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MANKIND

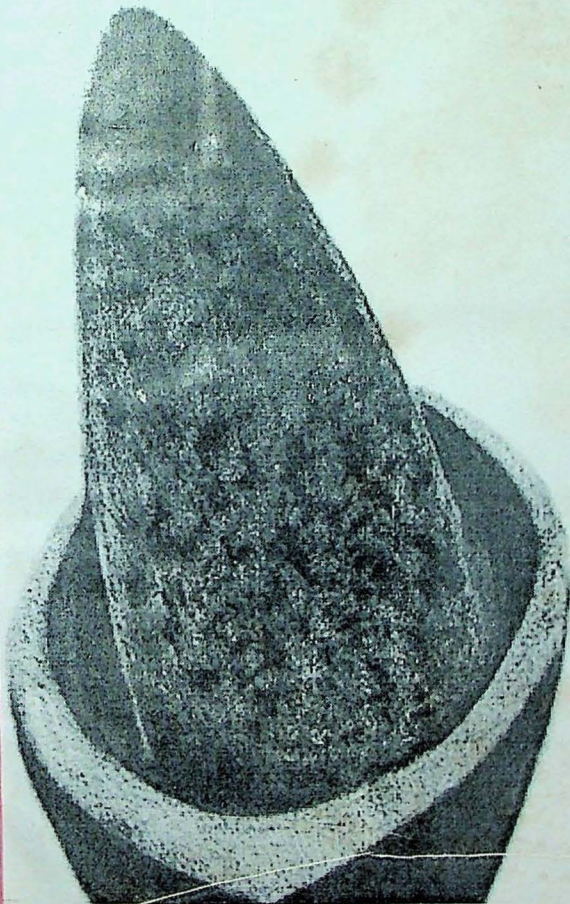
FDR. EDR. DR. RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

Volume 1, No. 7, April 1996.

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MANKIND

Founder Editor : Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

Vol. 1, No. 7, April 1996

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Contents

An Opening Statement : 7	Exe. Edr.	3
Asia-Europe Summit Confirms <i>Mankind's</i> Forecast		
World-Wide Nationalism Zindabad		
Reformism Derailed		
Cauvery Waters Dispute		
The Bangladesh Poll Crisis		
Beware of Greeks Bearing Gifts !		
A Lost Chapter (From the Archives, old <i>Mankind</i>)	Ram Manohar Lohia	13
Ulta Zamana		20
Neo - Colonialism, the Sucking Dry of the Third World		21
E.M.S. - A Man Out of his Depth !		
Neo-Colonialism Triumphs Over Compradorism !		
Naukarshahi, the Ruination of All Norms India is the Land of Endless Scams		26
Fishing in Deep Waters	National Fisheries Action Committee Against Joint Ventures	31
World Food Industry & Globalization	Paul Elshof	34
Adda at Nukkad		38
A World of Permanent Revolutions		42
Economic History of India	R.C. Dutt	53
India's Place in the Sun : 7	Mankind Statistical Research Bureau	60
Back Nos. of <i>Mankind</i>		64
Mankind Distribution Network		66

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 *Chappa!* in the No. 4/5 Jan./Feb. 1996, The *Container* in No. 6 Mar. 1996 and The *Grinding Stone* 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: 7

ASIA-EUROPE SUMMIT CONFIRMS MANKIND'S FORECAST
WORLD-WIDE NATIONALISM ZINDABAD
REFORMISM DERAILED
CAUVERY WATERS DISPUTE
THE BANGLADESH POLL CRISIS
BEWARE OF GREEKS BEARING GIFTS !

ASIA-EUROPE SUMMIT CONFIRMS MANKIND'S FORECAST

The 25-strong Asia-Europe summit (10 from Asia plus 15 members of EU) has just concluded and the media are full of all sorts of gossipy details about the gorgeous Thai hospitality and similar trivialities. More importantly, it was mentioned by both CNN and BBC that Asia (meaning seven ASEAN members plus Japan, China and South Korea) had displaced USA as Europe's largest trading partner and that therefore, Europe was "rediscovering" Asia, and that the older colonial connection was being left behind, and further that a new partnership was emerging.

European leaders including John Major of U.K. and Helmut Kohl of Germany and other Heads of Government were present in full strength, and so were China, Japan and South Korea, apart from the ASEAN Heads of Government. India in spite of and because of its total surrender to its neo-colonial multi-national interests, was left out in the cold. Our External Affairs Ministry had tried very hard to get invited to the new Asia-Europe Club, but was firmly excluded. It is sad to record that the more India bows down and proves that it lacks a nationalist backbone, the more it is marginalised. India's cup of humiliation and degradation is full to the brim! If India had from 1947 pursued a true nationalist policy of self-confidence and self-respect, today we would have been leading, if not the world, at least the Asian world. But the reality is that we are nowhere. Our foreign policy makers are now publicising and consoling themselves with the EU Vice President Mr. Marin's wish, that India may be admitted to the second Asia - Europe Summit scheduled to be held in London after two or three years. See *Europeans Want India to Participate; In Next EU-Asia Meet; Asians, Europeans Begin*

Unprecedented Summit; Indian Express, 2.3.96; See also Euro-Asian Summit Fudges On Rights, But Trumpets On Trade, Indian Express, 3.3.96; Euro-Asian Summit Skirts Rights Issue, Times of India, 3.3.96

It is to be emphasised that on matters to which China is sensitive, like the Human Rights issues referred to in the above clippings, the Americans and the Europeans are most diplomatic and tactful on other issues ! They want to treat Chinese proclivities and sensitivities with kid gloves! India can be openly admonished, kicked in the pants and soundly abused, but the Westerners dare not use such language with China !

That is our state and fate for being anti-nationalist internationalists, i.e. compradors.

We have been analysing in the columns of *Mankind*, the emerging trends in the world economy.

We draw our readers' attention in particular to our following contributions.

1. Capitalism's Second Breath (*Mankind* Vol. 1, No. 3, Dec. 1995, pp 3-7) Reproduced by *Frontier*, (Calcutta, Vol. 28, No. 27 Feb. 10, 1996, pp 4-8.)

2. *India's Place in the Sun* : 4/5 (*MK*, Vol. 1, No. 4/5, Jan-Feb. 1996 pp. 43-58 Also available as Special Statistical Supplement)

3. *The London Economist follows Mankind's Lead* (*MK* Vol. 1, No. 6, March, 1996, pp. 7-8)

In Table III : The Exploiters' Club of *India's Place in the Sun*, *MK* 4/5, we had presented the data relating to the 15 members of the European Union.

Further, in Table V : The Emerging Challenge of East and South - East Asia, of the same No., we had given the data for ASEAN plus China, Japan and South Korea.

For the convenience of our readers

we present alongside a recapitulation of our earlier presentation.

It will be seen from Table I that the emerging challenge of the Asiatic rim of the Pacific, which we had forecast and concretised in our first issue (*MK*, Vol. 1, No. 1, Oct. 1995, p.62. This was reproduced as Table V, *The Emerging Challenge of East and South-East Asia*, *MK*, Vol. 1, No. 4/5, Jan-Feb., 1996, p.56), that today (1991) these East Asian countries gestate nearly 24% of the world GDP in PPP terms and that this represents an increase of 10 percentage points in proportionate strength over the three decades, 1960 to 1991.

It will be further observed that the relative strength of the EU declined over the same period by one and a quarter percent.

Overall, the two groups of countries, 10 Asian and 15 European, absorbed nearly half the world's GDP at PPP equivalent. These 25 nations also covered about 40 percent of the World Population and one-eighths of its Area.

We shall now consider the foreign trade of these 25 strong Asia-Europe summit members.

It will be seen from Table II that,

a) Trade Dependency of the 10 Asiatic countries was of the middling level, ranging from 37% in the case of China, to 90% in the case of Thailand. The high levels in case of Malaysia of 148% and 312% in the case of Singapore are exceptional.)

In the case of the 15 nations of Europe, the Trade Dependency Ratio was of the middling level, of about 29/30% (Spain, Italy) to 66/89% (Portugal/Netherlands). Only for Ireland, a mini-state was it 115%.

As far as foreign trade is concerned the ten nations of Asia exported one-fifth of the total world exports. Their imports totalled 17%.

Their total foreign trade was 18.63% of the world total.

Against that the total trade of Europe amounted to one-third of the world total.

The two groups together controlled more than half the world's total foreign trade.

Looking more particularly at the OECD imports of manufactures, which gives us a better idea of the extent of industrialisation achieved by the ten Asians, the latter accounted for one fifth on the total imports of manufactures by the most industrialised nations of the world.

Looking at the matter closely, we find that almost three-fourths of the foreign trade in manufactures of the industrialised

TABLE I : ASIA-EUROPE SUMMIT
THE ASIAN TEN PLUS THE EUROPEAN FIFTEEN

A. The Asian Ten

Country	% of World GDP PPP - US \$		1991 Compared to 1960	1991 % World Pop.	1991 % World Area
	1960	1991			
Japan	3.92	10.20	6.28	2.31	0.28
China	7.29	8.10	0.81	21.41	7.06
Indonesia	0.70	1.70	1.00	3.38	1.41
S. Korea	0.26	1.51	1.25	0.81	0.07
Thailand	0.40	0.74	0.34	1.07	0.38
Philippines	0.50	0.63	0.13	1.17	0.22
Malaysia	0.22	0.41	0.19	0.34	0.24
Singapore	0.06	0.15	0.09	0.05	0.00
Brunei	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00
Vietnam	0.47	0.29	-0.18	1.26	0.25
Total	13.82	23.74	9.92	31.80	9.91

B. The European Fifteen

Country	% of World GDP PPP - US \$		1991 Compared to 1960	1991 % World Pop.	1991 % World Area
	1960	1991			
Germany	5.69	6.26	0.57	1.81	0.34
France	3.76	3.74	-0.02	1.06	0.41
Italy	3.39	3.19	-0.20	1.08	0.22
UK	5.16	3.08	-2.08	1.07	0.18
Spain	1.26	1.85	0.59	0.73	0.37
Netherlands	0.99	1.00	0.01	0.28	0.03
Belgium	0.73	0.64	-0.09	0.19	0.02
Sweden	0.75	0.58	-0.17	0.16	0.33
Austria	0.49	0.48	-0.01	0.15	0.06
Denmark	0.42	0.37	-0.05	0.10	0.03
Greece	0.24	0.35	0.11	0.19	0.10
Finland	0.32	0.34	0.02	0.09	0.25
Portugal	0.22	0.26	0.04	0.18	0.07
Ireland	0.14	0.18	0.04	0.07	0.05
Luxembourg	0.03	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.00
Total	23.59	22.35	-1.24	7.17	2.46

**C. Grand Total
of the Twentyfive**

	37.41	46.09	8.68	38.97	12.37
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Source : *Mankind* 4/5 : January-February 1996; *India's Place in the Sun*, pp. 43-58.

countries of the world was amongst themselves. But nevertheless the ten countries of the Asiatic rim of the Pacific had made a significant dent in the monopolistic situation of the OECD, by accounting for 1/5th of the OECD imports of manufacturers.

We may further note that the foreign trade of a country passes through three stages :

Stage One : Foreign trade is an insignificant proportion of GDP as in the Sub-Saharan Africa.

Stage Two : Foreign trade becomes a fair proportion of GDP, as in the 24 nations of Pacific Rim Asia and Europe (All minus Japan, which has advanced to stage three)

Stage Three : When GDP reaches very high level per capita, as in USA and Japan, the proportion of foreign trade to national GDP, once again falls (Trade Dependency Ratio 16% per both USA and Japan.)

TABLE II : FOREIGN TRADE OF THE ASIA - EUROPE SUMMIT MEMBERS
ASIA EUROPE SUMMIT MEMBERS

A. The Asian Ten

Country	1991 Trade Dependency Ratio Total Foreign Trade as % of National GDP	1993 Exports \$ mln.	1993 Exports as % of World Exports	1993 Imports \$ mln.	1993 Imports as % of World Imports	1993 Total Trade \$ mln.	1993 Total Foreign Trade as % of World Foreign Trade	1993 OECD Imports of Manu- factures \$ mln. from each country	1993 as % of Total OECD Imports of Manu- factures
Japan	16	362,244	9.78	241,624	6.39	603,868	8.07	195,574	10.67
China	37	91,744	2.47	103,088	2.72	194,832	2.60	72,115	3.93
Indonesia	47	33,612	0.90	28,086	0.74	61,698	0.82	12,060	0.65
S. Korea	54	82,236	2.22	83,800	2.21	166,036	2.21	39,473	2.15
Thailand	70	36,800	0.99	46,058	1.21	82,858	1.10	16,882	0.92
Philippines	47	11,089	0.29	18,757	0.49	29,846	0.39	7,614	0.41
Malaysia	148	47,122	1.27	45,657	1.20	92,779	1.24	20,571	1.12
Singapore	312	74,012	1.99	85,234	2.25	159,246	2.12	26,022	1.42
Brunei	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Vietnam*	-	2,850	0.07	3,505	0.09	6,355	0.08	-	-
			19.98		17.30		18.63		21.27

B. The European Fifteen

Country	1991 Trade Dependency Ratio Total Foreign Trade as % of National GDP	1993 Exports \$ mln.	1993 Exports as % of World Exports	1993 Imports \$ mln.	1993 Imports as % of World Imports	1993 Total Trade \$ mln.	1993 Total Foreign Trade as % of World Foreign Trade	1993 OECD Imports of Manu- factures \$ mln. from other OECD members	1993 as % of Total OECD Imports of Manu- factures
Germany	50	380,154	10.27	348,631	9.22	728,785	9.74	229,187	12.50
France	37	206,259	5.57	202,271	5.35	408,530	5.46	123,610	6.74
Italy	30	168,460	4.55	146,789	3.88	315,249	4.21	96,742	5.27
UK	45	180,579	4.87	206,321	5.46	386,900	5.17	103,259	5.63
Spain	29	62,872	1.69	78,626	2.08	141,498	1.89	31,153	1.70
Netherlands	89	139,075	3.75	126,557	3.34	265,632	3.55	60,312	3.29
Belgium	-	112,512	3.03	125,058	3.30	237,570	3.17	68,771	3.75
Sweden	51	49,857	1.34	42,681	1.12	92,538	1.23	32,918	1.79
Austria	56	40,174	1.08	48,578	1.28	88,752	1.18	28,206	1.53
Denmark	61	35,914	0.97	29,521	0.78	65,435	0.87	16,317	0.89
Greece	52	7,960	0.21	20,542	0.54	28,502	0.38	3,160	0.17
Finland	41	23,446	0.63	18,032	0.47	41,478	0.55	14,880	0.81
Portugal	66	15,429	0.41	24,598	0.65	40,027	0.53	11,888	0.64
Ireland	115	28,611	0.77	21,386	0.56	49,997	0.66	18,112	0.98
Luxemborug	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			39.14		38.03		38.59		45.69

MEMO ITEMS : (Members of G-7 not included above)

USA	16	464,773	12.55	603,438	15.96	1,068,211	14.28	220,129	12.01
Canada	47	145,178	3.92	131,675	3.48	276,853	3.70	88,067	4.80

World Exports 1993 : \$ 3,701,466; World Imports 1993 : \$ 3,778,726 World Total 1993 : \$ 7,480,192; OECD Imports of Manufactures 1993 : \$ 1,832,379

Sources : 1. *World Bank Report*, 1995, Tables 13 & 14, pp. 186-7, 192-3. 2. For Trade Dependency, *UNDP Report*, 1994, Tables 20 & 40; pp.168-69 & 198. 3. * For Vietnam only, *Asia Development Outlook*, Asian Bank, 1995, pp. 249 & 251.

Mankind readers know that we have been staunchly nationalist in our outlook. We have repeatedly urged that no poor country can afford to throw away nationalism in the present context. It is not possible to combat the neo-colonialism of Euro-America-Japan without appealing to the sense of national outrage that is a day to day experience of the Third World, groaning under the Structural Adjustment Programme imposed on the poor, the oppressed and the exploited of the world by the *trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO.

Sceptics and even friends who had raised their eyebrows at the uncompromising nationalist standpoint of *Mankind* especially of the CPI-ML factions who had been till recently shouting "Chairman Mao is our Chairman", should heed the latest speech of Li Peng, the Chinese Premier who opened a session of the National Peoples' Congress in Beijing the other day. In his long oration televised live by the CNN to the three thousand assembled delegates, he analysed the world situation from the Chinese viewpoint. Peng's speech was full of the usual jargon and cliches which have fait and parcel of current international politics.

As all the analysts were quick to point out, the only parts of his speech that were vigorously applauded were those in which he alluded to the forthcoming merger of Hongkong with the Mainland in 1997 and of Macao in 1999 as well as those in which he asserted the indivisibility of Taiwan and Mainland China. Peng insisted Taiwan was a renegade province and further that China will not rest content till it had reabsorbed Taiwan. He warned all foreign powers, meaning USA in particular that they should not meddle in China's internal affairs, and encourage in any way the Taiwanese to opt for an independent role in world affairs.

The CNN analysts which followed the lengthy live telecast were forced to observe that though China was technically a communist country, it was obvious that it was nationalism which was driving it forward. Further, Chinese nationalism was a growing force. China has carried out from Friday

9th March four missile tests at places very close to the Taiwan coastline. The American Secretary of State William Perry had to admit that it was Chinese nationalist right to carry out such missile tests. However USA felt it was inadvisable to do so. We can be sure that China will advise the overbearing American to keep their advice to themselves!

Our fancy lefties could learn a lesson or two from the Chinese example. To defend the living standards and employment opportunities for the Indian people; to resist the constant devaluation of the Indian currency; and to stop the piling up of the mountainous mass of foreign debt now standing at \$ 100 billion (Rupees 3800 arab) there is only one way and that is the nationalist way. Without rousing the patriotic feeling amongst the millions of

poor Indians, it is not possible to defend our country against the endless neo-colonial onslaughts.

As the Japanese economist Yoshihito Karibe put it recently, and we have commented upon his analysis in our last issue, the Indians have the rich and tragic experience of the East India Company days available to us, and knowing this, we should have never allowed neo-colonialist fortune-hunters to freely enter our national market to sabotage all our programmes of self-reliance.

Unfortunately, our national comprador elite consisting of the lumpen-bourgeois, the criminally corrupt *naukarshahs* and the parvenu NRI's, are completely anti-national. They have no feeling for the common people, for the *dalits* and the *pidits* of the country. They are willing, nay, anxious to fiercely exploit the Indian poor in partnership with the foreign multi-nationals, on whatever terms, these aliens may be willing to allow them.

That is why we are in the mess in which we find ourselves today.

The tragi-comedy of our condition is that our so-called

naxalites have no desire to learn from the examples of Mao, Chou, Deng or Li Peng! They seem to be taking them literally, i.e., foolishly.

They want to be Chinese patriots in India, not Indian patriots emulating the example of Chinese patriots! They literally prefer to be Chinese patriots, but refuse to be Indian patriots!

It is a fantastic and unbelievable state of affairs!

The rightist compradors of India are by birth, culture and nurture, Macaulayan Raj types flourishing in a weird Kiplingesque world! But we have the strangest griffon or centaur or unicorn of the comprador phantasmagoria — the Leftist Anti-nationalist!

The little horror Stalin can be a fervent nationalist rousing the Russian masses to a frenzy of patriotic fervour during the World War II!

Mao, Lin Piao, Chu Teh, Chou, Deng, Li Peng and Ho Chin Minh, Nguyen Giap, Le Duan, 'e Duc Tho can be fierce nationalists!

Castro can be a stalwart nationalist leading his people against American hegemonism!

But their alleged ideological followers and affiliates in India are ashamed to be addressed as Nationalists!

It is really funny! Our fashionable leftists are willing to be Russian internationalists, Chinese internationalists, Vitnamese internationalists, Cuban internationalists and even European humanitarians and internationalists, but never never Indian Nationalists!

Obviously because their compradorism will be found out!

Or let's put it in another way. India is chockful of patriots. Only they are Russian patriots, Chinese patriots, Vietnamese patriots, Cuban patriots, British patriots, and so on. The only thing missing are Indian patriots! They are nowhere to be seen.

THE ANTI-NATIONALIST GRIFFONS, CENTAURS AND UNICORNS OF THE LEFT!

We have repeatedly urged that no poor country can afford to throw away nationalism in the present context. It is not possible to combat the neo-colonialism of Euro-America-Japan without appealing to the sense of national outrage that is a day to day experience of the Third World, groaning under the Structural Adjustment Programme imposed on the poor, the oppressed and the exploited of the world by the *trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO.

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REFORMISM DERAILED

Election results in Australia and Spain have produced somewhat similar results. In both cases, the 13-year rules of old socialist govts. of Paul Keating and Felipe Gonzalez were brought down by the voters' ire over their hesitant and wishy-washy policies.

Paul Keating, Prime Minister of Australia, for the last 13 years was the more flamboyant figure. In the course of his election campaign, Keating had forcefully and rudely reminded Britain of its double treachery over the last half century. During the Second World War, in 1942-43, Britain had abandoned Australia to fend for itself, as the Japanese tide swept over the entire South-East Asian region and over the Western Pacific islands. Japan had occupied parts of Papua New Guinea and Australia was under imminent threat of invasion, when the United States stepped in and halted the Japanese onward march.

Secondly, Keating referred to the sudden about turn by Britain in applying for EU membership without any prior consultations with the Commonwealth in July 1961, an application that was finally approved only in January 1973 by the EU.

Keating used both these arguments in demanding an end to the British connection and the proclamation of Australia as a Republic. All the reactionary and conservative forces came together in the last elections to ensure a landslide victory for John Howard. Howard, a staunch monarchist won the Prime Ministers *gaddi* with a majority of about 50, in a house of 146. In other words, Labour ranks are reduced to around 25. Keating's plans of holding a referendum in the coming year on the issue of the snapping of the monarchical links with the British crown, will now naturally be held in abeyance. In all probability Australia will remain tied to the British Crown in the foreseeable future. Though John Howard agrees with Paul Keating that the future of Australia lies in a closer association with Asia, he is unlikely to take any vigorous step in that direction.

The case of Gonzalez is a little more complicated. In fact, such was the fear shared by the common man in Spain about "the return to the evil days of Franco", that though his Conservative opponents, led by Jose Maria Aznar secured a plurality, the Socialist Party of Gonzalez was far from routed. Socialists obtained only 17 seats less than Aznar's Conservatives' haul of 157 in a 350 member parliament. The Conservative Party leader will have to seek support from the smaller regional parties, in order to secure the necessary majority, of which it is short by 19 seats. In other words, the new government will be a weak coalition and Gonzalez will live to fight another day. Of the 63 members affiliated to regional interests, the Catalanian Party of Pujol is the biggest and Pujol will extract a heavy price from Aznar for his support. Catalonia is the wealthiest region of Spain which is demanding increased autonomy in fact something like the virtual "independence" that the Pakistan - backed Kashmiris are seeking in India. (The latest

CNN report, mid-day 7.3.96 is that Aznar has declared that "a new elections might become necessary".)

It was probably the implementation of the onerous membership conditions by the EU that caused Gonzalez's downfall. The unemployment rate in Spain is the highest in Europe, and contradictory estimates of the same ranging from 15% to 23%, are being bruited by the CNN and BBC. After the collapse of Franco's fascist dictatorship in 1974, Spain has made impressive economic gains. Its share of the world GDP at PPP was 1.26% in 1960 and advanced to 1.85% in 1991 (See *MK 4/5*, Jan-Feb 1996, pp 50-1) However, the corruption scandals, the unresolved Basque

problem (it seems that the Socialist government of Spain of the last 13 years adopted dubious and dirty means to counter the ETA), and the high unemployment rate, jointly caused the Socialist electoral debacle.

The landslide against Keating and the serious reverse in the electoral fortunes suffered by Gonzalez, both point to the ineffectiveness of reformist tinkering with the fundamentals of the capitalist system. The Left in Europe is in total disarray. In the modern world there is no room for compromise and the middle path. You have to smash the bourgeois order, or get smashed yourself!

All the Indian lefties of the jet set, who are forever looking to the West for intellectual leadership, guidance and friendship, should wake up! The way out for India is and can be only on the nationalist path of self-reliance *swashraya* and *swadeshi*. Nobody is interested in or is in a position to solve India's problems in the interests of the Indian masses

except ourselves. We must do that by and for ourselves!

It is no use inviting Noam Chomsky to come and lecture here! He has and can have nothing to say about Indian problems and can contribute nothing to India's struggles.

We must break away decisively from the mental tutelage of the West. We must first become *swadeshi* and *swashrayi* (self-reliant) in thought, before we become self-dependent in politics and economics!

CAUVERY WATERS DISPUTE

Much has been written about the Cauvery waters dispute between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and the Supreme Court directive, which made P.V. Narsimha Rao, the arbitrator.

We will concentrate our attention on two or three basic features of the matter:

* Historically, Britain had destroyed the irrigation network of the entire country, between 1765 and the end of the 19th century. In the earlier part of the century and half, during which the policy of destruction was implemented, the principal reason was the need to save every possible penny from the land revenues collected, in order to enhance the investments devoted to purchase of Indian manufacturers for export to Britain and for resale by Britain of

SWADESHI AND SWASHRAYA ZINDABAD !

The landslide against Keating (Australia) and the serious reverse in the electoral fortunes suffered by Gonzalez (Spain), both point to the ineffectiveness of reformist tinkering with the fundamentals of the capitalist system. The Left in Europe is in total disarray. In the modern world there is no room for compromise and the middle path. You have to smash the bourgeois order, or get smashed yourself!

All the Indian lefties of the jetset, who are forever looking to the west for intellectual leadership, guidance and friendship, should wake up! The way out for India is and can be only on the nationalist path of self-reliance, *swashraya* and *swadeshi*.

Nobody is interested in or is in a position to solve India's problems in the interests of the Indian masses except ourselves. We must do that by and for ourselves!

It is no use inviting Noam Chomsky to come and lecture here! He has and can have nothing to say about Indian problems and can contribute nothing to India's struggle.

We must break away decisively from the mental tutelage of the West. We must first become *swadeshi* and *swashrayi* (self-reliant) in thought, before we become self-dependent in politics and economics!

Indian specialities to Europe and the Third World countries. In the latter part of the period of destruction, the main motive was to promote the earnings from railways, which formed the basic block of finance capital investments and to maximise the earnings from these investments, which were state guaranteed.

We have in the columns of *Mankind* reproduced the extensive data collected by R.C. Dutt, who has described fully the details of the policy of destruction carried out by British imperialism.

We may repeat twelve of the most important findings of R.C. Dutt, which were based on Dr. Buchanan's survey of the Karnatic, and Eastern, Northern and Southern Mysore.

1. "On his way to Arcot, Dr. Buchanan saw another splendid old Hindu reservoir, called the Kaveri-pak. The reservoir 'is about eight miles long and three broad, and fertilises a considerable extent of country. I never viewed a public work with more satisfaction, a work that supplies a great body of people with every comfort which their moral situation will permit them to enjoy' " (p.16)

2. "The people of Pallgonda procured water from the Palar river by digging canals in the sand six or seven feet deep. The water was then conveyed by other canals to irrigate the fields, and thus rendered the valley of Vellore the finest tract of country in the Karnatic." (p.16)

3. "The country rose gradually on both sides of the river, was naturally fertile, and was irrigated by a noble system of canals sending out branches to water the intermediate spaces. The water of the Kaveri river was forced into the sources of these canals by anicuts or dams, formed of large blocks of granite at a great expense. Dr. Buchanan does not tell us if these useful and noble works were constructed by Haidar Ali or by his Hindu predecessors; but during the wars of Tipu Sultan very great damage was done; temples, villages, and dams were broken down, and canals were choked." (p.16)

4. "On the other hand, the Government which received the rent was 'bound to keep the canals and tanks in repair.' (Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, & c.*, vol. 1, p.124.) (p.17)

5. "At Mundium he found the rice land irrigated entirely from tanks and reservoirs. At Maduru he found a large reservoir; said to have been built by Vishnu Vardhana Raya seven hundred years before. It received a supply from the neighbouring river by means of a dam and a canal, and when in proper repair was capable of irrigating all the neighbouring fields, under the level of its bank, throughout the year. At Chinapattam, formerly the residence of a Polygar family known as Jasadeva Rayas, glass and ornamental rings, steel wires for musical instruments, pure white sugar, and various other commodities were manufactured, Ramagiri was the next important place on the way, but had grievously suffered by Lord Cornwallis' invasion of Mysore in 1792." (p.17)

6. "In the country round Colar he found the lands watered entirely by means of the reservoirs, often excavated by private individuals, while the larger ones were excavated at the expense of the Government. The old Hindu rate of revenue, laid down in the ancient law-books, was one-sixth or one-eighth or one-twelfth the produce; and when rulers and chiefs in Southern India claimed

so large a share as one-half the produce, they made cultivation possible by excavating and maintaining vast irrigation works at their own cost, and they took their share in kind, not in money." (p.18)

7. "Taniva-Karay formerly belonged to a powerful family of Polygars, and one of them has built four temples and four great reservoirs for the irrigation of lands." (p.18)

8. "At Tonuru, to the south of Mail-Kotay, Dr. Buchanan saw the magnificent reservoir of Yadava-Nadi." (p.18)

9. "Ramanuja stopped up this gap by a mound, said to be 78 cubits high, 150 long, and at the base 250 cubits thick. The superfluous water is let off by a channel which has been cut with great labour through one of the hills, at such length as to enable it to water a great deal of the subjacent plain which is three or four miles in extent. When the reservoir is full it contains a sufficient quantity of water to supply the cultivators for two years." (p.19)

10. "The two canals from the Kaveri river irrigated the district of Mahasura-Ashtagram. One of these canals contained a fine stream which never became entirely dry, and which enabled the cultivators to have a crop of rice even in the dry season.

