIENT LAND !

### CHOMSKY, NADER AND WTO

*Mankind* has been in the forefront of the struggle against neo-colonialism as represented by the *trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO (formerly called GATT).

The Narsimha Rao government was so frightened of the adverse nationalist reaction in the country against joining WTO, at the end of 1993, that it by-passed the parliament totally, and issued an ordinance which affiliated India to the WTO in a surreptitious and a clandestine manner.

One Ralph Nader, a Trade Unionist and a Consumer Protectionist from USA, has come out with the following announcement :

"In a letter to the Prime Minister, Narsimha Rao, when he was in the U.S., Nader said, 'Your administration, like Clinton's,

has argued that the interests of the world's population will be best served by a trade agreement that transfers power to a secretive and unaccountable group of technocrats in Geneva. Citizens' groups in this country and yours have countered that the best interests of the world's people can be realised by shifting power to the grassroots. That's an argument that democratically minded people in both our countries should be able to appreciate.'

"He urged the Indian Government to clarify whether the statements of the Congressman, Robert Matsui, one of the leading legislative advocates of approval of the new trade agreement and the WTO, that the U.S. will be able to use the WTO selectively, represent the views of the Clinton administration as well.

"Nader attached a copy of the Los Angeles Times interview given by Matsui. In response to criticism that the WTO, a proposed successor to the GATT, will weaken U.S. democracy, Matsui is quoted by the newspaper as saying that the U.S. is so powerful that it can ignore WTO directives that counter its interests.

"Yet, the U.S. can use the trade agreement to force open markets of the developing countries. 'The U.S. would be most likely to use the provisions of the new trade agreement to force open the markets of India and other developing nations that have a history of using local laws to block U.S. products' Matsui said.

"Matsui, Nader told Rao, has 'confirmed the deepest concerns of the people of India, who have organised large demonstrations to denounce GATT because they believe it will benefit rich countries at the expense of poor ones.' " (*Malayala Manorama Year Book*, 1995, p. 563).

I am not starry-eyed about Mr. Nader's prescriptions for India. After all, he is a Westerner and I am perpetually suspicious of every Western savant. Take the case of Noam Chomsky. He states one hundred good things in the documentary *Manufacturing Consent*, and suddenly out of nowhere, comes out with hysterical support to the East Timorese. This is an insignificant little Christian group, which had earlier supported Dutch imperialism, and which now claims freedom from Indonesian control, in order to re-establish Portuguese hegemony.

I am no lover of Gen. Suharto, who cruelly repressed a Stalinist Uprising in 1965. I think he massacred almost as many as Chiang Kai Shek did in Canton in 1927.

But as a matter of fact, the Stalinists are to be blamed, at least partially. They had supported the miserable comprador Sukarno in Indonesia and Chiang in Old China and they had done this on the specific instructions of Stalin and Brezhnev.

Of course, *Mankind* laments the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives of militants and activists in Canton and in Jakarta.

But our sorrow and lamentations have nothing to do with Noam Chomsky, who is apparently ignorant about the Indonesian struggle for independence 1945-49, and of the international imperialist conspiracy to assist the Dutch in the "recovery" of Indonesia.

However, let us leave aside Chomsky and Nader. I have not, frankly speaking, followed the career of Ralph Nader and his Consumer Protection Movement, especially, after the initial success that he achieved long ago against the big California wine interests. May be he is alright. Who knows?

Anyway, whether Ralph Nader is anti-WTO consistently and for the right reasons or not, the WTO is a horrible neo-colonial institution that needs to be shot down by all sincere nationalists and socialists. Matsui's confessions about the real character of the WTO merely strengthens our case.

### THE SECURITY SIEVE THAT IS INDIA

As Dr. Lohia used to point out, pus is oozing out of every



pore of the Indian polity. It is a gruesome analogy, but the reality is gruesome.

The other day (December 17) a foreign plane flew in from Karachi refuelled at Varanasi, dropped huge quantities of the most lethal arms in Purulia district, enroute to Calcutta, and again refuelled at Yangon in Myanmar, and proceeded to Phuket in Thailand, for further refuelling and final instructions. It then nonchalantly proceeded to re-enter Indian Air Space to fly to Madras. By this time it was Dec. 22nd and it was finally, intercepted by our MIGs and forced to land at Bombay, from where its owner and co-pilot New Zealander, Davy, quietly made his way out after giving a bribe of \$ 20,000 to two airport officers and disappeared. Earlier one Deepak, a co-conspirator with Davy had already disappeared from Calcutta (Dec. 17-18). Six members of the British Latvian mixed crew were arrested. The plane was registered in Hong Kong. The arms were Bulgarian, and the parachutes used to land the huge bundles were South African and the owner was as aforesaid a New Zealander. We had a near complete Commonwealth representation in the conspiracy.

Obviously, the arms were intended for the Ananda Margis, who have their Headquarters at Anandanagar, in Purulia District. Ananda Margis are known for their CIA connections and have prospered from the time that the CPM came to power in West Bengal, over two decades ago. There are many infantile rightists in the USA, and some lunatic wing of the CIA may have planned this move against West Bengal and India, after the CPM came to power nearly twenty years ago in June 1977.

As an aside we may note, that the BBC coverage of rightist loonies of the rocky mountain belt states of Western USA (Montana, Oklahoma, Nevada, Arizona, New Mexico, etc.) had interviewed simple citizens, who asserted their sincere conviction that "the current restrictions on free sale of assault weapons was a federal conspiracy to disarm the American people and to bring about a takeover of the United States by the United Nations in the interests of the Black-loving, White liberal sissies." To prove their macho image of themselves they defended with the righteous indignation of the Oklahoma terrorist group, that had sabotaged a federal facility and killed hundreds of innocent Americans, especially the scores of children of the day-care centre, within the federal building (See *Mankind*, No. 1, October 1995)

One rubs one's eyes in disbelief, at the moronic out-pourings of these rightist damn fools, who are talking of the United Nations takeover of USA, when in reality the United States has taken over the UN and made it a completely subservient social security department, of the American Foreign Policy Administration.

Let India strenuously strive to isolate itself completely from such loony winds blowing from the United States.

I am almost coming round to the view that India would do well to withdraw from the United Nations and all its agencies for a period of ten years, and re-enter the body with the pre-condition that it shall be given a permanent seat in the Security Council with a veto, so long as the current strength of the five veto-wielding permanent members remains in tact.

In fact, I strongly feel that the External Affairs Ministry be forthwith dissolved and replaced by a Ministry of International Trade and Industry. The *naukarshahs* of the EAM should be taught the elementary lesson that India's national interests are best served by not having any so-called political goals in foreign affairs, and that the pursuit of simple and modest economic goals is the sole purpose of a nationalist foreign policy. We do not wish to teach morality to the world. We do not wish to pontificate about non-violence, *ahimsa*, or *panchasheela* or international brotherhood or world peace.

Peace is not within the powers of India or the Third World.

Peace will come or not come as desired by the G-7 and the OECD. India has nothing to do with it.

Let us single-mindedly try to solve our economic problems.

At the same time, we will develop the ultimate deterrent. We shall demonstrate our national resolve that no foreign country can occupy any part of India, for any length of time. This is the only final guarantee of national independence and sovereignty.

To return to the subject of the Benighted States of America and its rightist loonies we can only say, that such mad men can only flourish within an upstart culture like that of the USA. Also, we must hold the Americans in contemptible pity because there has been a devastating decline in their economic status, since the end of the Second World War in 1945. In 1945 and in the early post-war years, America produced about 50% of the world GDP (Paul Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*, 1989, p. 461)

In 1960, it came down to 27 %.

In 1991, it has come down to about 19% (See *Mankind* 4/5, Jan/Feb 1996, pp. 50-51)

By 1996, it is probably down to around 15%. This means in a matter of 50 years America has hurtled down from a level of 50% of world GDP to just about 15% or a fall of one-half to one-seventh of world GDP in PPP (Purchasing Power Parity) terms.

It has shocked the American psyche. They thought they were the richest country in the world, in at least per capita OER (Official Exchange Rate) terms. Even at per capita OER terms it has been overtaken by Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Japan and Switzerland (*World Bank Report*, 1995, Table 1). As for total national GDP Japan has already reached 10% of world GDP, and China has attained over 8%. By at the most 2010, more likely by 2005 both, Japan and China are likely to overtake USA as gestators of more than 12% of the world GDP, which is where America will be in the same year.

Americans have lost the feeling that they are the "chosen of the earth". They cannot bear this thought that they are just ordinary human beings, like the rest of the world.

It is this precipitous downfall in their relative position in the world that has created the current American trauma. It is even conceivable that America will hysterically strike out in all directions, throwing nuclear bombs in all directions, before it psychologically adjusts itself to its lowly status, as Great Britain has done after the First World War. (UK's share of the world GDP was about 3% in PPP terms in 1991. See *Mankind* 4/5, Jan/Feb 1996, pp. 50-51. At one time UK enjoyed the highest standard of living in the world and now it is not amongst the first twenty, its per capita income at OER level is the same as that for Hong Kong. See *WB Report*, 1995, Table 1)

To return to the CIA sponsored Ananda Marg, it is humiliating that the porous and spongy Government of India administration is not able to force organisations like the Ananda Margis to give a complete account of the sources of its funds. In no other country in the world, would such a state of affairs would be tolerated. Not only is the *naukarshahi* in India, unpatriotic and anti-national, but the Constitution of 1946-49, is itself neo-colonial. It was a purely Dominion Status Constitution, brought into force by the British House of Commons. It has been propped-up by 50 years of Congress - *Naukarshahi* lies. There is no substance in such termite infested lying props. It was a Dominion Status Constitution and it has remained such to this day, nothing can change its fundamental character and nothing has.

The flight of the Anotov transport plane from Phuket to Madras shows that the arms smuggler Davy and his friends were completely confident of the porosity of the Indian Security System, and it was just by chance that suddenly the Indian Army woke up.



The arms recovered so far (25.12.1995) include : 224 AK-47 and AK-56 assault rifles; 80 anti-tank grenades; and 8 rocket launchers and thousands of rounds of ammunition.

Even after the capture of the plane, two of the principal conspirators, Deepak and Davy have flown the coop and the latter, has managed to run away after a bribe of just \$ 20,000.

What is security in India? The system is so corrupt, that holes will always remain through which anti-national criminals will be able to escape.

Have our rulers who are chanting the name of Gandhi and are proclaiming from rooftops their highly moral, honest and upright conduct in world affairs, will these prematurely senile or belatedly infantile leaders of society pause for a minute and take stock of the situation? Will they realise that urgent anti-*naukarshah* measures are long overdue? Will they take control of their own servants or is the *ghar-ghati* and *chaprasi* (domestic servant and peon) going to continue to sleep with the lady of the house? The Indian elite should normally be ruling over the country through its servants, the *naukarshah*-bureaucrats. Instead on the one hand, the neo-colonialists are raping Mother India. And on the other hand, the *naukarshahs* are sitting on the head of the owner of the house, i.e. the Indian bourgeoisie, and merrily claiming to share the bed with his daughter and the daughter-in-law!

What kind of an impotent and cowardly capitalist class do we have? They are unable to defend their own hearth and home. They do not want to! What kind of worthless human beings are they?

What is Purulia and Ananda Marg? The HD submarine was purchased from Germany after 12% under the table payment to Rajiv and his cronies. Hundreds of crores were received as commissions for Westland helicopters and Bofors guns, by Rajiv and other Congress *goondas*. Is there an end to India's woes? Is any defence weapon system in India completely reliable? Has it not been shot through and through and become a sieve in place of a shield?

### INDIA IS A STRANGE COUNTRY

We have had on an earlier occasion remarked on the peculiarities of India.

First of all, it has two names : "India, that is, Bharat". The second name Bharat was a feeble attempt at comprador self-assertion. Jawahar thought that the name India was a Greek derivation from the old Persian, Hindia or Hindustan and therefore, he was entitled to call it Bharat. (An ethnic derivation derived from the Bharata tribe, which had settled in the Sapta-Sindhu region. "India" had to be kept because the British House of Commons Act, which conferred limited freedom upon India was entitled India Independence Act, and therefore, legally India had to be reiterated.)

Apart from two names, India has two national days : the Independence Day, which was actually Dominion Status day, falls on 15th August and the Republic Day, which declares 26th of January of 1950 as the day on which most of the Constitution of 1946-50 came into force.

Since, then the so-called Independence of 15th August of 1947 was a blatant lie. What Nehru did was, to get the bogus Constituent Assembly of 1946, to pass a resolution of self-empowerment.

But the 1946 CA was a travesty, a joke and a farce. It was only partly elected. One-third of its nominees were the nominees of the Princelings, two-thirds were indirectly elected by Provincial Assemblies, which were themselves elected on a restricted franchise of 12 or 14 per cent.

Further, there were 70 different kinds of electorates, mainly

racial and communal.

The comprador *bicholias*, brokers, *dalals*, *banians*, commission agents, touts, *khansamas*, *baburchis* and title-holders of colonial India, who had gathered together to form the 1946-47 CA, had no business to call themselves representatives of the people of India. They were not "we the people." (Preamble to our Constitution).

In addition to two Names and two National Days, we have two National Songs.

One of them is called the National Anthem : *Jana, Gana, Mana* . . ., which was a poetic tribute paid by the vulgar comprador hero, Rabindranath Tagore to George V, then Prince of Wales, who had come on a visit to India in 1905 (British royalty used to visit India in those days in order to collect valuable gifts from the Indian Princelings.)

The second is termed the National Song and is a Hindu religious verse, which is certainly inferior to the nice little Iqbal composition that we used to sing as school-children : "*Sare Jahan Se Accha Hindostan Hamara, Ham Bulbule Hain Uski Wo Gulistan Hamara!*"

*Yunan, Misr, Ruma, Sab Mit Gaye Jahanse, Phir Bhi Magar Hai Baki, Hindostan Hamara. . ."*

The only reason that I can think of for the exclusion of Iqbal's lovely little song is his Presidential speech at the Muslim League convention of 1941, from where he demanded for the first time on behalf of the ML the creation of Pakistan. (Pakistan was originally an idea mooted by the British Secret Service through a Cambridge Muslim *dalal* Rahmat Ali in 1936. But it had evoked no response from Jinnah or anyone else, till Britain provoked a revival in 1941 and a grant six years later). In the same way, India's name should have been *Arya Varta* (from the linguistic source, that is, "speakers of Aryan languages"), or *Jambu Dweepa* (from the Jambu tree or *Eugenia jamboleana*).

Thus, we have two Names, two National Days, two National Songs and it seems four constitutions.

On 2.2.1996 CNN claimed in reply to its own quiz question that apart from the National Constitution, three other states of the Indian Union had separate constitutions, namely, the Jammu & Kashmir state, Assam state and Sikkim state.

I am not a lawyer, though I did attend the Law College for an year in Bombay, in 1948, to help me with my Trade Union work. But, my Union, The Bombay Press Employees Union, had grown so fast and had got involved in so many cases (I believe nineteen), and it was so poor that I had to practise law in the Labour and Industrial Courts to save legal fees, before I could learn the ordinary law of the land.

Further, I believe no one has filed a suit against me, nor I against anyone, in my entire life, except of course, George VI, the stutterer and kleptomaniac, who filed three against me in 1942-43.

The first, was for trying to burn a policeman alive, that is, murder by arson (I had hit a constable with a flaming torch). The second, was for possession and circulation of seditious literature. By the third, George VI detained me without trial under the Defence of India Act of 1939.

Thus, my acquaintance with law is very superficial and scanty, except that in the Labour and Industrial Courts, I was able to make very effective presentations and arguments. I won all the nineteen cases and was responsible for the first major revision of the wages in the press industry of Bombay in '48-50' after 1928 when the earlier revision had taken place.

Thus, my scanty and superficial acquaintance with Indian law plunged me into an unpleasant shock, when I heard the CNN announcement of 2/2/96. I had known that Jammu & Kashmir had



a separate constitution, but somehow it had escaped my notice that both Assam and Sikkim had separate State Constitutions. I have requested the Law Minister to send me the texts of all the four constitutions of India and parts thereof.

To sum up, we are a strange land  
with Two Names ;  
with Two National Days ;  
with Two National Songs ;  
and with Four Constitutions!

Comparadorism Zindabad!

### CRUEL AND COMIC ANTICS

There is no limit to the fantasies of the lunatic right!

Ted Turner's Cable News Network (CNN), which has a pending \$ 7.5 billion merger with Time Warner Incorporated, is self-confessedly a rightist set-up. When recently, it arrived at an agreement with Doordarshan, whereby, the CNN was allowed to exploit Doordarshan's vast national network for 20 hours and more out of 24, all the Opposition Parties of the country protested at this comprador sell-out by the Congress. At the very inauguration of the CNN - DD joint venture, the map of India was shown as distorted by the pro-Pakistani American lobby, and excuses were offered about CNN's "inexperience."

CNN is one of the most reactionary organizations imaginable. It has consistently projected the American viewpoint in world affairs, which has been notoriously hidebound, and unashamedly conservative.

However, Rupert Murdoch, another Media Moghul, whose empire includes the London *Times*, the New York *Post* and several satellite distribution systems in Europe and Asia, including Star T.V., has come out with a crazy characterisation.

"News Corp. Ltd. Chairman Rupert Murdoch said on Thursday that his global news project will supplant the 24 hour Cable News Network (CNN) in the United States by exploiting *public distaste for the so-called 'liberal media elite.'*

"Twenty percent of the American people say they're liberal, 35 percent say they're moderate and 40 percent conservative. That's how they describe themselves," he said, adding that conservatives were few among US journalists.

"Mr. Murdoch described the likely political outlook of his future television channel as "middle-of-the-road" rather than "conservative". (*Times of India*, 10.2.96)

When Murdoch says that CNN is liberal, and his projected News Channel will support something to the right of CNN, what is he aiming at?

Obviously, he is going to project the viewpoint of the various Militia Outfits, which were solidly behind the Oklahoma terrorists and also the outlook of the Christian Coalition, which is considered to be "moderate", by the Ku Klux Klan and other extreme fascists.

In short, Murdoch will support the arch-conservative media lobby in the United States.

Well, he is welcome to do what he likes with his billions. Who can stop him?

All that we are concerned with, is that he should not expect us to accept his lunatic right-wing line; and that he should not make the CNN appear to be less aggressively rightist, that is, "liberal" by contrast.

Let us look at it from the American neo-colonial viewpoint. If America wishes to sustain its domination over the world; if America wants to perpetrate all the terrible injustices upon the Third World, which we described in *Comprador Linguistics* infra; if America wishes to retain its premiere position as arms supplier to the world; if America desires to continue to dominate the United Nations and

other forums, like G-7, NATO, OECD, NAFTA, etc., how is it possible for it to pursue such blood-thirsty, unjust and evil aims without pursuing and projecting extreme right-wing ideologies?

Any blue-blooded true conservative is free to think that anyone who is a little less conservative is a "liberal" or a "moderate" or "middle roader" but, it is like the pot calling the kettle black.

Objectively, all of them are dirty and filthy black. It is not possible to defend the status quo with the help of any "liberalism" and "moderation". How can you defend a world order in which the richest 20% of the nations get 60 times more than the poorest 20%? (*UNDP*, 1991, p. 1)

To defend an unjust world order, you have to project and support reactionary ideologies.

So, why should America not do so? Why are we, of the Third World being asked to live with liberal illusions?

Let Mr. Rupert Murdoch make merry with his media empire and let him pursue such policies as would make CNN's stance appear as liberal and moderate.

We are not interested in such *shenanigans* of the extreme right. Whether 20% of the Americans are liberal and 35% moderate and 40% conservative, as self-appraisals or otherwise, is of no concern to us. We are against the ideology of the ruling classes of America and we denounce the American domination of the world.

And we find Mr. Murdoch's political antics to be both cruel and comic.

### MANKIND'S ANALYSIS OF WORLD COMPRADORISM CONFIRMED

We had identified two recent Nobel laureates as treacherous comprador leaders, who had betrayed the international struggle of the oppressed for freedom.

Nelson Mandela, after 17 years in prison, came out a shattered man and completely caved in to the Anglo-Dutch masters of apartheid who had been practising their evil racist and fascist policies openly since 1948-50. (The Group Areas Act, 1950; the Population Registration Act, 1950; etc.) Mandela moved into formerly forbidden territory and settled down in a palatial home in a Whites-only area. His ministers including, Stalinist-Progressivists followed suit. Nothing else changed, and the poor Black African remained where he was, poor and discriminated against. Proof of our assertion has been provided by a Reuter despatch from Potgietersrus, an Afrikaner town in South Africa located 250 kms. north of Johannesburg;

"The supreme court on Wednesday dismissed the school's claim that it had a right to provide culturally separate education for Afrikaners - the descendants of Dutch, French and German settlers and ordered it to let black pupils in.

"It is the first case where white attempts to preserve the status-quo have been tested since 1994's all race elections ended half a century of institutionalised racial segregation.

"Many schools have changed, although others have not been challenged yet.

"Despite two years of black majority rule, educated middle-class blacks in Potgietersrus finally plucked up the courage to challenge decades of white privilege, in a country where educational spending per white child was 10 times that of blacks." (*Indian Express*, 24.2.96)

It is shameful, that after two years of Mandela rule, that Black children in South Africa are 'excluded from schools run' with their money and further that ten times the amount spent on Black children should continue to be lavished on White children.

Nelson Mandela should not only be forced to give up his Nobel Prize but the common people of South Africa should oust him from power.



Let us now turn to the second betrayal.

At the end of the elections, held in the tiny enclaves and with limited powers granted to the Palestinian Arabs, Arafat held show elections and was elected President of a non-existent state as proclaimed by himself and his cohorts.

He too was a broken man, broken not in jail like Mandela, but broken nevertheless after the 1967 war. Arafat had no fight left in him. A Norwegian couple manoeuvred to provide this miserable Arab comprador with an excuse to surrender.

It is noteworthy that in both the Great Surrenders, America had brokered the deals.

Now, Arafat has been soundly slapped by Israel's Shimon Peres, the real weilder of the only power that counts in the Middle East, that is military power.

"Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres yesterday told newspapers he rejected the establishment of a Palestinian state.

"There's no such thing as a Palestinian state on the agenda and I reject it," *Maariv* quoted Mr. Peres as saying on Thursday. "We've said more than once we prefer a solution that involves a confederation with Jordan." (*Times of India*, 25.2.96)

Palestine was originally a mini-state with a territorial extent of about 40,000 km<sup>2</sup>. The UN partitioned it in 1948, to give Israel 55 per cent of the area. Thus, the Arabs were left with just about 18,000 km<sup>2</sup>. After several wars, by 1967 Israel had linked up the areas allotted to it and reduced the Arab lands to merely two little enclaves, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank. This would probably be less than 5,000 km<sup>2</sup>. Even these two tiny enclaves are not to be made into a Palestinian state. Peres and his masters, the US armament industry, will not permit any state entity with which Palestinians could identify themselves to come into being. They prefer Jordan to absorb the areas from which Israeli troops are to be finally withdrawn.

And Arafat? This miserable comprador is to be given the powers of a chief of a Municipal Corporation, and allowed to strut about on the world stage, with his fancy dress.

This is what happens to *bicholias* and *dalals*, who go against the aspirations of their peoples and surrender to the neo-colonial powers led by the USA. Only infamy and humiliation awaits them. Within a few years, South African children and Palestinian youth will be asking each other, who was this Mandela? Where is this Arafat?

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# NAUKARSHAHI, THE RUINATION OF ALL NORMS

THE LADY FROM SHANGHAI REPROJECTED  
MULAYAM AND MUZAFFARNAGAR HORROR

## THE LADY FROM SHANGHAI REPROJECTED

On 23rd of December 1995, more than 900 people, most of them school children lost their lives in a man-made fire, at Dabwali in Haryana. A devastating fire engulfed a Rs. 20 lakh *pandal*, which had highly inflammable nylon roof, with exposed wires and overloaded connections that were designed to cause a fuse blowout. There were no safety measures in place, there were no fire exits, the contractor who provided the arrangements at the prize-giving function, had brought any kind of material and taken all sorts of temporary connections, without any regard for the safety of the little kids and their fond parents.

I have no details of the bio-data of the contractor Kewal Kishan Dhamija, who has admitted that the Rajiv Marriage Hall, which was the venue of the function was built without any clearance from the Municipal Council. We are supposed to sympathise with this upper caste scoundrel, who lost his wife, niece and nephew in the tragedy and his son Rajiv, after whom the illegal construction was named, is supposed to have been missing. This man K. K. Dhamija should be taken to a public square in Dabwali and burnt in the same manner as the other 900 victims of the 23rd Dec. tragedy.

He built the hall without permission. He installed temporary generators and overloaded them in reckless disregard of elementary rules of safety. He had naked wires running all over the place inviting short-circuit

## SATNAMIBAI ZINDABAD !

Ultimately, Crime caught up with H.K.L. Bhagat, the goggled *goonda* of the Delhi Congress, who was a dynastic favourite of the Nehru-Gandhis. Ultimately, Satnamibai identified him as the killer of her husband. Of course, Bhagat is pretending to be undergoing a hundred medical tests and has been mostly in hospital rather than in the jail cell, which he so richly deserves.

But the anti-Sikh riots of 1984 provide an object lesson of the dilatoriness of our investigative and legal procedures. The following commissions of inquiry investigated the affair :

1. A departmental inquiry into the Mangolpuri massacre by a Deputy Commissioner of Police was abandoned in three weeks.
2. An inquiry committee headed by Additional Commissioner of Police Ved Marwah was wound up by the Delhi High Court. Its report was not published.
3. Ranganath Mishra Commission reported in August 1986. Report tabled in Parliament in Feb. 1987, recommended further investigation.
4. Ahuja Committee took six months to conclude that 2,733 Sikhs were killed.
5. Lata Mittal reported in 1990 on the role of the police that 40 policemen should be dismissed and 32 should be further investigated.
6. A Jain-Banerjee Committee was stymied by legal wrangles over terms of reference.
7. Potti-Rosha Committee resigned in Sept. 1990 on grounds of lack of cooperation from the then Congress administration of Delhi.
8. A Jain-Agarwal Committee recommended 40 cases for action of which 29 were registered. This must have happened between Sept. 1990 and Dec. 1993.
9. On Dec. 1993 Delhi Chief Minister Madan Lal Khurana set up a non-governmental committee to suggest expeditious course of action. This committee reported in Jan. 1994.
10. Ultimately, Kishan Lal Bhagat was remanded to judicial custody by the additional sessions judge on 24th Jan. 1996.

function, therefore the contractor is bound to have been an upper caste scoundrel.

I think it is high time that a national debate is initiated on the wrong-doings, historic and current, of our upper-castes. They have criminalised our culture. Look at the recent expose of the police who have visited unspeakable horrors upon the poor prostitutes, whose nipples they connected to electric shock imparting devices, whose genitalia they invaded with *lathis* and chilli powder (*Sex Workers Narrate Harrowing Tales of Atrocities Inflicted by Guardians of Law, Indian Express, 9.2.96*).