"The Lakshman-Tirtha river, a tributary of the Kaveri, rises from the hills of Coorg. Six canals were constructed from this river to irrigate the country, and dams which forced the water into the canals were fine works and produced beautiful cascades. The whole land formerly irrigated by these canals was about 18,000 acres." (p.19)

11. "The wet lands near Priya-Pattan were entirely irrigated from reservoirs, but in the southern parts of the district canals from the Lakshman-Tirtha river afforded water to the cultivators. Before the last Mysore war the poorest cultivator had two ploughs and the

richer ones had fifteen. A man who had two ploughs often possessed forty oxen and fifty cows, six or seven buffaloes, and one hundred sheep or goats." (p.19)

12. "South-east from Priya-Pattan, near Hanagodu, Dr. Buchanan saw one of the dams of the Lakshman-Tirtha river. 'Advantage has been taken of a natural ledge of rocks which cross the channel, and stones have been thrown in to fill up the deficiencies. The whole now forms a fine dam, over which rushes a cascade about 100 yards long and 14 feet high, which in a verdant and finely wooded country looks remarkably well. This dam sends off its canal to the eastward...The ground irrigated will amount to 2678 acres.'" (Buchanan's *Journey from Madras, & co.*, vol. II, p.119, p.19 quoted in *Mankind*, Vol.I, No.2, November, 1995, pp.16-19)

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

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

"But the great point which Sir Arthur Cotton made was that railways were no protection against famines. 'I am afraid we must reckon that out of the 40 millions affected by the famine in Madras,

COLONIAL INHERITANCE IN IRRIGATION

Historically, Britain had destroyed the irrigation network of the entire country, between 1765 and the end of the 19th century. In the earlier part of the century and half, during which the policy of destruction was implemented, the principal reason was the need to save every possible penny from the land revenues collected, in order to enhance the investments devoted to purchase of Indian manufactures for export to Britain and for resale by Britain of Indian specialities to Europe and the Third World countries. In the latter part of the period of destruction, the main motive was to promote the earnings from railways, which formed the basic block of finance capital investments and to maximise the earnings from these investments, which were state guaranteed.

Mysore, Hyderabad, and Bombay, 4 or 5 millions have perished, after spending 120 millions on railways besides incurring a debt of 50 millions sterling.' (Report of 1873 : Question 2204) And he did not provide food for man and beast; did not carry the whole traffic of the country; did not carry it cheaply enough; did not pay interest on cost and debt; did not drain the country, and did not provide drinking water for the people. All this was and could be done by irrigation works.

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

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

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

* The third point to be noted is that irrigation technology varied from region to region in the country and the variation is summed up in the words of Voelcker as follows :

"Every province in India has its distinct irrigation requirements. In the alluvial basins of the Ganges and the Indus the most suitable irrigation works are *canals* from these rivers; while away from the rivers, *wells* are the most suitable. In Bengal with its copious rainfall, *shallow ponds* are the most suitable works, and these were numerous in the olden times, sometimes of very large dimensions. In Madras and Southern India, where the soil is undulating, and the underlying rock retains the water, the most suitable irrigation works are reservoirs made by putting up large embankments, and thus impounding the water descending from the hill slopes. Such were most of the old reservoirs of Madras."

(See Voelcker's *Improvement of Indian Agriculture*, 1893, quoted *ibid.*, pp.170 - 1)

The above extract shows that had the riparian and lacustrian

reservoirs of the Deccan plateau and the Coromandel coast not been destroyed by imperial neglect, there would have been no dearth of irrigational facilities available to the people of the Carnatic.

The Tamil and Kannada peoples of the South had one of the finest irrigation systems in the entire world, before the negative British intervention.

A further complication was introduced by British imperialism, by first removing the Raja of Mysore, from the throne in 1831, from which Tipu Sultan had been eliminated in 1799, and then, restoring the princeling once again to the *gaddi* in 1881. (The so-called *Rendition of Mysore*.)

Because of this complicated manoeuvre and the intrigues that went on, British policy shifted from time to time, favouring Tamil Nadu at one time, and neglecting them at another, within the overall imperial policy of destruction of dams, anicuts, reservoirs and canals.

Had irrigation facilities within the country and within the Deccan plateau been promoted, or at least not neglected, there would have been enough water for all the peoples of South India. But this was not to be tolerated. That is why, in the midst of an overall policy of denial and destruction, the scanty facilities that were available were doled out to various parties, in various proportions, at various times, in a typical high-handed colonial manner, to which we are now heirs.

* Actually the solution is simple. Build up and rehabilitate the reservoirs, and anicuts in every village, taluka and district of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka.

Calculate the catchment area for every major river and establish the proportions due to each state of South India.

And distribute the waters accordingly.

If the Comprador - Congress government had not continued the colonial policy of overall neglect and intrigue, the common people would have already substituted alternative irrigational sources, during the last 50 years of Congress-*Naukarshahi* misrule.

Some clever *pundits* may say, that Congress-*Naukarshahi*

criminality for 50 years should be taken for granted. What are we to do now? The answer is that we should have the maximum

FOR AN EMPOWERMENT OF STATES AND ZILLA PARISHADS

British imperialism adopted a pro-railway and anti-irrigation policy, in order to subserve the imperial interest of safe and secure finance capital investment and drain of wealth from India.

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That is why, in the midst of an overall policy of denial and destruction, the scanty facilities that were available were doled out to various parties, in various proportions, at various times, in a typical high-handed colonial manner, to which we are now heirs.

So long as the states have to beg for Central largesses and as long as, the *Zilla Parishads* have to grovel before the State authorities, it will be impossible to have true development. Without the empowerment of the *Zilla Parishads* and the States, all efforts towards achievement of socio-economic progress are futile.

Further, we should reverse the current top heavy priorities. As long as all the possible minor and medium irrigation projects are not completed, and every village in India equipped with at least one fair-sized lake, tank or reservoir, no major irrigation project can be executed. Before they can build any giant dam that causes ecological disaster and resettlement of lakhs of villagers, every possible well must be sunk and water impounded in some way to meet village needs.

As aforesaid, *Mankind* has no solutions to offer for the Cauvery waters, or any other water problem facing the country, to those who wish to preserve the status quo or inherit the status quo, *Mankind* believes in change, immediate and drastic change. There is no other way. Either that, or you must wish away the problems.

possible area of our agricultural land placed under irrigation, and that till such time as ample water is made available by lakes, wells and canals, we should allow the village, taluka and *Zilla Parishads* of each catchment irrigated area of each state to sit together and democratically decide the transitional arrangements.

Neither Narsimha Rao, nor the Supreme Court should be allowed any say in the matter. It is for the farmers of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka to decide on the distribution of Cauvery waters. It is for the *Zilla Parishads* of Tamil Nadu and Karnataka to sit together and hammer out a transitional arrangement for say the next 20 years, at the end of which every single acre of ploughed arable land in each state would receive ample supply of water. In order to create such adequacy of water for all the needy farmers, it is necessary to enhance the resources of the *Zilla Parishad* to the required level. This will mean that financial powers of taxation and revenue collection must be devolved in favour of the *Zilla Parishads*. This means, further, that the Indian Constitution must be transformed, in order to realise these simple and essential needs of the Indian agriculturists.

In every direction, we come across the same comprador and neo-colonial obstructions. When the states themselves do not possess just and adequate powers, in the matter of revenue collections, how is it possible for *Zillas* or districts to have such minimum resources?

Mankind has no solutions to offer, to all those who want to preserve the present structure unchanged. The Inter-State Water Disputes cannot be solved by passing an Act as they have done in 1956. The only long-term and lasting solution is to drastically modify the present or preferably enact a new Constitution, which will devolve and decentralise, by granting real financial powers, to the States and the *Zilla Parishads*, who will then create the irrigational facilities, which will reach water to every acre that is and can be brought under irrigation.

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As a matter of fact, the Congress - *Naukarshahi* combine would be very happy if the Cauvery did not exist!

LET EVERY POSSIBLE VILLAGE WELL BE SUNK AND VILLAGE LAKE EXCAVATED BEFORE ANY GIANT DAM IS ATTEMPTED !

LET MINOR IRRIGATION HAVE PRIORITY OVER MAJOR !

THE BANGLADESH POLL CRISIS

If any proof of bogus voting in Bangladesh was needed, it was provided by the February 15, General Elections. The principal Opposition Parties of Awami League, the Jatiya Party, the Jamaat-e-Islami, the Left Democratic Front and the Jatiya Samajtantrik Dal had boycotted the polls, nevertheless, the Bangladesh Nationalist Party of Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia, not only announced great victories, but also, voting by lakhs of voters, when hardly a handful of voters could be seen at each polling station.

Since the polls Khaleda has climbed down and declared the polls null and void by offering re-elections in the immediate future.

However, she is one obstinate and stupid lady, who refuses to resign, even at this late stage. The Opposition parties have declared indefinite total *bandh*.

Bangladesh is a horrid bastard child of Communalism and the Two Nation Theory. The so-called Biharis, who fought with the Pakistan army of occupation, that was defeated in 1971, are awaiting repatriation to Pakistan for the last quarter century. Thousands of Chakmas or Buddhists of the Chittagong district are refugees in India and Burma. Both groups remain unabsorbed in the polity of Bangladesh.

Had there been a sensible revolutionary party in existence, in India in 1971, and not the leftist joke that the CPM of Bengal is, Indian revolutionaries would have interpenetrated with the Mukti Bahini, which was formed on Indian soil, and the two Bengals would

have been united into a new Constituent of the Federation of the Indian Socialist States.

Alas, thus the Stalinist-Communists and pseudo - Progressivists of India missed the opportunity and did not allow this favourable possibility to be realised !

The sooner, we in India, get together with the masses in East Pakistan or Bangladesh the better it would be for all concerned.

It is almost certain that Khaleda would be ousted in the course of the next few weeks.

But, will the masses of Bangladesh breathe easy after the elevation of Mujibur Rehman's daughter? Not at all! Sheikh Hasina has no socialist programme to offer.

Army intervention is once again on the cards.

People still remember the voterless election conducted in 1988, by Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad, which had been boycotted by the entire Opposition, including Khaleda's BNP.

There has been a 22 month long stalemate in the country with innumerable *bandhs*.

BANGLADESH - A BASTARD CHILD OF THE TWO NATION THEORY

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Had Lohia lived, probably, he would have ensured close fraternization between the Mukti Bahini and Indian revolutionaries ! Perhaps there might not have been two Bengals today !

Col. Syed Farooq Rehman and Col. Abdur Rashid, who had masterminded the bloody coup of 1975, in which Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was killed, contested these farcical elections. Farooq's candidature was rejected on technical grounds and Rashid's electoral fate is not known.

There is speculation that the BNP will reinstitute the Presidential system with naturally, Khaleda as the President.

The India-Bangladesh friendship treaty for 25 years was signed by Mujibur's Awami League Government in 1973 and is due to expire in March 1997. This treaty has been termed a "bondage of slavery" by Khaleda during her election campaign.

It is actually nothing of the kind. India had neither the will nor the ability to impose any such treaty, once the Shimla Pact had been signed with Pakistan under Anglo-American and Russian pressure, the occupied areas in West Pakistan evacuated and the over 90,000 prisoners of war freed.

Mankind can only suggest that Indo-Bangladesh relations should be rebuilt from the grassroots level. Let visa restrictions be eliminated by both sides. Let free trade between the two countries take place. Let every effort be made to bring the two Bengals together! That is the only long term solution to the problems of Bangladesh! And of India!

BEWARE OF GREEKS BEARING GIFTS!

Sponsored by the academic establishment in India, one Noam Chomsky, a former American Trotskyist visited India, at the invitation of "Jean Dreze and his colleagues at the Centre for Development Economics, Delhi School of Economics (whose guest he was in Delhi). His other hosts in India were the Government of West Bengal; the Department of Linguistics, Central University, Hyderabad; the Centre for Development Studies, Thiruvanthapuram; and *Frontline*." (*Frontline*, Feb 23, 1996)

The fancy lefties of India cannot live without periodically getting oxygenated by foreign visitors. The upper caste *touchability* requires that they keep in contact with some foreigner or another, some time or another.

As we noted in an earlier issue of *Mankind* (See *Chomsky, Nader and WTO* in our *Neo-Colonialism* sub-section of *Ultra-Zamana* in our last issue *MK 6*, Vol. 1, No. 6, March, 1996, p.22), Western liberals like Chomsky, mouth a hundred good things and then suddenly let us down by betraying an age-old imperialist ploy. Thus, from nowhere in the course of a lengthy documentary, *Manufacturing Consent*, shown at the Bombay Documentary

Festival of 1994, he suddenly interjected a long aside on the East Timorese struggle for liberation from Indonesia.

Now, East Timor was a part of the Portuguese empire that collapsed in 1975. The East Timorese had participated in the heinous activity of sabotaging the Indonesian struggle for independence for many decades, more particularly, in the years 1945 to 1949, when Dutch imperialism was sought to be reimposed

upon Indonesia with the help of British-Indian troops. The East Timorese had been forcibly converted to Christianity, in the usual brutal Portuguese manner and had decided to throw in their lot with their colonial masters.

Such things often happen, when the imperial power adopts the usual divide and rule policy and favours some small segments of a colonial population, in order to nurture a social base for itself. In the same way, there were and possibly, there are certain Christian Goanese families, who have chosen to maintain their close links with the Portuguese rulers of the pre-1961 days. In fact, even today the Christians of Goa are organised in a political party, that is openly anti-national (United Goans Party), whose leader was one Churchill Alemao, who was caught red-handed in a smuggling operation and was forced to resign. But, his party continues to function as a pressure group.

Chomsky may be entitled to know nothing of the history of the Indonesian Freedom Movement. That is his privilege. But we should be wary of such Greeks, who come bearing Trojan gifts!

Prior to the East Timorese, there were the Ambonese from an island in the Central Moluccas. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica (Micro 83* edition, Vol. 1, p. 297) records:

"An important naval base, Ambon was occupied by Japan during World War II. In 1950, after Indonesian independence, the Ambonese — many of whom had been educated in Christian schools

and served in the Dutch administration and army — found their new social and economic position precarious, seceded from Indonesia, and proclaimed an independent South Moluccan Republic. The movement was suppressed by military action, though guerrilla warfare continued in Ceram, and many Ambonese fled to The Netherlands."

I met a few Ambonese in Amsterdam, in the mid-'60s, when I was knocking about the world. They were small businessmen and restaurateur-owners. During my extensive travels around the world, I was always on the look-out for Indian, Chinese, Thai and Indonesian eating places, in that order. In those days, in the mid-'60s, there weren't as many Eastern food outlets as there are

CHOMSKY, AMBONESE AND EAST TIMORESE

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Chomsky wants to give priority to the demands of the East Timorese, probably because they are Christian and for Chomsky that is the final criteria. We disagree. Chomsky's inverted politics has no place in today's world, where our main enemy is the neo-colonial *trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO.

The Ambonese and the East Timorese are destined to disappear from history, unless they submerge themselves in the larger national identity of Indonesian freedom movement. (The Ambonese have already done so, and the East Timorese are on their way).

Otherwise in the 10,000 islands that make-up the Indonesian archipelago, we shall have 10,000 liberation movements. This will suit Euro-Americans very nicely, but would not suit us, of the Third World, at all! We may not be able to form immediately, an Asian Union, on the lines, of the European Union, but, let us at least, stop the further balkanisation of Asia!

today, 30 years later. Thai and Indonesian cuisines are a very delicate and delicious admixture of Indian and Chinese national cuisines. In fact, in some ways, the mixed cuisines were superior to the twin roots !

As we have always made dear, *Mankind* is no friend of Suharto, however big Indonesia becomes an Asian tiger. Suharto's hands are blood-stained with the gore of several lakhs of innocent Indonesian farmers and workers, who were misled by the extreme reformist and also ultra-leftist policies pursued by the Communist party of Indonesia in 1965, under the leadership of Sukarno. The attempted putsch in 1965 was the exact counterpart of the 1927 Canton Uprising, when the Chinese Communist Party was nearly destroyed in a terrible massacre by Chiang-kai-Shek, who was the blue-eyed boy of the Comintern, led by Stalin in those days.

One no longer hears of the cessationist struggle of the Ambonese. We are not saying that today, great cruelty is not being practised upon the East Timorese by Suharto. We are certain that Suharto is a scoundrel. We are only saying that the East Timorese have no rights that are higher than those of Indonesian nationalism, and that their stance as Christian crusaders is rubbish. The East Timorese must become a part of the national Indonesian struggle against neo-colonialism, before their dissidents can claim our sympathetic attention.

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Chomsky is a liberal by American standards. As he has himself admitted he would be voting for a moderate republican ticket, in the coming Presidential elections, against out and out reactionaries, like Robert Dole, Gingrich, Pat Buchanan and such other horrors (*Outlook*, January 24, 1996).

But, moderate republicans, in the world context, are utter reactionaries. Perhaps, even to the right of the conservative Major of Britain. What Chomsky has to say, may be reasonable in the context of current American politics. But, why should the leftists of India entertain his right-of-centre politics and lend it prestige ?

Chomsky, an ex-Trotskyist, is now the cat's whiskers for the American Academic Establishment. He has become a Professor at Harvard, and has probably, found his way back to the

Establishment through his East Timorese campaign. His lectures are fixed in advance, by several years, and he has become a wholesale manufacturer and dealer in jargon. The subjects of his lectures have to be fixed many many years ahead in time, and therefore, cannot focus on anything relevant, as admitted by himself. The Belgian-born economist, Jean Dreze, who was one of the sponsors of the India visit, was involved in the choice of subjects for the 12 lecture series. Some of the years topics were the Vicissitudes of Democracy; World Orders : Old and New; Democracy and Markets, etc.

I have read an eleven page promotional blurb in the *Frontline* of 23.2.96, and couldn't find a single quotable quote. It is all blah... blah... blah..., which he may publish as a booklet, and the US Academic Establishment may force two lakh libraries in the West to buy and store. His great pronouncements may also become a part of the Internet and make still more money for himself.

Strangely enough, the CPM Government of West Bengal has moved so much to the right, that Chomsky's attack on the role of powerful private corporations in manipulating public opinion and controlling thoughts appear to be rather radical. (*Times of India, Chomsky's Comments on Private Firms Spark Off Debate in CPM, 17.1.96.*)

The CPM Government of West Bengal has, according to *The Times of India*, committed itself to :

"A carefully tailored adoption of the economic reforms programme and the liberalisation."

Mankind has always believed that the CPM has reached the *nadir* of degeneration and is now beyond redemption. The only hope now lies, from within that polluted Stalinist-Progressivist stream that had collaborated with imperialism and supported the Partition of the country in 1947, and of course, supported the Emergency of 1975-77, in one or two of the many naxalite factions of the CPI-ML, which may be trying to return to the nationalist roots of our struggle against world imperialism.

Let us hope that in the coming days they will be able to assert themselves and get rid of the gerontocracy of the CPI and the CPI-M.

Chomsky may be a good man, and a good liberal by American standards. He may be like Ralph Nader. But, American politics, where the Oklahoma Militia-men flourish, where racialist hate music is becoming popular, where the Republicans have recently captured both the Senate and the House of Representatives, where all sorts of absurd extreme rightism is dominant, is not a proper yardstick by which we can judge the true liberalism or radicalism of an individual. We obviously cannot prevent neo-colonial interests, like Jean Dreze from sponsoring visits by Noam Chomsky and his tribe. But surely, we could and should prevent Chomsky from receiving undue prominence and prestige. We should be wary of the Greeks, who come bearing gifts ! We should exercise a little nationalist self-respect and *vivek* (discrimination) !

CPI-M BEYOND REDEMPTION !

Mankind has always believed that CPM has reached the nadir of degeneration and is now beyond redemption. The only hope now lies, from within that polluted Stalinist-Progressivist stream that had collaborated with imperialism and supported the partition of the the country in 1947, and of course, supported the Emergency of 1975-77, in one or two of the many naxalite factions of the CPI-ML, which may be trying to return to the nationalist roots of our struggle against world imperialism.

Let us hope that in the coming days they will be able to assert themselves and get rid of the gerontocracy of the CPI and the CPI-M.

A LOST CHAPTER

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

The following is part of the author's work "Economics after Marx" written as far back as 1943. Those were years of rebellion against British rule in India and as a result of police hunting, this part was lost until recently and could not be published. The significance or justification of this late publication can best be expressed by some lines which we quote from the author's introduction to the published part: "The pages that follow are thoroughly incomplete and no change has been made since they were written. But error is also a source of knowledge. I only hope that I have made some significant statements so as to titillate some man of greater talent and industry into further enquiry. In any event these pages show the need of an economic thought different from any that exist today and that will turn the whole world into the gay unity of equal welfare." — Ed.)

While West Europe pursues the policy of international understanding among capitalists without much talk and beyond the common gaze, the most talked-about anti-war measures are the abrogation of national sovereignty, the pursuit of disarmament or limited arms and the establishment of a world league and a world police. One does not have to refer to their history in the past to be able to predict their ineffectiveness in the future. They go wholly counter to the existing economy based on imperial-colonial division of labour and on multiplying capitalisms within a territorially blocked imperialism. As such, these measures will remain barren of action, so long as some great spurt of economic thinking does not concretely link up world justice with national welfare or the contending capitalisms do not reach a stage of utter inaction. Until then, they will remain moral precepts, awakening, at best, a vague hope for the future and a vaguer attitude of criticism toward the present. Much the same thing can be said of the concept of class struggle preached by West European Marxists as a preventive of war. Twice has it failed, once in the case of the Second International and again in that of the Third International, to turn an imperialist war into civil war and, thus, into peace. This

cannot be otherwise, for the West European class-struggle between capital and labour is cut across by the more deciding and world-wide empire-colony relationships and, their results, the competing capitalisms. Until colonial economies can fully succeed in their obstruction, the Marxist concept of class-struggle can, at best, act as a negative influence on West European policies, a hamper and a source of confusion.

In respect to the insecurity of war, the effective activity of West Europe is thus the pursuit of international economic understanding and the preparedness for war. In fact, a deepening of this second aim goes noticeably with the steady deterioration of West European capitalism; the earlier aim to be able to wage war when it comes is being substituted by the newer aim to keep ever prepared for war. This need of preparedness for war can best be met by the institution of a stable military caste. Unless prevented by forces outside

INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING AMONG CAPITALISTS INEFFECTIVE

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itself, West Europe is heading towards such an institution.¹

West Europe's purposive activity in respect of internal capital-labour relationships has shown an outward variety. Among other items, state-action intended to ensure wider education, health schemes, unemployment and pension benefits, has grown in recent times. We are not at present concerned with the importance of such state-action to the habits of a people or to their way of thinking. But its economic significance can, for instance, be grasped from the calculations of British economists who have estimated the redistribution of their national income from the rich to the poor caused by such

state-expenditure at around 3 per cent. While the attempt to extend such state-action brings obvious benefits in other spheres, it must be understood that the little extension² that may still be possible can in no way alter the basic capitalist character of West European economy.

Some efforts towards social enterprise like the municipal London transport or the Berlin workers' houses have attracted considerable attention. The relevance of such socialisation to the capitalist system is more controversial than real, for the economy as a whole is not affected by it. Immense sectors of economy, almost the whole of it, continue to remain in capitalist hands as a result of such scrappy socialisation. Further, while the bringing of London transport under municipal ownership held public attention for a number of years, capitalist enterprise was meanwhile busy recovering many times larger sectors through its enlarged industries in automobiles, radio-engineering, and air-planes. Socialisation is scrappy, unless it affects a majority of sectors in a capitalist economy and unless, while a single municipal or state-action is raising the heat of controversy, care is taken to prevent the springing up of great new sectors of capitalist enterprise. Present trends indicate that attempts at socialisation in West European economy will continue to be scrappy and leave its capitalist base unaltered.

The movement to associate the working-class with the management of industry gathered some force during the Weimar Constitution in Germany, but, even during its brief existence, it did not show much promise of causing any great change. Workers' councils can at best check deterioration in wage and conditions of work, for the rest, they persuade the working class to acquire similar perspectives on foreign trade as those of the managers of industry. It is indeed surprising that West European capitalists have not chosen to associate their working-class with the management of industry; this may partly be due to the conflict between a rising or fixed wage and a shrinking economy, but it is also due to irrational class prejudice.

We may now consider if the independent class-action of West European workers has fared any better than state action of various types in solving the internal conflict between capital and labour. The outstanding fact may first be

noted that working class action in the three deciding West European capitalisms has at one time or another been brought face to face with the possibility of a structural change in economy. There was a revolution in Germany and the barest avoidance of another; there was a general strike in England; there was a popular front of progressive parties in France. But nowhere could the West European working class seize such political power as to end capitalism. No doubt, it was considerably hampered by the attitude of the numerically powerful middle classes of West European economy, which derive a substantial part of their income from the imperial-colonial division of labour. Could it also not be that the West European working class itself stood paralysed in its action because of this international division of labour? What has been described as its betrayal by its leaders is perhaps to some extent the awesomeness with which the West European working class has beheld its heavily capitalised industries whenever it has come within an ace of political power. The dread that the whole structure may crumble to pieces in its hands has held it back. It could not, as in Russia, be the creator of a new development; it could only be the heir to a very heavy old development that depends on the role over colonial masses. It has not unnaturally been steadily retreating from all ideas of a revolution or a general strike to capture power. Until West Europeans can be made to see some new economic way that links up their national welfare with the destruction of imperialism, this retreat of the working class seems to be as unavoidable as the relegation and other phenomena of West European economy that we have hitherto noticed.

But the partial struggles and strikes of the working class have made a great difference to the recent-most development of capitalism. They have made difficult the passage of West European society from a class-structure to a caste-structure. It is not as if West European workers are averse to stabilising the class-structure of their economy; what they have fought to achieve in their struggles for wages and a closed shop is a point of stability favourable to them. But the

capitalists of the shrinking economy of West Europe have also been seeking for a point of stability most favourable to them. Herein lies the dash and not in any dynamic struggle of large objectives. At what point shall the classes be transformed into castes; West European purposive activity has shown a duality in that point favourable to labour and unfavourable to capital.

The West European tendency to the transformation of classes into castes can be seen clearly in the Nazi movement of Germany. All kinds of internal mobility in the economic structure of Germany are stopped by the use of political power. Labour get wages fixed by the state, it moves from one place of work to another at the dictate of the state, its conditions of work and leisure and its corporate activities are determined by the state. In like manner, the state fixes the profits on capital, new investments are directed by the state and the state determines the order in which different industries shall get priorities on capital, raw materials and labour. To assert that this immobile arrangement has been generally irksome either to capital or to labour is to close one's eyes to the big fact that the demand for security in West European economy is rapidly ousting whatever demands there formerly were for great changes of system. Further this internally immobile economic structure openly recognises the need for external dynamic, the need, therefore, to stabilise colonial masses of Eastern Europe

and elsewhere into the untouchables of capitalism, and thus gives a united perspective to the entire people, whereas, in other West European countries, this perspective is consciously held alone by the ruling classes and the working-class is only dimly aware of it. In this manner, German economy has taken a big step towards the transformation of classes into castes, when other West European economies are fumbling towards it.

Even in England, a miner's son is generally a miner's father and so is a spinner or a smelter. Migrations of individuals from one class to another do indeed take place with greater ease than would be possible in a caste-system, but what distinguishes a class-structure from a caste-structure is the economic movement of the class as a whole. A class is a group that moves economically; it aspires to better its position. A caste is a fixed economic entity; its aspirations lie in some kind of a debased religion and the doing of certain hierarchical duties. There is hardly a doubt that the recentmost fight of the West European working class for minimum wage, collective bargaining, closed shop is no longer an attempt to move economically but is an effort to get fixed as a comparatively favoured caste of capitalism. On the other hand, capitalists wish to fix the working class at a point low enough to ensure their own privileged position in the midst of a shrinking economy. A great drama of caste stratification is being played out in West Europe; the contestants themselves are often unaware of the significance of their roles; and it is doubtful if there would at all, be a coherent ending. The contestants may break each other with their inability to find commonly agreeable points of stability. The liberal and protestant ethic may prove too tough to be given a

new slant. Some great new activity of conscious social change cannot be entirely ruled out. The colonial masses will probably refuse to be treated as the lowest caste of capitalism. It is also possible that the theatre of this drama would continually slide back into the back-waters of men's affairs so as to lose its exciting interest. Whatever may happen, the deciding effect of West Europe's purposive activity,

REFORMIST TRADE UNIONISM

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no matter what the motives of men are, is to create a big movement for the transformation of classes into castes. That this movement, when it has fully matured, must mean cultural death is here irrelevant.³

From this rapid survey of recent capitalist development, we find two major tendencies to the relegation of West European economy and to the transformation of classes into castes and, also, some ineffectual attempts at conscious social change. The two tendencies are not inimical of each other, and, unless one or the other of the stresses already indicated awakens a new thinking and activity, West-European economy is fated to slide back with the attempt of its capitalism to stabilise and stratify.⁴

II

Russia broke away from the capitalist system nearly three decades back, and on the surface, her development should have little to tell us about the workings of capitalism. However, a study of her development will indicate not only possible ways in which it has affected capitalism adversely but also whatever capitalist traits it has carried within itself. A major difficulty is the lack of verified information on certain aspects of Russian economy. Even more so it is difficult to separate the essential from the marginal in a still considerably fluid economy.

Russian economy has pursued two objectives; to socialise and to modernise. In both these aims, it has been guided essentially by Marxist theory. With regard to the objective of socialisation, the initial step was economic, the establishment of social ownership and control over the means of production, while the rest has been left to political action, the liquidating of capitalist remnants or what are known as the counter-revolutionary elements. In pursuit of the objective of modernisation. Russian development has been given the definite character of large-scale production, of heavy capitalisation. By modern, Russians have naturally enough understood the latest stage of capitalist production, which, on Marx's view of history, is also the highest, since out of it was to have arisen the socialist society, and which, within the capitalist world, has established its superiority in war as in peace. This is monopoly production, mass production, and Russians have apparently taken for granted that the economies and advantages of large-scale production, which place one capitalist firm in a preferential position over another, must also apply to a nation's economy as a whole. Out of this belief and the objective to modernise, Russian economy has closely followed the latest capitalist technics of large-scale production and has thus produced certain traits which bear a family likeness to capitalism. How far this likeness is superficial and in what measure, if at all, the objective to socialise clashes with the objective to modernise is the intriguing question that comes out of Russia. For the present, let us grasp that Russian economy has pursued the two distinct objectives to socialise and to modernise in a large-scale way.

The Russian five year plans have in consequence been weighted excessively on the side of large-scale industries, of producers' goods and of mechanised transport. Consumers' goods have been produced to a minimum extent. This was natural, as Russia had more or less to start from scratch in respect to the basic equipment of heavy industries and transport. It was intended to change the emphasis from equipment to consumption, beginning with the third plan. But the intentions remained unfulfilled as war-preparations did not permit industrial diversion to consumers' goods. The emphasis on production goods as also on war-goods has therefore continued. Before we go on to examine the relevance of Russian economy to world economy, let us fix a fact which is often lost sight of in controversy. The possibility of planning an entire economy has now been established beyond a doubt. There have been partial break-downs and bottlenecks in Russian economy, but the gloomy forecasts of a total break-down have been proved a be wholly groundless. That the Russian planning has been wise may be disputed; what can no more be disputed is that social management can plan and work out the entire economy of a country. A major capitalist weapon that a country's economy cannot be run without the mechanism of interest and profits on capital has been hopelessly blunted. Drafting the plan of an entire economy is quite in vogue now, not alone with the socialists, but also with hard-headed capitalists, who naturally arrange to keep their capital intact and flourishing.

War is the greatest prevailing test of a nation's economy and, unless it can endure that, its achievements in other spheres do not last. The Soviet economy has stood this test. It may indeed be suggested that, without American lend-lease and British as-

sistance, Germans might perhaps have forced the Russians out of Stalingrad and Moscow and beyond, but it can as well be suggested that, without the Russian effort, British economy and its capacity to wage war might have been placed in a precarious position. Soviet economy has stood the stress of war as successfully as most other capitalist economies. It has indeed not been a prime motivation in the war. The prophecies of a war between capitalism and socialism have been due to an excessive rating of the strength of soviet economy and there is little likelihood that world capitalism will ever meet its doom in a war with Russian socialism. Moreover, the manner in which Russian economy has met the threat and actual ferocity of war is indistinguishable from that of any other capitalist economy. The reference is here not to the abandonment of the original anti-militarism of Lenin nor to the pursuit of foreign policies in the capitalist style. It is a purely economic fact that Russian economy, admitting that war had to be prepared for, put its defence in heavy industries, big arms and massed armies. The economic defence of Russia against war is the same as that of any major capitalist power. Whether any other defence is possible or not is here irrelevant and the fact remains that similarity of pattern in the economic defence of capitalist and communist economies reduced Russia to the status of one participant among many, more or less powerful, but not a warring camp in itself. This similarity entails other consequences of foreign

LESSONS OF THE RUSSIAN EXPERIMENT

The possibility of planning an entire economy has now been established beyond a doubt. There have been partial break-downs and bottlenecks in Russian economy, but the gloomy forecasts of a total break-down have been proved a be wholly groundless. That the Russian planning has been wise may be disputed; what can no more be disputed is that social management can plan and work out the entire economy of a country. A major capitalist weapon that a country's economy cannot be run without the mechanism of interest and profits on capital has been hopelessly blunted.

policy and alliances. On the basis, therefore, of its possible vitality as also its economic defence, Russian economy is likely to remain as one participant among many, but never a host in itself so as to get into war against all the rest, much less to defeat them for a world victory of socialism.

The hopes as also the fears awakened by communist Russia have been far in excess of her actual strength. However much she may have deflected the thinking of capitalist powers and

may yet continue doing so, her role in the war is subsidiary. Capitalism has continued to wage its wars, one member upon another, for whatever economic or moral reasons. Neither the strength of Russia nor the fear of it has been sufficiently strong to create a capitalist combination against her. It is possible that Russia may grow in strength and influence like any other power and, to the extent that she chooses to exercise political or economic pressure, may be a source of embarrassment to neighbouring capitalisms. However, the break-up of world-capitalism, if it is to come, will come not as a result of war with a socialist power but out of happenings within the capitalist-imperialist structures themselves. With these happenings Russia has had nothing to do in an economic way, whatever may have been her political intervention through the Communist International.

The ferocity of the war on Russian soil has brought out a vital economic fact. As a result of the direct war-destruction but, more so, of the scorched-earth policy pursued by the two warring armies in their retreat, which, is akin to the post-war incapacitation of a defeated economy, Russian productive capacity appears to have suffered severe losses. It is difficult to calculate the gaps caused by the destruction of the Dnieper dam and of the group of industries around Dnepropetrovsk together with such other loss of productive capacity in Leningrad and Stalingrad. One has only to recollect that the people were starved of consumer good so as

to build up this productive equipment and the process will, in a considerable way have to be started again.⁵ Large-scale equipment of this character is liable to concentrated destruction. And yet there seem to have been two errors of foresight in the Russian plan. There is hardly a doubt that the Russian planners did not admit the possibility of an enemy, penetrating five hundred miles and beyond into their industrial concentration to the west of the Volga. Moreover, adequate fore sight does not seem to have been shown in respect to the dispersal of production. Under the stress of war and its aerial destruction, West Europeans are now evolving the concept of a single firm with the lowest economically feasible capacity in place of the firm with the maximum capacity. Small-scale production with small-unit technics is becoming increasingly popular. It is difficult to say what part of a nation's basic equipment is capable of decentralisation. But, even as a measure of war, Russian planners do not seem to have paid enough attention to this problem and their large-scale industries have as such been liable to concentrated destruction.

What is now temporarily forced upon peoples as a war necessity appears, on other grounds, to be a necessary component of any national planning. In the measure that the advantages of heavy mechanisation do not remain the restricted monopoly of a few peoples and spread over from industry to agriculture, the problem of technics will assume a primary importance in economies. This problem could hitherto be slurred over, as the larger part of mankind and its largest occupation were kept in a state of dependence. With the conjoint mechanisation of agriculture and industry, that Russia is trying to put through, there must emerge large masses of men without occupation. As the objective of heavy mechanisation is to go on shortening the time used in production, after a stage, the more a branch of industry or agriculture is mechanised and the larger the number of such branches, the greater will be the masses of men spewed out by these as necessary. As these men can stay in the old heavily mechanised industries only on condition that they produce for overseas markets or for war, Russia will probably at one stage or another enter into world trade on even more favourable conditions than those of West European capitalisms. These men can also get absorbed into the vastly extended services of public health, education and the like. It is even possible that new wants are created, and thus, new industries to satisfy them. But the industries of these new wants and services may demand new type of technics and the heavy mechanisation of the old pattern may obstruct their emergence.⁶ Unless, therefore, Russia starts producing in the not too distant future for overseas markets on a town-village relationship, her heavy mechanisation may prove too rigid for a new pattern of technics, thus leading to the emergence of large masses in her own population as a new submerged class of degraded humanity.⁷

There is indeed some substitutability in the produce of industrial plants; a plant that produces tractors can produce automobiles or tanks. But the range is not unlimited; a ship-building yard or an automobile-plant cannot be turned into a factory for cement or bedsteads. In the Russian planning where whole blocks of demand have been given precedence over others, there is great danger that the comparative exhaustion of one set of demands coupled with the heavy mechanisation of its industry may lead to

serious mal-adjustment in changing over. There is also the possibility that heavy mechanisation may check or even prevent the substitution of an old material by a new one; plastics may not replace iron or steel, even though this might mean loss of economic welfare. Even in a socialist economy, it would not be easy to scrap such heavy machinery as is the result of many years' labour. In addition, the lids on agricultural and on industrial consumption are different in nature; a man's demand for apparel is theoretically unlimited while he cannot eat or drink beyond a certain quantity. For economies such as the Russian, this is at present an academic point. But the effect may start showing after some decades of expanded and mechanised agriculture, and unless flexible technics come to aid, serious mal-adjustment may as a result occur. It is doubtful if the Russians, with their dogma of heavy mechanisation and unlimited expansion in the known fields, have paid enough attention to these various problems of substitution and change-over.

It must be emphasised that this problem of heavy-mechanisation in a socialist economy is not wholly similar to that under private management. Capital, under private ownership, has a double function. Its interests and profits serve, on the one hand, as a distribution mechanism for class-differentiations between the rich and the poor and, on the other, as a production mechanism for expansion and new development. A socialist economy does away with the distributive function of capital but it cannot avoid

tackling and mastering its productive function. As an agent of production, capital with its numerous problems still remains in a socialist society. This capital is, of course, the saved labour of past years. But the problems raised by saved labour, which is concretised in heavy and intricate machinery, cannot be dismissed with the broad view that labour is the sole creator of value, and, hence, socialisation of past labour puts an end to all difficulties. In a capitalist

THE NEW ELITE IN RUSSIA

The heavy mechanisation of Russian economy with its concentrated production is beyond the grasp of the common man in Russia. He has to depend on an elite for the management of this intricate mechanism as also for his general ideas regarding its internal and external needs. He has always to be told what his country needs internally and when and on what side to get into a war. His mental conditioning is the same as elsewhere; he has his broad ideas on patriotism and socialism and so forth; for their particular applications in specific situations, he has to depend wholly on an elite.

economy which is still not relegated the operation of forces of stagnation and bankruptcy on the one hand and expansion on the other, makes for changes, some good, some bad, and enables the use of new inventions. What is left to the operation of these blind forces in a capitalist economy is taken over by conscious direction in a socialist economy. The responsibilities of this direction become immense and cannot be fulfilled merely by accounting and allotments or routine checking of the efficiency of one concern against another. Such a direction must be freed of all dogmas. The Russian objective to modernise in the manner of concentrated production of monopoly capitalism appears to be a dogma. It makes for, as we have already seen, rigid technics, mal-adjustments in change-over, search for overseas markets or emergence of submerged classes and an economic defence similar to that of capitalism. What it may mean to the ideal of socialist distribution we will presently examine. Even in the sphere of production, the rigid forms in which past labour is saved may act as a dead-weight. Socialist planning must treat these two entities of saved labour and current labour as distinct; whether one calls them capital and labour, or equipment and labour is a secondary question. An over-all examination of the national equipment with its system of technics necessitates the view that socialist planning does badly in taking over from late-capitalism its production-patterns; it must devise its own. Russian planning

has been imitative; it has failed to devise patterns of production suited to a socialist ordering of economy.

We may now sum up the economic relevance, on the production side, of Russian economy to world capitalism. It has withdrawn nearly 9% of the human race from the capitalist-imperialist web, but, as the dynamic that West-European capitalism extracted from a none too dependent pre-communist Russia was not great, the impact of such a withdrawal has not affected capitalism fundamentally. It is possible that Russia may after some time enter the world market as a competitor of existing capitalisms this will naturally harm them and cause their further decline. On the world-view, however, this will not abolish the town-village relationships but will merely shift the areas of their operation. At the same time, planned production in Russia has established the possibility of planning and working out a nation's entire economy and has thus forged a propagandist item, which causes constant irritation to capitalists. But its effect is not as great as it might have been, for the production-patterns evolved by Russia do not show the way to abolish world-poverty or world-war. Her closed economy has aimed exclusively at internal reconstruction and Russia has neither had the socialist fervour nor the capitalist need to face the issue of the diminishing yield of colonial economies.

On the distribution side, the Russian experience has brought into sharp relief the two distinct aspects of distribution as power and as wealth. However difficult it still is to express a categorical opinion on the distribution of wealth in Russia, there is no doubt as to the distribution of power and understanding. Power and wealth can be so wholly unrelated that an economy with an enormously mal-distributed power can dole out a comparatively well-distributed wealth. The heavy mechanisation of Russian economy with its concentrated production is beyond the grasp of the common man in Russia. He has to depend on an elite for the management of this intricate mechanism as also for his general ideas regarding its internal and external needs. He has always to be told what his country needs internally and when and on what side to get into a war. His mental conditioning is the same as elsewhere; he has his broad ideas on patriotism and socialism and so forth; for their particular applications in specific situations, he has to depend wholly on an elite. Out of such a mal-distributed understanding and the power that goes with it, a state-less society cannot arise. Whether a critical understanding, a ripened culture and an overall view can ever be imparted to the common man is another question; Russia with her centralised economic mechanism has not done so and cannot do so.

In respect to the distribution of wealth, let us briefly acquaint ourselves with the Marxian bases formulated from time to time without going too deeply into an argument that belongs elsewhere. The original formulation was, "from every one according to his capacity, to every one according to his needs." The first half is a straight formulation, for, aside from deliberate slackness, there is not much ambiguity about a person's capacity and that too can be found out. The second half is an ambiguous formulation, for, which needs are here meant, the basically equal human needs of body and spirit or the conventional needs of various types of toilers? What again are the conventional needs, for, that depends very

much on one's standards of measurement and these may approximate to basic equality. The formula was actually meant to convey the simple socialist faith of approximation to equal distribution of wealth and, if it was ambiguously worded, that was perhaps an intellectual trick to use language which could bear a shifting economic argument. In its early stages, soviet economy tried zealously to work out its faith. Then came the medals and the stripes and the bits of ribbon. Finally came the formulation, announced as of transitional application, that everyone was to be paid according to his labour. If there were one single stream of produce and one simple block of work, a person's labour could be measured by the quantity either of the produce or the hours of work. In the mixed streams of modern production with the thousand different labour-processes, such single-rod calculations are impossible. There must either be an arbitrary standard or the law of supply and demand will operate. Soviet economy has fixed a ceiling and a bottom within which wealth may be unevenly distributed on the usual economic basis of obtaining the best supply of different types of labour for corresponding scales of wages.

Broadly speaking, the bottom and the lid of this wage-differentiation is around the ratio of 1 to 20. There are certain freak incomes, which are large. These wages vary according to whether one is a single-process worker, a technician, an engineer, or a manager, according to industry, as between agriculture and industry, and even according to special performances in the arts and sciences and in civil service. There are also certain privileges attached to office in the communist party or in government service which, whatever the grounds such as security and despatch on which they are conferred, make for a comfortable life. A fairly radical innovation is the institution of public bonds bearing interest. To dismiss these bonds as a device for making the citizen feel that his income is larger than his consumption would be to

STATE CAPITALISM IN RUSSIA

Russia is not likely to change into a state-less society nor is she the instrument of a socialist victory over capitalism. Her withdrawal from the capitalist system has not mortally affected it. As long as her production-patterns, in particular, her economic defence, remain what they are, her wage and power differentiations will continue and she will be unable to show the way to abolition of the state or of world poverty and wars. What she has determined is the possibility of planned economy under social ownership and of the tremendous power that a retarded nation may speedily achieve.

underrate the honesty or the self-confidence of the soviet system. In a socialist economy, such interest-bearing bonds have no purpose other than to create an exclusively personal stake of the citizen in the fortunes of his State. And, in Russia today, every citizen has acquired a stake in his State. But the rub comes in where the stake of some citizens is higher than that of certain others. These varying scales of interest-bearing patriotism much reflect themselves, in one wise or another, in some restricted laws of bequests. Already, university education bears tuition fees. And yet to group together these wage, privilege and stake differentiations as a class-formation would be to read more into the facts than is warranted. As long as Russia does not permit private ownership in the means of production, and there will have to be some sort of a revolution before this is done, formation of classes in the capitalist style cannot take place. Whether these wage and other differentiations will be dissolved or get stabilised would depend on the outcome of the clash between the production patterns of soviet economy and the socialist faith of approximately equal distribution. The present tendencies are towards stabilisation of differences.

These wage and other differences go to show that there is after all such a thing as a higher and a lower skill. But we have already seen that the concept of varying degrees of skill is highly

illusory. What is not illusory is the concept of comparative scarcity. A rickshaw-driver's skill and use of muscle-power may be the same, or even more, as that of a managerial performance at a desk, but the former can be had in a larger number of people than the latter. Some jobs will be scarcer than certain others, fewer persons would be able to do them and a scarcity value would therefore always attach to them. This scarcity would also obtain in other spheres. The basic rent on land, for instance, is a property phenomenon, but the differential rent is an economic reality. Some plots of land would be more fertile than others or better located or abound in minerals. Moreover, there will always be time-lag between the first user of a new item of comfort and the last, so that the occupation of newer built locations would be in a preferential position over others. This problem of comparative scarcity, therefore, as among different sites would appear to endure in all economies. That it endures in Russia is not due to lack of will on the part of soviet statesmen; they could not master it. For, there can be no economic solution of these wage and comfort differentiations caused by comparative scarcity; there can only be an extra-economic faith. The socialist faith of approximation to equal distribution of wealth will ever have to master economic realities; it cannot come naturally out of them. To be effective, it cannot be a mere political imposition from without; it will have to devise its appropriate production-

patterns. Marxism has not attempted to evolve the production-patterns suited to socialism and it has weakened the human will behind the socialist faith of distribution by turning it into an automatic outcome of economic development. Socialist distribution is not the immanent law of a post-capitalist development; it is the result of an effort of will acting in unity with an appropriate economy.⁹

Whatever our later examination of her political development may disclose us, this rapid economic survey has made it clear that Russia is not likely to change into a state-less society nor is she the instrument of a socialist victory over capitalism. Her withdrawal from the capitalist system has not mortally affected it. As long as her production-patterns, in particular, her economic defence, remain what they are, her wage and power differentiations will continue and she will be unable to show the way to abolition of the state or of world poverty and wars. What she has determined is the possibility of planned economy under social ownership and of the tremendous power that a retarded nation may speedily achieve. The war with Germany has also steeled the Russians into a powerful nation, for whose hand of friendship other States would be eager. From this may flow influences of good or evil import, but the prime actors of world history will have to be searched for elsewhere.

Footnotes to the Text of A Lost Chapter

1. Should it be possible to destroy the productive capacity of any of the free capitalist structures after the 1939 war has ended, there will be need to hold these in subjection and, consequently, the need for war-preparedness will grow. A kind of officers' caste already exists in West Europe. All that is needed is to broadbase it. How exactly this will be done or whether it can be done at all will depend on several factors outside of West Europe. Incidentally, the introduction of a caste-system seems to be done only as a palliative against the declining birth rate in a capitalist economy. What capitalism with its falling rate of interest does to the numbers of a population can only be undone by religion and the absence of any recreation save that of producing children. Such an increase of population may in the earlier stages act as a dynamic force but that it will, in later stages, fall a victim to the cultural and even military sloth that a caste-system causes should not be disputed. Also, a caste-system with a good birth-rate cannot exist without child-labour. West Europe will have to devise some means whereby its one-payable bonus to fertile parents may be turned into a recurrent income.

2. The small scope for extension may be seen from their government's opposition to the Beveridge Scheme for the people of Britain. It has been calculated that the cost of this scheme would not be more than that incurred in the destruction of Hamburg. This expenditure would no doubt be recurrent but has not the war as a whole already cost hundreds of times as much? Again, the very minor expenditure on the destruction of rats in the London sewage system could only be thought of in war-time.

3. Already, a blight has settled on West European thought, in particular, on its various sociological sciences. In fact, it is doubtful if, outside of the dionysian clash of arms and the presentation of drama, there is anything great still left in West Europe. The economic man is ending, not to be replaced by a healthier faith or ideals, but in utter despair, as he is no longer able to rule over the world. West European philosophy, sociology, economics, politics, literature are going scholastic and are increasingly concerning themselves with marginal phenomena. However, the proper place to discuss the cultural relegation of Europe would be when we take up the general problem of history. We may here confine ourselves to economic thought by way of illustration. In the two most important West European countries, economic thought has proceeded along revealing lines; in Germany, it has become photostatically historical and has lost the creative urge; in England, its discussion of economic phenomena is proceeding in an increasingly rarer air. The German Werner Sombart, perhaps the greatest West European economist of the century, has acutely described the current economic movement as tending towards social pluralism. Incidentally, this social pluralism in economy is not to be confused with the philosophical pluralism in thought. It only means a kind of balanced economy in which industry, handicrafts, agriculture, the captains of industry and its workers have all their fixed places, duties and rewards. So far, this a correct historical observation: we have already seen how West European economy is attempting to achieve fixity and caste. But, when Sombart goes on to add

that this economy of social pluralism will by itself endure in a state of prosperity, he is unhistorical and, therefore, uncreative. His unhistoricity proceeds from his unawareness of the deteriorating colonial dynamic and of the continental shifts; his lack of creative solutions is also to be ascribed to this unawareness. Nevertheless, Sombart will enable the student of the future to understand a part of the world of today and its aspirations. British economists, statisticians excluded, are, on the other hand, discussing phenomena of money, interest, wages more or less in a scholastic way and with a view to refine their definitions. Thus, one of these, Mr. T. R. Hicks pleads, in respect to consumer's demand, for a chance from the method of "total utility" to "marginal rate of substitution" among preferences, from "diminishing marginal rate of substitution." These newer terms indeed make better sense than the old categories. Precision should always be welcome but there is just a possibility that, in its search, economics might be turning into grammar. Mr. Hicks goes on to describe the conditions of equilibrium in a dynamic production plan "(1) The marginal rate of substitution between outputs of any two dates must equal the ratio of their discounted prices; (2) the marginal rate of substitution between inputs of any two dates must equal the ratio of their discounted prices. (3) The marginal rate of transformation of any input into any output must equal the ratio of their discounted prices." Mr. J. M. Keynes's definition that "Short-period supply price is the sum of marginal factor cost and marginal user cost" is on a par with this. All this is Panini with a vengeance, without his brevity and without the easy-to-remember rhythm of the language whose grammar he refined. Precise simplicity is something entirely different from complex precision. The crux of the complex writing just quoted is that calculations of future costs and prices or income should be so made that the interest payable during the period is deducted from those. And that a production plan must take account of the most profitable substitutions between present output and future output, between present input and future output. Innocently unaware of the political and historical world in which their economic phenomena move, British economists have in recent years discussed the problems of money and interest in such isolation as to give them a kind of self-movement. This is not to say that their findings are all useless. Mr. Hicks's definitions, for instance, of the simple term, "income" though to some extent delightfully virtuous, are penetrating and should persuade the creative economist and the economic historian to be wary of certain pitfalls. Is income, "the maximum amount which can be spent during a period if there is to be an expectation of maintaining intact the capital value of prospective receipts"? no, is income then "the maximum amount of money the individual can spend this week, and still expect to be able to spend the same amount in real terms in each ensuing week"? no; income is what a person "can consume during the week and still expect to be as well off at the end of the week as he was at the beginning." The week is only a convenient period and it may be noted that the first definition is incorrect in view of changing rates of interest, the second in view of changing prices, the third because it is concerned with expenditure and not with consumption, while the fourth, although correct, is

indeterminate. Such is British economic thought today, not creative, not historical, not even logically simple, but perhaps negatively helpful.

4. In Marxian language, the study of West European economy discloses three laws in operation: the law of relegation, the law of transformation of classes into castes and the law of conscious social change. The first two laws are prevailing over the third and will in all likelihood continue doing so. The Marxian law of class struggle, which is a rather misshapen effort at social change, embraces only a small part of world-realities. In attempting to raise this bit to the status of a whole, Marxians are to some extent strengthening their class-enemies. The communist illusion that the world has already been mapped out by the Marxian laws of capitalist development, that socialism is an inevitable outcome of highly capitalised economics and that all there is to do is to evolve a ruthless will, is causing considerable harm. Socialism requires a great new effort at renewed understanding of capitalism as much as it requires an effort of will. To believe that the task of understanding was completed by Marx is the gravest communist error. Unless the West European peoples, in particular their working classes, can work out their class-struggle in subsidiary alliance with the struggle of the colonial masses and unless they review the problem of technics in its world-character of an equal attack on poverty, they are heading towards a relapse.

5. The anti-imperialism of Russia will be severely tested on this issue. In the event of an outright victory, there will be great temptation to throw the burden of this not-immediately-productive activity on the backs of the defeated populations. This can be done through direct political control and in the form of indemnities or low-paid labour. It can also be achieved through establishing a town-village relationship in the exchange of goods with other East European countries. Russian nationalism has already acquired the aggressive equipment of an exclusive national religion, a militarist anthem, a fine army with a love for extended defensive frontiers and is developing other features with which we are not concerned here. Whether this nationalism will also persuade Russia to bring other populations into a town-village relationship economically, if not politically, is more than we can answer; the basis for it will be there and the temptation as well. Else, the Russian people will again, to some extent, have to be starved of consumer goods. Incidentally, Russian activity in outer Mongolia and Sinkiang, in Poland and the Baltic States has shown such mixed features that whether it is imperialism for economic purposes or for defensive frontiers is difficult to say.

6. Corresponding to this dispersal of production has taken place a like development in warfare. The importance of the small-unit in the regular army and of guerrillas has grown. These units are very lightly equipped with small arms and operate in groups of a few persons. Nevertheless, their action is yet complementary to the main movement of the massed armies. They have shown the possibility of a new pattern of economic defence. But this possibility cannot be fully explored, until a consciously planned economy chooses to experiment, not as a complimentary but as a primary measure, with the small units, in production as also in warfare. Needless to say, that these small units, in order to be effective over concentrated production and defence, must have all the advantages that science and technics can give them. It does not seem likely that the Russian economy will have any more creativity, than the West European economies have the latitude, to pursue this conscious policy of small-unit technics as the primary and the heavy mechanisation as the secondary base.

7. Such a class, apparently for political reasons, is already in existence. The numbers of men in the various labour camps of Siberia and elsewhere are sometimes estimated at millions. When the political reasons for the continuance of these labour camps have disappeared, it is doubtful if the economic reasons will not be as important. Besides labour camps, there is also the possibility of low and menial service.