The upper castes of India have criminalised Indian culture. They have torched the huts of lower castes, they have gang-raped Bhanwari for her "crime" of preventing a child marriage, they have committed unspeakable horrors upon our people.

It may be noted that K. K. Dhamija lost his near and dear ones, and of the nine hundred murders that he committed there were many who were *dwijas*. That is like the famous story about the sharks that Orson Welles relate in the film *The Lady from Shanghai*. Welles says that the sharks in their rush to devour the trail of refuse that lies in the wake of a ship accidentally injure each other. The taste and aroma of the trickle of blood sends them into tumultuous frenzy, they attack and snipe at each other and ultimately, in the *melée* that follows they even bite their own tails!

At Dabwali, K. K. Dhamija recreated the scene from *The Lady from Shanghai*.

The upper castes' total number does not exceed 3 to 5 per cent of the Indian population. Let us fix a quota of 1 per cent of jobs for them for the next 50 years. The sooner India is handed over to the *dalits* and *pidits* and the lower castes and the backward castes, and the scheduled castes & tribes, the sooner India will recover from its present state of torpor and degeneration.

The Dabwali horror of 23rd Dec. 1995, reminds us forcefully that as a national culture we have fallen to the absolute *nadir*, a point of no return has been reached.

Long Live *vishesa avasar* or a Policy of Special Opportunity for the Socially and Economically Handicapped which Lohia formulated !

Let a National Commission on Upper Caste Crimes be appointed



immediately and let the Commission be required to submit monthly reports on each state and sub-region of India.

Let the monthly reports on upper caste crimes be instantly acted upon month after month without any let up.

### MULAYAM AND MUZAFFARNAGAR HORROR

It is with great sorrow in my heart, that I am being compelled to take notice of the horrible happenings on October 2nd 1994, during police repression of the agitations at Muzaffarnagar in Uttarakhnad.

The Allahabad High Court has given a searing judgement awarding compensation to the victims.

The Court had awarded compensation to the tune of Rs. 10 lakhs each to 24 people, who were murdered by the police.

"Equating rape with death, the Court has also awarded an equal amount to seven rape victims.

"The High Court had also awarded Rs. 5 lakh each to 17 women whose modesty had been outraged and awarded Rs. 2.5 lakh each to persons who suffered permanent disability due to the brutality of police.

"Taking stock of the CBI report, the judgement said that 398 persons detained in far off jails and denied access to the nearest courts to secure bail would be compensated with Rs. 50,000 each.

"The judgement envisaged that Kumaon with an official population of 2,943,199 would receive an amount of Rs. 17,65,91,940, while Garhwal with a population of 2,982,947 would get Rs. 17,99,76,620 over a period of five years." (*Indian Express*, 12.2.96)

Its a terrible judgement. It is an indictment, that is so heart-rending that I am truly aghast. Mulayam knows and has known for many years that the *naukarshahs* are the worst criminals in our society. They invariably involve Ministers in their cover-up campaigns, which necessarily follow each episode of dirty deeds. The present Constitution protects and promotes the interests of the Indian bureaucracy. Thousands upon thousands of atrocities are being committed, all over the country, everyday by the Indian

*naukarshahi*. In fact, since 1947 a relentless Civil War has been raging between the Indian people and the constitutionally protected *naukarshahs* of the Dominion Status Constitution that is currently in force.

Mulayam himself has read the writing on the wall and apologised for the happenings. (See *Mulayam Apologises for Massacre*, *Indian Express*, 11.2.96).

But, clearly this is not enough. It may be that Mulayam himself did not murder and rape, but he protected and defended the killers and the rapers. That is equivalent to murdering and raping personally. Mayawati was also involved in the cover-up, as recorded by the Judges of the Allahabad High Court. (See '*Mayawati's Stand in Uttarakhnad Firing Reminds of Nuremberg Trial*', *Times of India*, 12.2.96)

I am not interested in what Mayawati should do, in retribution, for I have a very low opinion of the intelligence of this woman, who willingly became a tool in the hands of the BJP.

But, Mulayam should do much more. First of all, he should visit the families of each of the twenty four, who were killed in the brutal police firing and beg their forgiveness.

Secondly, he should do the same with the seven rape victims and the seventeen molestation victims.

Thirdly, he should personally, out of his own pocket, pay at least a lakh of rupees to each of these 48 families (24 killed, 7 raped and 17 molested).

I am sure the victims families will reject the money offered, but in any case Mulayam must pay out of his pocket and if part or whole of Rs. 48 lakh is returned or not encashed by the victims of the family is concerned the same should go to a trust that will help the people of Kumaon and Garhwal. This is the least that he can do.

I think it will be beyond the resources of poor Mulayam to do anything for the "398 persons detained in far-off jails and denied access to the nearest courts to secure bail." The consequences of a major crime are such in our populous India, that it is impossible for any individual to bear the full burden of fair compensation.

But, let Mulayam begin with the 48 major victims.

### APPEAL FOR ARTICLES

Well-researched and well-thought-out contributions are invited from concerned intellectuals, especially nationalists, socialists, leftists, rationalists and radical thinkers of all hues.

For the time being, contributions in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Gujarati, Oriya, Punjabi, Assamese and English, upto 2000 words (exceptionally 5000 or more) will be accepted. Eventually, contributions in all Indian languages will be welcomed. We are setting up

translation bureaus in all languages. Readers are invited to join these bureaus and help *Mankind*.

Short literary contributions, satirical or otherwise, and feullitons are also invited (including cartoons and graphics).

Readers are also invited to contribute brief discussion notes in the "Adda at Nukkad" Section of *Mankind*, which will begin to appear from issue no. 2 : November 1995.



# ... AT THE SERVICE OF THE REVOLUTION ... ?

Kenneth Coutts-Smith

'The Fact is that above art and poetry also, whether one likes it or not, there beats a flag — in turn red and black.' These words by Andre Breton which appear in a text entitled *The Colours of Freedom* seem to me to illuminate an essential problem, one that becomes evident whenever one tries to evaluate or to grasp the relationship between the arts and revolution. It emphasises two distinct threads of revolutionary thought: the Socialist and the Anarchist, the ideological and the libertarian, threads that are inevitably echoed in the imagery of certain paintings and sculpture. Without separating and distinguishing these threads, we are perhaps a little hard-pressed to decide what in fact constitutes the 'art of the revolution'. Naturally, we are decided that such an art subscribes to a radical point of view, is concerned with social change towards an egalitarian society, is 'left-wing', utopian and idealist. Yet we seem to be faced with such a confusion of platforms and programmes, a variety of intentions and attitudes. Where are the common denominators between David and William Blake, between Soviet Socialism, Dada, Folk art and Happenings, between William Morris and Millet, between Guttuso and Tatlin, between the Mexican muralists and the Bauhaus, between Surrealism, Suprematism and the Situationists ?

Before we try and answer this, let us attempt to define more clearly what we mean by 'revolutionary' art. Firstly it is obvious that we are not concerned simply with innovations or with radical changes in style and techniques, but rather with a basic political point of view.

Behind the revolutionary concepts of today, particularly as applied to the arts, there stand the serried shadows of De Sade, Strindberg, Nietzsche, Rimbaud and Lautremont, as there is also the *Gothick* novel 'All Horrid', and the fastidious and provocative dandyism of Baudelaire. The notion of the artist as bohemian, as rebel and outsider, as a revolutionary who does not support platforms but opposes all programmes, was an invention of the



Arthur Cravan was an amateur boxer and writer, publisher of the periodical *Maintenant*. He challenged the world heavy-weight champion Jack Johnson to a fight in Madrid, April 23, 1916. In Paris in 1914 Marcel Duchamp arranged for Arthur Cravan to give a lecture when the lecturer fired several pistol shots; he repeated this invitation in New York as a reprisal for the rejection of Fountain, the famous urinal, by the Society of Independent Artists in 1917. Duchamp was not disappointed — Cravan arrived dead drunk and began to undress. When Cravan was carried away by the police Duchamp commented that it had been a wonderful lecture.

Romantic period. Truth then was to be found not so much in man's reason but in the hidden yet pervading forces of nature; freedom was to be found not in order but in chaos, not in the logical but in the irrational.

For Delacroix the true revolutionary image was a white horse plunging on a deserted beach in a thunderstorm, a force of nature, a symbol of boundless power and passion, the identity revealed in the instincts. For Rousseau it was the 'noble' savage, conditioned by the new 'American' experience. Here art parallels the political ideals of the philosopher Proudhon, while that of David and the revolutionary Neoclassicists parallels those of the commissar Robespierre. Perhaps it was the tensions engendered between these two extremes that brought about what we might call the Beaux Arts tradition, an a-political but deeply humanist concern with the nature of reality, with the process of sense-experience. For the modern tradition from Barbizon to Cubism was finally concerned with absolute realism, unlike revolutionary art which must by definition be utopian in nature.

Cubism was an 'event', paralleling the atonal music of Schoenberg and new experiments in literature, but about the same time both Einstein's *Theory of Relativity* and Planck's *Quantum Theory* were published; existential and phenomenological ideas in philosophy came to the fore, the physical surroundings of our society were transformed by technological innovations, by radio, sound-recording, aviation the motor-car, conveyor-belt assembly lines and mass production. The basic revolution was the technological one, the mutating environment, a process that indeed we are still engaged in.

Cubism itself was never revolutionary in the political sense, neither strictly speaking was Futurism, for all its anti-bourgeois fulminations. Both, however, gave birth to movements that manifestly were: Cubism to Constructivism, Suprematism, De Stijl, and eventually the Bauhaus — Futurism to Dada, Surrealism, Situationism, Happenings and the Lettrists.

'Cubism', Breton has written, 'was a school of painting, Futurism a political movement: Dada is a state of mind. To set one against the other shows ignorance or bad faith. Free-thinking in religious matters does not resemble a church. Dada is artistic free-thinking. As long as they have prayers said in the schools under the form of explanations of texts, and trips through museums, we will cry out against despotism and try to disturb the ceremony.'



Dada devotes itself to nothing, neither to love nor to work. It is inadmissible for a man to leave a trace of his passage on the earth. As Dada only recognises instinct, it condemns explanation *a priori*. According to it we can keep no control over ourselves. There is no longer a question of these dogmas — morals and taste.'

If Dada was a 'state of mind' though, it is important to recognise that it was one conditioned by the social and historical situation in which it existed; that, indeed, it was these very conditions that gave it birth. Breton remarks that Futurism was a political movement, and so it was in its later stages at least. Mussolini's personal involvement with the Futurist painters, and his friendship with their leading theoretician Marinetti, coloured the artistic movement and led it into Fascism. Dada, though was never a coherent 'movement' in the Futurist sense, a thing it could never have been since its basic iconoclasm and irreverence prevented any sort of programme or 'ideology' developing, yet it had, nevertheless, a 'specific political' nature.

'The beginnings of Dada,' Tzara has stated, 'were not the beginnings of art, but of disgust'. At the same time Janco remarked that 'We have lost the hope that art would one day achieve a just place in our society. We were beside ourselves with rage and grief at the suffering and humiliation of mankind'. Hans Arp, an Alsatian, experienced the added burden of divided loyalties, and as a German national living in Paris during war-time was more or less forced to emigrate to Switzerland. 'Revolted by the butchery of the 1914 World War,' he wrote, 'we in Zurich devoted ourselves to the arts.'

While the guns rumbled in the distance, we sang, painted, made collages and wrote poems with all our might. We were seeking an art, based on fundamentals, to cure the madness of the age, and a new order of things that would restore the balance between heaven and hell. We had a dim premonition that power-mad gangsters would one day use art itself as a way of deadening men's minds.'

It was not merely to the violence, to the horror and the stupidity of the war that these artists were reacting, since the 1914 war confirmed for them the total bankruptcy of 19th century bourgeois society. Which society, as William S. Rubin in his text *Dada, Surrealism and their Heritage* remarks, '... might, of course, simply destroy itself in carnage, but its end could be hastened, the Dadaists felt, by subverting what remained of its premises.' With paradoxes embedded at the roots of social values — what for instance was regarded as criminal behaviour in peace-time became patriotism and duty in war-time — the logic of society and the reason of the bourgeois was seen as being manifestly illogical and unreasonable. The Dadaists, quite logically, came to hold the apparently irrational notion that the completely gratuitous and meaningless act was the most reasonable. Rubin comments, '... when Breton described "the most simple surrealist act as going down into the street .... and shooting at the crowd" he was recalling the scandalous *gestes* of two Dada heroes, Arthur Cravan, who punctuated a lecture at the *Salle des Societies Savantes* with random pistol shots, and Jacques Vache, who attended the premiere of Apollinaire's *Mamelles de Tiresias* dressed as an

English officer and disrupted the intermission by threatening to 'shoot up' the audience. Vache's was a Dadaist provocation par excellence, as it implicitly criticised the central adventure in which the world was then engaged: if it was realism to shoot a human being because he wore a German uniform, it would be superrealism to apply the principle more broadly.'

During the summer of 1916, Leon Trotsky remarked that, 'One result of this war is that it has reduced art to bankruptcy.' If by that he meant, which one suspects that he didn't, not only 'bourgeois' art, but also the emergent formal abstraction, the Dadaists would have agreed with him, for, as Tzara suggested, the aim was to 'humiliate art', to place it in a 'subordinate place in the supreme movement measured only in terms of life. In a sense the moral and existential experience was superior to the merely aesthetic which suggested the false values of a collapsing society. The intention of Dada, according to Hugo Ball, was '... a gladiatorial gesture... a public execution of false morality.'

As far as a direct political commitment, the German situation was more specifically involved than that of the original Zurich one, or for that matter the precursing New York scene dominated by Duchamp and Picabia. Berlin in 1918 was absolutely different in character to any other city where Dada took hold: the pistol shots were real and serious. Elsewhere, the Dada programme attacked the established order of bourgeois society on an intellectual plane, as it were — its programme was schematic and utopian rather than the actuality of conflict. In Berlin, at the close of the war, there was a genuine and full-blown, if somewhat short-lived, revolution. Together with street-fighting and soldiers' and workers' councils, factory soviets and syndicalist communes were convened under the Communist, Anarchist and *Spartakist* banners, and all the left-wing intelligensia threw themselves into fervent activity: Dada especially, for here at last their special talents for subversion could find concrete goals, their activity be harnessed to the 'dawning' new society.

If Berlin provided the essentially fruitful situation of *potential* revolution, possibly the only platform upon which the dream of art and the brutal actuality of political action can meet with mutual profit, Moscow allowed a brief platform upon which the utopian was tentatively attempted. For a few, but tragically so few, years the Constructivists and Suprematists were given their head. Possibly never before, certainly never since, the artists of the *avant-garde* were granted the full and unconditional support of the State. The public and pragmatic revolution of society and the private and visionary revolution of the individual were for a short time running in phase. Motives were in an astonishing tandem, the subjective and the objective pointed temporarily towards a common dream.

With the recognition of the supremacy of the machine (a central point incidentally in the theory of Dada), the Russians followed later by De Stijl and the Bauhaus, dropped all romantic connotations and allusions from their work. Art was to be no longer a symbol for the possible, but was to physically condition the actual, to, by means of its integration with architecture and design, directly manipulate the environment.

We all know that this idealistic concept of Russian Constructivism, the direct participatory role of revolutionary art,



*Art Both as Propaganda and as Assent* Raul Martinez  
Repetitions de Marti 1967 Oil on canvas 58" x 50"  
Ewan Phillips Gallery



soon fell a victim of consensus propaganda. 'Formalism' became, and for that matter remains, a dirty word in Soviet aesthetics. It would seem that 'revolutionary' art must be essentially messianic in nature creating a situation that is paradoxical and self-defeating. Revolution itself as far as art is concerned, the aspiration of change, appears to obey the laws of diminishing returns. De Stijl and the Bauhaus, for instance, produced an art that was essentially Socialist in nature, its aesthetic was the opposite of that of an elitist attitude, catering for a minority and bourgeois market of *amateurs* and collectors. But what of today's post-Bauhaus situation, (for the contemporary mainstream is derived at second-remove via American from Weimar) ? *The Art of the Real* (The exhibition of American art 1948-68 seen at the Tate Gallery in May) has surely abandoned any of the social aspirations central to the Bauhaus and retained only its techniques. Colour, for instance, instead of being the servant of something else, has now become transmuted into the essential subject matter, form extended into a simple phenomenological experience.

The new formalism, as E.C. Goossens points out in the catalogue preface of *The Art of the Real*, '... makes

no direct appeal nor is it involved in uplift. Indeed it seems to have no desire at all to justify itself, but instead offers itself for whatever its uniqueness is worth — in the form of the simple, irreducible, irrefutable object'. Yet this would clearly be seen in pure aesthetic terms like a precious artefact or a jewel made for minority consumption and private delectation.

Can we regard the descendants of the Bauhaus, the heirs of a tradition that represented the only effective revolutionary art of our time, one combining aesthetic value with idealistic intent, as having turned full circle and become the new art of the bourgeois ? If this is true, then what about the obverse, the tradition of post-Dada, Happenings, 'events' and participation on art ? If our analogous red flag only serves to identify direct propaganda art, didactic and poster-art (of which, incidentally, that of the highest quality today is the contemporary Cuban), is it possible to say that the 'underground' situation, clearly one deployed under the black flag of individual protest, is the area where we should discover the 'revolutionary' art of today ? It would seem likely. Certainly the so-called Student Revolt and the non-authoritarian New Left would appear to stand for a revolutionary imperative, albeit a somewhat emotional and muddled one. The posters of Che that are found in every student pad is more than mere pop art, gesturing towards, a cultural acceptance in a specific social group — they would seem to be true icons of our time !

If we state that the 'socialist' art of today marches under the banner of

revolutionary individualism, we have a contradiction in terms if there ever was one. Perhaps it may be the peculiar nature of art, the special quality of its role in today's post-Capitalist and Corporate society, that pre-supposes the artist's activity, that does not permit him to be a revolutionary, yet conditions him towards becoming a rebel.



*Hero as Ikon* Sam Walsh Che Guevara Oil on board 36" x 36"  
Grosvenor Gallery

#### ACTIVISTS TAKE NOTE

*Mankind* invites militants, working in both organised and unorganised sectors, to utilise the columns of the Journal to publicise their programmatic and agitational presentations.



# COMPRADOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Vinayak Purohit

## INTRODUCTION

### THREE FUNDAMENTAL BIASES OF THE INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

### EXPENDITURE ON S & T FROM 1921 TO 1997

### COMPRADOR AMBIENCE

### SATYEN BOSE, J. C. BOSE AND C. V. RAMAN

### SAHA AND BHABHA

### SWAMINATHAN, KHURANA AND CHANDRA

### LET US BEGIN AGAIN

### CONCLUSION

## INTRODUCTION

It was in the early '80s that I accidentally came to be associated with the Science and Technology establishment of our country.

It came about thus.

I had been a Visiting Professor at the Department of Sociology, Punjab University, Chandigarh, and my tenure there was coming to an end, when I received an invitation from the famous danseuse Sonal Mansingh to participate in a Seminar on Classical Dance in Delhi, at the India International Centre. I presented a paper on "Bharata's Natyashastra, Feudal Society and Indian Dance." The Director of National Institute of Science and Technology and Development Studies (NISTADS), one A. Rahman, happened to be present in the audience and wrote me a warm letter of appreciation, inviting me to join NISTADS, which was a part of the CSIR complex, as a Visiting Scientist. I attended several scientific seminars and conferences, in the course of my visiting scientist-ship at NISTADS, and I remember in particular, having written a paper on the Neo-Colonial American Assault upon our Environment and National Forest Policy, for a seminar in Hyderabad, which received some attention and praise from scientific circles

in the country. (I believe my paper was summarised and highlighted by Dr. Iqbal Ahmed in an issue of the *Economic and Political Weekly*, of those

### J. NEHRU BLIGHTED AND POISONED. EVERYTHING HE TOUCHED

Previously, in the columns of *Mankind* we have touched upon the unnecessary and compradorist devaluation of the rupee that J. Nehru had carried out at British behest in 1949; the manner in which he frittered away our Sterling Balances of 4.7 billion US dollars; the shelter and prestige that he provided to odd ICS rascals, like G.S. Bajpai, C. Deshmukh, and to other old bureaucratic vermin like, John Mathai, K.M. Panikkar, Gopalswami Aiyangar, V.T. Krishnamachari, and so on; the shameful surrender of our national riparian rights under the Indus Water Treaty of 1960; the quiet way in which he allowed our monopoly houses to amass fortunes and make hundreds of crores of rupees of "mixed economy" profits per year; the disgustingly obsequious manner in which he allowed British imperialist domination of India to continue under the disguise of the Commonwealth; the dastardly policy he adopted of continuing the use of English as national language; and so on. *He poisoned every facet of our national life.*

days. Dr. Ahmed was connected with the Indian Administrative Institute in Hyderabad and I had read my paper there.)

I met lots of scientists and research workers in the field of R & D, in those days, and gradually, realised that there was very little sincere research going on anywhere in the country, and that most of the

scientists had become thoroughly bureaucratized and were engaged endlessly in petty intrigues and in cornering of grants by all sorts of dubious stratagems.

Rahman turned out to be a broken-reed and a crypto-progressivist (Interested readers may refer to our *Fancy Jetset Lefties* in our last number, No. 4/5, Jan-Feb. 1996, for an analysis of the upper caste predilections in favour of *touchability* in India and the peculiar closeness of our *naukarshahs* with Progressivist-Communist-Communists.) But, I am running ahead of my story.

In the meantime, Dr. M.G.K. Menon, then Secretary to the Scientific Advisory Committee to the Cabinet (SACC), had in a confidential letter to NISTADS, invited the latter to submit an in-depth study of "Twenty Five Years of SPR."

SPR was the so-called Scientific Policy Resolution of 1958, and 1983 was its Silver Jubilee Year. Jawaharlal Nehru had got our Lok Sabha to pass a small single page silly resolution in 1958, whose main object was to place the science cadre of our bureaucracy more or less on par with the rest of the civilian establishment. In fact, this resolution led to a thorough bureaucratisation of our scientific cadre.

*J. Nehru blighted and poisoned everything he touched.*

Previously, in the columns of *Mankind* we have touched upon the unnecessary and compradorist devaluation of the rupee that J. Nehru had carried out at British behest in 1949; the manner in which he frittered away our Sterling Balances of 4.7 billion US dollars; the shelter and prestige that he provided to odd ICS rascals, like G.S. Bajpai, C. Deshmukh, and to other odd bureaucratic vermin like, John Mathai, K.M. Panikkar, Gopalswami Aiyangar, V.T. Krishnamachari, and so on; the shameful surrender of our national riparian rights under the Indus Water Treaty of 1960; the quiet way in which he allowed our monopoly houses to amass fortunes and make hundreds of crores of rupees of "mixed economy" profits per year; the disgustingly obsequious manner in which he allowed British imperialist domination of India to continue under the disguise of the Commonwealth; the dastardly policy he adopted of continuing the use of English as national language; and so on. *He poisoned every facet of our national life.* His compradorism has been vigorously supported by our *naukarshahs*, who were disloyal to the

(Contd. on page 36)



TABLE I : Expenditure on Research and Development : 1948-49 to 1987-88

Year	Rs. crores				% of total R & D expenditure			Total R & D expenditure as % of GDP at market prices
	Central Government	State Government	Private Sector	Total	Central Government	State Government	Private Sector	
1948-49	1.10	NA	NA	1.10	100	—	—	NA
1950-51	4.68	NA	NA	4.68	100	—	—	0.05
1955-56	12.14	NA	NA	12.14	100	—	—	0.12
1958-59	27.66	1.00	0.15	28.81	96.0	3.5	0.5	0.21
1965-66	79.12	3.51	2.43	85.06	93.0	4.1	2.9	0.33
1968-69	109.60	11.99	9.85	131.44	83.4	9.1	7.5	0.36
1969-70	121.26	12.22	12.81	146.29	82.9	8.3	8.8	0.36
1970-71	146.20	12.58	14.59	173.37	84.3	7.3	8.4	0.40
1971-72	159.07	9.53	16.18	184.78	86.1	5.2	8.8	0.40
1972-73	189.05	22.11	22.84	234.05	80.8	9.4	9.8	0.46
1973-74	199.05	24.13	30.35	253.53	78.5	9.5	12.0	0.41
1974-75	258.92	28.65	36.46	324.03	79.9	8.8	11.3	0.44
1975-76	323.70	31.94	42.35	397.99	81.3	8.0	10.6	0.51
1976-77	310.49	32.05	48.42	390.96	79.4	8.2	12.4	0.46
1977-78	355.53	36.50	58.20	450.23	79.0	8.1	12.9	0.47
1978-79	431.81	51.01	75.87	558.69	77.3	9.1	13.6	0.54
1979-80	523.43	58.76	92.14	674.33	77.6	8.7	13.7	0.59
1980-81	617.22	75.73	120.69	813.64	75.9	9.3	14.8	0.60
1981-82	765.15	91.30	147.00	1003.45	76.3	9.1	14.6	0.63
1982-83	936.57	121.86	196.98	1254.96	74.6	9.7	15.7	0.71
1983-84	1,082.28	150.90	207.93	1441.01	75.1	10.5	14.4	0.70
1984-85	1,510.77	168.77	233.19	1912.73	79.0	8.8	12.2	0.83
1985-86	1,752.04	219.93	251.94	2223.91	78.8	9.9	11.3	0.85
1986-87	2,289.25	258.21	318.11	2865.57	79.9	9.0	11.1	0.98
1987-88	2,632.63	289.19	381.73	3303.55	79.7	8.7	11.6	1.00

Source of Table - CMIE, Basic Statistics Relating to the Indian Economy, Vol 1 : All India, August 1990, Table 11.4.

#### Original Notes by CMIE for Table I

1. The comparative figures for other countries were USA : 2.8% of GDP in 1984; USSR : 4.7% of GDP in 1983; Japan : 2.6% of GDP in 1983.

2. Almost the entire burden of R & D effort in India is shouldered by the Central government. State governments do not much care about science. Much the same is true of most private sector corporations.

3. The prime cause of India's poor performance in respect of R & D is not the paucity of resources devoted to it, but

- the suppression of the available scientific talent by the bureaucratic machinery and the so-called senior scientists;
- rampant favouritism and corruption in the selection, appointment and promotion of scientists; and
- the failure to evolve a well-thought-out comprehensive plan for R & D work linked to the basic national goals.

4. Too much of our limited manpower and financial resources are devoted to glamorous areas of R & D which have little relation to the basic task of raising growth rate of production and improving productivity and the quality of life.

#### Further Notes by Mankind for Table I :

Amongst the prime causes for India's poor performance in respect of science and technology, the CMIE has omitted to mention :

- the imposition of English language;
- the clerical and elitist biases;
- the failure to remove the colonialist and compradorist aims and objects of education and research; and
- the failure to direct the entire scientific effort of the country in the interests of its people particularly in the interests of the vast numbers of artisans and workers in small-scale industrial establishments, who are faced with the day to day task of upgradation of technology.