8. Unless information has been withheld, Russian economy has not been too fruitful in the sphere of new inventions. There have indeed been projections and perfections of an old technique and these may continue or increase. But no new items of economic welfare have been invented, no new industries created, no altering of an old industry into more pleasurable and healthful forms of labour. It is largely a copy of the best technics available from West Europe and the United States. Perhaps it is too early to judge. In any case, Russian planning seems to give an impression of pursuit of statistics. A retarded economy must undoubtedly pursue expanded statistics of production, but there is just a possibility that such a pursuit of statistics may at some points militate against the pursuit of welfare. Let us take an imaginary example. A hundred-acre farm, with an optimum use of technics, can be made to produce X quantity with the labour of hundred persons. With the maximum use of heavy technics and the quantity remaining unchanged, the labour on the farm can be cut down to fifty persons. The other fifty persons are drafted into making this heavy technics possible, into mining coal and iron, into machine-manufacture, into transport. Production has thus registered an all-round increase; more agricultural production per head, more tonnage of iron, more mileage covered. Actually, however, there has been no real increase, X has remained X, and the other activity has been like the jinn's going up and coming down. This, is of course, an extreme example but it illustrates the possibility of statistical expansion being merely a chimera: In actual life, real expansion is interwoven with chimerical expansion and an overall national planning must very carefully disentangle the one from the other and might even have to pursue a policy of healthful stability in certain directions.

9. In passing, we may here refer to the violent swings of Russian economic policy, occasioned partly by the varying concepts of socialist distribution. There was the early pure communism followed by the new economic policy of limited private ownership in production and trade. Then came the dizzy period of collective agriculture followed once again by a kind of new economic policy in distribution with complete ownership in production. Despite these swings, Russian economic expansion has proceeded with a good speed, in some ways better than the best American speed. The Russian expansion is not questioned nor its speed, and we are not directly concerned here with the political ruthlessness that has gone with it; the only question is whether this same speed, or even better, could not have been attained by a more consistent and continuous policy. Perhaps, the first land to come under social ownership had to go through these experiences. Perhaps, also, some violent swings of policy are unavoidable when private property is beaten into a social shape. One has, therefore, to beware of superficial criticisms of Russia and of the mere analogies now so popularly drawn between the Russian and the West European economies. Only such critical understanding of Russia has meaning as reinforces the need for social ownership and as informed by the desire to extract certain over-all principles for the planning of a socialist economy. And, here, the Russian experience has shown that progress can have two rates, an optimum rate and an intermittently ruthless rate. The optimum rate of progress may actually be more revolutionary than a ruthless rate.

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.

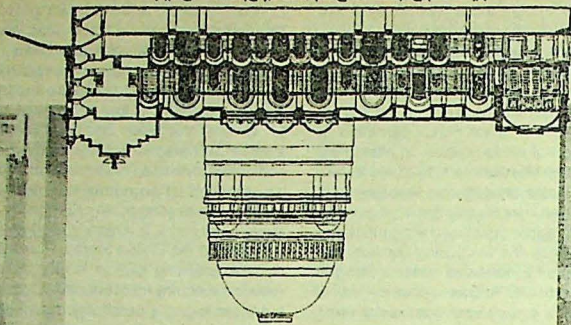
For the time being, contributions in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Gujarati, Oriya, Punjabi, Assamese and English, upto 2000 words (exceptionally 5000 or more) will be accepted. Eventually, contributions in all Indian languages will be welcomed. We are setting up

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

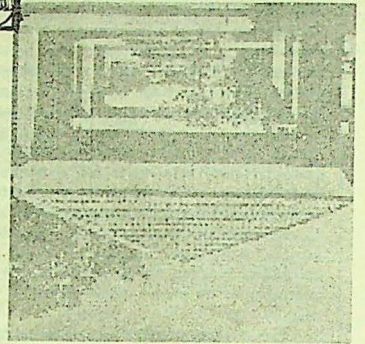
Short literary contributions, satirical or otherwise, and feullitons are also invited (including cartoons and graphics).

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.

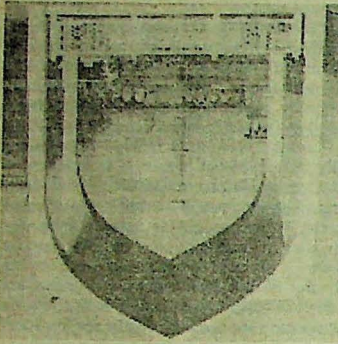
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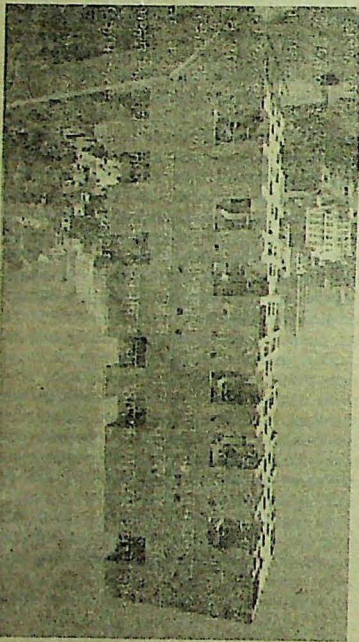
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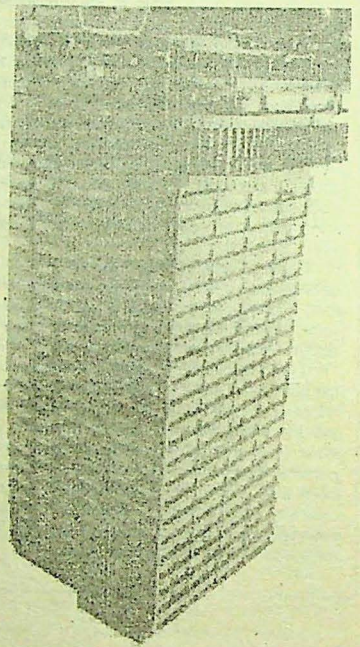
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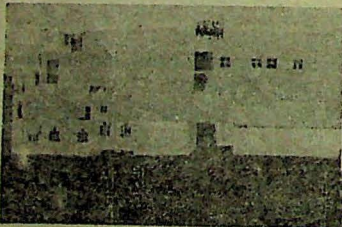


ULTA-ZAMANA OR DISJOINTED TIMES

Neo-colonialism, the Sucking
Dry of the Third World

Naukarshahi, the Ruination of
All Norms

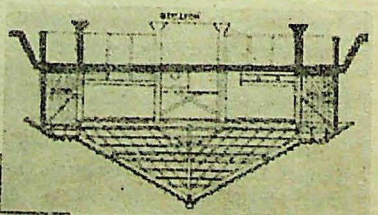
Indira Gandhi Inst. of Dev., Bombay



Secretariat Chandigarh



Mother and Child Centre, W Bengal



NEO - COLONIALISM, THE SUCKING DRY OF THE THIRD WORLD

EMS - A MAN OUT OF HIS DEPTH

Mankind does not have the space, the energy or the inclination to comment on the journalistic writings that are pouring out by the million reams in our newspapers and news-magazines.

Let us understand one thing very dearly. In every crime committed by our generally Congress, and occasionally non-Congress, rulers, aided and abetted by our *naukarshahs*, one clique or another of our journalists is intimately involved. In the so-called triangular "nexus" between politicians, bureaucrats and criminals, identified by our Supreme Court, in every case there is an involvement by our mediapersons. This is the hidden "nexus", which is consciously suppressed by media-owners, who use the petty journalists as intermediaries to promote their private interests.

Through blackmail and yellow writings, the journalists have managed to get a special law passed by the Parliament to defend their salaries and extraordinary perquisites. Other sections of the working people in India, do not have equivalent laws to protect their emoluments and conditions of service. The journalists enjoy unusual privileges in the labour market. Any Tom, Dick and Harry acquires a BJ (Bachelor of Journalism) or BCJ (Bachelor of Communication and Journalism) degree or diploma from a *fadtoos* (third rate) professional institution, and begins to pontificate on every subject under the sun. He has no knowledge, no conscience and no awareness. He misleads the young and the unwary with malice aforethought. He

is the supreme cynic, and the cheapest juggler of words. He would sell his own mother for a pat from the proprietor or a ruling party politician. He is the cad of cads. He is the blackmailer par excellence. His only stock-in-trade is some little tit-bit of dirty inside story, on the basis of which he can blackmail some ruling politician or *naukarshah*.

An acquaintance of mine, of the '40s, who claimed to be a leftist to boot, started his journalistic career as a crime-reporter and then amassed a small fortune by claiming awards as a police-informer on

THE BANKRUPT FOURTH ESTATE

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smugglers. He was murdered, pretty soon, by a rival gang of smugglers, at a hill-station near Pune, just a few years ago.

By blackmailing Congressmen, the journalists as a group have acquired immense real estate (in Patrakar Nagars built on land allocated by the state at throwaway prices), and swallowed up crores of rupees of public money as members of the entourages of VVIPs.

It has just come to light, that Mulayam Singh Yadav, in his brief tenure as CM of UP, gave away one and half crores of rupees to this brigade of ruffian scibes.

Many of these disreputable

scoundrels have recently formed TV and video distribution companies, and are milking the state-owned Doordarshan organisation of huge sums.

Some time ago, one tout-journalist, shot and murdered another tout-journalist in the premises of the Delhi Press Club. (Further ramifications of this strange affair, have naturally been suppressed by the media !)

In every major state capital and most district towns, thousands of plots and flats and premises are to be found that are monuments to the corruption of the fourth estate.

Journalists know everything and nothing. That is why, *Mankind* has never cared to, attach any importance to the scribblings of these know-all nobodies. *Mankind* readers know very well not to attach any importance to the millions of words poured forth by the gentlemen-bandits of the media-world. As for their cries, of the "freedom of the Press" being in danger and such other rubbish, the less said the better. The greatest danger to the freedom of the press is from the pressmen themselves ! They are primarily the *chamchas* of their monopolist proprietors, and secondarily, tertiarily and quadruply, the stooges of ruling politicians, *naukarshahs*, and criminal gangsters.

But a new breed of journalist-columnists have appeared on the scene, in the last few years. They are former judges, big ex-bureaucrats, retired police and army bigwigs, and even bankrupted political leaders. They are journalists "in retirement."

They are generally those from whom the media proprietors have received big favours in the past and who are now being pensioned-off with fat cheques for their "extremely valuable" comments and columns. They are still pawns in the hands of the media tycoons, but they are pawns with a claim to some "consideration" and "retirement benefits." They have

had their innings in politics or in bureaucracy, where they have been largely frustrated, because of non-implementation or wrong implementation of their percepts. Yet they have not become disgusted and they would like to continue to play their counselling and advisory roles to the ruling elite. They have some knowledge and expertise of a largely out-of-date sort. They are in the main a gerontocracy of have-beens, who continue to oppress the current generation, which has moved into the future.

One of these old-fogeys' brigade of politicians turned columnists, is one E.M.S

Namboodiripad, who continues to churn out puerile stuff for the *Frontline*. E.M.S. is a former Chief Minister of Kerala and a hardened Stalinist Politburo member of the CPM. I don't know his present position in the worthless hierarchy of the party, and I really do not care to know. His anti-national record is very long. He supported British imperialism during the Second World War, and served as an informer and *agent provocateur* for the imperialist police during the '40s, when we nationalists were engaged in the triple struggle of August 1942, the Anti-INA Trial Demonstrations of 1945 and the pro-Naval Uprising mass movement in Bombay of 1946. E.M.S. had opposed all these national struggles and vigorously supported the Partition and trifurcation of the country in 1947. After that, he enthusiastically supported Indira's semi-fascist Emergency regime of 1975-77, and many other crimes against the Indian people.

I had at one time, in the late 80s, thought of using Namboodiripad as a conduit to raise a serious political debate amongst CPM cadres. I met him and exchanged letters with him, some two decades ago. I still have the file somewhere, but I am disinclined to make the effort of looking it up.

He is a stodgy odd character, who looks like a simple old fellow. He ran his CPM headquarters office in New Delhi, like a typical bureaucrat. When I visited this office there was no animation anywhere about. It was a sultry afternoon, and a listless air hung like a heavy cloud upon the premises. E.M.S. himself blended perfectly in this dull grey atmosphere. There was no wit, no sparkle, no incisive intelligence about EMS's conversation or personality. He looked and was an ordinary stupid old fellow.

I had entered into an dispute with EMS, about Marx and the Asiatic Mode of Production. He was not moved by my arguments and had nothing to urge against them, except, some jargon, that he had picked up over the years from some odd Stalinist text books. He refused to think out things on his own.

That was his hallmark. He just couldn't or wouldn't make the effort to think intelligently and independently. Naturally, I couldn't convince him, nor could he, me. We parted as we had met, unenthusiastically. I never met him again, nor had I ever any desire to do so. The man was simply too unintelligent to interest me.

In a recent column, in the *Frontline*, February 9, 1996, E.M.S. has written about, if you please, *The Rig Veda*. The column reveals that E.M.S. Namboodiripad is a living fossil. Not because he is 87 years old, age does not matter if the mind is young and supple, but essentially because he is frozen in his old compradorist ways of thinking. He repeats every imperialist lie about India and thinks that he is saying something very wonderful.

As a matter of fact, evidence is so fast accumulating, that those who, like E.M.S., think that the Aryans invaded India from the North-West ("entered" as E.M.S. puts it mildly), or that the Harappan civilization preceded the Aryan conquest, which E.M.S. repeats by rote, are going to be in a ridiculous minority.

S. R. Rao has deciphered the Indus script and proved beyond a shadow of doubt, that both Brahmi and Aramaic were derived from the Indus script. (S. R. Rao, *The Decipherment of the Indus Script*, 1982), which had better be renamed the Saraswati script. (There is method in his madness of mis-nomenclature. The Sarasvati is the river par excellence of the Rig Veda, and, whilst, three dozen of Harappan sites have been found on the Indus, Sarasvati is also the river central to the Harappan culture, since

more than 500 "Harappan" sites have been found on its banks. Ghaggar is the recent name of Sarasvati's dried up course, which lay between the Sutlej and the Jamuna and which might have been captured by either, as a result of a slight movement of the earth's crust.)

Shrikant G. Talageri has demolished all the arguments of the 19th century imperialists, who suddenly put forward the Aryan Invasion Theory without any evidence at all. (S. G. Talageri, *The Aryan Invasion Theory; a Reappraisal* 1993, which has been largely reproduced also in his *The Aryan Invasion Theory and Indian Nationalism*, 1993.)

It is noteworthy, that amongst the innumerable scholars, who have now accepted S. R. Rao's derivation of Aramaic from the Sarasvati script, a prominent name is that of David Diringer, the Founder Director of the Alphabet Museum in Cambridge and Tel Aviv. E.M.S. and other fossilised relics of the imperialist past should now lock horns with David Diringer.

Amongst the other eminent scholars who have accepted Rao's decipherment, the following may be mentioned: Prof. S. H. Ritti (President, Epigraphical Society of India); Prof. P. B. Desai (President, Indian History Congress, Epigraphy Section, and Head, Department of Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology, Nagpur University); Prof. W. W. de Grummond (Florida State University, USA); Dr. Katscher; Prof. Mrs. Anleu Kammenhuber (Munich University, West Germany); The American Journal of Oriental Studies (in a review); University of California, Berkeley (which announced the acceptance of the decipherment in September 1986). (S. G. Talageri, *The Aryan Invasion Theory; A Reappraisal*, 1993, pp. 61-2)

David Frawley adds the following names to the endlessly growing list of scholars, who have rejected the imperialist Aryan Invasion Theory on the evidence of archaeology, palaeontology, geography, mathematics, astronomy, linguistics, and so on. Apart from himself, S. R. Rao and S. G. Talageri, Frawley mentions: Navaratna Rajaram, Subhash Kak, James Schaffer, Mark Kenoyer, S.P. Gupta, Bhagwan Singh, B.G. Siddharth, K. D. Sethna, K. D. Abhyankar, P.V. Pathak, S. Kalyanaraman, B. B. Chakravorty and George Feuerstein, (David Frawley, *The Aryan Invasion Theory*, 1994, p.7).

My humble advice to E.M.S. is to forget his Stalinist past, if he can. He should not close his eyes and fly like a blind bat in the face of overwhelming facts. We dialectical and historical materialists should not oppose the nationalist conservative line by an anti-nationalist pseudo-progressivism, but with a nationalist revolutionary line.

Why should we allow the reactionaries to steal the nationalist thunder? We should boldly project a revolutionary nationalist outlook.

I am reluctant to call myself a Marxist, as I have a very low opinion of Marx as a *scholar on India*. He created an Asiatic Mode of Production out of whole cloth, just as the traditional imperialist rascals manufactured an Aryan Invasion Theory. I also have a very poor opinion of Marx as a politician, as he aligned himself in the Crimean War (1853-56) with the Turks and Palmerston, the butcher of the Indian Nationalist Mutineers of 1857-60. (Palmerston blew Indian patriots from cannon-mouths!) Marx also supported the most reactionary demands of Prussia-Germany against the smaller nations of Europe, like Denmark, Belgium, etc. I have also been revolted by the ferocity of Marx's diatribes against fellow

ARYAN INVASION THEORY IS RIDICULOUS

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revolutionaries, like Proudhon, Bakunin, Lasalle, Dietzgen and Hyndman and other working class figures of the First International. Above all, I dislike Marx for his terribly arrogant Eurocentrism. I do not think and never thought, that Europeans were such great guys.

Leaving all that aside, I think for many reasons, it is best to call ourselves historical and dialectical materialists. Marxes will come and go, but historical materialism will endure. Of that I am sure.

That is why, I have endeavoured to absorb all the new accumulated knowledge and identified the Rig Vedic society as the Pastoralist Class Society (*MK*, Vol. 1 No. 4/5, Jan-Feb, 1996, pp. 68-85), that was riven by internal class struggles: One of the earliest attempts to break-away and to form a proto-feudal society was the Harappan or Saraswati culture, which extended from Shortughai on the Afghano-Russian border to Daimabad in Maharashtra, and from Sutkagendor in Baluchistan to Alamgirpur across the Yamuna in U.P.

Another attempt was made under the leadership of Zoroaster, who was a Bactrian, and who advocated the practice of agriculture against unbridled pastoralism. This attempt too failed, as far as India is concerned, and Zoroaster and his group were expelled to Iran, where they possibly succeeded. The *Avesta* (see *Zend Avesta* 3 Volumes, Nos. 4, 23, and 31. In the *Sacred Books of the East* series ed. by F. Marx Müller and originally published in 1887, 1882 and 1887.) consisting of the Vendidad, the Visperad, the Yasna and the Gathas, formed the immediate background to the rise of the Achaemendis (c. 700 B.C.)

In the meantime, the Dasarajna and Mahabharata wars had weakened internally the Pastoralist class society. There were many other wars, in those remote days, which are fully documented in the Vedic and Puranic literatures.

Ultimately, a third attempt, at feudalisation, led by the Kshatriyas with ideological platforms provided by Buddha, Mahavira and Makhali Gosala succeeded and the Sixteen Mahajanapadas (c 700 BC) ushered in. These sixteen Mahajanapadas form the immediate background to the rise of the Magadhan Mauryan Empire (c. 321 - c. 185 B.C.), that stretched from Afghanistan to Karnataka and Gujarat to Orissa.

New overwhelming evidence, especially, of an archaeological (the drying up of the river Saraswati-Ghaggar in c. 1900 B.C.) and linguistic (decipherment of the Saraswati Script by S.R. Rao) nature should be welcomed and digested by all dialectical and historical materialists. We cannot and should not combat the new evidence by bureaucratic-Stalinist methods, adopted by E.M.S. We should not behave like owls in daylight, closing our eyes to harsh reality and venturing out only surreptitiously at night. Just as the reactionary semi-nationalists of the Sangh Parivar have foisted their own religio-spiritual mumbo-jumbo interpretation upon the data (Subhash Kak is supposed to have discovered a mathematical code in the Rig Veda and located the confluence of Saraswati with the sea at 22 degrees North latitude — Frawley, *op.cit.*, p. 46), similarly, we dialectical and historical materialists should reinterpret the fresh data in a correct atheist, rationalist, objective, socio-economic manner.

Once the Rigvedic society is correctly identified as a Pastoralist Class Society and the Saraswati or Harappan Society as Agriculture-based Proto-Feudal Society, most of the mysteries of Indian history get resolved. There is no esoteric code in the Rig Veda. That is all religious mumbo-jumbo. All that we need to understand the Rig Veda is socio-economic analysis.

In fact, that is where Marx went wrong. He did not understand Indian history, and therefore, assumed that India had no history. Which is silly! Because no people in the world had ever lacked

history. As we have said, again and again, people do not require a special organ with which to make history. History gets made, as men live, and extract a living from the environment by harnessing productive forces and entering into production relations amongst themselves. As successive MOPs replace each other, Man and Society are continuously transformed.

Let us now return to Frawley and examine some of the new evidence that has accumulated. The accumulated evidence has now been neatly summed up in *The Myth of the Aryan Invasion of India* by David Frawley, 1994.

After pointing out that :

"The Aryan Invasion Theory is an example of European colonialism turned into a historical model," Frawley demonstrates that "four main points have emerged in the post-colonial era, wherein we have discarded the Eurocentric view of humanity."

1. The main centre of Harappan civilization is the newly discovered Saraswati river of Vedic fame.

2. The so-called massacre at Mohenjo-dero, that Wheeler the white imperialist-racialist claimed to find, "has been found to be only a case of imagination gone wild." Mohenjo-dero, and many other Indus sites, were abandoned probably due to repeated flooding.

3. "The so-called Aryan culture traits like horses, iron, cattle-rearing or fire worship have been found to be either indigenous developments (like iron) or to have existed in Harappan and pre-Harappan sites (like horses and fire worship)".

4. "A more critical reading of Vedic texts reveals that Harappan civilization, the largest of the ancient world, finds itself reflected in Vedic literature, the largest literature of the ancient world." (Frawley, *op.cit.*, p.6)

Frawley proceeds to summarise the new findings and makes the following points :

• "Fire altars have been found in Harappan sites." (*ibid* p. 8)

• "The movement of the Aryans could have as well been from India to the west rather than from the west into India, as subtropical India with its vast river systems is more able to produce the necessary populations for such migrations than barren Central Asia or cold eastern Europe, which even today are very difficult to inhabit." (*ibid.*, p.10)

• "Dr. S. R. Rao has found two sites — Dwaraka and Bet Dwaraka in Gujarat — which were large urban sites. Dwaraka, dated around 1500 B.C., was in fact larger than, Mohenjodaro, the largest Harappan site." (*ibid.*, p.12)

• "Max Mueller speculated that the five layers of the four Vedas and the Upanishads were each composed in two hundred year periods before the Buddha at 500 B.C." and thus fixed 1500 B.C. as the date of the fabulous Aryan Invasion. There was no archaeological evidence at all! (*ibid.*, p. 15)

• "Harappan civilization (3100-1900 B.C.) was the largest in the world up to its time. Harappan sites have now been found as far west as the coast of modern Iran, as far north as Turkestan on the Amu Darya (a region usually identified with the Aryans), as far northeast as the Ganges, and south to the Godavari river. A site has even been found on the coast of Arabia. Thousands of sites have been found with several cities, like Ganweriwala on the Saraswati river and Dholavira near the ocean in Kutch, as large as the first two major cities found earlier, Harappa and Mohenjodaro." (*ibid.*, p. 20)

• "Harappan culture maintained a continuity and uniformity that is unparalleled in cultures up to that date. The cities were the best planned of the era, with wide streets and excellent sewage systems. There was a uniformity of arts, crafts, weights and measures throughout the region." (*ibid.*, p. 20)

● "The sites were abandoned rather than destroyed, along with major ecological changes in the region, with shifting rivers, floods, and desertification of parts of the region, along with the drying up of the Sarasvati river." (*ibid.*, p. 20)

● "The Sarasvati, as modern land studies now reveal, was indeed one of the largest rivers in India in ancient times (before 1900 B.C.) and was perhaps the largest river in India (before 3000 B.C.). In early ancient and pre-historic times, it drained the Sutlej and Yamuna, whose courses were much different than they are today. (Studies from the Post-Graduate Research Institute of Deccan College, Pune, and the Central Arid Zone Research Institute (CAZRI), Jodhpur, confirmed by use of MSS (multi-spectral scanner) and Landsat satellite photography." (*ibid.*, p. 25)

● "In the Rig Veda, we find over seventy references to ocean or sea. As an interesting sidelight, it is now known that Aryan migrations to Sri Lanka from Gujarat began before 500 B.C., and Brahmi inscriptions have been found in Indonesia to about 300 B.C. Phoenicians were trading with the port of Ophir (Sopara, Surparaka) north of Bombay during the time of King Solomon, circa. 975 B.C." (*ibid.*, p. 28)

● "The absence of horses, spoked wheels and iron in Harappan sites have been key points. Further excavations have discovered horses not only in Harappan but also in pre-Harappan sites, and in other sites in India from Karnataka to the Ganges region.

"The discovery of bones of *Equus caballus* Linn (the true horse) from so many Harappan sites and that too right from the lowest levels clearly establishes that the true domesticated horse was, very much in use.

"Most interestingly the enemies of the Vedic people, the Dasas or Dasyus, are also described in the Rig Veda as possessing a wealth in horses, which the Aryans win from them or receive as gifts from them. In fact one Dasa Baibutha gives a Vedic seer a gift of 60,000 horses." (*ibid.*, pp. 28-29)

● "Evidence of the wheel, and an Indus seal showing a spoked wheel as used in chariots, has been found." (*ibid.*, p. 29)

● "The Indo-European Kassites of the ancient Middle East worshipped Vedic Gods like Surya and the Maruts, as well as one named Himalaya. The Hittites and Mittani signed a treaty with the name of the Vedic Gods — Indra, Mitra, Varuna and Nasatyas — around 1400 B.C.. The Hittites have a treatise on chariot racing written in almost pure Sanskrit. This shows that Vedic culture extended from India to Anatolia by 2000 B.C." (*ibid.*, p. 47)

Frawley concludes :

● "The New Model of ancient India that has emerged from the collapse of the Aryan theory is that of an indigenous development of civilization in ancient India from the Mehrgarh site of 6500 B.C. The people in this tradition are the same basic ethnic groups as in India today, with their same basic types of languages — Indo-European and Dravidian. There is a progressive process of the domestication of animals, particularly cattle, the development of agriculture, beginning with barley and then later wheat and rice, and the use of metal, beginning with copper and culminating in iron, along with the development of villages and towns. Later Harappan (Sarasvati) civilization 3100-1900 B.C. show massive cities, complex agriculture and metallurgy, sophistication of arts and crafts, and precision in weights and measures. This Sarasvati civilization was a center of trading and for the diffusion of civilization throughout South and West Asia."

"The layers of Vedic literature fit in perfectly well with this sequence :

1. 6500 - 3100 B.C., Pre-Harappan, early Rig Vedic.
2. 3100-1900 B.C., Mature Harappan 3100-1900, period of

the Four Vedas.

3. 1900-1000 B.C., Late Harappan, late Vedic and brahmana period." (*ibid.*, p. 52)

Only one more point needs to be made.

Whilst E.M.S. has ostensibly written about the Rig Veda, actually, he has devoted less than one-fourth of the article to this subject. More than three-fourths he has devoted to a paean of praise to British imperialism for conferring immense boons upon India. I think that even in the compradorist circles, E.M.S. would be proclaimed a champion ! He should have titled his article "Praise be to God For British Imperialism." He has great expertise in boot-licking. In an article on *The Rig Veda*, at least, he could have confined himself to themes of ancient Indian history. But no ! As a typical foolish Stalinist bureaucrat, he has to deal extensively with current issues.

Let us see how this dimwit formulates the matter :

"For the first time in Indian history, it was the British rulers of the 18th to the 20th centuries who brought about some semblance of political unity for the country.

"Modern nationalism, therefore, is the child of the Indian people's resistance to British occupation.

"That was how the British who brought about India's political unity with their sword used their diplomatic manoeuvres and succeeded in creating an organisation which declared that India is not one nation but consists of two nations — Hindu and Muslim. The movement based on that demand was so irresistible that the British who originally brought about the political unity of India presided over the division of India into an Islamic Pakistan and a Hindu Indian Union." (*Frontline*, February 9, 1996 p. 104)

Every word of the above is a blatant lie !

This farrago of nonsense shows the utterly confused state of E.M.S.'s mind. Even irony and sarcasm dries up in the face of such absurdity !

The British never unified the country. We cannot define Indian nationality, retrospectively, by the extent of British conquest. Historical India was defined by itself, as all national cultures are.

There are four points to be considered summarily :

1. The British did not and could not conquer parts of historical India, like present day Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Arakan and Eelam.

2. Forty per cent of Pre-Partition India consisted of about 550 Native States, which was non-India.

Before 1947-49, does not E.M.S. know, that it was a crime to consider oneself an Indian in Baroda, Srinagar, Hyderabad, Mysore and Travandrum ?

Thousands of patriots were tortured in the jails of the native princelings for proclaiming themselves to be Indians.

Fortunately or unfortunately, the CPI, and its off-shoot, CPM, have no knowledge of this nationalist struggle, having never participated in any phase thereof.

But whether, CPI or CPM participated in this nationalist struggle or not, the struggle was there, and their infamous role is known to the Indian people.

3. Apart from the unconquered portions of India, and the princely states, there is the question of Non-Regulation Districts. Almost all the tribal areas of India were placed under the category of Non-Regulation Districts, where the juridical bourgeois revolutionary laws of the Indian Penal Code and the Indian Criminal Procedure Code did not apply. The tribals constitute about 8% of our population today. They live in remote hills and dense forests in India. i.e. in low density regions. The Non-Regulation Districts thus may have constituted about 10 to 15% of the area of India. There, literally, "the law of the jungle" prevailed !

4. As a parting kick, British Imperialism partitioned and

Trifurcated the country in 1947. This resulted in over 6 lakh killings and the migratory movements of 17 million people, the largest single migratory movement known to human history !

If after all this, EMS still wants to assert that Britian "unified India", one can only admire his fool-hardy courage. Most fools have it !

The Indian market was not unified as different customs regulations applied to Afghanistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Arakan and Eelam, as well as, to the so-called Native States.

The man is non-compos. He has reached at age 87, the state of senescent decadence, from which it is impossible to rescue him.

In his column *The Rig Veda*, EMS admits that he tried to learn the Rig Veda by rote, without understanding a word of it ! He still does not ! That is his tragedy. He claims that the Rig Veda was "first understood by the Westerners." This is simply nonsensical ! Thousands of Indians understood every word of it from c. 4500 B.C. to the time of Tilak ! Naturally their understanding was religious and ruling class-oriented. We must now understand it in the scientific, rationalist and socio-economic sense ! Religion does not make man, man makes religion !

I have been trying *not* to call E.M.S. an idiot ! He is bent upon foiling me, however polite my intentions.

The man is just cussedly evil ! No Stalinsit-Progressivist can save the Aryan Invasion Theory, that is as dead as the dodo. Gone with the wind ! Especially, since the imperialist academicians are themselves abandoning in droves the Aryan Invasion Theory, as the example of David Dringer demonstrates.

No doubt the neo-colonialist spokesmen will come out with a new vicious twist. But, that lies in the future. Today, almost no reputable scholar wants to or can stand by the old Aryan Invasion Theory invented by the colonialists of the 19th century, except perhaps, some unreformed compradors of the left like E.M.S.

NEO-COLONIALISM TRIUMPHS OVER COMPRADORISM !

We had earlier commented upon the neo-colonial instrument of slavery, signed by India and the CNN, whereby at least, 20 hours of the time out of 24, on the Doordarshan was surrendered to the CNN for the worst kind of American propaganda. (Doordarshan had the right to beam upto a maximum of 4 hours in a day, which naturally, it has not found the time or the resources to do !)

The domination of the electronic waves by Anglo-American neo-colonial news agencies is total. At present, the BBC World Channel is a part of the Star Network. But soon it is going to use a Russian satellite to pour poison into our living rooms.

CNN is a part of the Turner Broadcasting Corporation, which has merged with Time Warner to create the second largest media empire of the world.

It is comical to assess the claims made by these two imperialist news organisations.

On the one hand, the BBC slogan is Be Better Informed, but this is an obvious fallacy ! BBC actually stands for Be Better Conned !

Further, BBC claims to be "Impartial, Accurate and Comprehensive." But, why should it be impartial ? It has never been so. Its record throughout the imperialist period of direct colonial rule, was that of a swinish, racist purveyor of imperialist filth. I don't think that even the wretched *naukarshahs* in India, had any respect for BBC in the pre-1947 days. Thereafter, it has covered itself with neo-colonialist filth.

CNN, on the other hand, claims to be "Responsible, Fair and Accurate." This is triply ludicrous. At the inauguration of the joint India - CNN service in Delhi, the CNN confessed to having used a map of India as a backdrop, that was later admitted to be "inaccurate". How can it said be Fair, by even its own limited standards, when it confessed in a live Larry King show, just yesterday (12th March '96), that its extensive live coverage for hours on end of the O.J. Simpson trial was excessively biased. (Larry King was interviewing ABC's anchor man for news broadcasts, who himself admitted to being biased.) As for being Responsible one can only say that it has been

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The only thing for which we may be thankful is that the BBC and the CNN have smashed into smithereens the heinous monopoly over news dissemination held by the state-owned AIR and Doordarshan in India during the post-1947 period.

Through their satellites and cable networks the BBC and CNN have finally broken through ! But, how can we celebrate a neo-colonial triumph over a corrupt and criminal comprador set-up ! ?

Responsible towards the interests of its hide-bound neo-colonial masters alone !

Everything is completely slanted by both, CNN and BBC, to favour the Multi-National advertisers, who are their main patrons.

Both, CNN and BBC claim to be First with the news. To a limited extent that may be true, for the resources commanded by this duopoly are immense and impressive. The BBC updates its bulletins, every hour on the hour and CNN does it even more frequently, almost every half hour. But let us note that the cancellation of the Enron contract by the Maharashtra Government went unnoticed by both, for many hours.

Brainwashing has become a major industry. It has become a big business to twist and turn every happening in the world to the advantage of the neo-colonial masters of the world, namely the G-7 powers.

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NAUKARSHAHI, THE RUINATION OF ALL NORMS

INDIA IS THE LAND OF ENDLESS SCAMS

We must congratulate ourselves ! Our most backward state, Bihar, has discovered suddenly the most advanced technology of corruption ! The officers of the Animal Husbandry Department who have milked the treasury, should patent the process. Since the last 15 years they have systematically withdrawn hundreds of crores in excess of the budgetary provisions.

It is impossible to imagine the simplicity of the procedures adopted by the *naukarshah* looters. The Assembly after ponderous debates passes a budget every year. So what ? The officers of the Bihar government are not bound by such idiotic technicalities. They forge the documents which allow withdrawals to any extent that they like from the treasury ! The sky is the limit ! Or, paraphrasing Robert Clive, we may say, that the Bihar *naukarshahs* exercised great self-restraint as their venality could not keep pace with their rapacity !

The whole of February was full of the Fodder Scam. We are not interested in inconsequential details, and in any case, the figures are being repeatedly revised as more defalcations come to light. Just for the record, we may note, that according to one calculation, the excess withdrawals by those who were making crores from chicken feed, was 7 crores in 1987-88, and had climbed to 171 crores in 1994-95.

Our concern is with the total pattern. And the pattern is quite clear.

*From *Times of India*, 14.2.96
Another Scam Unfolds :

"Another case of excess withdrawals amounting to crores of rupees from different treasuries in Bihar has come to light. This time it is the state's education department officials who are under a cloud and the withdrawals amount to Rs. 600 crores till 1989-90.

"This latest revelation comes close on the heels of the multi-crore fraud in the state's animal husbandry department. Similar instances are reported to have occurred in other government departments as well. The state government has already constituted separate teams to inquire into the defalcations of huge amounts in the welfare, health, labour, forest, police and rural development departments.

"According to information, an excess withdrawal of more than Rs. 90 crores has been detected in the labour department, while a fraud of over Rs. 24 crores has been discovered in the state home (police) department.

"Meanwhile, the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG), in his report for the

NAUKARSHAHS SPIN WEBS TO ENTANGLE POLITICIANS!

It began as an extremely trifling connection. Laloo Prasad Yadav's brothers were and continue to remain employees of the Animal Husbandry Department. (Laloo was himself a peon in the Veterinary College.) They establish a camaraderie with their superiors and friends of these superiors.

So far everything appears to be above board and innocent. But suddenly crores are defalcated. The elder brothers protect their superiors. The younger brother has suddenly become a big-shot and wants to oblige the elder brothers' bossess, in order to further the careers of the senior Yadavs.

But the bigger *naukarshahs* are not at all innocent. They are looting the state treasury to the extent of hundreds of crores. Laloo defends them, promotes them, and no doubt has been receiving little contributions from them, now and again.

These are the linkages, which keep on ramifying. They originate with the *naukarshahs*, who are spinning endless webs, in which they entangle the politicians.

financial year ending March 31, 1994, has indicted the Bihar Chief Secretary for not ensuring timely reply from respective departmental heads to the 28,950 audit objections raised by CAG involving expenditure of Rs. 1,588.77 crores."

"Questions are being raised about the utility of the attachment, as there

remains vast scope for the accused to appeal in the court for stay of the procedure or for the return of the property.

"There is scope for the accused to establish that the affidavit filed by the police on the basis of which the attachment order was issued, was false.

"If the accused person was able to prove in court that the affidavit was false and there had been no move to dispose off the property, the case of the police would weaken.

"In case the accused denied that the cash or documents recovered from their offices belonged to them, legal experts said, the accused officials would have to prove that persons other than the officials had access to the almirahs and drawers concerned."

And again; from *Times of India*, 18.2.96, *Rs. 18 Lakhs Scam in Bihar Fishery* :

"Misappropriation of funds has come to light in yet another government department in Bihar. The West Singhbhum district administration yesterday detected fraudulent withdrawals worth over Rs. 18 lakhs in the state fishery department."

The second point to be noted about the Fodder Scam, is the role which political influence plays in these affairs.

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Let us glance at the events as they unfolded.

* *Times of India*, 14.2.96 *Fodder Scandal Catches Laloo* :

"Although prompted by reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India about excess withdrawals from the treasury, his government did take steps to examine what was believed to be a minor and routine case of embezzlement of public funds.

"Most of the withdrawals, it is now known, were against fake bills furnished by non-existent firms, many of them possibly floated by politicians or having links with them. They were passed promptly by the 'drawing and disbursal officers' and the treasury officers made the payments. In some cases, it is alleged, the treasury officers sought confirmation and the confirmation was given. In other cases, sanction letters, it is alleged, were forged to indicate that the budgetary allocation had been 'raised'. Once the money was withdrawn, these forged letters also disappeared.

"Clearly, the chief minister, who is also the finance minister, had no inkling of the magnitude of the scandal.

"The BJP, already demoralised by the involvement of its leaders in the hawala scandal, had hit back by releasing a bunch of letters written by Mr. Yadav himself to intercede on behalf of some of the officials in the animal husbandry department. The BJP claimed that with the chief minister's nexus with the so-called animal husbandry mafia 'established'; there could not be an impartial inquiry into the scandal.

"Mr. Yadav was left with no choice but to fight back. His association with the officials of the department is too well-known. His brothers had been employees in the department and he virtually grew up on the campus of the Veterinary College in Patna.

"The scandal is still unfolding.

"As and when full details come in from all 55 districts in the state and other departments are also examined, the dimensions may well be mind-boggling."

* From *Times of India*, 15.2.96, *Bihar Govt. Overtaken a Mega Scam For 15 Years* :

"It took the deputy commissioner of East Singhbhum district five days to get a report from treasury that district animal husbandry officer Gauri Shankar Prasad had withdrawn Rs. 19.53 crores during November-December, 1995. By the time this was detected on January 27, the official had withdrawn an additional Rs. 5.92 crores.

"It took, however, 15 years for the Bihar government to admit that public funds worth Rs. 1,200 crores — some say it may well cross Rs. 2,000 crores — had been siphoned-off by a handful of people.

"The investigations so far have suggested how officials presented fake bills from bogus firms to the treasury. The treasury officer apparently checked the signature of the 'drawing and disbursing officer' and passed them.

"A committee of the Vidhan Sabha did indict officials in its interim report submitted in 1989 for embezzling Rs. 50 crores. But the indicted officials were promoted and given extensions.

"The state government has already conceded that Rs. 675 cores had been illegally withdrawn from the treasury by the Animal Husbandry Department over the past 16 years -- Rs. 50 crores in

the first nine years and Rs. 625 crores during the six following years."

* From *Times of India*, 14.2.96, *Bihar Scandal Can be Bigger* :

"The Bihar government spent Rs. 98 crores more than the allotment budget under the head of pensions and miscellaneous services and Rs. 32 crores more than the budgeted amount under the head of education, sports and youth affairs for the year 1993-94, the latest year for which detailed accounts of Bihar are available with office of the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) here.

"Sources say that in Bihar there is a 22-24 month gap between expenditure made and accounts being prepared. 'This is not so in most other states,' said the CAG official.

"An interesting point emerges from the data available with the CAG office is that, even though there is an expenditure overrun in some departments, on the whole the Bihar government has

spent less money than it had planned for in the year 1993-94. The state government spent Rs. 9,248 crores against the sanctioned outlay of Rs. 10,600 crores for the year."

* From *Times of India*, 19.2.96, *I-T Department was Silent Over Bihar Scam* :

"The family members of Dr. K.M. Prasad, an animal husbandry officer, had received Rs. 81 lakhs in foreign exchange as a 'gift' and had disclosed it to the Income Tax department. The I-T department claimed that it could not proceed in the matter because the remittances came in under an immunity scheme provided by the Union government.

" • He purchased a flat in Anusuya Apartment, 15, Ali Akhtar

Road, Bangalore, at Rs. 30 lakhs and furnished it. A Maruti car was also brought there.

• He built the Maheshwari Nursing Home, named after his mother, at considerable cost and was building a house adjacent to it.

• A house has been built at Road No. 1, Ashok Nagar and furnished at an overall cost of Rs. 80 lakhs.

• He had a temple built at Ashok Nagar at a cost of Rs. 20 lakhs.

• On the occasion of his birthday, Rs. 50 lakhs were spent in celebrations at Ashok Nagar.

• He purchased a Hindi daily newspaper at Ranchi, *Deshpran*, and has spent Rs. 20 to 30 lakhs on it.

• On the occasion of his daughter's *faldaan* a sum of Rs. 50 lakhs was spent and decorators were called from Calcutta and Bombay to decorate Hotel Ashoka at Ranchi.

• He purchased two adjacent plots from two retired officers for Rs. 20 lakhs and has spent Rs. 30 lakhs on laying the lawn, fountains, etc. there.

• His son and nephew are engaged in film-making. The script has been finalised and location shooting is likely to be held abroad in Switzerland and USA. He had pledged Rs. 5 crores on this venture.

• He has five flats in Patna. In addition he had a number of plots of land and the total property cannot be valued at less than Rs. 50 crores."

JAB ANDHI CHALTI HAI, TAB CHAL JATI HAI

The Jain *Hawala* Scandal and the Bihar Fodder Scam are the reverse and the obverse of the same coin. The Indian constitutional system has broken down completely.

I am no friend of either the capitalist economic order or of the Indian comprador constitutional structure. My only anxiety is that no fascist militarist group should take advantage of the current crisis before the revolutionary socialist forces are ready to intervene forcefully.

Lohia used to say that *andhi jab chalti hai, tab chāl jati hai* (The dust-storm gathers momentum invisibly and quite near at hand, but with lightning speed it sweeps away all obstacles in its path), but this applies with equal force to both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces.

* From *Times of India*, 5.3.96, Bihar Govt. Had Been Informed of Wealth Acquired by AHD Officials :

"Mohammed Sayeed alias Master has been the recipient of lucrative contracts.

"The I-T department has recently seized Rs. 1.51 crores from his bank accounts in SBI, Doranda."

* From *Indian Express*, 19.2.96, *Laloo Accused of Sheltering Fodder Scam — Tainted Officials* :

"Notwithstanding the adverse remarks of the department secretary Shar na, who was alleged to be involved in defalcation of Rs. 34 lakhs was reappointed for six months by the order of the Chief Minister, Mr. Modi alleged.

"He, however, said senior officers of the department including Dr. S.B. Sinha, Dr. R. K. Das, Dr. P. S. Prasad and Dr. Girijanand Sharma were given extension or were reappointed without a formal proposal from the finance department and approval by the state cabinet.

"Mr. Laloo Prasad being the Chief Minister and also holding the finance portfolio cannot escape the responsibility for the scandal."

* From *Times of India*, 4.3.96, *Laloo's Smile Vanishes As Charges Mount* :

"The fact that he grew up on the campus of Patna Veterinary College and that he has been close to most of the officials who are now absconding is also being held against him. Letters have been leaked to indicate that Mr. Yadav was personally responsible for allowing extension in service to many of these people. The opposition has also claimed that the public funds siphoned off by animal husbandry department officials found their way to the chief minister himself although nothing has surfaced so far to substantiate this.

"Asks an exasperated Mr. Yadav, 'didn't I order the suspension of a former animal husbandry director although my elder brother continues to be an employee in the department?'"

"That the chief minister had prior knowledge of the excess withdrawals unfortunately contradicted his earlier stand that he came to know of it in January 1996 and took prompt action."

"From *Indian Express*, 21.2.96, *Well-Planned Fodder Scam Points to Highest Level Patronage* :

"The multi-crore embezzlement of funds of Bihar's Animal Husbandry department could, arguably, turn out to be the Mother of All Scams.

"The figure of Rs. 45 crores which investigating agencies have arrived at as the extent of the scam between 1981 and 1990 seems peanuts compared to the Rs. 650 crore said to have found its way out of the animal husbandry department and into the pockets of government officials and official suppliers between April 1991 and January this year when the bubble finally burst.

"In Bihar, a Controlling Officer (usually the secretary of a state department) is vested with the power to allocate funds for institutions and programmes through a Budget and Accounts Officer.

"In Bihar's Animal Husbandry department, officials posted in the districts of south Bihar misappropriated government funds by simply faking these allotment orders to the tune of crores of rupees.

CORRUPTION AND ACCOUNTABILITY, TWO MISSING CHAPTERS FROM OUR CONSTITUTION

The real rulers of the country, the comprador capitalists organised in FICCI (Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry), ASSOCHAM, (and the various State level bodies like the Indian Merchant Chamber, Bombay, alongwith those of Madras, Bangalore, Hyderabad and elsewhere) should get together in an emergency session and discipline the rampant *naukarshahs*. There is no other way out of the present crisis of corruption and irresponsibility.

Or perhaps, in the more low profile Indian comprador style, another Bombay Group meeting may be called by the tycoons of Indian industry and a quick decision taken on just the two urgent issues of Prevention of Corruption and Accountability of Bureaucracy for all public sector projects.

"These fake allotment orders, bearing the signatures of either the Budget and Accounts Officer or the department's Regional Director at Ranchi, were presented to the local district treasury by the District Animal Husbandry Offices, who also functioned as the department's drawing and disbursal officer at the district level.

"For example, investigations show that against a budgetary allocation of a little over Rs. 15 lakh for current financial year, around Rs. 63 crore in excess was withdrawn from the Chaibasa treasury till January this year by simply presenting fake allotment orders. In Ranchi, roughly 57 crores was defalcated from the two treasuries there, over and above a budget sanction of less than a crore.

"The suppliers played a key role in the entire nexus as the siphoned off money was paid to them in the form of bank drafts. These were later encashed by the suppliers and the money thus collected was sent back to the Animal Husbandry officials.

"As much as 30 per cent of the amount was kept by the suppliers as their commission while the rest was distributed between Animal husbandry and treasury officials and others who were part of the racket."

* Again from the same clipping, *Livestock Dying As Officials Go Missing*.

"The roll-call of absconding officials includes Bhengraj (regional director), Ram Prakash Ram (general manager, dairy), Birsra Oraon (assistant GM, dairy), U.K. Yadav (manager, piggery), B.N.P. Verma (assistant director, poultry), Shailendra K. Sinha (manager, poultry), Hemendra Verma (veterinary officer), C. K. Lal (assistant manager, poultry), Sunil Sinha (poultry officer), N.K. Verma (manager, ducks), Rameshwar

Prasad (head clerk, poultry), and S.C. Prasad (store clerk, poultry). Their offices were sealed on February 3.

"FIRs were registered against 55 companies that were collectively paid crores of rupees for the supply of fodder and medicine."

"From *Indian Express*, 22.2.96, *Ex-Official Close to Laloo Was Allegedly at the Core of Fodder Scam* :

"A former animal husbandry official, Mr. Shyam Behari Sinha, retired as the joint regional director of the department at Ranchi in 1994.

"Mr. Sinha, who is said to be very close to the chief minister, served in south Bihar continuously for over two decades and was given three extensions.

"In the spinning of the elaborate net of deceit, the nitty-gritty of fund transfer and payments were worked out to the last detail. When fake allotment letters were presented to the treasuries, they bore numbers remarkably similar to genuine ones.

"On January 20 this year, as many as ten bank drafts, each worth Rs. 9,96,900 were made out in the name of Messrs Malik Enterprises of Delhi. In effect, an amount of a little less than a crore was transferred to the firm for supplies it never made. Significantly, all the drafts were less than the Rs. 10 lakh mark to minimise suspicion.

"On January 17, five bank drafts, each worth Rs. 9,89,900, had already been issued to the same firm. Again, on January 15, five bank drafts worth Rs. 9,89,900 and one worth Rs. 5,48,295

were made out in the name of Messrs Malik Enterprises.

"In Ranchi, Mohammad Syed, a local tailor-turned politician got the bulk of the payments. In the last nine months, the two companies received payments worth Rs. 25 crore from animal husbandry departments in different districts. Chief Minister Yadav's close links with Syed, who is also the president of a minority outfit, Anjuman Islamiya, are well known.

"According to income tax officials Syed is today one of the highest tax payers in Bihar.

"Interestingly, the fortunes of Kashyap's Ranchi-based company, Vaishno Enterprises, peaked at the time when the former was said to be very close to the chief minister and declined sharply when he reportedly fell out with him recently."

"From *Indian Express*, 2.3.96, *Laloo Awaits Order on Animal Husbandry Scam* :

"The Government had earlier told the court that it had brought the scandal to the notice of the CBI but the agency failed to act. The CBI refuted the Government claim and, in its affidavit filed in the court two days ago, informed the court that the State Government never approached it for probing the scandal.

"Similarly the affidavit filed on behalf of the I-T commissioner also refuted the Government claim that it did not cooperate in the matter. This affidavit maintained that the I-T department had kept the State vigilance officials posted on the raids and seizures made from the houses of those involved in the animal husbandry scam.

"Earlier, the Chief Minister had blamed the Accountant General's office, the CAG and the PAC for not informing the Government about the scam. But all these agencies have refuted Mr. Yadav's charge.

"In a desperate attempt to prevent the CBI from probing the scandal, a jittery State Government even issued a notification on February 19, banning the CBI from

taking up *suo moto* any case of 'cheating, forgery and corruption which involved State Government employees.'"

* From *The Times of India*, 22.2.96, '*Bihar Scam Kingpin is in Australia*' :

"Mr. S. B. Sinha, who is alleged to be the kingpin behind the animal husbandry scandal now rocking Bihar, is safely ensconced in Australia, reliable sources told *The Times of India*."

* From *Times of India*, 3.3.96, *I-T Dept. Refutes Bihar Claim on Fodder Scam* :

"In 1992, says the affidavit, the I-T department had conducted searches in respect of suppliers of AHD. In two cases of Sayeed and Shamsul Haq, a nephew of Sayeed, the AHD seized from their bank accounts amounts of Rs. 99.85 lakhs and Rs. 52.12 lakhs, respectively."

"From *Outlook*, February 28, 1996, *Corruption Down the Line* :

"The fodder scam has laid bare the fact that if the basic unit of the administration in the country is not monitored right, the

superstructure is bound to develop faults. Just who is the district treasury answerable to ? It is the district magistrate or the deputy commissioner, as the case may be.

"The probe into the fodder scam is headed by district magistrate in different districts. If they are themselves involved, it is anyone's guess how the investigation is likely to progress."

* From *Frontline*, March 8, 1996, *Fodder Scam* :

"The fraud was detected by chance by Amit Khare; Deputy Commissioner of West Singhbhum district.

"Authorities believe that nothing less than Rs. 1,800 crores had been fraudulently withdrawn within a span of ten years.

"We will go to the extent of attaching the properties of these scums who looted the money.

"Most of the officials posted in the AHD offices have been absconding. Properties of nearly 100 absconding officials have been attached.

"A surprise was awaiting the investigating officers when they raided the bungalow of B.N. Sharma, an official of the Ranchi district AHD, whose monthly salary might not be more than Rs. 4,000. Complete with marble floors, plush bathrooms and a car park on the terrace, the bungalow had two airconditioners, besides TV sets, VCRs and refrigerators.

"The district administration has seized 25 land purchase deeds, 30 land contract letters, and a large amount of currency notes and gold ornaments following raids on the residences of local AHD officials and other employees.

"In 1991, an income tax raid on the residence of Dayanand Kashyap, a Janata Dal leader, yielded unaccounted money of Rs. 1 crore. At the time in charge of implementing the State Government's 20-point programme in Ranchi, he was a supplier of cattlefeed and

veterinary drugs to AHD. Kashyap, it is learnt, contributed election funds to the Janata Dal. All the top income tax officials - including N.K. Jain, Commissioner, and S.K. Singh, Assistant Director (Investigation) - who were dealing with the cases against them were transferred.

"The Chief Minister said the scam was a "legacy" of the previous Congress (I) regime. Laloo Prasad can take credit for unearthing the scandal but as Minister in charge of the finance portfolio he cannot escape responsibility."

Let us now sum up and notice the general pattern :

● The Jain *Hawala* scandal and the Bihar Fodder Scam are the reverse and the obverse of the same coin. The Indian constitutional system has broken down completely.

I am no friend of either the capitalist economic order or of the Indian comprador constitutional structure. My only anxiety is that no fascist militarist group should take advantage of the current crisis before the revolutionary socialist forces are ready to intervene forcefully.

CRIMINAL INITIATIVE OF BUREAUCRACY

The Bihar Fodder Scam exposes completely the criminal initiative of the bureaucracy. They organised the bogus bills for a payment of 30 per cent commission from suppliers, who supplied nothing more than the bills. Next they organised the correct rubber stamps and serial numbers in the right order for the treasury certifications. They kept the individual draft amount to less than ten lakhs to escape vigilance and effected their thieving through hundreds of instruments. The sanctioning district authorities are now claiming that the drafts were forgeries, but they might have themselves conspired with the robbers and the release orders may be all genuine. All the departments were involved, including the Animal Husbandry, the Education, the Fisheries, the Social Welfare, the Police, the Health, the Labour, the Forest, and the Rural Development Departments.

Virtually, the whole administration is enmeshed.

Most important the rascals knew how to handle Laloo Prasad Yadav and his family members serving the Animal Husbandry Department.

The thieving started under Congress from 1981, and even after 1990, when Laloo came to power, the Public Accounts Committee of the Assembly, headed by a Congressman, covered up the defalcations.

Lohia used to say that *andhi jab chalti hai, tab chal jati hai* (The dust-storm gathers momentum invisibly and quite near at hand, but with lightening speed it sweeps away all obstacles in its path), but this applies with equal force to both revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces.

Sanjay Gandhi built-up his Youth Congress of fascist goons in no time at all, during the last days of Janata Party rule in 1977-80.

We all know about the famous train ride from Bombay to Delhi by Sanjay's Youth Congress leaders, who looted the food-stalls at every stop, and left the train, corridors littered with condoms.

Before him, his mother, Indira Gandhi had imposed the semi-fascist Emergency from 1975 to 1977.

Obviously, the present Constitution needs at least two new chapters on Prevention of Corruption and Accountability of Bureaucracy, apart from the fundamental changes relating to Centre-State Relations and enforceability of fundamental rights of Job Security, Unemployment Relief and of Information, and Transparency of all Non-"National-Security" Transactions.

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I would much rather fight my socialist battles with at least a liberal bourgeois regime, rather than with a gang of fascist goons with militarist links.

When the bureaucracy fails, the judiciary takes over, just as, when the police fails, the army takes over.

Today, the judiciary is determining who should be admitted to medical and engineering colleges; when, where, and whether the temple will be built at Ayodhya; how the CBI investigates the *hawala* scam; the gamut of reservations under the Mandal umbrella; the allocation of houses to 8,700 government servants; the allocation of petrol pumps and gas agencies to private parties; the responsibility of the medical profession towards consumers; how much water Karnataka and Tamil Nadu should get from the Cauvery; the planning and budgetary allocations to Garhwal and Kumaon districts of Uttarakhand, under the fine imposed by the Allahabad High Court in the Muzaffarnagar riot judgement; the pollution problems created by industries around the Taj Mahal; the conduct of the police in cases of custodial deaths all over the

country; apart from all the other executive responsibilities assumed under innumerable P!L (Public Interest Litigations).

In short, the judiciary is everywhere and is doing everything. The normal administrative machinery of the country lies shattered.

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Committee of the Assembly, headed by a Congressman, covered up the defalcations.