TABLE II : Progress of S &amp; T Expenditure in Different Plan Periods

(Rs. in Crores)

Five Year Plan Period	Plan	Non-Plan	Total
First Plan (1951-56)	14	6	20
Second Plan (1956-61)	33	34	67
Third Plan (1961-66)	71	73	144
Plan Holiday (1966-69)	47	83	130
Fourth Plan (1969-74)	142	231	373
Fifth Plan (1974-79)	693	688	1,381
Annual Plan (1979-80)	208	222	430
Sixth Plan (1980-85)	2,016	1,652	3,668
Seventh Plan (1985-90)	5,087	3,158	8,245
Annual Plan (1990-91 and 91-92)	-	-	-
Eighth Plan (1992-97)	4,119	-	-
1. Dept. of Science and Technology	640		
2. Dept. of Scientific & Industrial Research	655	(CSIR : 585 : DSIR [S & T] 52; and DSIR [I & M] 18)	
3. Dept. of Biotechnology	265	(S & T : 260; I & M : 5)	
4. Dept. of Ocean Development	130	(S & T : 115; I & M : 15)	
5. Dept. of Space	1,804		
6. Dept. of Atomic Energy (R&D)	600		
7. Forensic Science and Police Wireless	25		

Sources : Upto Seventh Plan, *Eighth Five Year Plan Document*, Vol. II, Annexure 18.1 For Eighth Plan, same source Annexure 18.6

#### Further Notes by Mankind for Table II :

A study of the financial aspects of the Indian S & T effort for the 75 years 1921 to the present (Tables I & II) leads to the following conclusions:

1. In the earlier Plans, Department of Atomic Energy used to absorb the bulk of R & D expenditure, e.g., 27 crores out of a total of 72 crores in the Second Plan or 38%, and 35 crores out of a total of 130 crores in the Third Plan or 27% (*Third Five Year Plan Document*, p. 619). Similarly, DAE absorbed 130 crores out of 374 crores or 35% in the Fourth Plan and 236 crores out of 857 crores or 28% in the Fifth Plan (*Draft Fifth Five Year Plan*, Vol. II, p. 224).

In more recent period, the space programme (which is a euphemism for missile research) has taken the place of atomic energy and has begun to absorb the bulk of the R & D allocations.

2. We can also observe that from the First to the Seventh Plan there was a continuous rise in R & D expenditure. However, with the Eighth Plan the allocations have been cut down, in line with the directives of the neo-colonial powers who want to cripple India's infrastructural development.

3. Britain gave up its direct colonial rule in 1947 over India, leaving India in an extremely backward industrial and S & T condition. The expenditure on S & T was less than a crore of rupees in the middle of the 20th Century for a vast country like colonial India.

4. From less than one crore of rupees a year the expenditure has reached the level of 1,649 crores per annum (1985-90). Still more recently, for the period 1992-97, there has been a substantial decline in the planned outlay on centrally funded programmes, which represent about 80% of the overall

national effort, to around 800 crores per annum. Thus, in the last five years there has been a cut of about 40 to 50 per cent, even if we assume a fairly high level of contribution from the local State and private sources.

5. During the earlier neo-colonial period of 1951-79, atomic energy used to absorb anything from 27 to 38 per cent of the total public sector allocation. Today, space research absorbs 44 per cent of the total S & T budget.

Both, nuclear research and missile technology research are aspects of the development of our defence capabilities. Both programmes have been successful. India exploded its "peaceful" atomic device in 1974, and has successfully tested its missile delivery systems - Prithvi, and possibly Agni, over the last few years. The parallels with Russia and its Stalinist system come immediately to mind. However, rotten the socio-economic conditions may be, it seems that well-focussed S & T allocations for development of defence capabilities do produce results. Russia has an immense arsenal of fission and fusion bombs, as well as, possibly the most advanced mix of satellite and missile technologies, in the entire world, not excluding even USA. Stalinist bureaucratic horrors did not inhibit such a spectacular advance.

Similarly, the horror of comprador Congress rule and extremely corrupt bureaucratism in India, whilst spanning the most wretched nation on earth, has yet not prevented some achievements in the areas of nuclear and space research.

Man seems to be a peculiar animal. He may be deprived of almost everything that is life-sustaining and civilisation-promoting, and yet man seems to thrive on a diet of atomic bombs and their missile delivery systems!

We will leave this issue for consideration at another time.



Table III : Estimated Stock of Scientific and Technical Personnel : 1950 to 1990

	Engineering		Medical		Agriculture		Science		Total
	Degree	Diploma	Degree	Licentiate	Post-graduate	Graduate	Post graduate	Graduate	
1950	21.6	31.5	18.0	33.0	1.0	6.9	16.0	60.0	188.0
1955	37.5	46.8	29.0	35.0	2.0	11.5	28.0	102.9	292.7
1960	62.2	75.0	41.6	34.0	3.7	20.2	47.7	165.6	450.0
1965	106.7	138.9	60.6	31.0	3.7	39.4	85.7	261.5	731.5
1970	185.4	244.4	97.8	27.0	13.5	47.2	139.2	420.0	1,174.5
1980 (Estimated)	221.4	329.4		167.6		96.5	217.5	750.3	1,782.7
Beginning of 1985 (Estimated)	372.6	564.2	268.2	3.7	161.6		350.3	1,138.3	2,858.9
1990 (Projection)	454.5	734.8	314.4	5.5	196.2		419.7	1,139.4	3,464.4

Source : Table from CMIE, *Basic Statistics Relating to the Indian Economy, Vol. 1 : All India*, August 1990, Table 11.1  
Data for 1985 and 1990 taken from *Seventh Five Year Plan : 1985 - 90*, and is not comparable with those for earlier years which are based on a CSIR compilation. The difference may be due to different definitions and coverage followed by the two agencies.

#### Original Notes by CMIE for Table III :

1. From a negligible beginning, there has been a rapid increase in the number of scientists and technical personnel over the last four decades.

2. Official spokesmen claim that India has the third largest pool of technical manpower in the world. This is just not true. According to data compiled by the UNESCO India stands fifth in absolute numbers after USSR (25.2 million), Japan (20.5 million), China (4.7 million) and U.S.A (3.4 million). And a truer comparative index is the number of scientific personnel per 1,000 of population. In terms of this index, we figure (2.63 per 1,000 of population), third from the bottom above only Ghana (2.55) and Kenya (0.82) among the 24 nations covered in the UNESCO data.

3. We have a double tragedy here. On the one hand, there is a mad rush to get a degree because generally a degree is regarded as a passport for a job. On the other hand, reflecting the poor growth of the economy, the rate at which the job opportunities are expanding is extremely slow. As a result, the problem of the educated unemployed becomes even more acute.

4. India's main problem in this area is not quantity but quality. While some first rate Indian scientists / technologists can compare well with the best in the world, technical competence of the majority of Indian scientists/ technologists should be rated rather very low. Causes are familiar : lack of diligence among most students, poor quality of teachers, lack of adequate laboratory equipment, etc. It is unfortunate that what the government is prepared to spend for events like Asiad Games in a single year, it would not spend on college laboratory equipment even during a Five Year Plan period.

5. Among other factors responsible for the lowering of standards of the quality of our graduates is an increasing admission of students who manage to secure high marks through a variety of dubious practices.

6. Finally, due to many reasons — some justifiable and some not justifiable — far too many of our brightest students tend to migrate abroad.

7. A considerable section of the scientific personnel is engaged in work which is neither scientific nor technical as clerks, salesmen, management cadre etc. This waste is most regrettable.

#### Further Notes by Mankind for Table III :

1. The latest comparative data of number of scientists and technicians per 1000 of population for 1988-92 is as follows :

South Korea : 2.3; Singapore : 1.8; Cuba 2.2; China 1.6; India : 0.3; Canada : 3.0; Japan : 7.0; France : 5.0; Sweden : 6.0; Switzerland : 4.0; Belarus : 4.0; Russian Fed.: 7.0; Bulgaria : 5.0; Norway : 5.0; Denmark : 5.0; (*UNDP Report, 1995, pp. 174, 175 and 196*)



nation from 1765 onwards (in Bengal) and especially, from 1858 onwards (as EICo. was taken over by the British crown). Nehruism was also the outcry of the discredited Stalinist-Communists of India, who had betrayed us in the dying days of British imperialism. In fact, that is how Nehruite Communalist *Naukarshah* and Stalinist-Progressivist policies came to be amalgamated in the post-Partition period of 1947 onwards. We have referred to all these filthy facets of our national political culture in the columns of *Mankind*.

We shall now pick up the thread of our sad SACC story.

On behalf of NISTADS, I was assigned along with my colleagues M.A. Qureshi and Dr. V. P. Kharbanda the task of preparing the study "Twenty five Years of SPR". Let me add that we were just one of several such teams, which Menon had organised to report on the quarter century, following the SPR. We were supposed to record the significant achievements of the quarter century, which was easy because there had been none. We were also supposed to comment on the shortcomings of the period and suggest remedial measures.

We prepared a report to the best of our ability. It was at that stage, that I was told that I should not discuss our study with anyone, since the original SACC request had come under the cover of state confidentiality. Therefore, our response from NISTADS was automatically covered by the same confidentiality.

I was taken aback, because there was nothing confidential or conspiratorial in our work. We had relied upon published documents. Further, all the moneys spent were public money, spent out of tax revenues collected from the people of India.

I cannot recollect all the details of our 150 or 200 page report. I know that it was predominantly critical in tone. We had not flattered anyone or any national lab in particular. I do not know whether our report was seriously or extensively discussed, as I left the CSIR and NISTADS soon after.

Anyway, I am sure that the note which follows this introduction is based upon my tenure at the NISTADS, and I suppose some parts of it will overlap with the study which we made for SACC on Twenty Five Years of SPR.

II

THREE FUNDAMENTAL BIASES OF THE INDIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Science and technology, and research and development, are intimately related to the educational background of the country. We cannot go into the details thereof, in this article, but we may note some of the general features.

1. The Indian educational system is heavily biased against primary education and against general literacy. The money allocated to education, is by itself a much lower percentage of the GDP than the funds so allocated in other Third World countries (the allocation for education in India was 2.3 per cent in 1960 and 3.5 per cent in 1990, whilst, Malaysia allocated 2.9 and 6.9 per cent; Cuba 5.0 and 6.6 per cent; Algeria 5.6 and 9.1 per cent; Kenya 4.6 and 6.8 per cent; Tanzania 2.1 and 5.8 per cent respectively. [See UNDP Report 1995, pp. 174-75] Most of this limited allocation is spent on higher education for the comprador elite and thousands of highly educated children of this elite migrate

abroad to become NRIs. Thus, a brain-drain arises of those who have been educated at public expense — through state subsidies. So much so, that the neo-colonial powers could be said to have shifted the burden of training thousands of doctors, engineers and scientists that they urgently need, on to the shoulders of the poor in India.

2. The national policy of imparting the best education, through the English medium has completely blighted the educational scene. Children are forced to devote too much energy to acquisition of linguistic ability in a language that is not their home language. As Dr. Satyen Bose, the famed Indian scientist known for the Bose-Einstein equations, stated in 1956, at the *Angrezi Hatao Sammelan* in Hyderabad: "It is not possible for an Indian child to carry on original creative research in any language other than the home language of his family."

He may get his MSc. or ME or even DSc., but original research will not and cannot flourish in our country, till such time as English is banished from its pre-eminence in the fields of administration, education and culture.

3. As all educationists have noted, times without number, Indian education is heavily biased in favour of the clerical

facility. British imperialism had destroyed the old educational system of the *Pathshalas, tols* and *Madarasas*. They substituted lakhs of such educational centres, with a few hundred English medium state-aided schools. Thus, millions were deprived of elementary education covering the three Rs. At the same time, British imperialism deindustrialised the country, so that the millions of artisans who used to receive technical training in the workshops and the *Karkhanas* spread over our seven lakh villages were suddenly, thrown out of all training schemes and avenues of productive employment. Thus, crores of Indians were ruralised, pauperised and de-educationalised.

In short, the three fundamental defects of our educational system are the three biases in favour of English education, clerical education and so-called higher education of the comprador sort.

III

EXPENDITURE ON S & T FROM 1921 TO 1997

When direct colonial rule over India ceased and an indirect neo-colonial rule commenced in 1947, deindustrialised, ruralised and pauperised India was extremely backward in science and technology. The allocation of resources for science was just 1.14 crores in 1921-22; 0.79 crores in 1924-25; and 0.70 crores in 1933-34. (See Vera Anstey, *The Economic Development of India*, 1942, p. 543. The expenditure on Scientific Departments was mainly in respect of the geographical, meteorological, geological, botanical, zoological and anthropological departments.) The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) was established in 1942 and eleven National Research Laboratories were placed under the CSIR (physical, chemical, metallurgical, fuel, glass and ceramic, leather, food, drug, road, electro-chemical, and building. See *Overseas Economic Surveys India*, 1952, p. 149). Under the *First Five Year Plan* a sum of 4.61 crores was allocated (*The First Five Year Plan*, p. 89)

We may now consider two tables providing more recent data. (See Tables I, II and III on page 33, 34 & 35 respectively)



## COMPRADOR AMBIENCE

The latest *India, Reference Annual 1994*, makes several tall claims :

"CSIR today is a well-knit network of 40 research laboratories and 80 field / extension centres which cover the entire gamut of R & D fields in science and technology, barring nuclear energy. CSIR's expertise is embodied in about 6,000 scientists and engineers supported by 20,000 technical and managerial personnel. Nearly a quarter of its annual expenditure is met by R and D contract. The focus of CSIR's activities has been the development of indigenous technologies and utilisation of indigenous resources. It has licensed about 2,000 technologies to over 5,000 parties yielding an annual industrial production of the order of Rs. 2,000 crore and *savings to the economy due to productivity improvement of about Rs. 250 crore per year.*

"It has supported about 35,000 research scholars, 10,000 scientist-pool-officers, through its schemes." (*India, Reference Annual, 1994*, pp. 162-3)

Of the above boasts, the most pathetic is the one relating to "*savings to the economy due to productivity improvement of about Rs. 250 crores per year.*" Thus, it is suggested that in recent years we have been spending from around Rs. 800 crores to Rs. 1650 crores a year, in order to realise a productivity improvement of Rs. 250 crores per year ! It is worse than pathetic, it is bathetic ! I wish we would stop all S & T expenditure. We would have a net saving of about Rs. 550 to Rs. 1,400 crores per year !

## V

## SATYEN BOSE, J.C. BOSE AND C.V. RAMAN

We have in the foregoing dealt with the gross financial allocations and the overall proportions of scientists and technicians in the population. This is the larger sociological dimension. We may say that it deals with the "proletariat" in the field of science.

Let us now consider some features of the elitist creamy layer, the "bourgeoisie" of Science at the top of the science stream.

Let us consider first the trio of Drs. Satyen Bose (1894 - 1974) (Bose - Einstein Equation or Statistics); Jagdish Chandra Bose (1858 - 1937) (Plant Sciences); and C. V. Raman (1888 - 1970) (Raman Effect).

Dr. Satyen Bose, Lohia's friend, and President of the *Angrezi Hatao Sammelan* of 1956, at Hyderabad, was a great nationalist and vigorously supported the 1942 August Movement as personally vouchsafed by his right hand assistant in the Chemical Lab, Satybrata Sen, a personal friend of this executive editor and of most of the eminent socialist leaders of his time, and who was Secretary of the old Khoj Parishad, Calcutta (Chairman : Jai Prakash Narayan)

Naturally, Bose was intensely disliked by the British colonialists. Against him the Britishers tried to promote the merits of Dr. Jagdish Chandra Bose, who had married an Englishwoman and

was therefore, a son-in-law of the empire-builders. I do not want to knock J. C. Bose, but his claim to fame was based upon some mediocre experiments and apparatus relating to the internal circulation within plant bodies. In my opinion Dr. Satyen Bose was the greatest physicist, that this country has every produced. Certainly, head and shoulders above J. C. Bose and C.V. Raman.

Anyway, in my humble opinion, C.V. Raman received the Nobel Prize in 1930, by luck or chance as a "compromise candidate". He may have deserved the Nobel, but not in preference to and before Bose. That such intrigues and compromises are normal in Nobel circles, is proved by the biography of S. Chandrasekhar, written by Kameshwar C. Wali, Penguin, 1990.

Wali writes in *Chandra*, that inspite of being Raman's nephew, S. Chandrasekhar thought very little of Raman, whom he considered to be an egotist and swollen-headed mediocrity. Chandrasekhar thought very little of the Raman Effect and felt that Krishnan had an equal share in the discovery, whatever little may have been its worth. In fact, Wali's conversation with Chandrasekhar reproduced as epilogue to *Chandra* pp. 248-260, exposes fully the petty-mindedness and bureaucratism prevailing in Indian science. (We shall be quoting more extensively from this source, later on in this article, when dealing with S. Chandrasekhar's half Nobel). It is good to recall, that Leo Tolstoy never received the Nobel for literature though the third rate journalist and imperial statesman Winston Churchill did.

How hostile British scientists were to each and every Indian aspiration, in any field whatsoever, is revealed by S. Chandrasekhar in Wali's biography *Chandra*. The imperialist Cambridge swine, Sir Arhur Eddington strove mightily to destroy Chandra's career. But, Chandra was too clever and cunning. He cleverly shifted to America and staged a come-back.

Let us leave that aside for a moment and continue with our Compromise Raman and his Nobel of 1930. C. V. Raman had the

backing of the House of Tatas, the most eminent comprador Parsi industrial house of India, of the 20th Century.

I am sure one of these days, the entire inner story of how Dr. Satyen Bose missed the Nobel, how British imperialism promoted its son-in-law, Dr. J. C. Bose, and how C. V. Raman caught the Nobel, will come out.

We have made our reconstruction of events, on the basis of available data.

## VI

## SAHA AND BHABHA

Another example which comes to mind, belongs to the early neo-colonial period. Dr. Meghnad Saha (1893-1956) was a brilliant physicist, who made a very important contribution to the thermal ionization equation. The Saha equation linked the

composition and appearance of the spectrum with the temperature of the light source and can thus be used to determine either the temperature of the star or the relative abundance of the chemical elements investigated. (*EB 83, Micro Vol. III, p. 768*).

Unfortunately for Saha, he too was of a fiery independent temperament. He would not and did not kow-tow to the comprador

### BRITISH-SPONSORED INDIAN EDUCATION HEAVILY BIASED TOWARDS CLERICAL FACILITY

As all educationists have noted, times without number, Indian education is heavily biased in favour of the clerical facility. British imperialism had destroyed the old educational system of the *Pathshalas, tols* and *Madarasas*. They substituted lakhs of such educational centres, with a few hundred English medium state-aided schools. Thus, millions were deprived of elementary education covering the three Rs. At the same time, British imperialism de-industrialised the country, so that the millions of artisans who used to receive technical training in the workshops and the *Karkhanas* spread over our seven lakh villages were suddenly, thrown out of all training schemes and avenues of productive employment. Thus, crores of Indians were ruralised, pauperised and de-educationalised.

In short, the three fundamental defects of our educational system are the three biases in favour of English education, clerical education and so-called higher education of the comprador sort.



pigmy Jawaharlal Nehru. (Vice Chairman of Viceroy's Executive Council from 1946-47 and Prime Minister of India 1947-64). Meghnad Saha was elected to the Lok Sabha as an Independent Anti-Congress member in 1951. (Calcutta - North West Constituency)

Therefore, the second rate and sycophantic talent of one Homi J. Bhabha got promoted. He became Nehru's blue-eyed boy and naturally, his close connections and relations with the Tata family helped him. Bhabha was made the Chairman of the Atomic Commission, in those days when the AEC was absorbing some 30% of our science budget. The Tata family cornered a lot of real estate in Bombay, in the name of the BARC (Bhabha Atomic Research Centre) and the TIFR (Tata Institute of Fundamental Research).

What a miserable specimen of humanity and what a perverted *naukarshah*, Bhabha was, is detailed by Chandra, in Wali's book (pp. 255-6) :

\* There was uniform criticism of Bhabha "by senior colleagues, students, and everybody in general". (p. 255)

\* Bhabha had many weaknesses, which Chandra advised those around him "to tolerate". (p. 256)

\* When Pauli and a number of foreign visitors were in India, they all had to travel by bus when they went somewhere while Bhabha followed them in a limousine just by himself. Apparently Pauli got so annoyed at this that he left India the next morning. (p. 256)

\* Bhabha used to make people wait for hours — Indian scientists who had appointments. (p. 256)

## VII

### Swaminathan, Khurana and Chandra

Another example of the evils of comprador ambience in S & T is Dr. M. S. Swaminathan, a third rate *naukarshah*, who became Head of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and later, of the International Rice Research Institute, Manila, Philippines. Swaminathan's entire life has been spent in collecting all sorts of awards, including the Magsaysay (the last personally from the worthless criminal Ferdinand Marcos)

Irrespective of the innumerable idiotic awards received by M.S.S., his real contribution has been the negative one, of promoting the large-scale destruction of the bio-diversity of rice strains native to India. As W. W. Hunter has recorded in the *Gazetteers of India* series at the end of the 19th century, each district of Eastern India of those days (of the Provinces Assam, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa) used to possess 90 to 100 different species of rice, which grew in marshes and swamps and deltaic jungles, with different degrees of resistance to pests; with differing maturity periods, with stems varying from two-three feet to forty feet; with grains of varying sizes and diameters and aromas; growing in different kinds of soils and at various elevations; etc.

This wretched pseudo-scientist dominated the field of agro-sciences for several decades during which a fair number of young

scientists committed suicide in the hostels of the ICAR, blaming his administration for their extreme frustration.

Dr. Hargobind Khurana, who received a half Nobel in 1968, came to India a few years before his Nobel, to find a job that would help him carry on his research. He has now become an American citizen married to a Swiss, but, in those days, in the early '60s, he was trying to send down roots in his native land. He went back completely frustrated, because both, the vast bureaucracy in India and the comprador dynastic regime, were completely hostile to all scientific creative effort. He went back empty handed to USA, bitter about his own country.

Let us now consider the career of S. Chandrasekhar, (1910 - 1995) nephew of C. V. Raman. We have already referred to his bout with imperialists prejudice in the shape of Sir Eddington's strenuous efforts to ruin poor Chandra's career.

But Chandra was tough and a dogged careerist. He got his half Nobel in 1983 for the hypothesis "Chandrasekhar Limits" applicable to dying stars.

A few years ago, when in India, he negotiated with J. Nehru about a high-ranked institutional perch for himself. In spite of his best efforts and claims of being a relation of C. V. Raman, he failed to convince the ruling Congress - *Naukarshah* combine in India. He thereupon quietly accepted American citizenship in 1953.

But what a rotter S. Chandrasekhar was! We will give a few examples, all from the horse's mouth :

\* Chandra admits and analyses that : "The primary motivation for the flowering of Indian science between, say, 1900 and 1930 was a part of the national consciousness and that people somehow wanted to show that they were equal to the British" (Chandra, p. 248).

Also : "before 1910, there were no (Indian) scientists of international reputation or standing. Between 1920 and 1925, we had suddenly five or six internationally well-known men. I myself have

associated this remarkable phenomenon with the need for self-expression, which became a dominant motive among the young during the national movement. It was a part of the national movement to assert oneself. India was a subject country, but in the sciences, in the arts, particularly in science, we could show the West in their own realm that we were equal to them." (p. 246)

Apart from this general analysis, which was completely correct, S. Chandrasekhar had the personal encounter with Sir Arthur Eddington, the imperialist horror. Chandra also records that : "No, it was quite obvious that the establishment at Cambridge was quite against the Indian movement." (p. 260)

What is amazing is that this careerist, in spite of all his general analysis found it possible to succumb totally to the neo-colonial

### FIVE MAIN PLANKS OF FUTURE RESEARCH EFFORT IN INDIA

Thus, for the next 25 years at least, all research effort in India will be directed to :

a) Solving the problems of scarcity and poverty that afflict our people, particularly in the areas of Food, Clothing, Housing, Education and Health.

b) Absolutely minimal and quintessential Defence Research.

c) Research that promotes Export Surplus, which avoids any increase in our external debt and which enables us to enhance our productivity and production capacity through certain unavoidable imports.

d) Solving the concrete problems posed by our artisans, mechanics, skilled workers and craftsmen. In short, Research for the Artisans.

e) A ninth Area of People-friendly research, will be that of Environment. We must preserve the Earth as a fit habitat for our species *Homo sapiens sapiens*, and combat greedy capitalist deprecations which are devastating our environment.

influence :

"S. Chandrasekhar : Well, I remember talking to Milne on one occasion. I told him I thought the British government had made a big mistake in not granting dominion status to India, because they may have to concede much more later. He asked me what I



thought of Nehru. I said, "I think he is a marvelous man." It was quite obvious from his reaction that he did not share my views. "Well, do you think India will be able to survive, if the British leave, what with all the princes and so on?" You know, all the standard questions." (p. 259)

What is the meaning of this farrago of nonsense?

Two questions arise :

1. Is it Chandrasekhar's suggestion that the British should be allowed to get away as lightly as possible? They should concede Dominion Status now, so that full independence would not have to be given later? What is this cheap careerist thinking of?

2. What is the meaning of the question "will India survive"? Do the British imperialist swine think that 30 or 40 crores of Indians of those days, were going to commit mass suicide after the British left? What kind of a stupid question is this?

The comprador mind is a mystery to me, *bolta bhi diwana aur sunta bhi diwana!*

Chandrasekhar's comprador and careerist mind reaches its heights of comical absurdity, when he discusses at length the whole matter of credit sharing by Krishnan and Raman for the discovery of the "Raman effect". Would the readers of *Mankind* believe it possible, for any man to actually suggest that the credit for the discovery of the Raman Effect should not be shared by Raman and Krishnan, but that :

"It is not so much a sharing of the discovery between the two, as giving the whole credit to each." (p. 250)

What is this leading to?

That Krishnan and Raman should have got two separate Nobel Prizes? It is too ridiculous for words!

It is very amusing to read what is going on at the top level of science in India, in *Chandra*.

How deep the rot bureaucratisation had spread in Indian Science is revealed by another comical and sad instance, provided by S. Chandrasekhar.

"When I was in India in 1961, I was to see M. S. Thacker, the director general for the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. When I went to see him, I was led to his office by the back door. Then Thacker said to me, "I'm sorry I had to ask you to come by the back door. I had forgotten that I had an appointment with Satyan Bose at the same time. If you had come by the front door, he would have seen you since he is waiting outside." It seemed unbelievable to me that an old man of 75 and of the stature of Satyan Bose would be kept waiting outside. It would have been perfectly all right with me and normal if Thacker had said, "I am sorry. There has been a mix-up. I have to see Bose first." Somehow there is this idea that your higher official position entitles you to make those lower ones wait." (p. 256).