But it speaks volumes for Laloo's bovine nature, that he should have not detected such an obvious fraud, during the long innings that he has had. Of course, another bovine member of our tribe of politicians, George Fernandes, a former ally of Laloo and a current friend of BJP, has made the amazing discovery that "this is the first time in the history of India, that the officials have looted their own treasury." All that one can say about this brilliant historical assessment is that Fernandes, the brainy chap, should be aware that everytime corruption occurs the treasury is invariably looted, right from the days of the East India Company to the present.

Instead of making such brilliant and witty assessments, as this Samata Party character has done, the National and Left Front Opposition Parties should get down to the more serious business of assuring the leaders of industry and business, that they are as anxious as anyone else to fix the corrupt and criminal *naukarshahs* and finish the Congress Party, which has sheltered these corrupt and criminal *naukarshahs* for the last half century.

I think nothing remains to be said. The comprador Indian polity is on its last legs. The comprador class has declared its total bankruptcy. On the one hand, the neo-colonial *trimurti* or trinity of WB, IMF and WTO has taken over and on the other the corrupt and criminal *naukarshah* have created total chaos and anarchy.

Let us hope that the Indian masses escape with the least harm.

COMPRADOR BANKRUPTCY AND TAKEOVER OF INDIA BY WB, IMF AND WTO

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FISHING IN DEEP WATERS

National Fisheries Action Committee
Against Joint Ventures

The government policy on deep sea fishing in India is based on four assumptions:

1. India's deep sea fish resources are huge but grossly under-exploited.
2. Joint ventures with foreign MNCs will bring in beneficial new technology.
3. There is no substitute for big trawlers because of the economies of scale.
4. Our annual marine exports of Rs. 2300 crores cannot be sacrificed to protect marine environment and the livelihood of a few fisherfolk.

All these assumptions are not backed by facts.

1. India's sustainable fish yield is very thinly spread. The marine life in the Indian waters has a large number of species and most of these are not numerous. It is almost impossible to catch selective varieties of commercially important species without destroying other ecologically crucial species. The breeding habits and life-cycles of species are bound to be affected by the severe methods used in trawling.

2. Joint ventures with multinationals do not make sense when we have a 180-strong fleet of deep sea fishing vessels underutilised at our Vishakhapatnam base.

Out in the high seas off India, a strange battle is picking up momentum. It pits domestic fishermen against foreign deep-sea fishing vessels. But this battle has little to do with one's nationality; it is rather over fish catches.

Traditional fish workers are currently consolidating an alliance with mechanised trawler operators to battle this alien "threat" from across the seas. They have come out strongly against the Government of India's policy to allow foreign deep-sea vessels, factory ships and nominally, Indian joint ventures to grab a big catch from the deep seas off the Indian coast.

Vessels fishing in deep-seas are usually of a large size and power, have sophisticated equipment for navigation and fishing, freezers and refrigerated holds for preservation and even processing and packaging machinery. Some virtually work like factories on the high-seas, processing their catch, and directly exporting it.

Large factory ships have already started fishing in Indian high seas. "Off Karwar, near Gujarat and the Goa-Karnataka area and at West Bengal the confrontation is already on," says Bhai Bhandarkar of the Maharashtra-based Macchimar Kriti Samiti (Fishermen's Action Committee).

SUPPORT THE INDEFINITE FISHERIES STRIKE AGAINST THE INVASION OF OUR SEAS BY FOREIGN FISHING VESSELS.

On February 4th 1994, there was a near total Fisheries Bandh. There was no fishing, no fish sale and no fish for consumption. On July 20th Black Day was observed in all the coastal states and there were protest marches to all MPEDA offices. All fish related organizations of boat owners, workers, fish merchants and vendors have got together to protest against the Joint Ventures in deep sea fishing.

Licensing joint ventures is a policy in line with the globalization trends the world over. The Government of India has decided to open the Indian waters to foreign vessels who will have the right to export 100% of their catches for a mere 12% remittance of the earnings. This deep sea fishing industry, which falls under the Ministry of Food Processing, will benefit from various incentives including the supply of diesel at international prices - now Rs. 2/- compared to Rs. 8/- in the local market. The results of this trend will be disastrous both for the fishing-people and the consumers.

Domestic fishermen are clearly worried by the licenses already granted to some over 800 foreign-owned vessels (to be run as "joint ventures" with minor Indian partners). In a rare display of solidarity, both traditional and trawler fishermen - who were till recently sworn

enemies due to battles over fishing rights among themselves - have jointed hands to fight the Centre's policy.

Many issues have been raised by the domestic fishermen. Powerfully-equipped and largely unsupervised foreign vessels could easily begin fishing beyond the sustainable level (which needs to be strictly maintained, to avoid overfishing and depletion of fish-stocks). Domestic fish-consumers will barely get any benefit of the fish caught by these mainly for export vessels. Deep-sea fishing has already been quite a dismal failure when tried along the Indian east coast, along Vishakhapatnam. Small scale fishermen, and even trawler operators, are being sidelined, and their lives would only face a negative impact from this new policy.

Besides, can't domestic small vessels manage to net in better catches from distant waters, with a little more encouragement and support, particularly over technology? Already, some encouraging results are coming in from these tiny vessels, domestic fishermen say.

New Delhi conceived of deep-sea fishing as a core scheme for the Eighth Five Year Plan, with the main objectives of augmenting fish production and sea-food

export earnings. The Government of India constituted a Technology Mission which drew up a massive programme for introducing 2630 deep-sea fishing vessels, ranging between 12 and 40 metres in length. Each is capable of harvesting 120 to 2000 tonnes of fish - totalling 0.83 million tonnes of fish, or about half the potential available in the vast exclusive economic zone (EEZ) of India, say the domestic fishermen's leaders.

It might be of interest to those in this region that the largest number of vessels envisaged region-wise is for the south west region of the Indian coast. Here, some 1005 vessels were officially thought to be required, for netting fish beyond fifty coast metres depth in the Indian EEZ. Some 680 vessels are to operate off the north-west coast, 640 off the south-east, and 305 off the north-east.

"These plans will displace 75 lakh local fishing people and will deprive both the traditional and mechanised sectors of their catches. Consumers too will be deprived of fish," warns Thomas Kocherry, chairperson of the National Fishermen's Forum.

Traditional fishermen along the Indian coast, particularly in areas like

Kerala and Goa, had staged many protests in recent years over what they saw as the destruction of the inshore-sea through use of mechanised boats, employing methods like trawling and purse-seining. These destructive methods have virtually exhausted the inshore resources, leaving little for the growing population to fall back on, argues the NFF, which has long championed the cause of tiny, traditional fish workers.

Foreign vessel owners are now getting a catch in India at little additional expense. "Twenty five thousand deep-sea fishing vessels and factory-ships are lying idle all over the world because of the depletion of fish in the Pacific, and off Japan, America and Russia," argues Tom Kochery.

Domestic fishermen have charged that the new economic reforms are being used as a cover for foreign investors and their Indian cover-agents to make a quick buck in the name of "Joint ventures". Indian entrepreneurs in these ventures will have no de facto control in decision-making; they will just be agents.

Currently bureaucrats and policy-planners stress the large "uncaught" catch available in Indian deep-seas. India is one of the few countries which has rich deep-sea fishery resources which are yet unexploited or under-exploited, as noted by T.E. Sivaprakasam of the *Fishers Survey of India, Bombay*. But, the domestic fishermen point out that the foreign vessels are mainly after high-value products and, in reality, do interfere in the very same areas where domestic catches come from.

Besides, just stressing on the foreign exchange potential of these ventures ignores other questions. What about the fish catch the domestic consumer is deprived of? What about the employment potential lost, since foreigners are employed? Above all, what about the overall damage to the fish resources of the country?

But the pickings will be rich for the foreign vessels fishing for higher profits. With many vessels abroad virtually redundant, they will have no new vessel investment costs. India's EEZ will be only one of the many areas they can hop into to fish, and ditch, if they face a bad season here.

Besides, the absence of strict management will also make it difficult to control their catches. "They can catch whatever species, of any quantity, using highly sophisticated technologies," says the NFF.

Protesting fishermen also point out that the Indian consumer

will not benefit. Cheap fish varieties will go to the making of fish-meal for export, to feed pet cats and dogs and chickens and pigs. Sad but true, many pet animals in the Western countries have more purchasing power than human beings in Third World countries. As one Indian scientist has, ironically, argued, there is no doubt about the availability of fish resources. But profitability can be assured only if the projects are "export-oriented."

WHY?

India has a coastline of around 6,000 km. which is very densely populated. There are over 75 lakh people who depend directly on fishing for a livelihood in the 9 maritime states. These people operate in the inshore waters - i.e., within the 50 meter depth range within the 22 kms. limit. This zone is fairly rich with around 26 lakh tonnes of fish now being optimally exploited by adventurous and skilled fishermen. Large groups of these fishermen even fish upto the 100 meter depth with their large gillnetters, long lines and small trawlers. Except for minimal subsidies for kerosene in some states these fishermen have received no incentives from the government and they operate in very precarious conditions. It is these fishermen who have been supplying fish to the Indian consumers. Both fresh and dried fish travel across this country with no special infrastructure provided by the government. Thousands of ingenious merchants, both women and men, have made this possible.

Hit by the modernisation slogan, the government encouraged deep sea fishing from the mid 80s. First through "Chartered vessels and then through direct investments. There are now around 148 deep sea fishing vessels in India out of which only 20 are operating viably. The rest are locked and virtually dumped at the Vishakhapatnam harbour with over Rs. 100 crore debt to financial institutions like SCICI (Shipping Credit and Investment Corporation of India)

Despite this reality, a Technical Committee instituted by the GOI recommended an increase of the deep sea fleet presuming that there are fish stocks for 2630 deep sea vessels. Based on this the government issued 128 licences upto February 1994 (and stopped after the Fisheries Bandh). Contrary to the advice of the Technical Committee, the FAO report of 1991 clearly states that of the 17 lakh tones of fish available in deep sea, only 13% is of economic value and this alone will make deep sea fishing viable. This report also states that the existing deep sea fleet, which is more than sufficient, has to be remodelled with diversified gear (they are presently all trawlers) to be able to operate viably. Bose Committee and Murari Committee too were against the present Deep Sea Fishing Policy of the Central Govt.

Besides, such large fishing vessels use technologies more suited to temperate waters, where large stocks of each species is available. If similar technology is applied to tropical seas here - where only smaller stocks of many different species with varying sizes are found - it is feared that this could lead to fish-depletion at a much faster rate. And, the destruction of one link in the chain of total fish resources could lead to a total collapse of the fish chain, warn the Indian fishermen.

"State governments are not consulted or even informed regarding the permissions granted by the Union Ministry of Food Processing Industries to various companies," the Gujarat Minister for Industries Shashikant Lakhani told the Centre, while protesting this new policy.

There have already been charges that the Indian counterparts who have joined these "joint-ventures" are politically influential persons, who have managed to corner the partnerships. In one scandal over such a ship in Goa, where Ukrainian fishermen were kept without wages and literally starving for months, the names of the kin of ex-Union Minister Buta Singh were involved.

Fishworkers clearly state that they are not against a deep-sea fishing policy which aims at sustainable development and gives benefits to fishermen and the national economy. "But 100% EOUs (export-oriented units) and de facto full control of the vessels in the hands of the foreigners will be suicidal to the interests of the nation," the protesting fishermen warn.

Instead of this, there are many options: small fishermen could be encouraged to venture into deeper waters, with low-cost, small-scale communication equipment, safety equipment, liberal insurance schemes and improved beach-landing crafts.

What is also needed is to curb the present policy of investment support to the big business houses and other "merchant capitalists", say the fishermen. Deep-sea fishing should also

increase the local supply of fish for domestic consumption. Fish subsidy plans could be worked out, just as has been done for food-grain subsidy. Suitable legal rights could be bestowed on small-scale

artisanal fishermen in exclusive zones, and overfishing ought to be avoided at all costs.

WHERE DOES THE TRUTH LIE?

If we find it difficult to believe the scientists who contradict each other. The fact is that there are violent conflicts at sea. The so called deep sea fleet competes for the same resources (mainly shrimp) as the inshore fleet. The catch per unit effort in all fishing operations is decreasing. This makes fishing increasingly uneconomic and multiplies the pressure on fish stocks. Small scale fishermen are forced to increase their investments 20 fold (requiring even up to Rs. 10 lakhs) to remain operational. The only reason they manage to survive is that fish fetches unusually high prices today.

SO WHITHER THE CONSUMERS?

Fish has been a cheap source of protein for all the poor living along the coast. Today no fish is considered cheap and even fishermen often sell the last fish they catch. There are buyers for all varieties, and even the "trash" fish that comes as trawler bycatch has a price. There is a constant demand in the fish meal plants. This fish goes to feed the cats and pigs in the industrial world, and into the growing aquaculture industry.

WHAT IS THE NATIONAL FISHERIES ACTION COMMITTEE DEMANDING?

1. That all licences for Joint Ventures be withdrawn.
2. That deep sea fishing regulations are enacted.
3. That export varieties of fish are enlisted and fish ensured for local consumption.
4. That the local fishermen are equipped to fish in the off-shore waters.

To press for these demands the NFAC has announced an indefinite strike from November 23rd onwards.

WHY DO THE FOREIGN VESSELS WANT TO FISH IN INDIAN WATERS?

One of the main reasons probably is because the fisheries in the northern seas are in dire straits. Many fishing grounds have been closed because they have been overfished. Fishermen are given subsidies to wind up. Yet the existing fleets of many countries are in search of new fishing grounds. They are heavily subsidised and even over capitalised. No new investments are required. The existing vessels are deployed in the name of "Joint Ventures" with licences to fish in different waters. These vessels chase the stocks with their sophisticated fish finders and haul in everything they spot with their over efficient nets. All processing takes place on board, no matter what the variety. For the fish caught in Indian waters, no details are sought. Licences grant the rights to fish without any quota regulations. In fact there are no deep sea fishing regulations enacted yet in India.

Are these deep sea vessels going after other marine resources? Are deep sea vessels involved in other illegal trades? Are they also a threat to national security? The fishermen allege that they are.

AN APPEAL

Support the indefinite strike by :

- Organising protests and supportive action in your city.
- Informing the public the MBAs and MPs on the subject so that the issue is also raised in the Parliament.
- Signing the memorandum to the Prime Minister to ask for the withdrawal of Joint Venture Licences.
- No fishing, no fish sales, and no fish consumption during the strike.

From
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WORLD FOOD INDUSTRY & GLOBALIZATION

Paul Elshof

In a recent interview with a Bombay paper, Paul Elshof, Dutch labour consultant, makes the following points :

1. "I went in search of a Thumbs Up and could not find a single bottle in Andheri. A day later, near the film village at Goregaon I found a bottle. I am taking a full bottle and an empty one home as mementoes. In a year or so this will be out of the market and there will be only Coke because that is the way of all multinationals".

2. "Everybody at the (Amsterdam) University was in one way or another part of the anti-authoritarian struggle in Europe. With some close friends, I started work with young Turkish and Moroccan immigrant workers while studying political science, political economics and social history. In fact, since then I have been closely associated with labour movements."

3. "In 1986, I spent one month in Malaysia, two weeks in Ghana and one month in Brazil just to work with trade unions and rural workers and small farmers' cooperatives in the cocoa sector, to discuss with them actual developments. In 1987 there was a larger meeting where everyone involved in cocoa production, from the growers to the transport workers, participated."

4. "I have experience in the United States and Canada where whole rural societies are at stake. A few big corporations dominated agricultural production and a process of erosion started as the small farmer could not stand the competition and whole families migrated to the cities. The prices of crops were liberated at the behest of big companies. Rural ghettos came into existence. ... Our vision of ghettos is city-based but the rural ghettos in the US and Canada are unseen as the villages are small and tucked away."

5. "... because governments are rolling back and talking of privatisation, so these big corporations have more space to manoeuvre and social sectors are on the defensive."

(Sunday Observer, Bombay, March 17-23, 1996)

In the following article, the author Paul Elshof, a research consultant with Food World, takes a close look at the process of increasing globalization in the food industry and its implications for small farmers and plantation workers. He then points to the need to provide such workers with a better understanding of such processes by means of consciousness-raising educational activities so that they stop being victims of global operations over which they have no control or influence.

THE BASICS ARE CHANGING FAST

For several decades food production world-wide was characterized by a similar pattern; most food products on the market were produced from locally or regionally available crops. The production processes from crop to finished product were not very complicated. Most brands and products were predominantly meant for local, regional or national markets. Some exceptions were tropical agricultural crops which are mainly consumed outside their region of production (coffee, cocoa, bananas, spices, etc.)

International products or global products which carried the same brand name everywhere and which were similar in composition were very rare. They were the exception to the rule that most food products were national or local products. This phenomenon has been changing fast in the last ten years and the pace of change is even being stepped up. The reason for this development will now be examined.

COMPETITION STIFFENS IN THE EIGHTIES

The characteristic feature for the eighties were :

- high debt in Latin America and Africa, with negative trends;
- South-East Asian countries with high growth rates;
- India and China were still closed markets.

In the OECD countries competition among companies in all branches grew much stiffer. The combined factors of no

or very low economic growth; the stabilization of population size; the saturation of the markets for most products; and the growing power of retail chains by their concentration resulted in the new situation that growth for certain companies could only be achieved at the expense of others. Most companies adapted their strategies to the new situation. They shifted from *diversification to core products*. They sold many companies and activities no longer considered as core, and strengthened positions with regard to products defined as core, then aspired to consolidate their positions and develop the potential to reach leadership positions worldwide in these products. Acquisitions were made in these core product groups worldwide; the world meant other OECD regions in the middle of the eighties. So companies in the USA launched a veritable assault on Europe and Japan, European companies on the USA and Japan to a slight extent, and Japan in turn started to globalize. The third main struggle line was to escape from bulk and therefore low value products and to shift attention to higher added value products.

VAST CONCENTRATION PROCESS

The preceding situation as outlined applied to all brands of consumer products, 70 per cent of which are consumed in the OECD area where only 15 per cent of the world population lives. For the major companies, including food companies, the first priority was to become a leading company and to survive in that role in these consumer markets. Fragmentation of markets for specific products in much wider varieties was the consequence. A vast concentration process in all sectors, including the food industry, was the consequence, but only a very limited number of companies in each product group has the financial and marketing power to sustain this process at international level.

WORLDWIDE NEW DYNAMICS IN THE NINETIES

The nineties brought unheard-of new dynamics : immense political changes opened up markets for Western and Japanese multinational enterprises (MNEs). The collapse of state communist regimes in Eastern and Central Europe created enormous potential markets. In most countries worldwide the combination of neo-liberalism, state-debt reduction policies and privatization programmes mean leaner governments and more space for companies to take the initiative. Lastly, the economic liberalization process in

China occurring within the old political order, and a similar process in India, but here in a society that has its democratic traditions, all carry important implications. In Africa, too, the end of apartheid in South Africa could have very important long-term consequences. The conclusion of the GATT Uruguay Round last year (1994) included for the first time agricultural trade and, in the light of the GATT negotiations, it should be expected that competition in agricultural production in various parts of the world will grow. The main emphasis will lay on productivity and modernization.

Major food companies that were already involved in a process of concentration and consolidation of branches in the OECD responded eagerly to the new possibilities and entered the new open markets. The most heard slogan now is "Go east". This development makes their competition really global. What was unthinkable ten years ago has now become reality: you can eat Big Macs in all capitals of the world, eat ice-cream like Magnum everywhere, including China, eat Danone products nearly everywhere. Kellogg's tries to convert the whole world to breakfast cereals. Heineken beer is growing into a world brand in beer as Coca Cola has done for soft drinks. And this list could be made much longer: the actual state of affairs is just the start. Major food companies like Nestle, Unilever, and Philip Morris/Kraft General Foods have just started to redefine their research and development policies to make sure that from now on products are developed for the world market. Brand names, composition, tastes and so on are from the start designed with the world market as their target.

THE NEW DIVISION OF LABOUR WITHIN THE FOOD INDUSTRY

In the past many food companies had a high degree of vertical integration, active as they were in all production stages of agriculture: primary processing, final production and distribution/marketing. The process whereby companies started to concentrate on core products (production and innovation of brand products for the world market) meant that they divested a big part of their vertical integrated processes.

For example, Unilever has already for many decades been dominating the margarine market in Europe. It has its own oil palm plantations in Asia and Africa. In Europe alone it owned eight big oil mills which milled soya, rape-seed and sunflower-seed and of course a world-wide trading network to provide its factories with the oils and fats needed. In the eighties Unilever acquired one after the other several margarine companies not only in the USA and Japan, but also in many developing countries so that it now has a dominant market position worldwide. It then sold off its oil mills in Europe and closed down some of its oil refineries. The oil mills were sold to two big multinational companies, active in world-wide trade and primary processing of agricultural commodities: Archer Daniels Midland (ADM) from the USA and Ferruzzi (Eridania Beghin Say) from France. The refining of vegetable oil is partly done in the company's own refineries, but a growing volume is bought from a small group of suppliers like ADM, Ferruzzi and Cargill.

The preceding example was used to demonstrate the new division of labour. Among the multinational companies, food companies have also been concentrating more and more upon the end products. The processing stage is being progressively concentrated in the hands of a small group of companies that were already very active in commodity trading. They are also trying to add more value by keeping control of primary processing. Like the food industry, they have taken over on a global scale. These developments have led to the emergence of two very dominant groups of companies: one in the food industry and one in the

food processing industry. The major ones are listed below including their food sales volume in 1992 in US \$ and the product group they dominate worldwide in food:

Food production	1992 sales billion \$)	Main products
Nestle	\$ 32	coffee, chocolate, dairy, mineral water
Philip Morris Kraft/Gen. Foods	\$ 30.5	coffee, chocolate, cheese, bear, cigarettes
Unilever	\$ 23	margarine, ice cream, tea
Conagra	\$ 15	meat / poultry
Pepsi Cola	\$ 12	soft drinks, snacks
Coca Cola	\$ 11	soft drinks
Danone (BSN)	\$ 11	dairy, biscuits

Then follows a group of mainly US companies with sales between US \$ 6 and 7 billion dollars: Heinz, CPC, Kellogg's.

During the last few years some of these companies started strategic alliances to develop more muscle for the introduction of new products:

Joint venture

Nestle and Coca Cola	canned coffee
Nestle and General Mills	breakfast cereals
Unilever and Pepsi Cola	canned tea/ice tea
Unilever and Danone	ice-yoghurt

In the processing industry the following MNEs are clearly the worldwide leaders:

Agro-processing companies		Turnover (billion \$)	Net profit (million \$)
Cargill	(USA)	\$ 47	\$ 383
Archer Daniels Midland	(USA)	\$ 10	\$ 567
Eridania Beghin Say	(France/ Italy)	\$ 9	\$ 233

Eridania is the agro-food subsidiary of Ferruzzi from Italy that has another US \$ 9 billion sales in chemicals / energy. An important runner-up in this sector is Charoen Pokphand from Thailand with, in 1993, US \$ 5 billion turnover. Operating from Thailand, Charoen started its entry into the mainland of China very early and remains predominantly Asian at the moment. The other three are above all North American and European companies with growing activities in trade and processing in Asia, Latin America and Africa.

One characteristic shared by all three is that they all started first in the trade of cereals. Once they had created their worldwide trading infrastructure for trade in grain, corn and oilseeds, they started to diversify to other crops. Cargill is now a worldwide leader in the trade of cotton, cocoa, coffee, citrus and salt, and Archer Daniels Midland (ADM) is very well placed in peanuts and tapioca. However, what should be noted is that ADM and Eridania diversified very actively in the last ten years into the industrial processing of agricultural crops. Cargill has been lagging behind, but is just stepping into a higher gear of investment in processing to close the gap with the other two. They advertise with the message: "We are the one who connect farmers and market" (Cargill), or "We are a vital link in the food chain. When the farmer's work is done, ours is just beginning" (ADM). In the past they were only traders and to a minor degree the processors of agricultural commodities in bulk. They now present a new identity: "servicers of the food industry."

SUPPLY CHAIN MANAGEMENT

The food industry concentrates on end-products and the marketing of such products. The processors in turn supply them with all the ingredients they need to produce such foods. The food industry, therefore, relies more and more on supply chain management meaning the organization and efficient management of all necessary suppliers into a highly cost-effective, flexible supply mechanism. The ownership of companies is not a prerequisite for controlling them. The way food companies can keep control over the supply chain of their raw materials after divesting many of the activities formerly owned is through new mechanisms. Quality specifications and ISO-certification play an increasing role.

ISO CERTIFICATE

Everywhere in the world companies try to get their quality certificates (ISO 9000/9001-9004) which would entitle them to belong to the group of suppliers who master, standardize and control their operations. All companies are afraid of finding themselves out of competition and even out of business without their ISO Certificate. Food industries demand the ISO Certificate from their suppliers, from subsidiaries of ADM, Cargill, etc.; but increasingly the food industry in turn has to answer the same demands from the retail branches of the sales/marketing subsidiaries of Nestle, Unilever etc. These subsidiaries also demand ISO-certification from their sourcing units (the production factories of Nestle, Unilever, etc.).

PREFERRED SUPPLIERS

As more and more companies register as certificated companies, the food industry develops its own extra-certification; for example, among all starch suppliers only a few will attain the status of the Coca Cola Quality Award. Of course the competition between starch producers is very keen to obtain that status among the very few preferred worldwide suppliers. That is the position Cargill now maintains regarding the delivery of refined vegetable oils to McDonalds, Burger King, Frito Lay, Kraft, General Mills and Proctor and Gamble. Cargill in turn translates this position into growing demand regarding specifications and quality on the farmers and plantations that grow the crops they sell to the oil mills and refineries.

This process reversed the logic of the *food chain* as follows :

Old sequence	New sequence
Agriculture	Consumption
Trade/Transport	Distribution/retail
Processing	Food industry
Transport	Transport
Food industry	Processing
Distribution/retail	Trade/transport
Consumption	Agriculture

Food production is therefore no longer primarily based on locally or regionally available crops that are traded or processed into food products : it is progressively organized in such a way that consumers are provided the same products all year around and it is the food industry that organizes on a global scale supply infrastructures that make these products available in this way. Liberalization of trade in agricultural products through the GATT Treaty was an important condition facilitating this process.

IMPACT OF BIOTECHNOLOGY AND INFORMATION TECHNOLOGY

These two areas of technology in full development now are very important tools used by the food and agroprocessing industry

to implement their strategies. The use of information technology creates the possibility to have real-time worldwide information on crops, crop forecasts, commodity prices and trade volumes for certain crops. This kind of information concerns industrial inputs. At the other end, the growing use of scanners also offers the possibility to have real-time consumption figures available from the retail chains. Major food companies are now trying to reach agreements with retail companies to have such information immediately fed into their sales and production data processing programmes. Such ready availability of data at both ends of the process has an enormous impact on the entire production flow.

SUGAR SUBSTITUTES

Biotechnology, of course, finds its immediate application in agriculture. Tissue culture and recombinant DNA are two major techniques used to adapt and change the composition of crops to produce higher yield varieties according to the needs of the industry. The cultivation of tailor-made crops along clear specifications is being practised at the request of major food companies. But equally important is the application of biotechnology in the processing industry. The growing use of enzymatic processes, bio-chemistry and fermentation processes enable the processing industry to use a variety of crops to reach identical end products. For example, in the last 15 years, High Fructose Corn Sweeteners (HFCS) has been partly substituted for sugar production based on beet and cane. HFCS has been developed in the USA, based on abundant supply of corn. ADM is leading the industry. Recently, Cargill started HFCS production in Brazil with cane-based sugar as an ingredient for the soft drinks industry. Enzymatic processes now enable the HFCS industry to use various sources of starches for the production of HFCS apart from corn, meaning wheat, potato and tapioca. HFCS will therefore be renamed HFSS (High Fructose Starch Syrup).

LESS EXPENSIVE CBES

The confectionery and biscuits industry uses various types of substitutes for cocoa-butter in specific products. The less expensive cocoa-butter substitutes are in their chemical and physical composition identical to the more expensive cocoa-butter (the so-called CBES; cocoa-butter equivalents). Until recently, typical tropical fats were necessary for the production of CBES : mainly fats from jungle nuts like shea, illipe and kokum. These nuts are collected in parts of Africa, and in South and South-East Asia. Enzymatic processes create the possibility to produce CBES based on commodity oils like palm oil, soya oil, rape-seed oil.

The mechanism is clear : the food industry has very important tools now to increase substitution and flexibility according to their needs. With these technological processes the food industry makes itself progressively independent in relation to availability and price fluctuations of specific crops. They also offer immense possibilities to shift from one crop to another in the assembling process of its food products.