We further emphasise that S. Chandrasekhar has himself acknowledged that : "Bose in some ways, from the human point of view, was the best of them all. He was very generous, gentle, easy going, and not particularly caring about the glamorous aspects of science." (p. 250)

Let us recognise that at this distance of time, that our comprador rulers, like Jawaharlal Nehru, poisoned and ruined

everything that they touched!

The SPR of 1958, on which I and Qureshi and Kharbanda spent so many working hours to study and report, instigated by M.G.K. Menon of SACC in 1983, was just a worthless device to vitiate and stultify science in India. The SPR was intended to and

resulted in total bureaucratisation of science in India.

Let us now think of the positive aspect. How are we going to get out of this terrible situation with regard to science and technology, in which the Comprador - Congress - *Naukarshah* regime has landed us?

## VIII

### LET US BEGIN AGAIN

The overall situation in the field of Science and Technology is absolutely dismal, as in every other national field. We have a ruling comprador elite which is unable to resist the neo-colonial pressures. In fact, which has caved in, devalued our currency by over 12 times since 1947 (Official Exchange Rate [OER] in August 1947 Rs. 3.32 to a dollar.) It is "liberalising, privatising and

globalising in a stupid and senseless manner, without any national pride or self-respect. It is globalising through a *naukarshahi* that it has never controlled. The *naukarshahs* are destroying and have almost completely destroyed the morale of the Indian people.

The symbol of all that is rotten in India is Charles Sobhraj. The *naukarshahs* are so corrupt and inefficient that the self-confessed mass murderer, Charles Sobhraj, managed to drag things along for 20 years and beat the statute of limitations on crimes in Thailand. He will go completely free in a few days!

*Sunday*, Calcutta, writes :

"The Indian system is so weak and inefficient that Sobhraj has been able to exploit it and ensure that interests of justice are never served... Kiran Bedi was transferred from Tihar because of the favours shown to Charles Sobhraj, who ran Tihar like a personal fiefdom... Sobhraj's various biographers estimate that he is responsible for at least a dozen murders, not to mention robberies and frauds. Nor has Sobhraj bothered to deny the allegations... For at least a decade now people have been aware of the delaying tactics being played by Sobhraj, and yet, nobody — not one minister, not one police officer, not one civil servant, (and let us add, at *Mankind*, not one judge) — was able to or willing to stop him".

We have a horrible education system. It was designed by British Imperialism to serve its basic and base anti-social interests of enslaving India and brain-washing Indians. It has had a decadening impact from the beginning, from the middle of the 19th century, as admitted by all educationalists. It has de-ethnized them into zombies. It was frighteningly hierarchised, a hierarchy that was totally retained by Nehru. ("Nehru himself maintained the hierarchical system". — *Chandra*, p. 255)

It had elevated third-rate rotters like M.S. Thacker and Homi Bhabha, who made senior scientists wait for hours after giving them appointments ! (See *Chandra*, already quoted, at p. 256) A gentle, lovable, nationalist scientist like Satyan Bose ("from the

### SOBHRAJ RAN TIHAR JAIL

Consider the following facts.

\* He has a bathroom attached to the cell.

\* He has television set, radio, tape recorder, electronic typewriter, camera and other gadgets. He regularly receives and sends out fax messages.

\* He has plenty of money with a mutual friend on which he can draw. He gives a cheque of Rs. 1000 every month for the welfare of children in Tihar. Most of the warders are on his payroll.

\* He is served meat with his meals.

\* He moves about freely in the jail, even after the so-called escape of 1986, which was not an escape at all but a device to delay and complicate legal procedures.

\* His visits to the jail hospital are so arranged that he can team up with his fiancee Jacqueline Kuster, who is an inmate of jail no. 1, in Tihar.

Amongst the knowledgeable Congress-*Naukarshah* circles Tihar jail is now known as Sobhraj's jail.

(Source : *Sunday*, 19-25 Nov. 1995)



human point of view Bose was the best of them all," according to S.Chandrasekhar, *Chandra*, p. 250) is made to wait for hours by a *naukarshah* M.S.Thacker, who is not ashamed of his conduct! "Somehow there is this idea", one that both Thacker and Bhabha had, "that your higher official position entitles you to make these lower ones wait". (*Chandra*, p. 256) *Chhut Achhut* complex everywhere, everytime!

India claimed a combined Primary and Secondary School Enrollment ratio of 67% in 1988-89 (*UNDP Report*, 1991, p.131) But the Drop-Out Rate was so horrendous that the mean years of schooling received by an Indian, was just 2.4 years; (*Same Report*, p.137; contrast USA: 12.3years; USSR: 7.6 years; Japan: 10.7 years)

India had a Tertiary Enrollment Ratio of 6% (*Same Report*, p. 155; contrast USA 63%; USSR 25%; Japan 31%). We had .03% Scientists and Technicians per 1000 population in 1988-92. (*UNDP Report*, 1995. p.196; Japan:7;Sweden:6; Russian Fed:7)

In addition to the miserliness, both colonial and comprador, in the allocation to education (Of course, colonial was much worse than comprador. But both have been rotten. India 3.5% of GDP in 1990; Kenya 6.8%; Malaysia 6.9%; Algeria 9.1%; Egypt 6.7%; USA 7% in 1991; Japan 5% in 1991; Canada 7.4% in 1991 — *UNDP Report*, 1995, pp. 174-5, 200); in addition to the stultification of young minds achieved by the heavy bias in favour of English medium education; in addition to the "clerical" and the "elitist" tilt of the entire system; in addition to the extreme hierarchisation and bureaucratisation of the system and its extreme inefficiency and total corruption; in addition to all this and similar rottenness; we have the classic examples of M.S. Thacker, ("the bureaucrat par excellence"); Homi Bhabha, ("the miserable Parsi *bicholia*"); J.C.Bose, ("the son-in-law of the Empire"); M.S.Swaminathan, ("the Lord of the Suicide Establishment"); C. V. Raman, ("the Supreme Egotist") and S.Chandrasekhar, ("the man who wanted British imperialism to escape with the fewest concessions to India") and such other luminaries at the top level! (Satyen Bose and Meghnad Saha being the rare exceptions.)

So what are we to do now? How are we going to set about with cleaning up the Augean stables of Indian S&T?

First of all, we have to fundamentally restructure the entire system, and set new goals for it, and place new controls upon it so that it does not revert to its former horrid shape.

*India, Reference Annual 1995* claims that there are "40 research labs and 80 field/extension centres". The first step would be to dissolve the CSIR and place these 120 units in charge of a group of 4 Zilla Parishads each. This will cover the entire country of about 480 Districts.

Now for the resetting of the Goals and Controls:

Obviously the S & T personnel in our country have been researching the kind of questions that the colonial-comprador regimes of 1860-1994 have posed, within the parameters laid down by the neo-colonial and comprador interests that have ruled over us, and within the educational, politico-economic and socio-cultural system that they have created.

As we all know, the answer to a question is determined by who is asking the question, what sort of question it is, when and why is the question being asked and who is being asked to solve it.

If the colonial-compradors are asking the question, if the sort of question is hierarchical, bureaucratic, elitist, alien and anti-national, if the question is being asked in order to sustain and strengthen the status quo in the present critical times, and is being posed for the products of our rotten educational system, then we already know what sort of answer it will be ! It needs no great prespicacity to foresee this!

Therefore, let the CSIR and the entire Delhi apparatus of useless, futile, neo-colonial and comprador research framework be abolished. Let the Panchayati Raj take over and set the control levers for a popular democratic science system for the country.

Let the Zilla Parishads take over the 120 centres of S & T and gradually increase the number to 480, so that each district would have its own Science Centre !

The goals of Indian S & T will then become such as to serve the interests of the Indian masses and which empower them with technologies that establish mass control over our natural resources, technologies that yield the highest possible returns to the poor, technologies that benefit them directly and immediately, and technologies that loosen the hold of the neo-colonialists and their comprador stooges over the world and over our national economy.

The aims and objectives of scientific research in India can only be, at the moment, the following. We may set other tasks at some future date, or rather the people will alter the tasks if and when necessary in the future. But for the time being, there cannot be any other task than the following:

First of all, we must decide that five things are of supreme importance for all ordinary citizens : (i) Food, (ii) Clothing, (iii) Housing, (iv) Education, (v) Health.

(i) We want all the above five for all the Indian people. Not the 12 crore market of advertising agencies, but the 78 crore additional Indian poor.

*All research must be devoted to realise the above five goals.* I don't care how the goals are achieved, whether by the small-scale sector or the large-scale sector.

(ii) The only way to defend our country is to mobilise the people in its defence. No one can invade us and rule over us if the people are convinced that they are defending a nation that has given them equality, peace and progress.

(iii) The export-import trade must be conducted in the interests of the Indian masses. Self-reliance is a real need of the Indian masses. Rapid industrialisation is a real need of the Indian people. Therefore self-reliance is the only possible way for true development of the country. Exports are needed only if they develop the productive capacity of the country. We should not export in order to serve world capitalism or to secure commissions and brokerage for Indian capitalists.

(iv) Thus there are five areas of primary research thrust:

a) The five basic needs of the people,  
b) Defence research, which is consistent with guerrilla warfare and which combats the subversive forces unleashed against us by neo-colonialism.

c) Exports that develop our productive capacity and help us to industrialise rapidly, so that the burden of foreign debt is rapidly wiped out.

d) Artisan's problems

e) Environmental Protection.

I suggest that all the research programmes being conducted in all the National Laboratories cease forthwith. The nation will lose nothing by stopping all comprador research which is aimless and wasteful. (As stated earlier, a productivity improvement of Rs. 250 crores per annum is realised against an S & T yearly effort of 1650 crores, [Seventh Plan] or 800 crores [Eighth Plan].

A districtwise list of all artisans, mechanics, skilled workers and craftsmen shall be prepared. Each group of four districts shall elect Artisans' Panchayat to takeover the respective national laboratories or extension centres falling within their areas. These Artisans' Panchayats will direct research in the Eighth area of Artisanal Research.

The artisans, mechanics, craftsmen and skilled workers of



each district will pose research problems for each Four-District Research Centre. It will be the task of these new research centres to rapidly and economically solve the research problems thrown at them by the millions of artisans, mechanics, skilled workers and craftsmen of our nation.

All transitional problems pertaining to suitability of equipment and staffing patterns in each new Research Centre are entirely secondary. The equipment can be swapped between centres later on or sold to suitable buyers within the country, or even totally scrapped. In any case, most of the terribly expensive equipment in possession of our National Laboratories is either unutilised or underutilised or misutilised. Therefore, no national loss is involved, even if some equipment gets rusted and scrapped in the Transitional Period envisaged above.

Thus, for the next 25 years at least, all research effort in India will be directed to :

a) Solving the problems of scarcity and poverty that afflict our people, particularly in the areas of Food, Clothing, Housing, Education and Health.

b) Absolutely minimal and quintessential Defence Research.

c) Research that promotes Export Surplus, which avoids any increase in our external debt and which enables us to enhance our productivity and production capacity through certain unavoidable imports.

d) Solving the concrete problems posed by our artisans, mechanics, skilled workers and craftsmen. In short, Research for the Artisans.

e) A ninth Area of People-friendly research, will be that of Environment. We must preserve the Earth as a fit habitat for our species *Homo sapiens sapiens*, and combat greedy capitalist depredations which are devastating our environment.

It is obvious that Private Industries should take over and finance all research which the compradors and their naukars are fond of as of today. Whether private capitalist industrial interests carry on all future comprador research through expansion of their existing miserable R&D establishments; or by setting up new units; or by arriving at profitable arrangements with the university research departments, is a matter for the private interests to decide. The state shall not finance such senseless activity that passes for scientific research in present-day India.

In any case, the entire educational apparatus in India has in the past wholly served the interests of the colonialists, and is today serving the interests of the neo-colonialists (who stimulate the Brain Drain from India apart from sabotaging every effort at Indian Self-Reliance) and compradors (neo-colonialism and compradorism are the obverse and reverse of the same coin). With the new Supreme Court verdict, half the seats in all the institutions of higher learning are going to be filled by students whose only merit is going to be the money power that they command. Naturally, the other half of the seats are going to be subordinated ideologically to the demands of the money-power-wallas. Thus the present comprador elitist educational system is going to become still more blatantly so.

It is obvious from the Outline Programme of Nine Field Research (Food, Clothing, Housing, Health, Education, Defence, Export Surplus, Artisanal Research, and Environment) that such research can hardly be carried out in the interests of our masses in any medium other than the vernacular languages of the masses. Nobody is advocating the abolition of English at one stroke or the dumping of all English language textbooks and libraries in the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal. Let English remain for the comprador relics which the New Research Centres might be forced to accept as an unpleasant legacy of the past. *But English shall cease at least in our research institutions to be the language of*

*prestige or administration or teaching.* We should over the next 25 years make the transition from a mixed-up pot-pourri of vernaculars-and-English, to almost pure regimes of 15 or so major state languages. As Dr. Satyen Bose had put it "No genuine freeing of the Indian mind can take place till all research effort is conducted in the home language of the scientists".

We are a truly unfortunate nation and the times are adverse ! I agree with the words of Tilak spoken in utter anguish in 1895 : "He who is sinful, should be punished by ordering him to take birth in India." Shorn of its 19th Century flavour, this dictum does sump up our situation today — it is a punishment to be born and to be living in India !

Thus the final short list of priority Research Areas for us could be Food, Clothing, Housing, Education, Health, Defence, Export Surplus, Artisans' Problems and Environment. The entire national efforts for the next quarter century should be fully devoted to these 9 areas. All obstructive and non-germane comprador research should be left to the private sector.

## IX

### CONCLUSION

The Indian education system suffers from the multiple colonial biases of alien medium of instruction, clerical flavour, elitist prejudice, imperialist censorship and brain-washing and extreme hierarchisation and bureaucratism.

The terrible legacy of the colonial educational system may be summed up as the Macaulayan heritage. Its dictum was : "to produce such pupils as would be Indian in blood, but English in tastes, opinions, morals and intellect". It was a horrible system, elitist, clerical and enslaving !

In an earlier work, the *Arts of Transitional India* : 20th Century, I had attempted to define the aims and objects of the Indian educational system in the following words :

"(i) To subdue, overwhelm and enslave the Indian mind. (Charles Grant, *Observations*, 1792-97) "To introduce the language of the conquerors, seems to be an obvious means of assimilating a conquered people to them" (*Ibid* p. 66)

ii) To develop a stratum in Indian society which would demand goods that would be produced by British industry, and which would thus extend and deepen the market for imported wares. (Charles Wood, *Despatch*, 1854).

(iii) To prevent a feeling of disaffection and rebellion from spreading in the country, to turn Indians away from pursuing goals which would destroy imperialist rule over India, and to direct their energies to peaceful and gradual advance within the system. (Charles Trevelyan, *Views on Indian Education Presented Before The Select Committee*, House of Lords, 1853.) "English education would make Indians enthusiastic supporters of British rule" (Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol 3, 1967, p. 193, who further quotes Trevelyan "Educated in the same way, interested in the same objects, engaged in the same pursuits they become more English than Hindus" — C.E. Trevelyan; *On the Education of the People of India*, 1838, p. 190)

(iv) To gestate an elite which would be Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, opinions, morals and intellect, and one which would provide imperialism with a social base. (Macaulay *Minute*, 1853)

(v) To effect economy in the cost of administration of the country by recruiting cheaper Indian educated labour to man the lower ranks of the military-bureaucratic apparatus. (Wood, *ibid*; Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 2, 1967, pp. 188-198 quoting Malcom, Bentinck, Trevelyan, etc.)

(vi) To police the youth of the country through educational



institutions so as to nip revolutionary activity in the bud. (B. Chaturvedi and M. Sykes, *Charles Freer Andrews*, 1971, p. 53. In a letter to *The Statesman*, Delhi of April 20, 1919, C. F. Andrews provided full particulars with names, dates, etc. of students made to spy on their colleagues and other nefarious C.I.D. activities — *Modern Review*, Vol. 25, No. 5, May 1919, p. 540. In his autobiography, Part 1, *An Indian Pilgrim*, 1948, Subhas Bose gives full particulars about the terrible conditions prevailing in educational institutions of Calcutta, pp. 91, 115 ff.)

(vii) To try to disseminate Christian religious ideology and to endeavour to convert Indians to Christianity. (R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 10, 1965, pp. 36, 42, 45 ff. quotes Grant, Macaulay, Trevelyan, etc.)

(viii) "The East India Company was interested in the early days of its rule, in the supply of scholars possessing a knowledge of Hindu and Muslim law; so, the Orientalist view dominated the educational policy. Then there was a shift, and the object came to be to secure educated subordinates for the newly created posts in the judicial, revenue and police departments. It was also considered politic to satisfy and conciliate the upper classes who had been deprived of their traditional employment and who hoped to qualify for service through education." (Tara Chand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. 2, 1967, p. 196)

We may note that the educational system of India, both structurally and functionally, has remained unchanged since colonial times. The objectives of education realised under British rule and described above are operative today and this has been admitted by the Kothari Commission Report on Indian Education (1964-66).

"The present system of education (was) designed to meet the needs of an imperial administration within the limitations set by a feudal and traditional society". (Para 1.70. See further Vinayak Purohit : *The Arts of Transitional India*, 2 Vols; 1986-88.)

How tendentious scientific and technological research under capitalist conditions can be is easily seen in the following :

(i) Enormous funds — funds that would immediately wipe out hunger from the face of the earth — are wasted on military research. More or less the entire allocation for space research, satellite communication research, meteorological research and oceanographic research, electronics research and computer research are also in reality devoted to evolution of sophisticated weapon systems, inclusive of their launch vehicles, and for monitoring of friendly and hostile rocketry. The whole of this gigantic expenditure on weaponry is a total social waste, for nothing is achieved by wars except enhanced profits for capitalists.

(ii) In a world suffering from scarcity, media research, public opinion research, psychological motivation research, etc., absorb fantastic amounts so that consumers can be bamboozled to switch their preferences from one direction to another without rhyme or reason, merely to add to the coffers of capitalist X at the expense of capitalist Y, or of nation P at the cost of nation Q. "Hidden persuaders and subliminal messages" reduce men to circus animals performing to the delight of their bourgeois masters.

(iii) Time and motion research, management science research, leadership programme research, operations research, etc., fritter away almost incalculable amounts of public and private funds. All these research programmes are so formulated as to enslave and manipulate men and their minds.

(iv) Private property in patents, copyrights, franchises, etc., further distorts research effort. Many valuable inventions and discoveries remain unexploited whilst trivial and harmful ones are actively pursued. Vital drugs and school text-books are priced beyond the reach of the common man, whilst health hazards and

porno pictures flood the market.

(v) There are many other senseless forms which research assumes under class society. For instance, minting of coins and printing of notes is continuously improved upon when money itself is a transitional phenomenon. Security and alarm systems to guard precious private property are ceaselessly perfected; whilst the social causes of theft and robbery remain uninvestigated and the conditions leading to crimes against property remain unchanged. Thus crime is perpetuated and also wasteful expenditure on forensic research." (Vinayak Purohit, *Arts of Transitional India : 20th Century*, Vol 1, 1986-88, pp. 24-25).

Our educational system produces brainwashed scientists and researchers, who can only ask the type of questions which a comprador regime needs for its smooth functioning. None of the birth defects of colonial education were eliminated, even partially, by the successor comprador regime of 1947-1996.

The horizon of the Indian scientists was a narrow one, to start with.

He was not encouraged to ask questions that would raise doubts about the superiority and the stability of the colonial and comprador system as a whole. The English were a superior race ! English was the greatest language on earth ! European science from the days of Greece and Rome represented the greatest advancement in knowledge that was known to mankind ! India was nothing ! Indian arts and sciences had never amounted to anything much !

The entire system bore down upon the growing young Indian mind, as of total national annihilation and humiliation. But a humiliated man cannot face the world boldly and raise courageous questions. The entire system crushed the sensitive Indian individual and openly insulted his intelligence and that of his forebears. Indian culture was nothing ! India's cultural and scientific achievements have never been anything. Indian traditions in every field of scientific knowledge were to be discarded, scoffed at, overthrown.

In this kind of atmosphere, it is not possible for an Indian mind to be innovative.

That is why, in every direction that we look at in India, there is only aping and copying. In every field. The Western model is supreme and the greatest Indian achievement is to imitate as far as possible and as closely as possible, the Western paradigm.

Actually, Western capitalism and neo-colonialism have brought the world to the edge of both Nuclear and Environmental Disaster.

Socially and culturally, the Western man has revealed his fondness for violence and drug abuse. Sexual violence and crimes are being fed to little children from innumerable TV screens.

Scientific research may be proceeding in the armaments and pharmaceutical industries. But what is the use of researching to kill, maim and hurt larger and larger numbers, more and more efficiently ? What is the use of research that increases inequalities within human societies.

I am not talking of materialism or spiritualism. I am talking of the genetic waste involved through perpetuation of poverty. As rationalists we know that no human race is biologically superior to any other. Thus, the poor child who is not able to progress and utilise his brain power to the maximum extent, because of poverty, is being thwarted by an evil social system, that denies him equal opportunity for advancement.

Apart from the basic evil bias of the capitalist system, in contemporary comprador India there has been a further recent twist. The policy of "liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation" has meant in effect the handing over of all technological innovations to Multi-National and Trans-National Corporations (MNCs and



(NCGs), they will decide the areas in which the investments are to be made, and they will decide the directions and pace of technological advance to be made. Why should the Indian scientist attempt anything independently? When the whole economy is to be subordinated to the "advanced" West, when the whole country is to mortgaged to the Group of Seven (G7) and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), where is the question of developing a vigorous multi-dimensional dynamic Indian S & T infra-structure ?

Therefore, Indian science and technology, that was already leading a dwarfed and debilitated existence as a compradorised system, is now to be decimated under the so-called globalisation drive.

Science & technology have received very little support from the state, except indirectly from out of national security considerations, as for atomic energy and space programmes. India has one of the lowest ratios in the entire world for the number of S & T personnel, per 1,000 population, of 0.3%. Whatever little research that may be taking place, an appreciable proportion thereof is devoted to destroying the bio-diversity of our floral inheritance, e.g., the hundreds of rice and scores of wheat varieties have been destroyed by the ICAR and by the Swaminathan - led International Rice Research Institute in the Philippines. Of the little that survives after the two above-mentioned destructions, most of this is devoted to pursuit of senseless neo-colonial and comprador goals.

It is necessary to place science and technology in the service of the poor people of India. All the 120 national and extension laboratories should be handed over to Zilla Parishads, to groups of 4 districts per lab to start with, to be gradually expanded to one science centre for each Zilla Parishad.

All current on-going neo-colonial and comprador research should be left to the private sector. As far as the vast mass of the people of India are concerned, for the next 25 years; all research effort shall be confined to the following nine areas : 1) food; 2) clothing; 3) housing; 4) education; 5) health care; 6) defence and security; 7) export surplus; 8) artisans' problems; and 9) protection of environment.

If any scientist or technician wants to pursue a project not falling within the above nine categories, he may be allowed to do so, with private sector support. State support with public funds will be withdrawn, from all wasteful and irrelevant research, not falling within the above-mentioned nine categories.

These are times out of joint for our nation. These are evil times, despairing times. "Globalisation" has meant the transference of all R & D effort to the Multinationals and importation of technologies by them for greater profits as perceived by them and as imposed by them upon us. "Liberalisation" has meant the abandonment of social responsibility by the Indian state and drastic cuts in budgetary allocations for science, except of course for the nuclear and the space programmes to the extent that they may be permitted to us within neo-colonial parameters. "Privatisation" has meant that our scientists and technicians must now turn to solve the problems posed by the private rich and the abandonment of the needs of the poor.

*Chandra* by Kameshwar C. Wali, 1990 should be made compulsory reading in all our science teaching institutions. It reveals the sordid petty-mindedness prevailing at the top of the tree of knowledge and exposes the horrible careerism of S. Chandrasekhar, the hero. At the same time. It is self-revealing and illuminating. In it, Chandrasekhar realises and admits that the greatest advance was made by Indian science in recent times, when "a national movement for self-expression" took hold in the country during the first 3 decades of this century. In the same

breath, Chandrasekhar shows how servilely he behaved towards the ruling power Britain (even though kicked by the imperial eminence Eddington) and how abjectly he accepted American citizenship as early as in 1952, in order to advance his little career.

Chandrasekhar's servility of the British presence and ethos is fully brought out in the section "*Motivations for Science in India*" (p. 245-60). Consider the following quotes :

\* "S. Chandrasekhar : These were men who were in the government educational service, anyone in the government service had to go along with the government. My father was in government railway service, was not particularly pro-National Congress during those years." (p. 258)

INC was itself a very feebly patriotic body who was expressing loyalty to British crown at every annual conference, till the First World War. But even this mild level of national supplication was not acceptable to Chandrasekhar and his family.

"S. C. : Of course the primary centre of interest for middle-class parents at that time was to see that their children became successful lawyers, doctors, or engineers and continued to prosper in the middle class. That required one to play along with the British government!" (p. 258)

Having established his status as a hereditary boot-licker of British imperialism, Chandrasekhar coolly proceeds to relate an incident in 1928, when he and his classmates quietly paid a collective fine, for attending, just attending, a public lecture by Nehru. They didn't even protest ! Not only that ! He praises this wretched British scoundrel, who was principal of his college. (p. 258)

Further he makes the astounding discovery.

"S.C. : In fact, one of the characteristics of the Englishmen in India was that they would support everything in the country if it was not politically motivated." (p. 258)

But what about the political motivations of the imperialist white swines, who were principals and professors of colleges in colonial India ?

It is disgusting beyond words to notice such spineless servility.

"I sort of felt, either consciously or subconsciously, that so long as I was in England I had better try to do my science as best I could, and so long as I was not in India, taking part in political matters was not, helpful either to me or to India. *I sort of took an attitude of neutrality.*" (p.260)

By why does Chandra write about "as long as I was in England," because when in India, he was no better ! The man is a shameless prevaricator !

The strangest part of the comprador servile mind is that Chandra all along goes on emphasizing that the sudden vigour displayed by Indian science was due to the "urge of the people to show that they were equal to the British" (p. 248) and "the need for self-expression, which became a dominant motive during the national movement." (p. 246).

And Chandra says that he was "neutral" !

It is this astounding capacity of the comprador mind to hold completely contradictory views, that amazes me !

After this little digression, let us return to the main theme. Under a regime of "liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation". Indian science has no future. It can lead a semi-clandestine, scarcely-tolerated existence, but it has no real future, especially as a humanising uplifting activity in the service of the Indian people.

Unless the Indian scientists join the masses of India to liberate themselves from neo-colonialist shackles, which have been imposed on them, especially from mid-1991, it is not possible to visualise a bright future for Indian science and technology.

Let us all join the Second War of National Independence !



# ADDA AT NUKKAD

Mr. Gerry Adams,  
President, Sinn Fein,  
Belfast, Northern Ireland

16.01.96

Dear Mr. Gerry Adams,

On behalf of Indian nationalists, and revolutionaries, *Mankind* chooses this occasion, following the London Dockside Blast of 9.2.96, when your Movement is under pressure, to re-affirm its solidarity with Sinn Fein and the IRA.

*Mankind* agrees that the 17 month-old Ceasefire Agreement had to be terminated in the interests of the unity of the Irish people.

*Mankind* denounces the Partition of Ireland, in 1921; just as it repudiates the partition and trifurcation of India in 1947.

*Mankind* stands unequivocally for a reunification of Ireland.

*Mankind* acknowledges with gratitude the historical debt that the Indian National Movement owes to the Irish National Movement and recalls with pride an Irish lady's bouquet presented at Pune station in 1880 to the freedom-fighter, Vasudeo Balwant Phadke, who was being transported in chains to exile in Aden; and also remembers with a heavy heart martyr McSwinnery family's telegram to martyr Jatin Das in 1929.

Long Live the International Solidarity of the Oppressed!

Yours fraternally,

Exe. Edr.

Subhan Khan,  
National Institute of Science,  
Technology and Development Studies,  
Dr. K. S. Krishnan Marg, Pusa,  
New Delhi - 110 012 (India)

16.01.96

Dear Dr. Purohit,

It gave me great pleasure to know that *Mankind* is being revived & you are sharing the responsibility of executive editor. I have gone through three number of copies i.e. Vol 1, No. 1 (12.10.95), Vol. 1, No. 2 (Nov. 95) and Vol 1, No.3 (Dec. 95) sent to Mr. M. A. Qureshi, NISTADS as introductory complementary copies.

A few articles / sections like 'An Opening Statement'; *Ulta Zamana* or

Disjointed Times'; Sangha Feudalism; *Adda at Nukkad*; and Fallacy of Asiatic MOP were read with great interest. The material published is of high importance.

We both hence decided to subscribe the *Mankind* and therefore please find enclosed duly filled up proforma along with cheques. I wish to make complete collection of *Mankind* and therefore would appreciate, if all the back numbers of *Mankind* published till date are sent. Kindly send the receipts on my address.

With regards  
Yours sincerely,

Subhan Khan

5.2.96

Dear Qureshi and Subhan Khan,

It was very nice of you to send your life subscriptions.

I have made a careful note of the sections preferred by you. I will pay more careful attention to them in future issues.

I hope you like the improved cover page of the Jan / Feb issue and the note on Bhopal's Triple Complex, in the third editorial.

When you are in Bombay - Poona region, do drop in. We are thinking of making a trip to Delhi in Oct. - Nov. 1996. I hope we can get together at that time.

I have sent the first three numbers of *Mankind* separately addressed to you. Please return Qureshi's copies to him.

With best wishes,  
Yours sincerely,

Exe. Edr.

Kishen Pattnayak,  
C/o. Post Master,  
C. R. P. F. Campus,  
Bhubaneswar - 751 011 (Orissa)

27th Jan. 1996

Dear Vinayakji,

I have received one copy of third issue of *Mankind*. I have not got the second issue. I was told by my friends at Erode that the second issue was very good. They have not received the first issue. Please try to send me one copy of the second issue. It will be useful if you send me one or two extra copies every time.

The response was good both in Kerala and in Tamil Nadu. The Kerala readers are mostly youngsters who have just come out of the universities. They will take sometime to collect money and send subscriptions. The Erode-Salem (T.N.) friends have promised to collect some subscriptions and sell about 5 loose copies every month. The address is : U.K. Senogottian (advocate), 108 Kutchery Road, Erode - 638 001 (T.N.) Mr. Senogottian told me that if he gets 5 copies every month he will unfailingly remitt rupees two hundred to you before the next issue. From Orissa also a few subscriptions will be raised. Can you send for the next 3 or 4 months two complimentary copies to Mr Lingaraj, Samata Bhavan, P.O. Dist. Bargarh - 768 028 (Orissa) ?

There were two or three suggestions which I can only pass on to you. (a) The cover page could be somewhat thicker. (b) At least 4 or 5 pages should be regularly devoted to current issues. (c) Something like what used to be the communication section of old *Mankind* consisting of Reader's views on all kinds of issues. (d) Regular reproduction of a few pages from old issues of *Mankind*.

Awaiting for the 4th and 5th issues. Do send one copy of the 1st issue to V. K. Senogottian of Erode, & to me the 2nd issue.

Kishen Pattnayak

5.2.96

Dear Kishen,

It is alright about money and subscriptions from Kerala and Tamil Nadu youngsters. We can wait. Let them send when able.

a) Thicker paper will be bought for the cover of the next issue, as per your suggestion. It will be more expensive, but it is perhaps necessary.

b) Current topics are being dealt with in the section *Ulta Zamana* and *Adda at Nukkad*, apart from the editorials *An Opening Statement*. I have analysed that we devoted 29 pages to Current Affairs in *MK1*, about 22 in *MK2*, 19 in *MK3*; and it will be 31 pages in *MK 4/5*.

Please suggest topics, which may be covered in *Ulta Zamana* or in the Editorial Section.

c) *Adda at Nukkad* started from *MK2* and was designed along the lines of the Communications Section of old *Mankind*. I merely gave it a new 'catchy' title. But there the readers must help. I am printing as many letters as I can. I will make a Special Appeal in the next issue to *MK*



readers to contribute more and more of their views of any subject of their choice.

d) I don't have files of old *Mankind*. Can some friend of yours in Bombay-Pune region give me a glimpse of the bound volumes, from which I can make the selection? I will return the volumes without fail! I just need one or two days for xeroxing.

It is a great pleasure to receive your encouraging letters. All your suggestions are being closely examined and will be attended to. You travel a lot and meet many people. Your Bangalore contact G.K.N. Reddy of the *Bangalore Eveninger*, has sent an article on India's Defence Expenditure by Jasvir Singh, which I will be carrying in the next issue, which will also carry Gomez's note on Beedi Workers. Geetha Ramchandran of *Ulaipar Yekam*, Madras (*Toiler's Movement*) had dropped in and would be sending a critique of the Pension Ordinance relating to construction workers. By the way, Geetha's group is thinking of bringing out a daily from Madras and wanted permission to reproduce from *Mankind*, which I most willingly agreed to.

I would like to receive more such "simple programmatic" formulations in non-jargonish language from mass organisations working in different sectors of the economy. I am keen on developing such an "organised sector" section in MK, dealing with beedi workers, construction workers, trade unions, student, youth and women's organisations.

With warm personal regards and I think we are forging ahead and making a small impact.

Exe. Edr.

M. P. R. Reddy,  
9-62/2 Ramanthapur,  
Hyderabad 500 013

26.12.1995

My dear Friend,

Excuse me for my long silence. I received your letter dated 10th March 1995.

I was happy to see the second issue of *Mankind*. I sent you a Cheque for Rs. 200/- and requested you to send me the first issue also, so that I could recapture the old ideology, and pay my homage to Dr. Lohia, who inaugurated our SOCIALIST BOOK CLUB in Madras forty years ago.

I was also in those days acquainted with Hector Abhayevardhan, and Snehalata who were also associated with Lohia in publishing *Mankind*.

I believe that you are reviving the

Socialist traditions of Lohia. But the Socialist movement has passed through several vicissitudes since then, and groping in the dark for an anchorage. Since I was eager to understand your present viewpoint and future visions and aspirations, I requested you to send me the first issue of *Mankind*, which I wish to read.

I am too old to contribute thoughtful pieces to your learned journal.

A journal of new school of thought has to struggle and build up an enduring movement of creative ideas, which should motivate the intelligentsia to liberate the masses from poverty and ignorance.

With fraternal greetings.

Wishing you a happy new year

M.P.R. Reddy

P.S. I have received the first issue today. Thank you.

Dear Comrade Reddy,

I was away to Bhopal at the end of December and therefore, I am belatedly replying to your letter of 26.12.1995.

Thanks for the cheque and I am so happy, that I am re-establishing links with one who was associated with the Socialist Book Club of Madras of 40 years ago.

Please keep in touch. I am always happy to communicate with old-timers, who have long memories. Let us all look forward to a life of joy and happiness and peace for all our countrymen, who are passing through a terrible period of crises, when the morale of crores upon crores of humble, hungry, ill-clad, shelterless, educationless, bewildered, neglected and without any medicare, folk lies shattered.

As Bal Gangadhar Tilak said some years ago, "if a sinful man is to be punished, he should be made to take birth in India."

I have not lost hope. We will find a way out, I remain an optimist.

I shake your hand in affectionate camaraderie.

Yours sincerely,

Exe. Edr.

Vinod Payyada,  
Thodannur P.O.,  
Vadakara via Kozhikkode Dist.,  
Kerala 673 108.

Dear Vinayakji,

I have got 2 copies of *Mankind*, October and December. I shall send subscription very soon. Delay is due to some scarcity of money.

I am sending a clipping with translation from *Madhyamam*, Malayam, Kerala.

Comradely,

Vinod Payyada

Translation from Malayalam by Shri Vinod Payyada of a column written by Shri M. Rasheed in *Madhyamam*, a Malayalam Daily published from Vellimadukunnu, Kozhikkode, Kerala

*Mankind*, an English journal founded by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, attracted many intellectuals in India and abroad. After the death of Dr. Lohia in 1967, its publication ceased. It has now been revived by Dr. Vinayak Purohit who participated in the Quit India Movement and is the Director of Indian Institute of Social Research, Bombay. Dr. Purohit is the executive editor of the new *Mankind*.

In the second number (November 1995), *Mankind* carries a letter from Shri Kishen Pattnayak, a Socialist leader from Orissa, which comments on the political career of George Fernandes and the many ideological somersaults which he has indulged in. George Fernandes' recent alignment with BJP provides one more example of political opportunism mentioned by Kishen Pattnayak in his letter.

The new *Mankind* will be very useful to those interested in an in-depth analysis of a wide spectrum of issues and events. The address of the new journal is as follows: Dr. Vinayak Purohit, 3, 2nd Floor, 372-A Veer Savarkar Marg, Dadar, Bombay 400 028.

8.2.96

Dear Vinod Payyada,

I am glad you are receiving *Mankind*. You can send your subscription whenever you are able to do so. *Mankind* will keep on reaching you.

I was glad to receive the cutting and translation of M. Rasheed's column in *Madhyamam*.

With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

M. Rasheed,  
Muhammad Abdurahiman Nagar,  
P.O. Chalappuram,  
Kozhikkode 673 002  
Kerala

Dear Comrade Rasheed,

A common friend has sent me the cutting and translation of your column in



the *Madhyamam* of 16.1.96. *Mankind* No. 2 and 3 are being sent to you.

Please write something for *Mankind* about Kerala or about any on-going struggle anywhere in India, which you would like to draw attention to. Any environmental issue or anything else you like. You may write in Malayalam if you prefer. I will have it translated.

I want to gather around *Mankind* as many old timers as I can. In fact, I write with such people as you in my mind.

I raise my fist in *lal salaam*.

Yours sincerely,

Exe. Edr.

D-1, Shivdham,  
62 Link Road,  
Malad (West),  
Bombay - 400 064 India

November 24, 1995

Dear Sir,

Greetings !

In response to your appeal in # 2 of *Mankind* we enclose two issues of our publication, Facts Against Myths, dealing with the so-called beauty contests. Perhaps you may, if you wish use it in your next issue to raise debate on this aspect of our culture of the bourgeoisie.

With Our Best Wishes

Yours Sincerely,

L. M. Rodricks

Beauty Contest, Facts Against Myth has been carried in *Mankind* 4/5, Jan-Feb. 1996

Exe. Edr.

P. P. Ummer,  
C.M. House,  
Chengara,  
Eruvetty (P.O), Areacode (Via),  
Malapurram (Dt.)  
Kerala 673 639

Dear Sir,

I know that you have started the re-publication of the English Magazine '*Mankind*'. I am attracted to the new *Mankind*, as I was a reader of the old one. '*Mankind*' is a good magazine to know various aspects clearly and deeply.

So please send me the magazine without delay.

P. P. Ummer

Mohammed Iqbal,  
P.O. Mogral,  
Kumbla (Via),  
Kerala 671 321

Dear Sir,

I found the address of your publication "*Mankind*" in a Malayalam news paper, inserted by a sympathetic columnist. As an ardent sympathiser of the late Dr. Lohiaji and his ideals, I would like to subscribe to your magazine. So please kindly send me the subscription details and a sample copy. Or (alternatively) send me a copy as VPP for one years subscription.

Yours truly,

Mohammed Iqbal

Ashraf V. Nediyanad,  
Veyattummal (H),  
Narikkuni (Post) Calicut,  
Kerala, India 673 585

Sir,

I happened to read about '*Mankinc*' from one Malayalam daily (*Madhyamam*) I got its address from there.

I am very interested in your magazine. I want to pay subscription. So please send me more details about its subscription rates.

Really I did not see your magazine. If you send me a Model copy, it will be a great pleasure. Anyway I hope as a magazine of R M Lohia it will be expanded.  
Yours faithfully,

Ashraf V. Nediyanad

Mahamood T.  
Thayyullathil,  
P.O. Peringathur,  
Kannur,  
Kerala 670 675

16.1.96

today is concerned. The one time fiery socialist Mr. Fernandez is now going towards political wilderness as he is said to have been joining hands with the Hindu Chauvinists. i.e. B.J.P. I have read books authored by Dr. Lohia such as '*Gandhi Marx, Socialism*' and '*Caste System in India*' etc. I wish to translate '*Caste System in India*' into our local language i.e. Malayalam.

I, therefore, request you to let me know the price of the journal, Annual Subscription Rate etc. I am highly grateful to you if you send a copy of '*Mankind*' by return of post.

I will pen you later after reading the same.

With best regards,  
Yours sincerely

Mahamood T.

The Editor,  
The Economist,  
25, St. Jame's Street,  
London SW1A 1 HG,  
United Kingdom

29.1.96

24.2.96

Dear Sir,

I was glad to read in the *Times of India*, Mumbai, 19.2.96 (p. 16), that your journal has confirmed the approach adopted by *Mankind*, for international comparisons by utilising PPP figures of GDP.

I believe we have made a significant methodological contribution in this regard in *Mankind*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 1995 (Page 55 enclosed).

I am also enclosing the Special Statistical Supplement of Vol. 1, No. 4/5, Jan/Feb 1996 (p. 43-58), which reproduces the section *India's Place in the Sun of Mankind* 1, with several improvements.

I have developed the methodology further and presented :

a. National to World Proportions, estimates which provide the best possible estimates of relative strengths of economies, for 201 countries and territories.

b. Comprative Proportional Picture for both 1960 and 1991, with a comparison of relative positions and changes over 31 years (both at PPP).

c. National to World proportion for two other vital parameters, Population and Area (excl. Antarctica)

I think the *Economist* will be compelled to take the further steps forward which we have implemented, as pushed by the logic of the theme of international comparisons.

Yours faithfully,

Exe. Edr.



# THE GAZETTEERS AS RECORDS OF THE INDIAN BOURGEOISIFICATION PROCESS

Vinayak Purohit

THE PARAMETERS

THE MATERIAL

THE CONCRETISATION

ECOLOGICAL ONSLAUGHT BY IMPERIALISM

ATTACK ON PEOPLE'S HEALTH

POLITICS OF LAW AND ORDER

BRITISH MISERLINESS CONFRONTS FAMINES

THE PERSPECTIVE

## INTRODUCTION

This is the fifth essay in the series *Sangha Feudalism (Mankind 1)*, *Samanta Feudalism (MK2)*, *Fallacy of the Asiatic Mode of Production (MK3)*, and *Pastoralist Class Society (MK4/5)*, which we have been reproducing from my forthcoming publication *Ten Essays in Indian History*. The book is in press and should be out shortly.

1

## THE PARAMETERS

The Indian gazetteers have recorded the bourgeoisification process as perceived by the imperialist masters of the country who obtained their data in the main through the agency of the Indian comprador elite. Thus the distortions to which Indian reality was subjected in the gazetteers was in part a conscious exercise by the British imperialist rulers, and in part the unconscious result of the subjective outlook of the Indian middle classes who were gradually pressing forward with their demands for an increasing share of the Indian loot.

The fascination of the gazetteers lies precisely here : we are able to see the Indian reality - refracted no doubt - through

ruling class lenses, and are simultaneously able to perceive the mask that Indian reality was made to wear. The gazetteers provide us with both - the truth as well as the camouflage.

## HORRORS OF BOURGEOISIFICATION UNDER COLONIAL CONDITIONS

The gazetteers describe in pitiless detail the terrible cost paid by the Indian masses as British imperialism conquered the country, destroyed its feudal industries, ruralised its population, threw back crores of artisans on land, de-industrialised and impoverished the economy, subjected it to devastating famines and epidemics, killing off some seven crore Indians in less than 150 years, and totally ruined the Indian peasantry with unbearable taxation and expropriation through bourgeois law courts.

It may be contended that this is the case with all writing. Nothing can be written from the 'zero' stand point. Even if we grant this, the gazetteers have a flavour all their own. They are blunt summaries of essential information selected for immediate administrative utility. Therefore, their style and tone is frankly crude, boastfully vulgar, scornfully lying, unashamedly hypocritical and arrogantly utilitarian.<sup>1</sup> There is not much polish or finesse about them. When they lie, they lie impudently. When they

admit and confess to the shortcomings of the imperialist administration, they do so with brutal candour. When they want to gloss over something unpleasant, they do so with transparent hypocrisy. All in all, they present the ruling capitalist class version of matters and events with righteousness, racialism and blind bigotry. Truth is perceived from the British imperialist viewpoint. But the mask is skin-tight and close-fitting.

The gazetteers describe in pitiless detail the terrible cost paid by the Indian masses as British imperialism conquered the country, destroyed its feudal industries, ruralised its population, threw back crores of artisans on land, de-industrialised and impoverished the economy, subjected it to devastating famines and epidemics, killing off some seven crore Indians in less than 150 years, and totally ruined the Indian peasantry with unbearable taxation and expropriation through bourgeois law courts.

Whilst in the metropolitan countries, capitalism did represent a progressive stage in the development of productive forces, in a colony like India, imperialism by blocking industrial development, and through unequal trade and drain of wealth from the colony, deliberately caused underdevelopment and backwardness.

Thus capitalism was not a progressive force as long as it operated under imperialist aegis in India. That is why the First War of Indian Independence (1857-60) was led not by the Indian bourgeoisie but by the Indian feudalists who were able to gather mass peasant and artisan support in villages and towns of India under their restorationist banner.<sup>2</sup>

The Indian people had earlier been seeking liberation from feudal oppressions, as witnessed by frequent peasant uprisings and movements that rocked Indian society during the medieval centuries.<sup>3</sup>

The arrival of British imperialism on the scene caused fearful social complications. In the first phase of the conquest stretching roughly from 1757 or 1765 to 1818, the imperialists assumed a low social posture and were themselves one of the feudal elements aligned with other native feudal forces seeking hegemony. During this phase, there was nothing to choose between the *lal vardi* (red uniform) of the British armies and the colours prescribed by any other native militarist.

During the second phase of the conquest, stretching from 1818 to 1860 an



apparent change occurred. With the help of the Indian loot itself, on the one hand, the British bourgeoisie defeated its main European rivals, the French,<sup>4</sup> and on the other, achieved supremacy on the Indian subcontinent.<sup>5</sup> But the terrible negative features of de-industrialisation and ruralisation of India made themselves felt in their most virulent form precisely during this second phase. The classic case is provided by the textile industry. The undernoted little table culled from the latest gazetteer of India spells out the essential features of this enormous social tragedy in unmistakable quantitative terms.

Year	Imports of cotton manufactures from Britain into India (in meters)	Exports of Indian Cotton piece goods to Britain (in metres)
1814	7,48,169	11,58,186
1821	1,75,00,451	4,88,742
1828	3,91,56,507	3,86,338
1835	4,73,45,142	2,79,869

Source : *The Gazetteer of India*, Vol. II, 1973, p. 615.

What applied to the textile industry, affected all other industries equally. The great feudal industries of India were completely destroyed; especially chemical *karkhanas* (explosives, paper, dyes, drugs, salt, lacquer, aromatics, oils), transport businesses (shipping and pack caravans), metallurgical workshops (guns, swords, weapons, tools, implements, utensils, equipment, etc.), and construction and public works. Large-scale *karkhanas* and domestic handicrafts, together employing millions of artisans and craftsmen, were both ruined in order to transfer wealth and prosperity to British industry and commerce.

Thus British imperialism came not as a liberator of productive forces in India, but as destroyer of the level of productive organisation already achieved under feudal aegis. The masses were not liberated from feudal oppression. But a triple oppression was imposed upon them, viz. imperialist oppression, oppression by feudal remnants allied to imperialism and thirdly, oppression by native bourgeois collaborators of imperialism.

Now an extremely complex four-cornered social struggle enveloped the Indian arena :

i) The international bourgeoisie working in the main through British imperialism, but often challenging British hegemony over India, was interested in maximising its returns through unequal trade, unrequited exports from India, manipulation of exchange rate, and in super-profits derived from finance capital investments in monopolistically-controlled colonial markets.

ii) The desperate feudal elements were making last-ditch efforts to salvage what they could and to retain as many of their old privileges as possible through jagirdari<sup>6</sup> exactions, bonded labour, princeling domains, and so on. After the defeat of 1857-60, they increasingly compromised with imperialism in return for political support in the bitter struggle that imperialism was waging against Indian capitalists and the Indian working masses.

iii) In the third corner were located the native bourgeois elements who had tasted the sweet fruits of capitalist freedom for

the first time under imperialist aegis. Under the imperial umbrella, they had found shelter against the depredations of the local feudalists. But the imperialists wanted to drain India of capital resources, and allow no significant industrial development. This irked the local interests. They wanted to provoke the masses to fight imperialism, and offered to betray the people to the imperialists and their friends provided it was made worth their while. They were as compradorist as the feudalists. But they suffered from possessing greater ambitions. They wanted to play one segment of the world bourgeoisie against another and one section of the middle class against another, in order to control the mass movements.

iv) The Indian masses were trying to end the triple oppression from which they suffered at the hands of the imperialists and their comprador agents, both feudal and bourgeois. But as far as the gazetteers are concerned, this fourth facet of the struggle finds only a few feeble reflections and echoes in their pages. In the main, the gazetteers concentrate upon the aspirations and the achievements of the other three sectors of society.

Thus the gazetteers describe the process of bourgeoisification that India underwent in the 19th and 20th centuries together with all the peculiarities that the process acquired in colonial Indian conditions.

The Gazetteers may be divided into two broad classes.

a) Those that may be said to have commenced with Walter Hamilton's *The East India Gazetteer*, First Edition of 1815; which dealt with not merely India but the whole of the Middle East, South Asia, and the Far East, and which concluded with the *Imperial Gazetteer Series* in 26 volumes (New Revised Edition of 1907-31). There were also various series of Provincial or Presidency Gazetteers.

This group projects the *weltanschauung* the alien imperialists.

b) In the second class we have principally the four volumes of the latest series, *The Gazetteer of India*, Indian Union, 1965-78, together with 350-odd district gazetteers published by the various State governments.

This group projects the *weltanschauung* of the native bourgeoisie.

The essential process of bourgeoisification as outlined in the gazetteers consists of the following aspects :

i) The process of de-industrialisation - How Indian industries and handicrafts were destroyed in the interests of foreign imports is described in many different ways, through direct references, as well as through notings about changes in occupations, castwise descriptions of occupations, dispersals of people from urban centres, deteriorations in living conditions; and so on.

ii) The process of ruralisation - This again is suggested in multiple ways through direct population

counts, as well as through migration reports, movements of people under stress of famines, and so on.

iii) The process of drain of wealth - This is suggested through figures of enhanced revenue settlements, the surpluses from which were "invested" in purchase of Indian goods that were exported without any equivalent imports. These formed the category of the well-known 'Unrequited Exports', also termed 'Home Charges'.

iv) The process of pau-perisation and ruination of the masses - This is evidenced by descriptions of famines, the ridiculous nature

### THE FUNCTION OF THE GAZETTEERS

The function of the gazetteers was pre-determined by the process of their gestation. They were to serve as tools for the quick take-over of the administrative machinery of the country by an alien bureaucracy which needed information in encapsulated form. The gazetteers were designed to facilitate the imposition of English rule over Indians.



of relief measures, the terrible inflationary spiral and the reports of disturbed law and order conditions.

v) The process of expropriation of the peasantry - This is

**BOURGEOIS PRIVILEGES REPLACE  
FEUDAL PRIVILEGES**

All the old feudal privileges were crushed, and in their place the new bourgeois privileges arose. The gazetteers record almost enviously the rise of the new aristocracy of money.

carried out through seizures of land by moneylenders, the placement of large tracts under forest reservation acts and similar measures.

vi) The deterioration in the living standards of the people - This is depicted in terms of loss of health, loss of employment opportunities, closure of native schools, and so on.

vii) Other miscellaneous processes - These are symptomatic of changes in the basic mode of production, and of the fundamental alterations in socio-economic life caused by monetisation of the economy, by free transactions in land, labour and capital, and by the creation of the appropriate juridical-legal system (Indian Penal Code 1860, Indian Criminal Procedure Code, 1861, and the Indian Civil Procedure Code, 1859, all three came into force within a year or two of each other).

The entire process of bourgeoisification with its concomitants of de-industrialisation, ruralisation, drain of wealth, pauperisation and expropriation of peasantry and decline in living standards for the masses has an altogether negative aspect for colonial India. But let us not forget that capitalism had spelt disaster for considerable numbers even in Europe. As Marx noted :

"If money according to Augier 'comes into the world with a congenital blood stain on one cheek', capital comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt".<sup>7</sup>

**2**

**THE MATERIAL**

Gazetteers and archives bear an offspring-parent relationship to each other. The Gazetteers are the compressed expression of the innumerable papers, notings, files, records and collections of materials, ranging from the trivial to the profound, which compose the administrative archives of a government. The gazetteers are what the archives aspire to become, eventually, in the long run, in the ultimate analysis. The gazetteers are the fulfilled form, which archives assume after archival material has been processed, selectively summarised and published.

In India we have had a splendid series of gazetteers, also variously called Annals, Surveys, Manuals, Abstracts, Travel Reports and Statistical Accounts, pertaining to districts, old native states, old presidencies and provinces, and the whole subcontinent of the Indian Union. In time, they range from Walter Hamilton's first edition of *The East India Gazetteer* of 1815 to the present. The chronological starting point is of some significance. The Gazetteers begin roughly from the time that British imperialism became the paramount power on the Indian subcontinent.