PERSPECTIVE FOR RURAL WORKERS

The trends indicated earlier in this article will become more pronounced in the future. The food industry is increasingly organizing its supply chain and production process in a global way, substituting specific ingredients and crops to keep costs down and at the same time maintain constant end-product quality. Those most affected by the impact of these developments are the small farmers and rural workers on plantations. They are caught in a very narrow world where they have to struggle on a day-to-day basis for survival and basic needs. What happens to prices of their crops will be more and more difficult for them to understand.

and the pressures will grow on the part of governments and plantation companies to raise productivity and efficiency and lower costs in order to make crops more competitive with similar crops from other countries or regions.

In educational seminars with trade unions of rural workers and organizations of small farmers on these topics, one of the

main conclusions has always been that rural workers need to know much about these trends, about the structure of the world market in terms of their products (coffee, soya, pepper, etc.), about the existing level of substitution, and about the perspectives and implications these trends have for both small holders and workers in terms of rural employment.

MANKIND

Fdr. Edr. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

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I have particularly liked the undernoted articles/sections and I would like to read more such material.

Subscriber's Signature



ADDA AT NUKKAD

Senor Fidel Castro, President,
The Republic of Cuba,
Havana, Cuba

11.3.96

Dear friend,

Mankind supports your stand against the violation of the Cuban air space, by CIA-sponsored outfits operating from US territory. The United State presumes that it can encourage systematic violations of Cuban sovereignty as and how it likes.

We do not need elaborate evidence. That country which openly mounted the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba is not going to balk at the throwing of leaflets on Havana and such other provocations.

You have always distinguished yourself from old-style Communist-Stalinists of the Cold War period. In fact you had to come out forcefully against the old Communist Party of Cuba, which was a coalition partner of the criminal Batista regime and had to be dissolved. You had to form a new CP of Cuba.

It is also *Mankind's* impression that Cuba has been far less authoritarian from the beginning, than such other Soviet satellites as Romania and East Germany under Ceausescu and Honecker. In fact, Cuba has hardly been a Stalinist satellite in the true sense of the term. From the time of Che Guevarra, the Cuban people have enjoyed many freedoms denied to the Russian and East European peoples.

The sudden collapse of your major trading partner, the USSR, has plunged your economy into a deep crisis. The economic sanctions imposed by the USA, and enforced by its military might, have caused unnecessary hardships to the common man in Cuba.

Mankind vigorously supports your demand for the immediate lifting of these indefensible unilateral neo-colonialist sanctions by the USA. The struggle against neo-colonialism in general, and against American hegemonism is a world-wide struggle, of which India is an integral part. *Mankind* has stood four square against the Rao-Singh government's surrender to the Multi-National Corporations of Euro-America-Japan. The G-7 and the OECD bloc have been operating through the *trimurti* (trinity) of WB, IMF and WTO, to

ram down the throats of the Indian masses, who are suffering untold miseries as they have been deprived of the *panchabhutas* (Five Fundamentals, namely food, clothing, housing, education and health-care), a Policy of Structural Adjustment, also known as a Programme of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation.

Mankind firmly believes that support to the anti-American struggle of the Cuban people is the obverse of its support to the anti-imperialist struggle of the Indian masses.

LONG LIVE THE CUBAN
REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL
UNITY OF THE OPPRESSED!

Yours fraternally,

Exe. Edr. *Mankind*

N. K. Nair,
Advocate,
112/274 A, Swaroop Nagar,
Kanpur - 208 002

28.2.96

Dear Dr. Vinayak Purohitji,

Mr. Raj Narain Arya, retired Professor, PPN Degree College, Kanpur has given me the Volume I, No. 1, 12th October 1995 Edition of *Mankind*. I have given a copy to Mr. Yudhishtir Talwar, advocate, an old socialist comrade, now a member of the C.P.I. I myself and Mr. Talwar want to subscribe to the magazine (A Demand Draft is enclosed herewith, as our annual subscriptions. Please send the subsequent editions after the Vol I, No. 1 dt. 12.10.95 b

I must appreciate your noble effort at restarting *Mankind*. As an old socialist comrade who had quite a long and somewhat personal association with Dr. Lohia and as a regular subscriber of *Mankind* earlier too, I am very much pleased with your venture. I shall try my best to introduce the magazine to others and to enroll more subscribers.

Kindly acknowledge receipt of this communication.

Sincerely yours,

N.K. Nair

Ravela Somayya,
S-5, Jamuna Sadan,
295, Mayuri Marg,
Begumpet,
Hyderabad - 500 016

12.03.96

Dear Dr. Vinayak Jee,

Namaste,
Indeed I was delighted to see *Mankind* revived. I must thank you and congratulate you as a Socialist Activist inspired by Dr. Lohia's ideas.

When my socialist friend Dr. V.V. Gopalakrishna showed us the first issue of *Mankind* in October last my wife sent her subscription, since then I am requesting my friends to subscribe.

Your Assistant Editor Dr. Sharayu Mhatre has written to my wife for comments on the new *Mankind*. Your articles are stimulating, thoughtful and also daring. You are beating everybody with a chappal which you have rightly put on the cover.

More than three decades ago only once we met in Madras. Snehalatha Reddy introduced me to you at M.S. Appa Rao's residence. Later your articles in *Mankind* are the only connection between us. Whenever I remember you it comes to my mind about your request whether I can help to get leather puppets of Andhra. I remember the leather puppet shows in our area as a young boy. But I failed to help you since that art was disappeared long back in Andhra.

So far there is no article which explains the relevance of Lohia's ideas for the present and the future. How can anybody expect that present generation knew something about Lohia? Except your writings I am sorry to say that there are no standard articles.

I am inspired by the ideas of Lohia, M. N. Roy, Ambedkar and Erich Fromm.

Wish you success in the new venture.

Thanking you,
Yours Sincerely,

Ravela Somayya
Dear Friend,

I am very happy to hear from you. *Mankind* has re-established our contact.

Yes, we received the subscription from your wife and have despatched copies from the first issue itself.

Please write for *Mankind* and get some friends to write and to subscribe.

I write keeping old friends like you, in mind. We are all sorry that Snehalata and M.S. Appa Rao are no longer with us.

I also welcome small presentations

of agitational material by mass organizations, with whom you may be in touch.

With fraternal greetings,

Exe. Editor

P.S. We have received today (23.3.96) the following documents :

9 Articles : Socialist Movement in Andhra Pradesh; From Phule to Ambedkar; Maneesha's Obligations and the Indian Situation; For Marx, Engels the World Meant the West; Lest We Forget; The Last Letter of Vakkam Khader; A Tribute to Late BSL; A Scholar Forgotten and Ignored; and Problems of Indian Democratic Revolution.

2 Books : Studies in Hindu Materialism; and A Renaissance in South India.

A Clipping from Hindu, 25.6.95,
A Stalwart Departs.

Many Thanks. More Later

Exe. Edr.

M.P. Mujeebu Rehiman
'Marhamalam Poyil'
Pannikkottur P.O.
Calicut - 673572
Kerala

15.3.96

Respected Sir,

I happened to see an indication about the rebirth of *Mankind* journal from Bombay.

I inform you of my great pleasure for this enterprise. The indication was in a column by noted Columnist M. Rashid. (*Madhyam* - Malayalam daily)

I intend to be a subscriber of the *Mankind* journal. So please send me more details with a sample copy as soon as possible.

Yours faithfully,

Mujeebu Rehiman

RUSSIA IN THE NINETIES

I was a down and out Indian student, posing as a freelance journalist and living in Moscow, with a rectangular plastic chip presented to me by my more successful and saintly brother in America.

During the Breznev era, the regimented and ordered, and dull and grey life of Moscow sorely lacked in Western-style bars, where one could go and chat and take a swig or two with decent and up-to-date expatriates, and listen to decent music and drive away the blues that occasionally had the habit of invading and overwhelming one's senses.

Then, the only places were the bars of the inaccessible five-star hotels meant for the foreign tourist. But there was a catch in them. These were the places visited by seductive beauties and thugs in the payroll of the KGB. And one could not dare to be loose tongued or careless among them. Further, most of the students, perpetually short on cash, could ill afford to squander their money on these frightfully fancy bars and equally frightfully expensive and fancy girls.

Another couple of years, and Moscow became a changed land, courtesy Mikhail Gorbachev. The perestroika of 1985-89 drove the Russians en masse towards entrepreneurship and machinations of the good, the bad and the ugly kind in an effort to make a fast buck. Bars and the like flashy joints became a rule and not the exception. The rain soaked streets in the evening would reflect the colourful play of the ads lighted by the neon. While, the charming smile off the pretty face of an out-of-the-world model desperately tried to tempt the consumers to buy a plethora of Western goods like, cigarettes, eau de colognes, chocolates, trendy clothes, et al.

The 'currency reform' at the end of the year 1991 had severely depleted the rouble savings of the Russian accumulated over the years. The rouble became rubble.

From the festering wound of the post-Soviet society emerged a face that was deeply scarred. It seemed as if the whole populace had emerged on to the streets, revealing its abject nakedness. The old and the young alike flocked the streets. The pensioners stood in queues on the roadside corners to vend their precious wares for a handful of roubles to enable them to buy food for the next day, while the enterprising youngsters traded in everything they could lay their hands on, right from imported cigarettes, chocolates and liquor to canned drinks and food.

One wondered what had happened to the country which not long ago had prided itself for being the most learned in the whole world. It was painful indeed. It left one baffled, and one sought to find rationalisation for the on-going tragedy.

This was the period when the trade in female flesh became a lucrative option for making greasy dollars. A reverse process was underway. It was with a touch of sadness that one observed the "grand children" of Anton Makarenko, the great Soviet educationist. Not long ago, one had read with awe his writings, and his memorable book "Flags on the battlements" — the experiment that had salvaged the homeless children and juvenile delinquents from sure hunger and death. A mirror image of the pre-1917 Russian society was now being implanted all over again.

In a survey conducted in the Moscow schools, around 70 per cent of the girls had expressed an urge to opt for the profession of prostitution. How promiscuous the Russian society had become ! But, it all fell neatly into an intelligible pattern

One reason was, that during the rule of Stalin, as in the later years, the 'sex talk' was a taboo in the Soviet Union; but Gorbachev's glasnost had opened the flood gates for the all-pervasive influence of sex on the Russian mind. So much so, that, the usually "cool and sober" Westerners would also become unduly obsessed with the basic instincts upon their arrival in Russia. Slowly the '*Lakshman rekha*' would be crossed.

By the middle of the 90s, running inflation and rising prices had seriously dented the buying power of the rouble, so much so that, de facto, the dollar had become the official mode of transaction among the Russians.

It is generally hard to find a brunette in the Russian climes, unless one is of a Jewish or Gypsy origin. Or, comes from the far flung Asian republics of the Russian empire. Later as I observed, it was a fashion among the Russian women to dye their hair black. But for what reason or reasons I was never able to fathom. Nor did I make any attempt to get down to the roots of the secret, if my memory serves me right. Probably, as is often the case, that exotic whim had some sort of economics behind it. Brunettes, perhaps, commanded a higher rate with the American and European clients.

During foreign travel, one meets strange characters.

One was Andre, a Frenchman, who missed the swell bars and swell dames of Champs Elysees and left.

Another was an American Jew who was an old-style communist and made his exit from Moscow as he was "hounded

by girls, pimps and black marketeers" wherever he went.

A third was an actress from Voronezh who was flattering about the streets of Moscow as, what the Russians call, "a night butterfly". She carried on 'the oldest profession in the world' with a touch of philosophical sadness.

I do not know when I would again meet such characters, especially the third.

— Manu Kant, Chandigarh

ON SUBHASH BOSE

Subhash Bose died at the age of 48 after waging a brave struggle against British imperialism for 25 years.

The British ruthlessly suppressed the various uprisings and movements in India by creating a new middle class loyal to them. British administrators like Macaulay, Charles Grant and Charles Travelyan systematically introduced educational policies which suppressed the indigenous schools and promoted English education through missionary and government-aided schools and colleges. They also exploited the alienation of the lower and scheduled castes from the upper castes to strengthen their hold over the country. Kunbis, Yadavs, Mahars, Chamars and other such castes which traditionally occupied a very low position in the Indian society were recruited by the imperialists in the police and the army. It is this lower and scheduled caste composition of the British army which was decisive in the defeat of the 1857 uprising led by the feudal, upper-caste elements.

Subhash Bose managed through the creation of his "Indian National Army" between 1941 and 1945 to appeal to the nationalist sentiments of a section of this mercenary Indian army recruited by the British.

The defections to the "Indian National Army" from the British army was an important factor in changing the perception of the British rulers about the future of the imperial rule in India. They identified the leaders of the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League as their most reliable successors and negotiated the "transfer of power" with these two parties. The alien rulers go them to agree to a partition of the country as a pre-condition to the granting of independence.

Subhash Bose was always opposed to this "Two-Nation Theory". In his broadcasts from South-East Asia from where he led the movement against the British, he warned Indians against the 'divide and rule' policies of the British.

Even after the coming of the so-called independence, Subhash Bose has been consistently neglected by the Congress leaders, like Nehru and Patel. His role in India's freedom movement has been played down. The patriotic soldiers of the "Indian National Army" who fought against British imperial rule were subjected to trial in Delhi's Red Fort and were never taken back into the army of independent India.

Thus Subhash Bose and his struggle against the British have been relegated to obscurity by the Congress successors to British rule.

— Shahil Ghosh, Bombay

THIRD FORCE

Former Prime Minister V.P. Singh is the architect of the concept of a "Third Force" in India, opposed to the traditional Congress and its allies on the one hand, and the BJP - Sangh Parivar on the other. He has projected West Bengal's Chief Minister Jyoti Basu as the next Prime Minister of India on behalf of National Front-Left Front coalition, after the 1996 parliamentary elections.

The CPI (M) leadership has been cautious about endorsing this move on the grounds that "CPM does not have a base in all parts of the country."

However, the CPM can support any secular democratic coalition from outside.

According to V.P. Singh the "Third Force" should draw its inspiration from the newly awakened dalits, OBCs, Muslims, Muslims and other minorities which seek to achieve social justice denied to them for centuries in an upper-caste dominated non-egalitarian society.

Mulayam Singh Yadav heading the Samajwadi Party in UP and Laloo Prasad Yadav, the Janata Dal Chief Minister of Bihar are two prominent leaders of the 'Third Force'. They both belong to the Yadav caste which is regarded as backward in the Hindi-speaking belt.

The dominant idea behind the 'third force' is to forge a nationwide non-Congress and non-BJP coalition.

But there is very little work being done by the constituents of the National Front to build a coherent alternative political programme as opposed to that of the Congress and of the BJP.

For the Left Front, the 'Third Force' should project a programme to bring about a radical socio-economic transformation of Indian society. It should not degenerate into a mere opportunistic electoral front of political parties to dislodge the Congress and the BJP at the centre. Without a clear political programme to bring about a thorough - going change in our society, a coalition will not survive long in office even if it wins elections. This has been demonstrated in the 1977 and the 1989 parliamentary elections when non-Congress coalitions at the Centre could not last even one complete term in office in the absence of a unified programme.

— S.B. Kolpe, Bombay

PRESIDENT'S RULE

Central governments have resorted to Article 356 of the Constitution to dismiss state governments and dissolve state legislatures inconvenient to them. In its rule of 42 years, the Congress has unceremoniously dismissed various opposition governments in 23 states about 86 times.

These dismissals were made in spite of the hope expressed during the Constituent Assembly debates that Article 356 imposing the President's Rule would never be used except in extreme cases of breakdown of constitutional machinery in the State.

Under Article 356, the centre is empowered to impose President's Rule in a state if on receipt of a report from the Governor of a State or otherwise, the Government of a State cannot be carried on "in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution."

A literal reading of the word "otherwise" in Article 356 permits the Centre to dismiss a State Government without a report from the Governor. This is a perfect recipe for imposing Central Rule in States ruled by parties inimical to the Ruling Party at the Centre. This makes possible the perversion of Article 356 and the consequent choking of democracy.

The genesis of Article 356 is to be found in Section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935. The reason for the enactment of Section 93 was political. The alien British Government wanted to ensure that Indians did not wrest more power than they, the Britishers, intended to part with.

Today, any deliberate attempt on the part of a government to stifle the growth of democratic institutions is most dangerous.

One real danger to parliamentary democracy is the Congress party bureaucracy which functions as a parallel executive. Such a Congress party bureaucracy has wielded great influence on the

administration, resulting in total absence of the rule of law, denial of fundamental rights and interference with judicial administration. This is what happened between June 1975 and end - 1976 in India during the infamous Internal Emergency promulgated by Indira Gandhi as leader of the Congress (I).

The Presidential power of intervention has to be used with restraint and only when no other alternative is available. An indiscriminate use of the power lowers the public esteem for the Central Government and the office of the President.

— Kishore Koticha, Bombay

THE "THIRD FORCE" IN INDIAN POLITICS ON THE OCCASION OF THE 86TH LOHIA JAYANTI

We remember Dr. Lohia very acutely when we see the complete devaluation of national politics.

Ram Manohar Lohia and his party colleagues confronted both Nehru and his daughter with the irregularities of the Congress government. He led various struggles against the anti-people

policies of the ruling party and effectively ended the Congress monopoly of power by advocating formation of anti-Congress coalitions. These became a reality in the 1967 Parliamentary elections.

At the same time, he did not lose sight of the ideology and the programme of the Socialist Party. He refused to support the retrograde amendments to the Muslim personal law, even though this stand posed some risk to the electoral fortunes of the Socialist Party in the 1967 elections. He believed that the Socialist Party must resolve to win political power in seven years but it should also be able to lead struggles for a hundred years.

The formation of a Third Force as an alternative to the Congress and the BJP is once again under active consideration on the eve of 1996 parliamentary elections. But unless this 'Third Force' is based on a clear-cut and time-bound programme which brings about a more equalitarian social order, it is likely to repeat the short-lived and sad experience of the Janata Party and Janata Dal governments of 1977-79 and 1989-90 respectively.

— Hira Lal Jain, Kota
(Translator from Hindi)

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A WORLD OF PERMANENT REVOLUTIONS

NORTH AMERICA 1765-75 THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION



The moment of inception for the American revolution was the afternoon of Tuesday 30 January, 1649, when a little after two o'clock, the people of England cut off the head of their King, Charles I. It was in England and Scotland that the idea of revolution was born and revered, where injustice and oppression could be righted by a violent overthrow of the political system. Charles's son, James, did not end on the executioner's block as his father had done, but he too was pushed from his throne by his people, who thereafter described his flight as a Glorious Revolution. It was this tradition of violent resistance to authority which the settlers from Britain carried to the new lands across

We are beginning a new series on World Revolutions.

In this series, we have interpreted the word "revolution" in a loose popular manner. Both Bourgeois and Socialist revolutions will be described. In the case of India, even the events of 1857-60 will be considered. Also Counter-Revolutions.

We hope that this series will help the cadres to crystallise their ideas, for Revolutions (and Counter Revolutions) are the greatest instruments of mass education. As societies undergo transformations, men living in such societies are themselves transformed.

The coming Indian Revolution is inevitable. The tide of time is inexorable. Let us greet its onset with ardour, with courage and supreme confidence in its ultimate success.

**LONG LIVE THE SECOND
INDIAN WAR OF NATIONAL
INDEPENDENCE!**

**LONG LIVE WORLD
REVOLUTION!**

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

'America' in 1775 was only the eastern strip of the continent, and looked to Europe rather than inland. So the colonies have been given an Atlantic orientation; communication with Britain by sea was generally routed to Halifax before undertaking the long voyage across the ocean. Average sailing times were about six weeks, slower for a number of ships travelling together, and faster for a single vessel aiming to achieve a rapid passage. Communications between the army in North America and home were further handicapped by the fact that the main depot for the army in North America was at Cork in Ireland, while political decisions would be made in London. At several points during the revolution, the failure to achieve a speedy decision and to communicate it to the commander in Boston gave the initiative to the Americans.

Each of the colonies had a different character, determined by its social make-up and the conditions of its foundation. In revolutionary terms, the most coherent opposition was to be found in the cities, and in New England. In other states, loyalty to the Crown was more pronounced, particularly in rural areas of the southern colonies, in Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and in the areas of New York and New Jersey along the Potomac. But 'loyalism' was a less coherent force than 'revolution' and it depended for its effectiveness on a British army in the field. Where it was most important was in raising a number of detachments of irregular horse, of men who knew the country and had the mobility lacking in the British army, which had scant cavalry. It is also notable that not all the violent incidents shown on this map should be equated with opposition to the Crown. The 'regulator' movement in the Carolinas was strongly influenced by the great numbers of Scots and Irish immigrants in the area. Poor peasants for the most part, they had no more love for the elite of the coast

than for Royal governors, but when the revolution came, their sympathies were against the rich planters and merchants, and for the Crown which posed no threat to them.

During the war with the French and Indians, the British army had established garrisons through most of the frontier area; thereafter, they began to concentrate their forces in the populated areas. The consequence was increasing friction between the colonists and the 'lobsters', as they referred to the Redcoats. This latent hostility turned to hatred as the army settled upon Boston as its principal base. Off-duty soldiers took on work at lower wage rates than the Bostonians, and the constant reiteration of military ceremonial - parades, patrols - made their presence all the more obvious. The final concentration of British forces in Boston took place in September 1774 when General Gage withdrew his garrisons from New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Halifax and Newfoundland. Together with a large naval squadron under Admiral Graves, Boston became a garrison town. But despite the threat posed by British armed might, the demonstration of power only served to rally waverers to the revolutionary cause, as they saw all the grim warnings about oppressive power being enacted before their eyes.

All the cities were linked by an effective system of post roads and communications following the easy land route along the coastline. Inland, and especially as the land rose towards the Appalachians, communications were much more haphazard. But news and information could be carried rapidly between the principal centres of population, and most particularly in the revolutionary heartland, where a service operated three times a week. In addition, the post roads could be used by other riders to spread the news or carry information and rumour.

the Atlantic, to the colonies of America.

The world of these colonies was utterly unlike anything which Europe had created. No one would take all the risks implicit in the long journey across the ocean, unless they had good reason to leave the Old World. Colonists were more ambitious, more religious, more turbulent, indeed given to excess in all things : they were adventurers, existing on the margin of whichever social stratum had produced them. The men and women who became rich in the colonies may have had the veneer of good manners and taste which followed London, Dublin and Edinburgh; but beneath the surface they were rough and insubordinate, and quite as ready to resort to their fists, a gun or the knife to settle an argument. If the veneer of civilization covered only part of American society, it also had a very restricted territorial extent. The part of the colonies which mirrored most closely the structures and values of the Old World was the thin coastal strip from Georgia to New England. Here were concentrated the cities and the bulk of the population, and inevitably, both economic and political power. All the lines of communication rang along the line of the coast; up-country, in the mountains and on the borders of Indian lands, the cities and values of the leaders of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Charleston were a world away, not the short span of miles that they seemed on a map.

There were thirteen colonies which were eventually to form the United States of America. In reality, all that united them was hostility to Britain. Some colonies were

THE PROPAGANDA MACHINE

John Adams, one of the architects of the American Revolution, wrote later to Thomas Jefferson with his view of the Revolution :

'What do we mean by the revolution ? The war, that was no part of the revolution. It was only the effect and consequence of it. *The revolution was in the Minds of the People, and this was effected from 1760 to 1775* in the course of fifteen years, before a drop of blood was shed at Lexington.

The coverage of the colonies by the press was remarkable, as was the complex set of links with opposition figures in Britain. Frequently the colonists' interpretation of events was current in London before the government was even informed as to what had taken place : merchants in Virginia and Boston communicated directly with London, Liverpool and Bristol. Similarly, the colonists were quickly made aware of resistance to the 'tyranny' of the Crown towards its subjects in Britain. Each radical printing press, and every radical newspaper — such as the *Pennsylvania Journal* — had a wide audience. Thus when the news of Lexington and Concord was transmitted down the post roads, with the radicals' interpretation of the events, it was repeated and magnified down the line. So too were

rumours of British atrocities towards those who had fallen into their hands : there were stories of 'savage Barbarity exercised upon the bodies of our unfortunate Brethren who fell... Not contented with the Cries of the wounded, killing them without Mercy, and mangling their Bodies in the most shocking manner. It was utterly untrue, but it served its purpose, and hardened revolutionary purpose in New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia and the southern states.

Without the channels of information and propaganda, without the skill of the radical pamphleteers and journalists (far superior to those whom the Crown patronized), it would have been virtually impossible to achieve a co-ordinated response to British actions, and to effect the change in the Minds of the People to which John Adams refers.

The Thirteen Colonies which formed the United States of America, in order of accession :

Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maryland, South Carolina, New Hampshire, Virginia

New York, North Carolina, Rhode Island (Vermont achieved statehood in 1791, while Maine, was a district of Massachusetts and the subject of many border disputes with Canada, until finally admitted to the Union in 1820).

more antagonistic to the mother country than others, and skilful ministers in London would seek to set one colony against another on the principle of divide and rule. The real centres of opposition were located in the commercial classes of New England, Virginia and Pennsylvania which opposed British attempts to regulate trade with the colonies for the benefit of British merchants. The supreme success of the opposition in America was to persuade sufficient of their fellow countrymen that British rule in North America posed a dire threat to them.

Americans had developed a tradition of righting wrongs by violent means. In the hill country of the Carolinas, bands known as 'regulators' established a rough and ready system of justice when the authorities on the coast failed to respond to their demands for redress of grievances. In the cities, riot - a fine old British tradition - was systematized for political purposes. It is not surprising that the centres of violent unrest before the outbreak of the revolution should feature prominently in its early days. The

ingredients for a violent overthrow, a renewal of the tradition of 1649 and 1688, were all present in the colonies. There was an articulate and determined group



← All the symbols of British tyranny in North America : gallows, tea, and the loyalist or exercise man tarred and feathered by 'patriots'. They have hung him on his own gallows, cut him down and are forcing him to drink the tea all Americans shunned. The '45' on the hat refers to the number 45. The *North Briton* emblem of the British resistance to Royal autocracy. There were close links between British and American radicals.

willing to accept a revolution in fulfilment of their ends. There were the channels of influence and propaganda which allowed them to disseminate their views throughout the colonies, as the circulation and readership of radical pamphlets and newspapers reveals. There were arms and equipment and a sufficient degree of training in the colonial militia to provide the genesis of an armed force. And there were causes in plenty, sparks to ignite the powder, provided by an insensitive and largely inept government too far away to control the situation even if they had the capacity to do so. The events of the spring of 1775 surprised no one.

activity. Committees, clubs, social and political organizations, all provided channels of communication and of primary organization. In times of peace, these adhoc bodies fulfilled a social function, providing mutual support, and it is striking that the areas where this sense of practical community was strongest – in Massachusetts, and New England generally – were also those where the armed revolution took hold most strongly. In the language of later revolutionary writers, the town meeting, the political club, the militia, even the ladies' quilting bee, became a *focus* through which the issues of the revolution could be

THE TIMETABLE OF REVOLUTION

1700-60

Massive increase in *population* mostly by immigration, to 1.5 million. Similar increase in commerce : exports and imports totalled L3.1 million annually (1761-70).

1754-9

Conflict with French on borders of Canada led to all-out war. War ended by Peace of Paris 1763, with massive increase in British domain in Canada.

1763-5

New British Prime Minister Genville determined to tighten control of colonies and extract full tax yield. Range of new duties, including (1765) extension of British requirement for all documents, including newspapers and pamphlets, to pay tax.

1765-7

Stamp Act provoked violent response in America, linked with agitation in Britain led by John Wilkes. New Prime Minister Rockingham repealed act, but Parliament restated legal rights to tax colonies.

1767-73

Wide range of import duties imposed on colonial trade. Repeated violent resistance plus widespread evasion forced abolition of all duties save 'symbolic' duty on tea. Continuing expansion of anti-Government associations, like the Sons of Liberty. Pamphlet war against British 'tyranny', like the so-called Boston 'Massacre], Jan-March 1770, when troops fired on mob.

1773-4

Tea Act (May 1773) passed to establish monopoly of tea trade for East India Company, 16 Dec 1773. Party of Bostonians 'disguised' as Indians emptied cargo of 'monopoly' tea into harbour. Culmination of violent anti-excite attacks : excise vessel *Gaspee* burnt, Rhode Island 1772. Government riposted by suspending provincial assembly, strengthening garrison, and closing Boston Port to trade. Created unity among warring mob factions in town. Concerted action among merchants and landholders, culminating in first Continental Congress in Philadelphia, Sept-Oct 1774.