Thus the function of the gazetteers was pre-determined by the process of their gestation. They were to serve as tools for the quick take-over of the administrative machinery of the country by an alien bureaucracy which needed information in encapsulated form. The gazetteers were designed to facilitate the imposition of English rule over Indians. Reference data in handy form was to be made available on matters and in areas which were likely to be

of vital concern to imperialists. It was not necessary to be truthful or statistically precise, or historically accurate; except as might be incidental to the requirements of imperial government. Of supreme importance was the task of building and maintaining the morale of an isolated and alienated bureaucracy whose members were scattered amongst a mass of actually or potentially hostile millions. This white racist elite was to be brainwashed into believing that it was carrying out a civilising mission amongst barbaric and degraded Indians, who were themselves to be brainwashed into acquiescing in and accepting an alien minority as heaven-born natural rulers. The gazetteers were to be double-edged - to cut out dissent, to reassure the doubters and to reaffirm the convictions of the faithful on both sides of the administrative desk.

The gazetteers were written in English for the use of Englishmen, but naturally had to be based upon information gathered from Indians. The mass of material was brought together from diverse sources. And it was a tremendous mass of material.

After Walter Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer* (1815)<sup>8</sup> there followed Edward Thornton's *Gazetteer of the Territories under the Government of East India Company* (1854)<sup>9</sup> in four volumes, to be succeeded in turn by W. W. Hunter's *Imperial Gazetteer of India* (1881) in nine volumes, the revised *Imperial Gazetteer Series* (1886) in 14 volumes, and the new and revised *Imperial Gazetteer Series* (1907-31) in 26 volumes. In short, the series grew from one volume in 1815 to 26 volumes by 1931.

In addition, there were numerous provincial series of gazetteers published by the then governments of Bombay, Bengal, Madras, Central Provinces and Berar, Bihar and Orissa, United Provinces, the Punjab and the N.W.F.P.

To give the reader some idea about the stupendous bulk of the gazetteers, we may refer to a little note by W. W. Hunter in the 20th and the last volume of *Statistical Annals of Bengal*, that it had taken him seven years, from 1870 to 1877, to write the earlier *Statistical Account of Bengal* on which the later Annals series was based. For the Imperial series of 1881, Hunter stated that he had sought information in respect of 240 districts, 15 provinces and 300 feudatory states from local administrators to a six-fold series of leading questions. The areas covered by the queries were : (i) topographical, (ii) ethnical (castes and tribes), (iii) agricultural, (iv) industrial, (v) administrative, and (vi) medical. The total documentation thus secured was spread over 100 volumes comprising some 36,000 pages, which were later compressed into nine volumes totalling 4,976 pages.

Naturally, this mass of material has attracted the notice of

**IMPACT OF IMPERIALISM TOTALLY NEGATIVE**

Undoubtedly the feudal system was itself oppressive and exploitative, but it pressed less heavily upon the common man than the terrible juggernaut devised by imperialism and its local *nouveau riche* agents. And there were no industries which provided employment to the very considerable segment of the population which imperialism uprooted.

scholars. A history of Indian gazetteers has already appeared.<sup>10</sup> But this is a history in name only. It may be more accurately termed a bureaucratic collection of odd bits of largely irrelevant information arranged in a superficial chronological order. It is not concerned with the Indian socio-economic situation of the 19th and 20th centuries, nor with political and cultural issues which



confronted the administrators of British India decade after decade.

Nor does Chaudhury's work anywhere indicate that the author has been able to overcome comprador limitations of vision. For instance, the gazetteers repeatedly and nauseatingly refer to the introductions of indigo and cotton cultivation in various districts of India. Obviously, this is an imperialist lie. Indigo and cotton were cultivated in India over several millennia, and there is no question of any ragamuffin from London streets strutting about as a District Collector actually being able to introduce such a cultivation.

It could be, on the other hand, that because of the extremely unremunerative prices offered for quality indigo, Indian farmers may have abandoned its cultivation. Therefore, these peasants may have been forced by English indigo plantation owners to restart cultivation in certain tracts.

In the same way, at the low prices offered, cultivation of medium and long staple cotton may have been temporarily discontinued, the demand for finer qualities of Indian textiles having collapsed and imported higher count materials having undercut the Indian weavers' market. Thus, it might be that short staple cotton for export to Lancashire and for spinning in Bombay and Ahmedabad, might have recommenced under alien patronage. But to speak of "introduction" of cotton and indigo cultivation in Indian districts in any other sense, is to describe "discoveries" of the New World by Columbus and his Spanish Conquistadors, when over 11 crores of Red Indians had actually been living there for millennia.

Let us take another instance : that of the so-called self-sufficiency of the Indian village which is repeatedly asserted, or hinted at, in the gazetteers. Now this was an imperialist distortion of Indian reality which was not only factually incorrect, but was diabolical. It was a self-fulfilling prediction made by imperialist administrators who were ruining the Indian economy and thereby making every village increasingly self-reliant. The higher the figure of imperial exactions rose, the less valuable land became. The more devastating the famines and the epidemics became: the more inclined were the villagers to abandon cultivation, migrate to towns and practise beggary. In fact, every beggar and every pauper is a highly self-reliant individual. He makes or can make very few demands on others.<sup>11</sup> Chaudhury is blissfully unaware of such basic issues and fails to draw our attention to the horror of the crimes committed by imperialism.

The evidence of de-industrialisation and ruralisation of India is quite clear. In his second, two-volume (1828) edition of *The East India Gazetteer*. Walter Hamilton tabulates the population of certain Indian towns as in 1825. Hunter's 1881 edition provides comparative data for the same towns:

Table : IX

Thirteen British Indian Towns  
with over 1 lakh Population in 1825

Name of town	Population in 1825 Ed. (in'000s)	Population in 1881 Ed. (in'000s)	Ref. year given in 1881 Ed.	Decline in %
1. Banaras	600	175	1872	-71
2. Calcutta	500	430	1876	-14
3. Madras	462	398	1871	-14
4. Patna	312	159	1872	-49
5. Lucknow	300	285	1869	-5
6. Dacca	180	69	1872	-62
7. Bombay	170	644	1872	(+279)
8. Surat	160	107	1872	-33
9. Delhi	150	154	1868	(+3)

10. Moradabad	150	62	1872	-59
11. Poona	110	90	1872	-18
12. Nagpur	115	84	1872	-27
13. Ahmedabad	100	115	1872	(+16)

It is noteworthy that the most populous city in India in early nineteenth century was Banaras whose population declined in less than 50 years by almost three-quarters. Similarly, other big urban centres with large populations of craftsmen and artisans, like Patna, Dacca, Surat and Moradabad, declined in the same half century by 49, 62, 33 and 59 percent respectively.

Poona lost one-eighth of its population in just one year after the defeat of the Peshwas in the Third Maratha War. Its population in 1819 was estimated in 110,000 by Elphinstone<sup>12</sup> "having diminished about one-eighth subsequent to the abrogation of the Maratha dynasty." Between 1825 and 1872, it declined by another 18 percent, or a loss of about one-third in 50 years, not dissimilar to the loss suffered by Nagpur, another Maratha feudal centre, of 27 per cent.<sup>13</sup>

Surat, another feudal city teeming with artisans organised in craft guilds, suffered an even more precipitous decline in the course of imperialist de-industrialisation drive :

"The great population of Surat, as late as 1797 estimated at 800,000 souls, would seem to have rapidly declined. In 1811 it is returned at 250,000 souls, and in 1816, at 124,406 souls and continuing steadily to fall off, it had reached as low a figure as 80,000 in 1847."

In other words in just 50 years, the population was reduced to one-tenth.<sup>14</sup>

3

THE CONCRETISATION

The process of destruction of Indian feudal society is fully described in the Gazetteers in all its aspects. The changes in land tenure naturally occupied the pride of place in discussions relating to the economic consequences of the change. W. W. Hunter notes in his *A Statistical Annal of Bengal-Maldah*, Vol.7 (1876):

"As late as 1859, the whole land law of Bengal underwent revision, throwing the province into a paroxysm of litigation."<sup>15</sup>

We have only to remember that under the guidance of the Council Member Macaulay, all the laws of India were being transformed and codified at precisely the same time - the Code of Civil Procedure (1859), the Indian Penal Code (1860), and the Code of Criminal Procedure (1861). Thus a combination of military might manifested in activities relating to the suppression of the First War of Indian Independence, along with the legal steamroller, destroyed feudal institutions and paid put to their aspirations. Behind the legal enactments stood the four fundamental elements of state power, viz. the administrator, the judge, the policeman and the soldier: and all these four characters continuously peep out of the pages of the gazetteers, caught on its pages in the very act of carrying through the bourgeoisification process.

All the old feudal privileges were crushed, and in their place the new bourgeois privileges arose. The gazetteers record almost enviously the rise of the new aristocracy of money.

"The Commercial Resident, Mr. Cheap (sic!) had £ 45,000 to £ 65,000 to spend every year.... Mr. Cheap lived in a pile of buildings with artificial lakes and gardens, and bequeathed a fortune, and the largest indigo plantation in Beerbhoom.... (to his heirs) Cheap exercised magisterial powers."<sup>16</sup>

At the same time, the spread of the monetary economy was revealed through records of mortgages of land: of increase in numbers of landless labourers who had perforce to sell their labour



power in order to live: of the frightening rise in the general price level everywhere; of emigrations of people under stress of poverty, etc.

The gazetteers coolly proceed to note :  
"Of the late years, in the inland parts the most notable change in the condition of cultivating classes has been the gradual disappearance of the small holder. The large holders, say of fifteen acres, have greatly increased in wealth, and many have turned into moneylenders. But the small holder of an acre or two, and even the average holder of five acres has been falling deeper into debt. The price of his produce has risen, but he has very little of it left over to sell. Marriage expenses entangle him with the moneylender and by mortgages and sales, both private and judicial, land tends to gather in large holdings, though the old owner may be left as tenant and the land be still entered in his name in the Government books." 17

The moneylenders were aided by British law and the new courts :

"In grinding the faces of the poor, the moneylender is unrivalled... Land mortgages are common and are growing commoner. Sales under civil court decrees are frequent as the moneylender generally takes his debtor into court, after frightening him into renewing and renewing until the last bond is for the whole sum he is worth in the world. As it is the last bond that is sued on, and as the *kunbi* often fails to appear in Court, the fact of his having paid the original debt several times over does not come to light, and the creditor buys the land for a nominal sum. Complaints of forged deeds are not unknown. The mortgage of labour still prevails among the poor *kunbis*, *agris* and wilder hill and forest tribes. The rate at which the bondsman's services are valued depends on the straits to which he is reduced. For Rs. 50, a Varli has to bind himself for 10 to 12 years." 18

The bourgeois system proceeded relentlessly to grind into dust the miserable cultivator.

"The chief borrowers of the district are landowning *kunbis*... In the opinion of the Deccan Riots Commission, the bulk of the landholder's debt was due less to large sums spent on ceremonies than to constant petty borrowings for food and other necessities, to buy bullocks and to pay the government assessment.... In no part of India did indebtedness cause more misery than in the Deccan. Formerly the law or custom prevented a lender from more than tripling the original loan by compound interest. Neither personal arrest nor seizure of immovable property was allowed. The English law removing all such restraints caused much horror. To carry out the law, judges had to strip whole families of their ancestral homes... In 1855, an act was passed repealing the restriction on interest. In 1858, when Lord Elphinstone was Governor of Bombay, he recorded his conviction that the labouring classes suffered enormous injustice for the want of protection against the extortionate practice of moneylenders. He believed that the civil courts had become hateful to the mass of the people because they were made the instruments of the almost incredible rapacity of usurious capitalists. One mortgagee's tenant in his statement to the Deccan Riots Commissioners used the following words 'I till the land, but I have no right to take for my use any of the produce....' Sir Wingate described thus (the situation). "It becomes the lender's interest to reduce the borrower to hopeless indebtedness that he may appropriate the whole fruits of his industry beyond what is indispensable to his existence. This the lender is able without difficulty to do. Do what he will the landholder can never get rid of principal. He toils that another may rest: he

sows that another may reap. Hope leaves him and despair seizes him." 19

We have in the foregoing extracts, a more or less complete picture of the essential bourgeoisification process under colonial conditions. First land is turned into a commodity and is made alienable and mortgageable. Then the bourgeois state and its legal machinery are pressed into service to uproot the cultivator and convert him into either a bonded labourer or a simple wage labourer on the "free" labour market. The fruits of his labour, the produce from the land is seized, and he is left with nothing except a small loin-cloth or a blouse and a petticoat.

Undoubtedly the feudal system was itself oppressive and exploitative, but it pressed less heavily upon the common man than the terrible juggernaut devised by imperialism and its local *nouveau riche* agents. And there were no industries which provided employment to the very considerable segment of the population which imperialism uprooted.

Integration of the Indian economy into the world market and the total destruction of native crafts were also noted by the gazetteers.

The evidence of destruction of Indian industries is extensive, detailed and overwhelming. Within the span of this paper, we have space for the barest of references. 20

Nevertheless, we may notice a few outstanding features of the de-industrialisation drive. Till early 19th century, "The chief product of Bombay was its ships." 21 In the first ten years of the century many merchant ships of from 600 to 1300 tons had been built for the country trade and for the service of the East India Company. Bombay was the first place out of Europe, where a ship of the line was built. The largest ship ever built in Bombay was the Ganges, a frigate pierced to carry 92 guns and was of 2289 tons. Of other men-of-war there were launched one of 74 guns, two of 38 guns, two of 36, two of 18 and two of ten guns. For commercial purposes, there were built up to about 1816, nine ships of 1000 tons, five of 800, six of 700, five about 600 tons, and 35 smaller vessels. "In beauty of construction, excellent workmanship, and durability, they were superior to any class of merchant ships in the world." 22

Apart from direct prohibition another method employed was to impose heavy taxes. Salt is the symbol of such imperialist imposts.

"Next to agriculture, the making of salt is the most important industry of the Thana district. There are 200 salt works with an outturn in 1880-81 of salt worth about Rs. 3,30,000 or including duty, Rs. 95,60,000 and yielding a revenue of Rs. 78,00,000." 23

That an output worth Rs. 3 lakhs should yield government revenue at 26 times its value, is a state of affairs which needs no comment.

Finally, we may turn to Bengal for a few concluding notices. *Cotton Textiles*: "The cloth manufactures appear to have been at first spread throughout the whole district; but became centralised in Santipur.... the fine cotton webs are, however, rapidly losing their distinctive character, as is the case with Dacca muslins and Murshidabad silks. East India Company's purchases in first 20 years of 19th century were £ 1,20,000 to £ 1,50,000 per annum." 24

*Paper*: "Panduah was the seat of a large, paper manufacturing industry upto the beginning of the present century. No trace of this manufacture exists in Panduah at the present day." 25

*Silk*: "But it must be recollected that since that time (1857)

### ECOLOGICAL ONSLAUGHT BY IMPERIALISM

The ecological onslaught of imperialism that transformed the landscape with denudation of hills through export of timber, construction of roads and railways without regard to drainage, and alterations in river channels to suit petty commercial interests.



the silk trade of Bengal has considerably fallen off owing to increasing competition from China and South of Europe... The weavers of Murshidabad district are always in debt. Assistant Sub-Magistrate of Lal Bagh Sub-Division says : Their physique generally proves that they are leading an unhealthy and half-starved existence. They live from hand to mouth, on low wages, not punctually paid, and their work is also precarious. Their life is sedentary, passed in filthy houses." <sup>26</sup>

In fact, every volume of each and every gazetteer series provides, under notices pertaining to each district and each town, evidence of destruction of Indian manufactories. The total destruction of all defence industries of that period - saltpetre, iron foundries, saddlery, tentage, etc. - was merely one aspect of the process. The more important consequences were the extraordinary rise in land prices as millions of artisans were thrown back upon land, and the worsening in the terms under which tenures were held. The gazetteers record the successive increases effected by survey settlements as well as the fierce rack-renting indulged in by ostensible tenure holders.

Another consequence of the same process of de-industrialisation and ruralisation was the fall in real wages. Every district gazetteer volume provides data on the subject, and demonstrates the steep fall in the purchasing power of the rupee. For instance, in Thana, one could get 38 pounds of rice for a rupee in 1836, but only 12 pounds in 1877; whilst unskilled labourers were paid 2 and 3 annas in 1777 and 1847; and annas 4 a day in 1881. In other words, whilst prices had gone up by 200 percent, wages had remained more or less the same for 70 years from 1777 to 1847, and had improved from say 2 1/2 annas to 4 annas in the next 34 years, or a rise of at best 60 per cent. In short, real wages had fallen by 1877 to less than one-third of their original 1836 values. <sup>27</sup>

In the latter part of the nineteenth century and in twentieth century, the direction in which the British finance capital flowed, into railways, plantations, managing agency houses and elsewhere, was briefly noticed by the gazetteers.

Marx was very optimistic about the "multiplier effect" of foreign capital investment in railways. "The railway system will therefore become in India, truly the forerunner of modern industry." <sup>28</sup> However, imperialism proved to be more cunning, resourceful and vicious than Marx had anticipated. It "dampened and muffled" the effects of railway investment by concentrating all purchases, from the locomotive to the last nail and pin, in England.

At the same time, some of the investment directly competed with and ruined native enterprises. This was the case with indigo manufacture :

"Indigo manufacture is the only industry carried on in Nadiya District by imported European capital. It dates from the latter half of the last century. Most of the large indigo concerns now existing sprang originally from very small native factories, which were bought by Europeans at the beginning of this century... by English capitalist or by proprietors backed by Calcutta agency houses. Large factories rapidly came upon great impetus... Money was plentiful... Contentment arose between neighbouring planters. The European planter soon gained for himself an important position in the District, although at first he had but little property." <sup>29</sup>

But amongst the most curious and interesting entries in the gazetteers were those that fell into the following classes :

- a) Ecological onslaught by imperialism
- b) Attacks on people's health
- c) Politics of law and order

4

## ECOLOGICAL ONSLAUGHT BY IMPERIALISM

The ecological onslaught of imperialism that transformed the landscape with denudation of hills through export of timber, construction of roads and railways without regard to drainage, and alterations in river channels to suit petty commercial interests.

We have space to note only a few typical cases of ecological vandalism perpetrated by imperialism.

i) The courses of rivers and streams were recklessly altered for the sake of private profit. "In the early part of the century the Sarju instead of joining the Kauriala in Bahraich, flowed on into Gonda district. The stream was turned into its present channel by a European timber merchant, with a view to securing a more expeditious route for floating down his logs." <sup>30</sup>

ii) In the same way, the magnificent forests of the Konkan coastal belt of Maharashtra were denuded of teak and other vegetational cover partly to provide sleepers for the railways, and partly for providing Bombay City market with charcoal, construction materials and other forest produce. Before the depredations caused by railway construction, teak had been extensively employed for ship-building. The removal of the forest cover resulted in grave soil erosion of the slopes of the Western Ghats; and this created further ecological imbalances. <sup>31</sup>

c) Miserly, cheeseparing habits of British imperialism resulted not only in total neglect of irrigation works and the silting of tanks and lakes, but imperialism went so far as to withdraw essential maintenance services in respect of lands reclaimed from the sea. This, too, is recorded by the gazetteers dealing with the Konkan strip. <sup>32</sup> The office of Khar Patil was thus abolished.

d) The indiscriminate blocking of natural water channels through the building of railways and roads after 1854 resulted in the creation of vast acreages of bogs and swamps which are even visible today as one travels on the Indian railways. Naturally, these marshy tracts intensified, if not generated, the scourge of malaria.

5

## ATTACK ON PEOPLE'S HEALTH

True, contact with the white man did not cause such devastating epidemics in India, as happened in the case of the Red Indian populations of the Americas. <sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, two frightful consequences did ensue. On the one hand, pauperisation of Indians shortened their lives drastically and imperialist-made famines debilitated the afflicted population to such an extent that epidemics raged amongst the survivors. On the other hand, with a sharp rise in the number and forms of contact between Englishmen and Indians, many infections appeared in particularly virulent forms, especially tuberculosis and venereal diseases.

The earlier and to us completely unfamiliar situation was described by Walter Hamilton as follows :

"Compared with the West Indies and other tropical regions, Hindoostan may be considered a very healthy country, being little afflicted with many

distemperers that are destructive in other countries. Indeed, one of

### ATTACK ON PEOPLE'S HEALTH

On the one hand, pauperisation of Indians shortened their lives drastically and imperialist-made famines debilitated the afflicted population to such an extent that epidemics raged amongst the survivors. On the other hand, with a sharp rise in the number and forms of contact between Englishmen and Indians, many infections appeared in particularly virulent forms, especially tuberculosis and venereal diseases.



the most striking features of the medical history of India is that it does not tolerate any infectious fever, typhus, yellow fever and the plague being equally unknown east of Indies. Cancer is nearly unknown within the tropics; and phthisis pulmonalis is not common. Scrophula is rare, although instances occur from particular causes, and the formation of stone in the bladder is but very seldom experienced. Although climate does not prevent attacks of the gout, yet they are certainly less common and severe than in cold countries, and quite unknown to abstemious natures. Acute rheumatism is rare between the tropics, and the chronic kind is more easily cured than in Europe. Within the last fifteen years, a new and very fatal disease has visited at different times Hindoostan, and swept off great numbers of natives; but its virulence has latterly very much abated, as it originally commenced, without any assignable cause, either from improvement of climate, diet, habits or mode of treatment."<sup>34</sup>

Eighty years later, the entire approach has undergone a sea change and we are confronted by the more familiar scene of chronically unhealthy India.<sup>35</sup>

Heavy mortality was sought to be explained on large philosophic, social and moral grounds. "The tendency of European civilisation is to give man more complete control of his surroundings whereas in India..."<sup>36</sup> The same absurd sweep continues: "The whole tone of religious thought, with its philosophy of fatalism is against the individualistic self-assertion necessary to success in the struggle for existence: it is opposed to cooperation for civil ideals; and it promotes indifference to life. Disastrous effects on a larger scale frequently follow on the congregation of vast numbers at places of pilgrimages..."<sup>37</sup> But Indian religious thought had not changed its form for centuries, at least not since early 19th century, when Hamilton had found Indians to be extraordinarily healthy. Yet the homilies pour thick and fast: "The universal custom, of early marriage lives, countered in the West by the celibacy (sic!) of large classes...Premature strain on reproductive function tends to their earlier cessation in India... to earlier degeneration... to premature senility."<sup>38</sup>

After all this unscientific rubbish, excuses are proffered.

"The duties of daily life are ordered and performed as religious rites which the British Government is pledged to respect... and herein lies one difficulty in securing the observance of the sanitary ordinances which have occupied so large a place in the Statute Book of recent years."<sup>39</sup>

The admissions also peep through the text: "with respect to nutrition, it cannot be doubted that the quality and nature of the food of the majority leaves much to be desired. These effects are strongly emphasised in the times of scarcity and famines..."<sup>40</sup> But the imperialist habit of standing things on their heads constantly reasserts itself. "Poverty of which sickness and mortality are perhaps the chief causes"<sup>41</sup> is asserted, instead of poverty being shown as the cause of sickness and mortality. And imperialist viciousness is never absent. "Under ordinary conditions the essential protein (nitrogenous) element available is largely diminished by primitive methods of cooking."<sup>42</sup> Lastly, bland, comforting lies are purveyed. "We may see the results in the rapid recuperation of people after famine and epidemics, and possibly in the relative immunity they possess to some of the chief causes of mortality."<sup>43</sup>

We need not elaborate further. Hamilton recorded that India was a very healthy country and infectious fevers were "not tolerated and lung diseases were uncommon. Such were the striking features of the medical history of India in the early nineteenth century. Eighty years later, fevers, lung diseases and bowel complaints were shown to be the chief causes of heavy mortality and low expectation of life. Suddenly the philosophy of life followed by Indians and their age-old customs became responsible for the evils perpetrated by the British policy of de-industrialisation and ruralisation. The gazetteer itself admits that "nine-tenths of the population live from land."<sup>44</sup> We may juxtapose this to the statement made by the Famine Commissioners of 1880: "No remedy for present evils can be complete which does not include the introduction of a diversity of occupations through which the surplus population may be drawn from agricultural pursuits and led to find the means of subsistence in manufactures or some such employments."<sup>45</sup> But till the end of imperialist rule no meaningful change occurred - in 1947 the Indian people were even more overwhelmingly dependent on agriculture than they had been since the beginning of imperialist rule.

6

## POLITICS OF LAW AND ORDER

Many political crimes and most crimes against newly-established bourgeois property forms were dealt with in the gazetteers as law and order problems. However, very often, the mask got torn off and one could discern the seething discontent of the Indian masses who were found protesting against the political system under which they were forced to live.

An outstanding example of the distortion of a political upheaval into a law and order problem is provided by the so-called Deccan Riots of 1875. However, the gazetteers, in the usual self-contradictory fashion, provide facts that belie official characterisation.

"As a rule, the disturbances were marked by the absence of serious crime. In every case, the object of the rioters was to obtain and destroy the bonds and decrees in the possession of their creditors.

When bonds were peaceably given, the mob did no further mischief... The most remarkable feature of these disturbances was the small amount of serious crime... This moderation is in some measure to be attributed to the nature of the movement. It was not so much a revolt against the oppressor, as an attempt to accomplish a definite and practical object, the disarming of the enemy by taking his weapons, his bonds and accounts. For this purpose, a mere demonstration of force was usually enough. Another circumstance which contributed to the moderation of the peasantry was that in many cases the movement was led or shared by the heads of the village... The chief cause of the moderation was the natural law-abiding spirit of the Kunbi peasantry. In so orderly and peaceful a people, such a wide-spread resort to force proved the reality of their grievances."<sup>46</sup> And we have two classical cases illustrating the nature of the grievances. Mr. Shambhu Prasad Lakshmilal, a member of the Deccan Riots Commission which was subsequently set up to hold an inquiry, cited a case in which an advance of Rs. 10/- was made in 1863 against which sums amounting to Rs. 100/- were paid from time to time. At the end of 10 years, Rs. 220/- were still due!<sup>47</sup> The second instance was provided by Mr Tytler, Collector of Ahmednagar, who referred

## POLITICS OF LAW AND ORDER

The so-called Deccan Riots of 1875 were the first major political manifestation in Western India of a political protest organized on the basis of the new bourgeois order. It was not an attempt to restore the feudal past as with the First War of National Independence (1857-60). It was an attempt to launch a struggle on the new bourgeois premises. It sought to reverse the expropriations carried out with the help of the new bourgeois legal system that had been instituted by imperialist arms.



to a man who had borrowed a quantity of Jowar worth Rs. 6 and in 16 months, the borrower was sued for Rs. 72/- which the lender was awarded with costs. "The judge considered the thing iniquitous but there was a bond and a bond covered all iniquity. *Thousands of parallel cases could be collected; every division and every village teemed with them.*"<sup>48</sup>

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The gazetteers termed the movement "riotous", but provided factual evidence to the contrary.

7

### BRITISH MISERLINESS CONFRONTS FAMINES

Amongst the most hypocritical and mealy-mouthed

statements to be found in the gazetteers were those relating to the extreme generosity displayed by the imperialist administration in making the most pusillanimous and miserly allocations for education, public health and famine relief. Here again, bare statistics almost invariably give the game away. Thus the gazetteers appear to be penned by a set of lunatics who in one breath make the tallest claims, and in the very next breath, provide figures of the most miserable allocations. In reading such sections, one does not know whether to laugh or to cry.

We have space to record the classic case of the famine of 1769-70 that devastated Bengal. Hunter in his *Annals of Rural Bengal*<sup>49</sup> recognises the crucial importance of this event which determined the course of Indian history for many succeeding decades.

"Carrying off the husbandman's scanty stock at arbitrary prices, stopping and emptying boats that were importing rice from other provinces, compelling the poor ryots to sell even seed, and the whole administration participated in dealing in grain for private advantage... the disaster was of appalling proportions. It forms key to history of Bengal for 40 years. It places new light on those broad trends of desolation which the English conquerors found (actually made) everywhere, it unfolds the sufferings entailed on an ancient rural society, by being suddenly placed in a position in which its immemorial forms and usages could no longer apply; it then explains how out of the disorganised and fragmentary elements, a new order of things evolved."

In the face of this historic tragedy, what are we to say of the following grand measures adopted to provide relief?

Districts in which 20,000 were dying per month received for

relief Rs. 150 per year. For 30 millions' sustenance for 6 months, £ 4,000 were given. Beyond that the local grandees were to provide, who gave £ 4700 plus expenses.<sup>50</sup>

8

### THE PERSPECTIVE

The entire bourgeoisification process as it unfolded on the Indian terrain comprised of four major phases :

i) First Phase : 1757-1818 : This was the phase during which imperialism on the whole adopted a low profile, when acquisitions of territory were gradually made; when Britishers pretended to be feudal subordinates and allies of the Indian emperor and his chief native subedars, when the old local land administration was largely preserved; when Persian language and indigenous coinage retained their currency.

ii) Second Phase : 1818-1860 : During this phase the bourgeoisification process attained its climactic point. The Indian feudal economy was overturned, the revivalist feudal forces were

decisively defeated in the First War of National Independence (1857-60), the entire politico-judicial system restructured according to the new legal codes, and the Indian economy subordinated to the world capitalist economy.

iii) Third Phase : 1860-1947 : During the first 45 years of this phase, which may be considered as the classic phase of gazetteer production, the British imperialist bourgeoisie consolidated its hold upon the country through a vast network of communication channels (railway, telegraph and roads) and through strategic alliances with local compradors, especially the semi-feudal princelings.

In the next 50 years from 1905 to 1947, imperialism was in retreat, under pressure from the nationalist forces led by the native bourgeoisie. During the preceding century, W.W. Hunter could openly confess to "British misrule in Bengal."<sup>51</sup> But after 1905, the nationalist movement had raised its head.<sup>52</sup> And it was no longer politic to make such adverse admissions.

iv) Fourth Phase : 1947 to the present : The new comprador rulers of the country have produced the latest series of the *Gazetteer of India*, 4 volumes, in addition to some 350 district gazetteers. These gazetteers follow, by and large, the imperialist pattern, since compradors cannot be innovators. The deepening of the bourgeoisification process by the liquidation of the native princelings is triumphantly recorded as also the inauguration of a primitive form of economic planning which aids the process of bourgeois rationalisation. With these developments, we come to the end of the bourgeois epoch and must await the arrival of the next historic series of gazetteers which will take up the story and describe the birth pangs of the new proletarian social order that is to come.



Footnotes to the Text of The Gazetteers as Records of the Indian Bourgeoisification Process

1. Utilitarianism was the philosophy of imperialism. Its founder James Mill, was an old India Office factotum and a consummate scoundrel who defended the crimes of the E. I. Co. with elitist hypocritical polish. Mill served the E. I. Co. for the last 17 years of his life from 1819 to 1836 and was able to join the service on the basis of the self-serving idiotic and senseless two volume *History of British India* that he wrote in 1817. This History formed the model for the Gazetteers discussed in this paper, and was full of the most horrible canards against India. Mills *History of British India* has been analysed in an Appendix at the end of this collection.
2. In Japan, the feudal leadership destroyed the Shogunate and restored the power of the absolute monarchy in the form of the Meiji Restoration of 1868. In turn the emperor opened the economy to intensive bourgeois penetration and advancement. In India too similar developments might have taken place had victory for the nationalists resulted from the First War of National Independence.
3. A.R. Desai (ed), *Peasant Struggles in India*, 1978.
4. The French defeat was sealed by the collapse of Napoleon in 1815. The French had earlier conquered the Dutch, the Germans, the Italians and the Spaniards, who had occupied Portugal from 1580 to 1640, a reverse from which the Portuguese never recovered, so that from 1815 to 1870, Britain had no significant European rival.
5. The defeat of the Marathas in 1818 may be taken as the turning point, thereafter merely mopping up operations continued in the North-West and the North-East of India.
6. Not to be confused with "Zamindari" which was a bourgeois form of exploitation, wherein capital was invested in land within conditions of technological blockage.
7. K. Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1. undated, pp. 711-12.
8. Hamilton quickly brought out a two-volume edition in 1828.
9. An earlier two volumes edition had appeared in 1844.
10. S.B. Chaudhury, *The History of the Gazetteers of India*, 1965.
11. For further discussion of the myth of the self-sufficient Indian village see Vinayak Purohit, "The Asiatic Mode of Production and Feudalism in Indian History and Historiography" in *Proceedings of the 40th Session of the Indian History Congress*, 1980, pp. 741-50.
12. Hamilton, *op.cit.*, Vol. 2, p. 412.
13. Nagpur was annexed in 1853, and therefore the major part of the decline must have occurred in the two decades that followed.
14. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. II, *Surat and Broach*, 1877, p. 319.
15. *Op. cit.*, p. 371.
16. *Statistical Annals of Bengal*, p. 371.
17. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 13, Part I, p. 302.
18. *Ibid*, pp. 308-10.
19. *Ibid*, Vol. 18, Part II, *Poona*, pp. 108, 110, 112-14, 126, 116.
20. We refer the interested student to the trilogy of 1901. D.Naoroji, *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*; R.C. Dutt, *Economic History of India*, 2 Vols.; and W.Digby 'Prosperous' *British India* and to B.D. Basu's *Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries*, 1931. where much material has been gleaned from the gazetteers.
21. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 13, Part I, 1882, p. 363.
22. *Ibid*, Part II, pp. 517-18; Low's *Indian Navy*, 1, p. 28. Hamilton's *Hindustan II*, p. 156.
23. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 13, Part I, 1882.
24. *A Statistical Annal of Bengal*, Vol. 3 *Midnapore and Hooglyp*, 94, 1882.
25. *Ibid*, p. 375.
26. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, *Murshidabad*, pp. 148-154.
27. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 13, Part 1, 1882, pp. 312-14.
28. Marx and Engels, *The First War of Indian Independence : 1857-1859*, 1975, p. 32.
29. *A Statistical Annal of Bengal*, Vol. 3 *Midnapore and Hooglyp*, 94, 1882.
30. *Ibid*, p. 375.
31. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, *Murshidabad*, pp. 148-154.
32. *Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 13, Part 1, 1882, pp. 312-14.
33. Marx and Engels, *The First War of Indian Independence : 1857-1859*, 1975, p. 32.
34. W.W. Hunter, *A Statistical Annal of Bengal*, 1875, Vol. 2, *Nadiya and Jessore* district, pp. 95-97.
35. *The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. 1, 1881, p. 298.
36. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 13, *Thana*, Part I, 1882, pp. 31-32; Part II, pp. 517-18; Vol. II, *Kolaba and Janjira* 1883, p. 17; Vol. 10, *Ratnagiri and Savantvadi*, 1880, pp. 31-33. The last mentioned volume contains the best account of the reckless denudation of teak forests carried out by British imperialism.
37. *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. 13, *Thana*, Part I p.276.
38. It has been variously estimated that the Red Indian population of Pre-Columbian America, North and South, exceeded over 11.5 crores and that almost all of them were eliminated by the epidemics brought by the Whites, whilst a minority was slaughtered by genocidal campaigns. For each Indian scalp, the authorities paid a fixed sum and it was official policy that "the best Indian was a dead Indian."
39. *Hamilton's East India Gazetteer*, 1828 ed., pp. 657-8.
40. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, Vol. I, 1907, Ch. 10. "Public Health and Vital Statistics."
41. *Ibid.*, p.500
42. *Ibid.*, p.501
43. *Ibid.*, p.500
44. *Ibid.*, p.502
45. *Ibid.*, p.502. Possibly, there is a reference here to the murder of Plague Commissioner Rand and his associate Ayerst by the Chaphekar brothers. But the allusion is inappropriate as the British officers were known to have raped Indian women in the course of their inspection tours to enforce sanitary rules. Such nefarious activities had nothing to do with respect for religious rites supposedly manifested by the British Government.
46. *Ibid.*, p.501
47. *Ibid.*
48. *Ibid.*
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.* p. 502
51. *Imperial Gazetteer of India, The Indian Empire*, Vol. III p.449.
52. *The Gazetteer of Bombay Presidency*, Vol.18. *Poona*, Part II, pp. 122-3.
53. *Ibid.*, p 127.
54. *Ibid.*, Vol. 17. *Ahmednagar*, 1884, p.314.
55. Vol. I, 1868, pp. 19-70.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
57. *The Indian Empire*, 1896, p. 383.
58. The Anti-Partition, Boycott and Swadeshi Movement led by Bal-Pal-Lal had swept over the country between 1905 and 1911.

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# ECONOMIC HISTORY OF INDIA

R. C. Dutt

## INDIA IN THE VICTORIAN AGE

### RAW PRODUCE AND MANUFACTURES

When the East India Company's Charter was renewed in 1833, it was provided that the Company should thenceforth "discontinue and abstain from all commercial business," and should stand forth only as administrators and rulers of India. The beneficial results of this provision became manifest before many years had elapsed. The Company felt a greater interest in the trades and manufacturers of India when they were no longer rival traders. And on February 11, 1840, they presented a petition to Parliament for the removal of invidious duties which discouraged and repressed Indian industries.

A Select Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to report on the petition. Lord Seymour was in the chair; and among the Members of the Committee was Mr. Gladstone, then a young man of thirty, and a stern and unbending Tory. Mr. Brocklehurst, Member of Macclesfield, then a great centre of British silk manufacture, was also on the Committee, and represented the interests of the British manufacturers. Much valuable evidence on Indian produce and manufacture was recorded, and has been published in a folio volume of over six hundred pages. It is possible, within our limits, only to refer to such portions of this evidence as are specially relevant to the present work.

J. C. MELVILL

*Military Expenditure and Home Charges* - Melvill said the amount defrayed by the Company for the Queen's troops employed on the Indian establishment was £ 1,400,000 and the Company had also agreed to raise and maintain such further men as might be necessary to keep at all times in effective force of £ 20,000 in India. The portion of the Indian revenues spent in England was, on the average, £ 3,200,000 a year, and this included the dividends of shareholders, interest on debt,

furlough allowances, pensions, the expenses of the Board of Control and the Court of Directors, and their establishments.

*Opium* - Opium was grown in British territory, Benares, and Patna, and in the Native State of Malwa. The Benares and Patna opium was the monopoly of the Company, and the Government of Bengal got a large revenue from this monopoly, selling the opium at the profit of more than 200 per cent. Malwa opium paid a heavy transit duty of £12, 10s. the chest on passing into British territory for exportation, and the Government of Bombay derived a substantial revenue from this transit duty. The two kinds of opium met in the market of Canton for sale in China.

*Salt* - The Government realised a large revenue from salt manufactured in the Company's territory, and a heavy duty on salt manufactured in Native States and coming into British territory. The Company had the monopoly in salt as in opium.

*Sugar* - In 1836, Parliament passed an Act, allowing Indian sugar to be brought to England at the same duty as sugar from the West Indies, i.e. 24s. a cwt. The principle of the law was that the Indian sugar might come, if importation was prohibited at the place from which it came. The Governor-General had prohibited importation into Bengal; Bengal sugar therefore came to England on payment of 24s. per cwt.; and the quantity had increased from 101,000 cwt. in 1835 to 519,000 cwt. in 1839. The Governor-General had passed an Act in 1839 prohibiting importation into Madras, so that Madras also was about to enjoy the same privilege as Bengal. There was no chance of the same privilege being extended to Bombay for some time.

*Rum* - There was a duty of 15s. a gallon on Indian rum imported into England, as against a duty of 9s. only on West Indian rum, although the latter was stronger.

*Tobacco* - There was a duty of 3s. per pound on Indian tobacco imported into England, as against 2s. 9d. On West Indian tobacco. The difference caused much

hardship; and it was believed that by equalising the duty the consumption of Indian tobacco could be greatly promoted.

*Coffee* - In 1835 the duty upon Indian coffee was equalised with the West Indian duty of 6d. per pound; and the consumption of Indian coffee in England had largely increased in consequence.

*Cotton, Silk, and Woollen Goods* - British cotton and silk goods, conveyed in British ships to India, paid a duty of 3 1/2 per cent; and British woollen goods a duty of 2 per cent only. But Indian cotton goods imported into England, paid a duty of 10 per cent.; Indian silk goods a duty of 20 per cent.; Indian woollen goods, a duty of 30 per cent.

As the import of cotton goods from India into England had died out, the import of raw cotton had increased. In the five years ending in 1813, the cotton-wool annually imported from India had been 9,368,000 lbs. on the average. The annual average of the five years ending in 1838 was 48,329,660 lbs.

"Native manufacture have been superseded by British!" Melvill was asked.

"Yes, in great measure," was his reply.

"Since what period?"

"I think, principally since 1814."

"The displacement of Indian manufactures by British is such that India is now dependent mainly for its supply of those articles on British manufacturers?"

"I think so."

"Has the displacement of the labour of native manufacturers at all been compensated by any increase in the produce of articles of the first necessity, raw produce?"

"The export of raw produce from India has increased since she ceased largely to export manufactures; but I am not prepared to say in what proportion."

"Have the natives of India, weavers, for instance, when thrown out of employment, the same facility in turning their attention to other matters as people in this country have, or are particular trades at all mixed up with the peculiarities of caste?"

"Particular trades are, I believe, mixed up with the peculiarities of caste. I have no doubt that great distress was the consequence in the first instance, of the interference of British manufactures with those of India." (Questions 577, 578, 583, 584 and 633.)

*Tea* - It was known to the Court of Directors, as early as 1788, that the tea plant was a native of India; but no attempts were then made to encourage its cultivation. In 1835, Lord William Bentinck brought to the Court's notice that the tea



plant was indigeneous in Assam, and could be grown elsewhere in India; and the Court gave its sanction to an experimental establishment in Assam for the cultivation and manufacture of tea. Ninety-five chests of Assam tea, about 4000 lbs., had recently arrived in London, and had been pronounced good; and applications from many persons, who had formed themselves into a company, had been referred by the Court of Directors to the Indian Government. The growing of tea in Assam by private enterprise and capital thus dates from about 1840.

#### ANDREW SYM

This witness held grants of land from the East India Company in India, to the extent of about 60,000 English acres, and gave evidence mainly about the growing of sugar-cane and the manufacture of sugar. The cultivators grew the cane, expressed the juice, boiled it, and then sold it to the factory. There it was made into *Shukkur* by mechanical pressure, boiled into syrup, and then evaporated into sugar.

The witness had much to say about the displacement of Indian labour by the introduction of English manufactures - clothing, tools, implements, glassware, and brass articles. The people of India deprived of their occupations, turned "to agriculture chiefly."

#### C.E. TREVELYAN

A more important witness was Sir Charles Trevelyan who, after a distinguished service in India under Lord William Bentinck, had become Assistant Secretary to the Treasury in England. (Later on he went out to India as Governor of Madras in 1859; was recalled in 1860 for his protest against new taxes; and was Finance Minister of India in 1862 to 1865 under Lords Elgin and Lawrence. He married Macaulay's sister, and to his son we owe the *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*.)

While in India, he had helped in abolishing vexatious transit duties which had impeded the internal trade. And in his evidence before the Select Committee he pleaded for the removal of those unequal and prohibitive import duties in England which kept out India's manufactures.

*Population of British India.* - The population of Bengal was generally calculated at 30 millions; that of Northern India under British Rule at 30 millions; that of Madras about 14 millions; and of Bombay about 3 millions. Total for British India, 77 millions. The ordinary price of labour was 2 anas, or 3d. a day. Land in Bengal was tilled by cultivators who held it under landlords. "The theory of Indian agriculture is, that as long as the Ryot, who is the occupant of the soil, continues to pay the rates of rent fixed by usage in his district, he is not liable to be ousted; but this rule is constantly broken through." (Question 1624) All restrictions against Europeans holding land in India had been removed; and it had been expected that Europeans would purchase lands and settle in India. "But that has ended in dis-appointment. The climate does not suit them; they do not look to ending their days there." (Question 1499.)

*Sugar and Rum* — The equalising of the duty on sugar was useless until the duty on rum was also equalised. "It is a mere mockery to give equality in one respect only; in order to establish equality you must equalise the duty on all the articles manufactured from the sugar-cane." (Question 1513.)

The inequality in the duty on rum, besides being injurious to the manufacture of both sugar and rum, created a sore feeling, a feeling among the people of India that their interests were being sacrificed to those of more favoured countries.

*Mr. Gladstone* - When you speak of dissatisfaction existing among the natives, are you to be understood that you do not allude to the body of cultivators, or the population, but to that which may

be fairly called the commercial class?

*Mr. Trevelyan* - I mean that those among them, particularly the commercial class, and the educated natives of Calcutta, who know something of the relations between India and the mother country, feel it as a grievance; that it goes to add to the sum of grievances which the native feel; and that the feeling extends from the better informed class to the body of people, but without the body of the people well knowing the grounds. (Question 1789.)

For the rest, the witness said that the Bengal sugar grown in the valley of the Ganges, had a vast home consumption. The 30 millions of Bengal, the 30 millions of British Northern India, and some 40 millions beyond, consumed the Gangetic sugar. Witness understood that the people of Central Asia too derived their supply of sugar from the valley of the Ganges, until that sugar met the beet-root sugar of Russia. (Question 1699.)

*Cotton Goods* — Indian cotton manufactures had been to a great extent displaced by English manufactures. "The peculiar kind of silky cotton formerly grown in Bengal, from which the fine *Dacca* muslins used to be made, is hardly ever seen; the population of the town of *Dacca* has fallen from 1,50,000 to 30,000 or 40,000 and the jungle and malaria are fast encroaching upon the town. The only cotton manufactures which stand their ground in India are of the very coarse kinds, and the English cotton manufactures are generally consumed by all above the very poorest, throughout India. . . *Dacca* which was the Manchester of India, has fallen off from a very flourishing town to a very poor and small one; the distress there has been very great indeed." (Questions 1824 and 1825.)

*Tea* — Tea was grown in Assam, at first experimentally, by the Government, and since then by the new Assam Company. There was a dearth of local labour, and the Company engaged hill-coolies and took them from a distance to Assam to do work in the gardens. Witness believed that the contracts were for three years, but he had no precise information.

*Indigo* — Hill-coolies went annually to the indigo planters of Bengal to find employment in the manufacture of Indigo, "just as the Irish come over into this country to get in the harvest." The coolies did not take their families with them, and they returned home after the indigo season was over.

*River Steamers* — All the steam navigation was still in the hands of the East India Company. The steamers used very very small ones, and drew less than two feet water. There was a Steam Tug Company for drawing vessels up and down the *Hughli* River, which made a good dividend.

*Roads* — Roads were seldom repaired at all, except along the main lines. But they seldom became entirely impassable for the country carts, which were stoutly made, except in the rains.

*Raw produce* — Mr. Trevelyan recommended that the raw produce of India should be freed from all unequal duties in the English market. "We have swept away their manufactures; they have nothing to depend upon but the produce of their land, and I think it would be extremely unjust not to give equal privileges in the market of the mother country to that." (Question 1950.)

#### HENRY GOUGER

Henry Gouger was a merchant who had lived in India many years, and was the proprietor of works near Calcutta for the manufacture of cotton-twist, the distilling of rum, the expressing of oil from seeds, a foundry and a paper mill. His evidence therefore was of great value.

*Cotton-twist* — 700,000 lbs. weight of yarn was annually spun, of numbers varying from 20 to 50. The cotton used was all grown in India and selected with great care, and the machinery was worked by Indian labourers under European superintendence.



There were 100 power looms, but their use was discontinued in order to employ the whole of the power steam for the manufacture of yarns which was more profitable. The lower numbers sold rather better than English yarns, the higher numbers on a par with them. But on the whole the profits of the business were not proportionate to the enormous cost. "I am inclined to think" said the witness, "there never will be another manufactory for spinning cotton yarns, in consequence of the great expense attending the building of the present one." (Question 1981.)

**Coal** - Witness used coal from his own mine at Burdwan. The coal was sold at 16s. per ton in Calcutta; it was not so good as English coal, but being cheaper was generally used in the steamers in India. The cost of Burdwan coal at Calcutta was 12s. or 13s. the ton; the price of Newcastle coal at Calcutta was 25s.

**Sugar** - The juice of the cane, boiled by the growers into Goor, was brought by them and sold at the manufactory to be made into sugar. Fine Benares sugar sold at 11 or 12 rupees (24s.) for 80 lbs. weight. The price was lower before the duties were equalised. Sugar was carried to England as dead weight and the freight was £ 4, 10s, the ton.

**Rum** - West Indian rum paid a duty of 9s. per gallon on import into England, while Indian rum paid a duty of 15s. the gallon. Rum was distilled in India both from Goor, and from molasses, the refuse of Goor. From 80 lbs. of molasses 3 1/3 gallons of rum, London proof, could be obtained; a much larger quantity could be made from 80 lbs. of Goor. A gallon of rum could be supplied at Calcutta at 10 annas, i.e. 18. 3d.

It might be profitable to extract sugar from Goor and then convert the refuse, the molasses, into rum; but that was not the general practice.

**Silk** - Bengal raw silk, imported into England, sold at about 16s. the pound. Corahs, or silk piece goods made in India, sold at about 16s. or 17s. the pound. The export of raw silk from India was declining. In 1828-29 it was to the value of £ 920,000. In 1829-30 it was £ 800,000. In 1830-31 it was £ 720,000. In 1831-32 it was only £ 540,000. Probably an increase had taken place in the manufacture of silk goods in India, and the export of silk goods from India had also increased.

#### G. G. DE H. LARPENT

Larpent, Chairman of the East India and China Association, was then examined. The Association was formed in 1836 with the object of rendering assistance to all parties concerned in the East India and China trade. He gave his evidence at great length on the import of sugar and rum from different countries into England, and he spoke strongly on the decline of the cotton and silk manufactures of India.

**Cotton goods** - Mr. Larpent supplied the Committee with the following figures relating to the import of Indian cotton goods into England, and the export of English cotton goods into India.

#### Cotton Piece Goods Imported into Great Britain from the East Indies.

1814 . . . . .	1,266,608 pieces.
1821 . . . . .	534,495 pieces.
1828 . . . . .	422,504 pieces.
1835 . . . . .	306,086 pieces.

#### British Cotton Manufactures Exported to India.

1814 . . . . .	818,208 yards.
1821 . . . . .	19,138,726 yards.
1828 . . . . .	42,822,077 yards.
1835 . . . . .	51,777,277 yards.

In spite of this decline in the Indian manufacture, and the

increase of British manufacture, British cotton goods were still imported into India on payment of an ad valorem duty of 3 1/2 per cent., while Indian cotton goods imported into England were subjected to an ad valorem duty of 10 per cent. Quoting from Mr. Shore, witness read: "This supersession of the native for British manufactures is often quoted as a splendid instance of the triumph of British skill. It is a much stronger instance of English tyranny, and how India has been impoverished by the most vexatious system of customs and duties imposed for the avowed object of favouring the mother country." Mr. Larpent did not agree with Mr. Shore in these observations to the full extent; but they showed the feeling of a distinguished servant of the Company, a feeling which was likely to prevail among the people of India. (Question 2743)

**Silk goods** - British silk goods were admitted into Calcutta on payment of a duty of 3 1/2 per cent., Indian silk goods were subjected to an import duty of 20 per cent. in England. Corahs or Indian silk piece goods in the grey (unprinted), were imported into England mainly for being printed in England and then exported to other European countries. The following figures were given for Corahs imported into England.

	For Home Consumption	For Re-export
	Pieces	Pieces
1838 . . . . .	16,000	310,000
1839 . . . . .	38,000	352,000

Bandannas or Indian printed pocket-handkerchiefs were imported into England in considerable quantities. Mr. Larpent pleaded strongly for the equalisation of duties between Great Britain and India with regard to silk goods. Mr. Brocklehurst, one of the members of the Select Committee, represented British silk manufactures, and necessarily desired the continuance of unequal duties to the advantage of England.

**Mr. Brocklehurst** - You give your opinion without reference to the effect it would have on the British produce?

**Mr. Larpent** - I have no doubt there would be, to a certain extent, a rivalry in competition with the silk manufactures of this country; but I submit on principle that India ought to be admitted as one of our own possessions. The argument has been used that while our manufactures are allowed to go into India at a very reduced duty, we ought to have admitted theirs on as low a duty.

**Mr. Brocklehurst** - Is there any colony of this country whose manufactures are admitted on so low a scale as those of India?

**Mr. Larpent** - There is no colony of this country whose manufactures are of a magnitude calling for it. We have destroyed the manufactures of India. (And then the witness quoted the views of the Court of Directors, stated in Lord William Bentinck's minute of May 30, 1829: "The sympathy of the Court is deeply excited by the report of the Board of Trade, exhibiting the gloomy picture of the effects of a commercial revolution productive of so much present suffering to numerous classes in India, and hardly to be paralleled in the history of commerce." (Questions 2750 and 2751.)

But Mr. Brocklehurst was not convinced. The use of Indian silk handkerchiefs in England troubled his soul, and he returned again and again to the subject.

**Mr. Brocklehurst** - Are you aware that they have already so far displaced silk handkerchiefs made in this country, that attempts are now making to introduce a spurious article from waste silk as a substitute?

**Mr. Larpent** - I have heard that an article is introduced made of waste silk; and that as I stated before, the ingenuity and science of the parties who are making those goods, will probably introduce into the home market a quantity of goods at a low price, which will



be in very general use.

*Mr. Brocklehurst* — Driving the British manufacturer to make inferior articles to maintain his ground in competition?

*Mr. Larpent* — The articles alluded to are those made here; the British manufacturers have made those inferior articles.

*Mr. Brocklehurst* — It would be more desirable perhaps that India should produce the raw material, and this country show its skill in perfecting that raw material?

*Mr. Larpent* — The course of things in India is decidedly leading to that; and it is in the main articles such as we have already alluded to, that we do think every assistance should be given to the agricultural produce of India; but I submit that as this is the last of the expiring manufactures of India, the only one where there is a chance of introducing the native manufactures, at least let it have a fair chance, and not be oppressed with the duty of 20 per cent, in favour of the British manufactures. (Questions 2763, 2764 and 2771.)

"The last of the expiring manufactures of India" has not been saved. India to-day exports annually over seventy million pounds in goods, mostly raw produce. Scarcely over a hundred thousand pounds of this is silk manufactures.)

### MONTGOMERY MARTIN

A still more sturdy champion for India was Montgomery Martin. He had travelled ten years in the colonies of the British Empire, mainly at his own expense; had gathered facts, figures and statistics; and had compiled the first complete History of the British Colonies in five large volumes. He had lived in India; studied Indian questions on the spot; and also edited the voluminous and valuable statistical account of Eastern India left by Dr. Francis Buchanan.

"I have examined at considerable length," he said, "and for a series of years, the trade of India. I have taken the utmost pains to arrive at correct conclusions by examining various documents which the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India House, with their usual liberality, permitted me access to. And I have been impressed with the conviction that India has suffered most unjustly in her trade, not merely with England but with all other countries, by reason of the outcry for free trade on the part of England without permitting to India a free trade herself." And he added that, "on all articles except those where we are supplanting the 'native manufacturers, and consequently impoverishing the country, there is a decreasing trade." (Question 3876.)

*Cotton goods* — In 1815 the cotton goods exported from India were of the value of £ 1,300,000. In 1832 they were less than £ 100,000. In 1815 the cotton goods imported into India from England were of the value of £ 26,300. In 1832 they were upwards of £ 400,000. "We have during the period of a quarter of a century compelled the Indian territories to receive our manufactures; our woollens, duty free, our cottons at 2 1/2 per cent., and other articles in proportion; while we have continued during that period to levy almost prohibitory duties, or duties varying from 10 to 20, 30, 50 100, 500 and 1000 per cent upon articles, the produce from our territories. Therefore, the cry that has taken place for free trade with India, has been a free trade from this country, not a free trade between India and this country. . . The decay and destruction of Surat, of Dacca, of Murshedabad, and other places where native manufactures have been carried on, is too painful a fact to dwell upon. I do not consider that it has been in the fair course of trade; I think it has been the power of the stronger exercised over the Weaker." (Questions 3877 and 3879.)

Evidence such as this brought about a keen controversy between the witness and Mr. Brocklehurst, the representative of the British manufacturer.

*Mr. Brocklehurst* — The fact being that weavers, either in the one country or the other, must be sacrificed, and that sacrifice having already taken place in India, you wish to revive the population of India at the expense of this country?

*Mr. Martin* - I do not wish to revive it, but I wish to prevent continued injury to India. But it does not necessarily follow that the weavers of England would be destroyed by admitting the natives of India to compete with them in this country, because the natives of India have no power looms, and no means of employing skill and capital to the extent that the manufacturers of Glasgow and Manchester have.

*Mr. Brocklehurst* — The questions that have been asked refer entirely to fine fabrics which cannot be woven by power. The question is, whether we are to give up fine weaving in this country, or to retain it?

*Mr. Martin* — If it is only to be retained at the expense of injustice to India, my answer is, that England ought to act with justice, no matter what the result may be. That she has no right to destroy the people of a country which she has conquered, for the benefit of herself, for the mere sake of upholding any isolated portion of the community at home.

*Mr. Brocklehurst* — When the transfer of India to the Government of this country took place in 1833, the destruction of weaving in India had already taken place, and therefore it is not a question of destruction, for that is past; and we have it in evidence that India is an agricultural rather than a manufacturing country, and that the parties formerly employed in manufactures are now absorbed in agriculture. Does it occur to you that there is an opening in this country, if manufacturers are displaced, for the people to turn to agriculture? (The transfer of India to the Government of Great Britain did not take place in 1833. The British Government obtained control over the administration of India half a century before that date, by Pitt's India Act of 1774, and was responsible for Indian administration. In 1833 a new Act was passed renewing the Company's Charter but prohibiting their trade.)

*Mr. Martin* — I do not agree that India is an agricultural country; India is as much a manufacturing country as an agricultural; and he who would seek to reduce her to the position of an agricultural country seeks to lower her in the scale of civilisation. I do not suppose that India is to become the agricultural farm of England; she is a manufacturing country, her manufactures of various descriptions have existed for ages, and have never been able to be competed with by any nation wherever fair play has been given to them. I speak not now of her Dacca muslins and her Cashmere shawls, but of various articles which she has manufactured in a manner superior to any part of the world. To reduce her now to an agricultural country would be an injustice to India. (Questions 3918, 3919 and 3920.)

*Woollen Manufactures* — For twenty-five years British woollen manufactures had been admitted almost duty free in India, but the manufactures of India made of goat's wool paid a duty of 30 per cent. *ad valorem*. The result was that from 1828 to 1838 the total importation from India had not averaged more than £ 28,000 per annum. By stopping this trade British manufacturers were not benefited, as the shawls of England were mostly made on the continent. (Question 3957.)

*Shipbuilding* — There was a marked decrease in shipbuilding in India. In 1795-96 six ships were built in Calcutta, with a tonnage of 4105 tons, and five large vessels of 500 to 600 tons each were on the stocks. In 1797-98 several vessels were launched from the dockyards of Calcutta. But shipbuilding had now (1840) been entirely given up in Calcutta. A dockyard had been founded by the Parsees at Bombay, and for three generations



the splendid dock establishment at Bombay had been under Parsee management. The fine vessel *Asia* was built by Naoroji Jamsetjee, and Parsee gentlemen were studying shipbuilding in the English dockyards. Nevertheless, English-built ships, manned by lascars, proceeding to ports with which England had reciprocity treaties, were not treated as British ships. This was a direct impediment thrown in the way of shipbuilding in India. The Charter of the East India Company of 1833 declared that the natives of India were British subjects, and it was a hardship and injustice to them that they were not considered such in the matter of merchant ships. (Questions 3987 and 3992.)

*Home Charges* — Witness submitted a table showing the Home Charges, or the amount of Indian revenues spent in England, during twenty years, from the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813 to the renewal of their Charter in 1833. (Appendix 60.) Figures showing the Home Charges for five subsequent years, 1834 to 1837, have been taken from another part of the report. (Appendix I.) Figures showing the revenues of India have been taken from a Parliamentary

Year	Home Charges £	Revenues of India £
1814-15 . . .	2,446,016	17,297,280
1815-16 . . .	2,048,030	17,237,819
1816-17 . . .	2,042,809	18,077,578
1817-18 . . .	2,023,996	18,375,820
1818-19 . . .	2,369,947	19,459,017
1819-20 . . .	1,861,381	19,230,462
1820-21 . . .	2,306,187	21,352,241
1821-22 . . .	3,203,611	21,803,108
1822-23 . . .	3,326,406	23,171,701
1823-24 . . .	2,027,420	21,280,384
1824-25 . . .	2,182,132	20,750,183
1825-26 . . .	2,362,360	21,128,388
1826-27 . . .	2,975,141	22,383,497
1827-28 . . .	2,694,219	22,863,263
1828-29 . . .	2,719,579	22,740,691
1829-30 . . .	2,613,527	21,695,208
1830-31 . . .	2,399,573	22,019,310
1831-32 . . .	2,475,569	18,317,237
1832-33 . . .	2,233,559	18,477,924
1833-34 . . .	2,053,141	18,267,368
1834-35 . . .	3,063,322	26,856,647
1835-36 . . .	2,959,975	20,148,125
1836-37 . . .	3,090,582	20,999,130
1837-38 . . .	2,979,514	20,858,820

Return (Returns of the Gross Revenue, & c., in India since 1792, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, June 22, 1855.) The table, which we have thus compiled, shows the proportion of the Home Charges to the total revenue of India for the twenty-four years ending in the year of the accession of Queen Victoria.

A small portion of these Home Charges, about one-fifth, was for stores supplied to India from England. The remaining sums, said Montgomery Martin, "are absolute charges upon the revenues of India, and for which no return whatever is made to India. . . It is a curious calculation to show, that estimating the sums of money drawn from British India for the last thirty years at three millions per annum, it amounts, at 12 per cent. (the Indian rate of interest), compound interest, to £ 723,997,971; or, if we calculate it at two millions per annum for fifty years, the abstraction of fructifying

capital from Hindustan amounts to the incredible sum of £ 8,400,000,000." (Question 4137.)

*Silk Manufactures* — The silk manufactures of India should be freed from the unequal import duty placed upon it in England, and there was the greater reason for this because they really did not compete with the silk manufactures of England or any other country. (Question 4162.)

#### ALEXANDER ROGERS

*Flax and Hemp* - Alexander Rogers was a large proprietor of factories in India, and was introducing the culture of flax for the fibre, the natives of India having so long cultivated that plant for the seed. The first specimens of Indian flax were expected to arrive from India on June 10, 1840. "If we once succeed with flax, hemp and flax are so similar in their process of cultivation that there will be no difficulty whatever with hemp." (Question 4256)

*Silk* — Witness also imported Indian silk into England extensively. The duty on British silk manufactures in India was 3 1/2 per cent.; that on Indian silk manufactures in England was 20 per cent. and upwards. This difference paralysed the Indian silk industry. Reduction of duty on Indian silk would not affect British manufactures, as the reduction of duty on French silks had not affected it. The Indian silk piece goods which would be introduced in England were of the heavier kind, the Corahs, which were very little manufactured in England. On the other hand, "the advantage to England would be that of supplying the natives with the means to purchase twice or threefold the quantity of our goods in return." (Questions 4384, 4385, 4388, 4415, 4418.)

*Sugar* — Witness built a sugar manufactory at a cost of £ 2700 at Sericole, in Jessore District, near his indigo factory. He expected a profitable return, hoping for an equalisation of the duties on sugar and rum, which were produce of the same cane. His profit was 11 1/4 per cent., which was unsatisfactory, as money lent in India without risk would bring in 10 per cent, and at compound interest much more. If the duty on rum was equalised his profit would be more; if it was not equalised he would give up the sugar business.

#### J. M. HEATH

*Iron* — The Association with which witness was connected began operations at Porto Novo, 120 miles south of Madras, in 1833, built blast-furnaces, put up a forge for making malleable iron, and had greatly extended their ironworks. Steel could not be made from English iron; England was entirely dependent on Sweden and Russia for every bar of iron that was to be converted into steel; India could supplement the supply, for Indian iron could be made into steel. Witness imported Indian iron in the shape of pig iron in order to be converted into bars; but the duty on the import of iron ore into England was prohibitive. "The duty upon a ton of iron ore is 58. Now it takes about two tons of iron ore to make a ton of bar iron; a ton of bar iron pays a duty of 25. 6d., whereas the duty upon the ore required to make a ton of bar iron is 10s. English iron going to India paid no duty at all." (Questions 4610 and 4676.)

#### HORACE HAYMAN WILSON

*Books* — The distinguished Sanscrit scholar and Orientalist had been out in India for twenty-four years, and on his retirement he was made Librarian to the East India Company and Professor of Sanscrit at the University of Oxford. He stated in his evidence that books printed in India paid a duty of £ 2, 10s. per cwt., and pleaded for the removal of the duty.



**JOSEPH TUCKER**

**Silk Manufactures** — Joseph Tucker, belonging to a London firm of silk printers and dealers in silk handkerchiefs, desired to maintain the duty of 20 percent. on Indian silk manufactures in order to protect the British industry. He said that the British people still used British manufactures only; but Frenchmen preferred the Indian article; and the export of British silk goods into France was decreasing, and that of Indian Bandannas and other silk handkerchiefs into France was increasing. And he gave the following figures from a Parliamentary Return — See table given below.

The witness further explained that "When British goods first went to France, Indian goods were prohibited, and consequently British goods had a preference with French buyers; hence perhaps the large quantity. As soon as the prohibition was taken off, and in fact previous to that, slightly, the trade had been affected. But immediately the prohibition was taken off, the British trade to France was entirely annihilated." (Question 6379.)

**Exported from the United Kingdom to France.**

Year	British Silk Goods £	Indian Bandannas and other Handkerchiefs. £
1832 . . .	50,600	29,500
1833 . . .	36,300	60,400
1834 . . .	32,700	77,700
1835 . . .	16,800	114,400
1836 . . .	15,600	107,600
1837 . . .	10,000	174,500
1838 . . .	9,400	202,200
1839 . . .	5,500	168,500

The preference given by a single European nation to a single Indian manufacture had aroused the jealousy of English dealers and manufacturers. This jealousy is manifest in the evidence of the last four witnesses, all silk manufacturers, who were examined by the Select Committee, and to whose evidence we now turn.

**THOMAS COPE**

**Silk Manufactures** — No witness gave his evidence in a more plain, straightforward manner than Thomas Cope, silk-weaver of Macclesfield,

*Mr. Brocklehurst* — What would be the effect upon this branch of your trade if the present duty on East Indian silk goods were reduced from 20 to 3 1/2 per cent.?

*Mr. Cope* — In my opinion, it would have the effect of destroying this branch of trade; and if so, it would rob of their employment, and consequently of the means of living honestly by their labour, all those parties which I have before named, and would make them destitute and reckless and cause them to become a burden to the rest of society, whose burdens are already too heavy. It would throw out of employment a large amount of capital, and would give into the hands of foreigners that employment by which we ought to be supported.

*Mr. Hogg* — You are of opinion that justice to the English operatives in silk requires that all foreign manufactured silk should be excluded from this market?

*Mr. Cope* — My opinion is that in justice to the English operative there should be a duty imposed upon the importation of these goods which would put them on a level with ourselves. Now, if the Hindustanee can live at 1 1/2 d. or 2 d. a day, and if an

Englishman cannot live at less than 2s. a day, we think it very hard that the weaver in India should send his goods here and compete with us upon such very unfair terms.

*Mr. Elliott* — Do you think that a labourer in this country, who is able to obtain better food than that, has a right to say, we will keep the labourer in the East Indies in that position in which he shall be able to get nothing for his food but rice?

*Mr. Cope* — I certainly pity the East Indian labourer, but at the same time I have a greater feeling for my own family than for the East Indian labourer's family; I think it is wrong to sacrifice the comforts of my family for the sake of the East Indian labourer because his condition happens to be worse than mine; and I think it is not good legislation to take away our labour and to give it to the East Indian because his condition is worse than ours. (Questions 6483, 6577, 6582.)

It is needless to remark that manufacturers like Cope determined the policy of Great Britain towards India; the British Parliament and the Indian Government were merely the servants of the manufacturers and voters of Great Britain.

**JOHN PROUT**

**Silk Manufactures** — John Prout was another silk-weaver of Macclesfield, and represented the views of British silk manufacturers.

*Mr. Brocklehurst* — Do you conceive that the reduction of the duty upon East India silk manufactures and Bandannas would be an injury to your trade?

*Mr. Prout* — I do conceive it to be a great injury, and it is the opinion of the trade of Macclesfield generally, because it is part of a system of policy which gives to the foreigner the home market, to the destruction of our own branch of industry. (Question 6630.)

**JOHN FRANCIS**

**Silk Manufactures** — John Francis, a silk manufacturer of Norwich, was equally strong against Indian silks because they were competing successfully with British manufactures. And he spoke bitterly of the East India Company which had petitioned for the equalisation of duties.

*Mr. Elliott* — In leaving off the silk trade in which you were formerly engaged, were you induced solely by the state of the trade, or were there any other circumstances?

*Mr. Francis* — Solely from the state of the trade; I can go to the India House, when their sales of Corahs are on, and buy a piece for a less price than I can now buy a pound of silk to make it.

*Mr. Irving* — How do you account for that?

*Mr. Francis* — Only from the cheapness with which the Indians can send their goods here.

*Mr. Brocklehurst* — Would you think the best remedy for this state of things would be to encourage India to send the raw material and let the British industry work upon it?

*Mr. Francis* - To be sure.

And the witness added that forty years before (about 1800) the East India Company brought raw silk from India, and sold it in England to be manufactured in England. Now the Company were "indifferent to British industry," and let the silk be manufactured in India to get rid of it better. (Question 6814, 6815, 6836, 6852, 6853, 6854.)

*Mr. Brocklehurst* even tried to get out of the witness that Indian manufacturers were comfortable, growing raw material and earning 1 1/2 d. a day.

*Mr. Brocklehurst* — You do not suppose that they are uncomfortable; they live according to what they have been accustomed to all their lives?



Mr. Francis — Certainly not.

Mr. Brocklehurst — It may be comfort if they have no better?

Mr. Francis — Yes, it may be comfort to be starving, but I cannot think so. (Questions 6889 and 6890. [The italics are ours])

### JOHN POYTON

The last witness examined by the Select Committee was John Poyton, a silk weaver of Spitalfields.

*Silk Manufactures* — Very few Bandannas were manufactured at Spitalfields, and India did not compete with that place at all. But, nevertheless, the witness objected to the lowering of the duty on Indian silk manufactures, because "if the duty is lowered, there will be less made in the country, and those that are now employed in making Bandannas will turn their hands to something else, and of course they will become competitors with us upon the goods that we now make." (Questions 6946.)

We have not been able to find out if any specific recommendations were submitted by the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the evidence recorded by them. But we have before us the Report submitted by the Select Committee of the House of Lords. For the East India Company's petition was presented to both Houses, and the Select Committee of the Lords had examined Melville and Larpent and Trevelyan, and some other witnesses whose evidence before the Commons Committee has been referred to in this chapter. Lord Ellenborough, afterwards Governor-General of India, was the Chairman of the Lords' Committee, and his Report, professing the utmost concern for the people of India, nevertheless denied them the relief and justice which they sought. His lordship pointed out the peculiar claims of India upon the justice and the generosity of Parliament in his usual florid style.

"Possessed of a population four times greater than that of the United Kingdom, and of all the rest of the British Empire in all parts of the world, defraying from its own resources the whole charge of its civil government and of its military defence, subjected to the rule of British-born subjects in all the higher and more lucrative and honourable offices of the State, India is further required to transmit annually to this country, without any return except in the small value of military stores, a sum amounting to between two and three millions sterling." (Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords p. xviii.)

After these eloquent observations Lord Ellenborough recommended the equalising of duties on the import of West Indian and East Indian tobacco, but declined to make a similar recommendation with regard to rum. The cotton manufactures of India had already died out, and his lordship recommended that the inequality in duties between Great Britain and India should be removed. But the silk manufactures of India were still competing with those of England, and Lord Ellenborough would not recommend equalising the duties on this article — "the last of the expiring manufactures of India."

### COFFEE, SUGAR AND COTTON

THE year 1848 was a year of political revolutions among the nations of Europe. France expelled her king and established her Second Republic. Germany showed her impatience of the despotism of petty princes by insurrectionary movements, and secured important constitutions. Italy declared a premature war against Austria, established a republic at Rome in pursuance of the ideas of Mazzini, and made her first great but unsuccessful effort to secure national independence. Austria witnessed an insurrection at Vienna, and Hungary rose under the valiant and patriotic Kossuth. In Ireland the continuous agitation for the repeal of the Union led to a rebellion. Everywhere there were indications

of the passing away of the old order of things, and the rise of popular institutions and popular power.

Side by side with these political movements there was much commercial and agricultural distress in Europe. In England the contest between the landed classes who wished to keep up the price of corn, and the manufacturing and working classes who wanted cheap bread, was decided by the repeal of the corn laws in 1846. A great impetus was thus given to British manufactures; and the vague dream of a self-contained empire dawned on the minds of the people. Was it possible to make England independent of foreign nations? Was it possible to obtain her supplies from her own dependencies? Indian tea was slowly replacing China tea; was it possible for India to produce the necessary supply of coffee? Sugar plantations in the West Indies had declined after the emancipation of slaves; was it possible for India to supply sugar for the consumption of Great Britain? American cotton fed the looms of Lancashire; was it possible for India to supply that raw material to the extent required? Parliamentary inquiries were made.

### SUGAR AND COFFEE COMMITTEE

A Select Committee of the House of commons was appointed in 1848, with Lord George Bentinck as the Chairman, to inquire into the condition and prospects of "Sugar and Coffee Planting in Her Majesty's East and West Indian Possessions and the Mauritius." The Committee examined many witnesses, and submitted their evidence with eight reports, covering over two thousand printed folio pages. Lord Palmerston was the first witness examined, but had little to say directly about the trade of India. John Bagshaw, a Member of Parliament, was examined on the same day, and dwelt at length on the many disadvantages under which India suffered in competing with other British Possessions.

"*First* : Three millions sterling and upward annually taken from the revenue of India towards the payment of the Home Charges of the East India Company, without any return whatever;

"*Second* : Fortunes accumulated in India by the Civil and Military Services, seldom if any remaining in that country annually increase the capital of Great Britain from the resources of India;

"*Third* : The well-known fact that of the revenue raised in British India, the largest portion of it is from the land, by which its produce is necessarily burdened; this amounts to nearly thirteen and a half millions sterling;

"*Fourth* : The difficulties which importers are subject to from the way in which duties are levied at the Custom Houses of England. (First Report.)

John Bagshaw deplored the extinction of the cotton manufactures of India within the preceding thirty years. In 1816-17 "India not only clothed the whole of that vast population, but exported £ 1,659,438 worth of goods." Thirty years later the whole of this export had disappeared, and India imported four millions sterling of cotton goods. "The people of India might buy British manufactures which were imported into India at a duty of 2 1/2 per cent., but the manufacturers of India were entirely precluded from getting their goods into consumption here by the prohibitory duty which was exacted."

Sugar was not produced in England, and some healthy change in the tariffs with regard to this article had therefore been permitted. The result was marked and instantaneous. "There has been no instance of such growth," said Bagshaw, quoting from an Indian news-paper, "in any article of commerce at any preceding period. There has been no development of the resources of India to be compared with this sudden increase. Last year we [India] supplied England with one-fourth the sugar she consumed; and there can be no doubt that India would in time be able to supply the whole of the home demand." It is needless to add that this



hope was never realised; and sugar manufacture declined during the last half of the nineteenth century with almost every other manufacture.

Colonel Sykes, a distinguished Director of the East India Company, had carefully studied Indian facts and figures. He spoke of the Economic Drain from India of £ 3,300,000 to £ 3,700,000 a year, and remarked truly : "It is only by the excess of exports over imports that India can bear this tribute." Henry St. John Tucker, then Chairman of the East India Company, said that this Economic Drain was an increasing quantity, "because our Home Charge is perpetually increasing." (First Report) The expression of regret from the Chairman of the Company was no doubt genuine, but brought no redress. A cynic might remark that, as the flow of wealth from India to England increased in volume, England paid back the debt by copious streams of sympathy and regrets.

Nathaniel Alexander, an East Indian merchant, dwelt on the great increase in the consumption of Indian sugar in England, but spoke guardedly on its future prospects. The Indian sugar trade had been profitable before 1846, but had not been so latterly; and if that trade declined it was difficult to conceive how the country would draw its annual tribute from India. "I may say generally", said the witness, "that up to 1847 the imports [of India] were about £ 6,000,000, and the exports about £ 9,500,000. The difference is the tribute which the Company received from the country, which amounts to about £ 4,000,000." (*Ibid*. The truth was clearly perceived over fifty years ago that the annual Economic Drain from India for Home Charges compelled that country to export more than she could import. Trade between India and England was not natural but forced. Matters have become worse after half a century. The manufactures of India have declined; while the Home Charges have increased from three to seventeen millions sterling. India meets this terrible annual demand largely by exporting wheat and rice, the food of the people; and the result is greater poverty and more frequently famines. )

Both Alexander and Sir George Larpent, of whom we have spoken in the last chapter, pointed out to the Committee that, while the West Indies and the Mauritius were mainly sugar-producing countries, India was mainly a sugar-consuming country, and exported only a small portion of her annual produce of sugar. India, therefore, could never compete with other countries in exporting

sugar for any length of time. "The equalisation of duties in 1836," Larpent said, "became profitable solely because the quantity from the West Indies had, during that period, greatly declined, from 200,000 tons, I think, in the year 1831, to 110,000 tons in 1840 and 1841. It was that which gave an impulse to India and a profit to India; it is nothing but the high prices of sugar here that can lead to a profitable exportation from India." (Second Report.)

More than one witness deposed that the system of assessing land, according to their estimated value, had the effect of discouraging the cultivation of valuable products like sugar. The Chairman of the East India Company, Henry St. George Tucker, said : "Sir Thomas Munro's plan was to obtain as much revenue from the country as possible; and he assessed different articles of produce according to his idea of their probable value. He raised the assessment upon articles which were expected to be very productive. Whether he succeeded or failed in that I will not undertake to say, because a reduction of the produce may have taken place from other causes; but certainly in consequence of this assessment upon sugar, I think a very great check and discouragement was given to the cultivation of the article in the Madras territory." (First Report.)

Robert Christian, a coffee planter of Ceylon, gave an interesting account of the commencement of coffee plantation in that island.

"It was about 1837 when we first embarked; the inducements were in a great measure the falling off of the production of coffee in the West India Islands, and the large protecting duty which British plantation coffee then enjoyed; and the high prices, of course consequent upon those circumstances." Previous to this the people of Ceylon grew coffee, and exported the article without the help of European capital or agency. In 1838 Ceylon exported to England 2500 tons of coffee, grown entirely by the people of the island. Nine years later, the crop of 1847 was 12,482 tons, of which 7173 tons were grown by the Cingalese and 5309 tons by European planters. (Sixth Report.)

In their concluding report, the Select Committee dwelt on the great distress and loss caused to sugar plantations by the emancipation of slaves, and the difficulty of obtaining free labour; and they recommended a differential duty of IOS. in favour of sugar, the produce of British possessions.



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**Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia**

b. 23. 3. 1910 - d. 12. 10. 1967

**1932** - Ph.D. in Economics, Berlin University Thesis on Salt Tax & Satyagraha in German.

**Oct. 1934** - Bombay - Establishment of the Socialist Party.  
Lohia on its national executive  
edited *Congress Socialist* from Calcutta.

**1936** - Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Indian National Congress.

**1938** - Resigned as Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

**Aug. 1942- May 1944** - Led underground struggle against the British, Congress Radio broadcasts, published pamphlets, attacks on govt. establishments.

**June 1946 & Sept. 1946** - Arrested in Goa, twice for challenging Portuguese Rule. Tortured and brought to the border and expelled to "India".

**May 1949** - Arrested for supporting the Nepali agitation against the Ranas.

**1949** - Patna, President of Hind Kisan Panchayat.

**1956** - President of the newly formed Socialist Party at Hyderabad.  
Editor of *Mankind* - Led from 1956 to death, innumerable struggles against Indian dalals of Anglo - American imperialism.

**1963** - Elected to Lok Sabha. Made his famous maiden speech, spread over 3 1/2 hours, bringing out data on the abysmal level of income of the average Indian. His attack on Jawahar for spending 25,000 times more on himself rattled and unnerved the Prime Minister.

**1967** - Died prematurely on 12. 10. 67 as a result of hospital negligence a former Willingdon Hospital, now renamed Dr. R. M. Lohia Hospital, New Delhi.