1774-5

Massachusetts, the focal point : almost whole of British army in America being concentrated in Boston. First Massachusetts Congress held. Established body of 'minutemen', ready to serve a minute's notice. Elected Committee of Safety and voted supplies for army of 15,000. British acted to seize cannon and warlike stores. General Gage ordered secret pre-emptive strike on Concord, and supposed arms dumps. Colonial minutemen resisted British advance at Lexington and Concord, and militia and civilians harried British forces returning to Boston.

The British army had garrisoned the colonies, partly to protect them from an external threat - as the French colonies in Canada had been - and partly for internal political control. By the mid - 1760s the threat from the French had ended with their expulsion from Canada. *The French had used Indian allies during the Seven Years War (1756-63)*, and they realised that the colonies provided easy pickings. *In 1763 the Ottawa tribe under Chief Pontiac crossed the frontier west of Niagara; in 1774 the Shawnee rose on the borders of Virginia and Kentucky.* New Yorkers remembered how in 1753, *Chief Hendrick of the Mohawk* had stood before the governor and said : *'Brother, by and by you'll expect to see the Nations (the Six Nations of the Iroquois) down here (in New York City)....'*

The doctrine of self-help was born out of need. Troops and resources from Britain were never sufficient, so each state raised its own militia, on the British model of a part-time yeomanry. It was formed and equipped out of provincial taxes, and it is the most notable example of the colonists' passion for corporate

communicated, and propaganda could find an audience. In a society where literacy was limited, and the means of communication restricted by distance, the importance of oral communication and face-to-face contact was paramount. The idea of the revolution was spread by preachers in their pulpits, by newspapers and pamphlets read to the illiterate in taverns, and by rumour.

The effects of this communalism, especially when coupled with a ready resort to violence, made opposition to the prevailing prejudices difficult and dangerous. For every firebrand committed to the principles of the revolution, there were many half-hearted followers. But the majority in many regions which had no love for the revolution and its adherents kept silent through self-interest. Loyalism to King and the British connection was a risky business. The targets for the communal violence were predominantly the *hate-figures* of any society – *the excise men and tax gatherers, the press gangs, absentee landlords* – but armed resistance to them was given the dignity of the defence of liberty. In 1774 the

Continental Congress of the colonists declared a total embargo on trade with Britain, and set up a committee in every 'country, city, and town' to serve notice on all opponents 'that all foes to the rights of British-America may be publicly known and universally contumned as the enemies of American liberty ...'

But to mount an embargo, tar and feather a loyalist, and tip tea into Boston harbour (the famous Boston Tea Party), were acts of bravado, taunts to authority only, and did nothing much towards the actual seizure of power. British authority was based on a still substantial army-in-residence, although much less so than it had been during the war with France. It was well-officered, and its morale was good. Moreover, the effect of the stream of provocative acts from the revolutionaries in Boston had resulted in a

concentration of British forces in Boston as a punishment levied on the inhabitants. This provided more ammunition for the Crown's opponents, since the soldiers had a bad reputation in Boston, but it rendered any armed uprising infinitely more perilous. There can be little doubt that the leaders of the revolutionary party were willing to undertake a rebellion; but most of their possible adherents required a sense of right and justice in their cause to take up arms. The tenor of the propaganda for a decade had been popular rights against an intrusive Royal authority, a campaign which found its echoes in Britain and which harked back to the Civil War of the seventeenth century. Meetings, pamphlets, newspapers, caricatures, and scurrilous rumours were all used to foment the impression that the Royal authorities were determined to enslave the colonists. When the Governor of Massachusetts, Thomas Gage, ordered the Bostonians to disarm in June 1775, the following appeared in the *Pennsylvania Evening Post*: 'To the vilest Tool of the most profligate and tyrannical Administration that ever disgraced a Court ... are you not ashamed to throw out such an insult upon human understanding, as to bid the people disarm themselves till you and your butchers murder and plunder them at pleasure ...?' The American propagandists presented the core issue as they saw it:

'We have seen the humble Petitions of these Colonies to the King of Great Britian repeatedly rejected with Disdain. For the Prayer of Peace he has tendered the sword - for Liberty, chains; for Safety, Death ! He has licenced the Instruments of his hostile Oppressions to rob us of our Property, to burn our Houses and to spill our Blood. Loyalty to him is *now* Treason to our Country.'

The revolutionaries played a single tune: Now was the time, death and disaster would befall all who fell back. There was no way forward but armed struggle. As Tom Paine declared in *Common Sense*: 'Reconciliation is now a fallacious dream.'

DECISIVE FRENCH INTERVENTION

America received its freedom, largely as a gift from France. The Statue of Liberty in the New York harbour, a French gift to USA made in 1885, with a tablet inscribing the date July 4, 1776, symbolises this Franco-American friendship.

After the setback received by France at the hands of the British in the Seven Years War, 1756-63, France took its revenge on Britain, by entering into an alliance with United States in Feb. 1778.

"The event marked an entirely new phase in the War." (Ency. Brit. '73 ed., Vol. 1, p.781)

French intervention on the side of US resulted in the surrender by Cornwallis (later Viceroy of India) at Yorktown, Virginia on Oct. 19, 1781, which spelled the end of the American War of Independence.

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FRANCE 1789-95

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

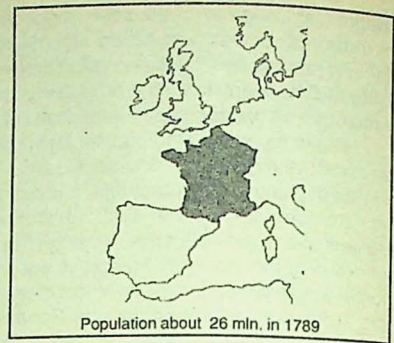
No country in Europe contains within its borders as many contrasts in landscape and terrain as France. It comprises Atlantic France and Mediterranean France, the France of the sandy Camargue and arid *maquis*, of the lush rolling fields of Normandy, the France of ravines, marshland, mountains, open plains. Politically, it has meant throughout history that France has been a mosaic of different habits, attitudes, and aspirations. The rulers of the nation centred in Paris, whether monarchs or republicans, have always fought against this tendency. So there was not one but many French Revolutions, each the product of local circumstances as well as national issues. Most attention is generally focused on the Revolution in Paris. The assumption is made that the horrors of Paris, the elation of the revolutionaries who tore down the Bastille, or the grim satisfaction of those who watched the guillotine at work, were representative of the nation as a whole. Yet there were parts of France not more than a few days' journey from Paris where there were no executions, no Terror, no revolutionary transformation of life at all. Elsewhere, as in Lyon and the South, the revolution was waged with a ferocity that often overtook Paris.

Of the 26 million French men and women in the 1780s all but a fifth lived outside the towns and cities; and in the towns many of the inhabitants were first-generation immigrants from the countryside. The oppressive nature of the Ancien Regime was seen with full force only in the countryside, where the extent of feudal privileges enjoyed by the nobility and the clergy was felt, rightly or wrongly, to be increasing. In a world where prices were rising, free peasant labour or the nobles' freedom from taxation were increasingly valuable, and *many nobles sold their rights over their peasantry to businessmen who then exploited these rights to the full as a commercial proposition*. Taxes on basic items, such as salt, caused widespread resentment in those regions where the tax was highest. Rural discontent expressed itself, as it always had, in riot, usually of limited extent and duration and restricted to specific grievances. The price and shortage of bread in the period immediately before the outbreak of the revolution produced numerous violent outbursts. However,

external circumstances provided a focus for discontent and brought it to bear on the centres of power in the court of Versailles. *The French support for the United States had been immensely costly, quite beyond the capacity of the economic and taxation system*, and in an attempt to achieve some form of financial stability, the King, Louis XVI, was forced to summon an assembly of 'notables' (the nobles, clergy and leading officials) to demonstrate public support for a wide range of financial expedients. This limited exercise in public participation of November 1788 led directly to the summoning of the elected body known as the Estates General, last called together in 1614. It was the incapacity of the government to operate successfully within the traditional resources allocated to it which allowed the intervention of a popular element: the revolution stemmed directly from institutional failure.

The political system was capable of absorbing widespread social unrest, even civil war, so long as it did not reveal itself to be both vulnerable and fallible. The intrusion of public opinion in 1788 and 1789 could not be restricted to the issues which the government laid down for discussion.

Much more was expected of the Estates General than the narrow financial proposals advanced by the government. The delegates came primed with the notions of freedom and liberty, with the doctrines of Rousseau which had been discussed in the flood of pamphlets emanating from Paris and the other great cities. Attempts to muzzle the Estates, such as the suggestion from the Parisian lawyers (*parlement*) that the precedents of 1614 should be followed to the letter and the Estates should be split into three sections - Nobles, Clergy and The Rest - were thrust aside. The Estates met on 5 May 1789; by 17 June, the Third Estate, comprising all those who were not elected by the nobles or the clergy, had declared themselves to be a National Assembly. Three days later, barred from meeting by Royal command (the King did not like the turn events had taken), they came together in the Tennis Court of the palace, and there took the famous Tennis Court Oath: that they would remain in session until an acceptable constitution was granted. To the King's attempts to curb them, they retorted in the words of the Comte de Mirabeau, the inspiration behind the assembly, 'We



Population about 26 mln. in 1789

are here by the will of the people and ... we shall not stir from our seats unless by force, at the point of a bayonet'.

Force was not an option which the Crown could invoke, for behind the delegates at Versailles lay the turbulent masses of Paris only a dozen miles away. When the King, early in July 1789, ordered a concentration of troops around Paris, he found that *many of the soldiers were also infected by the same seditious sentiments* which fired the delegates to the National Assembly.

THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE

Foolishly, the military authorities decided to store gunpowder in the old fortress of the Bastille, symbol of royal power in Paris. Dense crowds gathered outside early in the morning of 14 July demanding the gun powder, and the removal of artillery from its battlements which dominated Paris. The crowds pushed in from the Rue Saint-Antoine into the outer courtyards, always left unguarded. Only when the governor saw the drawbridge guarding the inner courtyard being lowered did he fear an assault and opened fire, killing 98 and wounding 73. Infuriated, the former royal Gardes Francaises brought up cannon from the Invalides, fought their way in and prepared to batter down the gates. At this point the governor de Launay, panicked and gave the order to surrender. A few of the garrison were murdered in the aftermath; the victors found few victims of royal oppression inside the grim walls. Like much else, the Bastille was a paper tiger, but as a revolutionary symbol it was immensely potent, and the news sped through France.

Nevertheless the threat of military intervention prompted an astonishingly vigorous response in Paris. The working class areas of the south and south-east of the city organized their populations for resistance. Gun shops were looted, and arms of all sorts collected at strategic points; clashes with troops in the streets of Paris became increasingly frequent. The 'respectable elements' of Paris responded with equal radical vigour: an independent council for the government and defence of Paris was established in the Hotel de Ville, and a body of militia — the National Guard — organized. Throughout the Revolution, as at its outset in Paris, the two elements — the power of the people in the streets, and the political leadership — existed in parallel, though not always in harmony. Sometimes the street dictated the pattern of events, sometimes the leadership; but a barometer of revolutionary fervour gradually emerged. Most 'revolutionary' were the *sans-culottes* of

minority, and that their revolution was threatened from all sides. This was no illusion: the cry 'the country in danger', used to justify the new strict measures, was true beyond question, as the history of later decades was to prove.

The course of the revolution moved forward in spurts, the famous *journees*, days of mass action in the streets. Of these the most symbolically important was the destruction of the Bastille fortress on 14th July 1789, the culmination of weeks of violent outbursts. It marked more than anything else that the dynamic of the revolution lay with the actors rather than the talkers. The news of the assault on the Bastille spread rapidly through France, where it served to catalyze an urban revolution which was already under way. The news arrived at Dijon, for example on 17th July, and the people surged into the streets seizing the armouries, the nobles and the clergy, At Montauban, Lyon, Barry and Laval, and in many

THE FEAR AND THE TERROR

The panic which swept France in July and August 1793, known as the Great Fear, and the Reign of Terror of 1793-4 are at two poles of political expression: the first, an anarchic, undirected popular spasm, the second, the deliberate and directed exercise of revolutionary power, to exterminate the enemies of the French Republic. But both share common characteristics. Except in Paris, the Terror was primarily — like the Fear — the product of local circumstances. The level of executions was highest in those areas where the threat was greatest. In the west, the area known as the Vendee, where civil war raged, most executions took place in the *departments* of Loire Inferieure, Vendee, and Maine et Loire. Similarly, the *departments* of Gard, Bouches du Rhone, Var and Vaucluse, were nests of Counter-Revolutionary activity. As in so much else, Lyon led the way in a frenzy of revolutionary justice, led by the *representant en mission*, of the Committee of Public Safety in Paris, Joseph Fouché, who had the prisoners mown down by cannon fire when the guillotine proved too slow: in the Vendee at Nantes a similar problem was resolved by mass drownings of the unfortunate victims. On the frontiers to the north, many were killed for supposed collaboration with external enemies. But the overall effect was patchy, depending on the efficiency and fanaticism of the *representant*, the zeal of the local revolutionaries, and the availability of victims: in the south, the land of the blood feud, old scores were frequently paid off in the name of revolutionary justice. The Great Fear produced some acts of violence against people, but mostly against property, in particular, burning the *manorial documents which recorded the feudal duties*

a peasant owed his master. There is also a pattern which shows up clearly but is difficult to explain, between the two sets of events. The lines of the Fear and the incidence of the Terror observe certain common paths, and most interestingly, both avoid that area of central France south of Paris, the peaceable zone of Loiret, Yonne, Cher, Aube, Loir et Cher. Figures show that many of the victims of the Terror from these areas were taken before the tribunals in Paris, and met their end on the guillotine there, but the overall numbers are very low.

The Terror represented in the most dramatic way the intrusion of Paris into the provinces. Perhaps more pervasive in their effects were the *levee en masse*, of 1793, creating a popular army for the defence of the nation by universal conscription, and the decrees against the Church, and (ultimately) in 1794 against Christianity itself. Other intrusions, such as the new revolutionary calendar of October 1793, which replace the old system with one based on the Revolution and reason — months named after their climatic conditions, a week ten days long — was met with traditional Gallic disregard in much of France.

The revolution failed to meet the demands of the countryside, lightening their burdens in name only — the 'abolition' of feudal duties — but imposing many new ones. The arbitrariness of the Terror and the insane blood-fury of the leaders in Paris turned the provinces away from the revolution. It was the provincial deputies to the Convention (the sovereign legislature erected in the emergency of September 1792) who made possible the end of the Terror by voting down Robespierre and the extremists in July 1794.

Paris (their name, proudly borne, denoting that they did not wear the *knee-breeches of the well-to-do*), and the politicians who espoused their cause, to be closely followed by the urban working-class revolutionaries of the great provincial cities. Next came the broad spread of provincial opinion represented in the National Assembly by the delegates from the regions of France. Last came the feeling of the countryside which looked to the revolution merely for the redress of grievances — for the ending of their *feudal obligations, and for a redistribution of land*. For the peasants, the revolution, like all external interventions in their lives, was an alien force. It was from the peasants of the west and the south that the armies of counter-revolution were to be formed. From the first days, however much the revolutionary leaders might preach that they 'represented the nation' they were aware that they were an isolated

other towns they took control of the town council, fearing a Royal coup against the revolution. Throughout the whole of France a great wave of uncertainty gripped town and country alike. Rumour ruled everywhere, linking fears of hunger from the growing grain shortage with fears of reaction from the established orders. As early as 20 May, a pamphlet published at Orleans had declared: 'The princes, linked in a common bond with the nobility, the clergy and all the *parlements* ... have bought up all the grain in the kingdom; their abominable intentions are to prevent the meeting of the Estates General by spreading famine through France and to make part of the people die of hunger ...' In the countryside, there were rumours that brigands and beggars, the outcasts of society, had been suborned by the hated nobles and clergy to ravage the land: everywhere communities responded by acting on their own

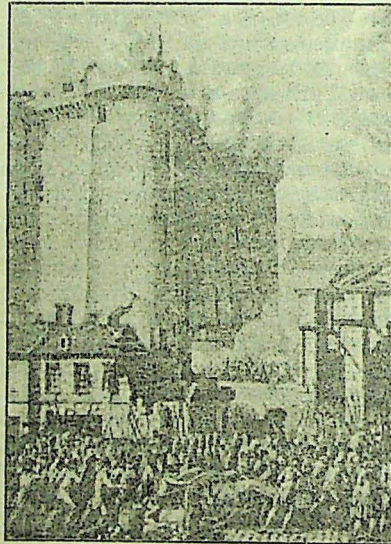
PARIS IN REVOLUTION

The city was surrounded by a ring of customs posts linked by a ten-foot wall, erected in 1785 with the aim of increasing tax revenue on goods entering and leaving the capital. Inside it were suburbs formerly outside Paris, the *faubourgs*, Saint-Victor, Saint-Marcel, Saint-Jacques, and Siant-Germain to the south. Saint-Antoine to the east, and Saint-Martin and Saint-Denis to the north. By 1789, the customs barrier was yielding over 40% of the national customs duties. It was much hated by Parisians. *The population* enclosed by this boundary was in excess of 600,000 a number growing all the time as peasants crowded into the city hoping to escape from the rigours of rural life. The newcomers tended to concentrate in the working class *faubourgs* of the south and south-east; of those who were later to be accorded the title of 'conqueror of the Bastille' over 60% were first-generation Parisians, and most of them gave addresses in the *faubourg* Saint-Antoine. The character and attitude as well as the class make-up varied from area to area of Paris. The engine room the revolution was the districts on the southern outskirts. Saint-Marcel, Saint-Victor and Saint-Antoine; those which eventually were to turn the tide against the excesses of the revolution were to be found on the Right

Bank of the Seine, in the *faubourg* Saint-Honore and to the north. But the revolutionary zeal of the *sans-culottes* dominated all the sections (as the new organization of the city was termed) while the revolution was at its zenith and unity was preserved. The popular will of the *sections* was expressed by representatives in the Revolutionary Commune, which governed Paris, or by mob rule in the streets. All the stages of the revolution, from rioting against the customs barriers and the troops in early July 1789, the storming of the Bastille on 14 July, the march of the people to Versailles in October 1789 the 'massacre' of the Champs de Mars in July 1791, the storming of the Tuileries in August and the assault on the prisons in September 1792, were demonstrations of the power of the mass action. But the Parisian revolution was largely introspective, dominated by the attitudes of the humble members of the sections and the politicians who claimed to speak for them. There is no doubt that the people of the revolutionary faubourgs were in advance of their leadership, pressing them onwards towards more far-reaching changes. Yet like all manifestations of mass feeling, its mood was fickle and its sense of practical unity fragile.

initiative. This reaction, known collectively as the Great Fear, raced through much of France, reaching even into the recesses of the Massif Central. But it was not a unified mass-movement. Each locality reacted to an immediate perceived threat: in some zones, the revolutionaries of the cities - Lyon, Marseille - pushed out into the countryside and provincial towns to spread the gospel of the Parisian revolution. They found many converts, but usually only those already predisposed towards the revolution.

In the first year of the revolution many of the more moderate reforms were achieved. France became a monarchy with a constitution, the French Catholic Church officially severed its links with Rome, hereditary titles were declared void, and feudal rights renounced. Nor was there any inevitability that it would move further. At every stage when the king seemed to embrace the cause of the revolution for public consumption, he attracted wild support; at every stage he succeeded in dispelling this latest good will. More and more he came to be equated with France's foreign enemies, an impression fostered by unwise liaisons with *emigres* and the constant reminder of the foreign links of his abhorred wife, the Austrian Marie-Antoinette. But to the ardent revolutionaries who made up the Paris *sections* (as the districts of the capital were now described), and the members of the Cordeliers Club and the Jacobin Club, stagnation spelt the end of their hopes. 'Peace will set us back,' declared Madame Roland, an arche-type of the revolutionary, 'we can be regenerated by blood alone.' Terrified of the dangers within and without France, they pressed for continuing revolution. In March 1792 war was declared against Austria and Prussia, but the many failures in the war pointed to treason at all levels in the army and society at large. As the foreign armies came closer, the sense of emergency generated hysteria: on 17 August a vast mob, many from the revolutionary *sections* located in the former Faubourgs St. Marcel and St. Antoine, together with the armed contingents from the provinces which had arrived to defend Paris, stormed the palace of the Tuileries. The



14 July 1789: the crowds surged inside the Bastille, carrying with them the cannon to batter down its gates.

royal residence in Paris was felt to be a nest of traitors and Austrian sympathizers, and the 20,000 enraged citizens, after a short battle, massacred over 500 of the defending Swiss guard. This mass bloodletting, where the bodies were mutilated in a bestial fashion, was the first frenzied slaughter of the revolution; within three weeks, from 2-7 September, worse was to follow. The prisons of Paris were invaded, and the supposed enemies of the state found inside, cut down or tortured to death. The fury of the attackers, the perverted glee which they took in the suffering of their victims, produced a sense of outrage. But from that point, the mass shedding of blood and the antecedents of the Terror of 1793-4 may be dated.

THE TIMETABLE OF REVOLUTION

1789

5th May Estates General met for first time since 1614 to rescue France from financial collapse.

20 June Tennis Court Oath by Third Estate (commoners) to remain in session until grievances redressed.

12 - 17 July Rising tension in Paris riots against customs barrier and troops, culminating in

14 July Storming of the Bastille. Mid July-August Spread of the Great Fear — rural riots and provincial revolutions.

5 October March of over 10,000 to Versailles demanding an end to bread shortage. Forced Royal family to return with them to Paris.

1790

Consolidation of the revolution Formation of political clubs including Society of the Friends of the Constitution better known as *Jacobins*. Formation of provincial federation to support the revolution : born from sense of regional autonomy.

19 June Attacks on privilege *Titles declared void : nobles renounced their feudal rights* (August 1789)

12 July Clergy 'nationalized' via Civil Constitution : *church property rights already annexed* — November 1789. Reaction : mutinies in navy and army suppressed. Bread riots continued.

27 Nov Civic oath imposed on the clergy. Many refused to take it

1791

20 June King and his family flee in secret to join *emigres* over German border; taken prisoner at Varennes and returned to Paris. Increasing radical pressure.

17 July 'Massacre' of the Champ de Mars : mob out of hand fired on by National Guard. Impatience of *sans-culottes* with slow pace of change.

Rise of more radical party - Girondins - within the assembly, and voices urging war as only solution to threat from royalist *emigres* and their allies — Austria and Prussia.

Royalists promote counter-revolution in the Vendee in western France, and the Midi to the south.

1792

20 April *War declared against Austria. Prussia immediately entered as well.*

War emergency catalyzed revolution. Volunteer armies arrived from the federations notably Marseilles.

17 August Mass action by Parisians and federes : march on Royal Palace of Tuileries, and *massacre of Swiss Guards* defending it. King universally held to be in league with Austria.

19 August *Defection of hero of 1789. Lafayette to Austrians. Foreign armies entered France.* France now under control of revolutionary government.

2nd Sept *Fortress of Verdun fell to Prussia : Paris*

believed open to invasion. Prisoners in Parisian jails slaughtered.

20 Sept Military tide turned by victory at Valmy. Same morning, National Convention met in Paris replacing the Assembly, lineal descendant of the National Assembly of 1789. Convention purged of possible royalist sympathizers, and took dictatorial powers. The legislative instrument of revolutionary government.

21 Sept *Monarchy abolished.*

6 Nov Victory at Jemappes. Revolutionary armies carried war to the enemy.

1793

21 Jan *King executed*

10 March Revolutionary tribunal established to apply "revolutionary justice."

War with rebels in the Vendee.

26 March *Committee of Public safety established, with the committee of General Security, the executive arm of the revolution.*

Provincial revolts by federations against the dictatorship of Paris. Revolution beset on all sides by enemies. Response : reign of Terror.

16 Oct *Execution of Queen Antoinette.*

31 Oct *Revolution within the revolution* : execution of radical Girondins by more radical Jacobins under Robespierre. Reign of Terror operative throughout France under control of representatives of the Convention.

1794

5 April Execution of Danton, last threat to Robespierre.

8 April Festival of Supreme Being marked *abolition of Christianity.*

10 June Abolition of right of defence before revolutionary tribunals.

26 July Robespierre called for mass purges in speech to Convention.

27 July (9 Thermidor) Fearing extent of Robespierre's purge, moderate and largely silent majority in Convention voted him down, and ordered his arrest, summoned loyal militia from section to oppose National Guard led by Robespierrists. Robespierre shot in struggle, jaw shattered.

28 July *Robespierre executed, radical revolution put into reverse. Purge of Robespierre faction, and abolition of Commune in Paris, power-base of radical sans-culottes.*

12 Nov Jacobin Club closed.

1795

April and May

Failure of radical elements in Paris to regain position.

22 August Convention approved the Constitution of Year III, *re-establishing government in hands of non-radicals and the affluent.*

6 Oct *Directory of Five took over executive authority, after royalist counter-coup defeated by a whiff of grapeshot at the hands of artillery officer Napoleon Bonaparte.*

The war emergency had placed the conduct of affairs in the hands of radical revolutionaries, who were dedicated to a centralized and unified revolutionary state. In this, party labels - whether they were called Girondins, Dantonists, Robespierrists, Hebertists - mattered little. All believed that the more that resistance was shown, the more instruments of terror should be used to

enforce compliance. (In the end the Terror turned on its creators, becoming the instrument of their own jealousy, fear and power-lust.) The incidence of executions during the reign of Terror corresponds in the main to where the revolution was felt to be most endangered. In the west, war was being waged in the Vendee against an overt peasant and royalist rebellion; on the northern

frontier, executions of supposed sympathizers with the Prussians and Austrians were numerous. But much the most interesting pattern, other than Paris itself, was in the south, where the revolution was an excuse to pay off old scores. Near Nîmes, where there was a sizeable Protestant minority, religious prejudice against the Catholic majority made many Protestants fervent advocates and beneficiaries of the revolutionary cause. As the cause of the revolution waned in 1795, they were among the early victims of a counter-terror which ravaged the south. Paris, however, remained the main theatre of the revolution. There the king (21 January 1793) and later his wife (16 October 1793) were guillotined to be followed by thousands of others - former nobles and clerics, and fallen revolutionary idols. The very theatricality of the Parisian revolution, the constant pressure from below of the articulate *sans-culottes*, allowed those leaders - pre-eminently the 'incorruptible' Maximilian Robespierre, the architect of the Terror.

The clerical hierarchy had been traditionally unpopular in France, and the abuses of the church were a scandal. But there was little mass feeling against religion *per se*, and earlier attempts to bring the church to heel, through making them agents of the state, had provoked unrest in the more traditional regions. For Robespierre, the Church, or rather, the Christian God, represented the last bastion of the old order. In this he was right, for the Church was the only effective representative of authority in the rural communities, and a seedbed for counter-revolution. Having failed to manipulate the faithful, he decided to abolish their faith, and replace it with a more truly rational and revolutionary creed, that of the Supreme Being. This bizarre mish-mash of the beliefs of the Age of Reason, to be enforced by the instruments of the Terror, the Revolutionary Tribunals, the Committees of Public Safety and General Security, was launched in a great ceremony on 8 June 1794. Although the ceremony was generally seen as an exercise in self-glorification for Robespierre,

it was also hoped that it might herald the end of the Terror. When it was clear that the reverse was true, and that the Terror was to be intensified, with the passing of the law of 10 June which abolished the right to defend a case brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, the largely silent mass of the Convention turned against Robespierre, and denounced him. When his supporters in the National Guard commanded by his nominee Hanriot tried to release him, the Convention responded by calling in militia loyal to them from other *sections*. These events, of 9 Thermidor in the new revolutionary calendar, were followed the next day (28 July 1794) by the end of Robespierre on the guillotine, to be followed by many members of the radical Commune of Paris, the organizational expression of *sans-culottisme*.

From Thermidor onwards, although the revolutionaries of Paris would come onto the streets on many occasions in an effort to rekindle the radical spark, direct action was ineffectual. On 1 and 2 April 1795 a *journee* was countered with armed might, after marchers from the Faubourg St. Antoine had invaded the Tuileries where the Convention was sitting. In the tumult a deputy was killed and the government responded with a threat to bombard the Faubourg unless his killer was handed over.

The revolution which had begun with the fall of the Bastille in July 1789 effectively ended in this reaction of 1795; in the south of France, a counter-terror was unleashed which was to last for a decade. The various constitutional arrangements made after Thermidor led by slow steps towards Bonapartism, for the army was the only force in the state which could ultimately secure any government against revolution from below. Thus, while the French Revolution of 1789-95 provided the paradigm for many later revolutionaries, indeed created the revolutionary

tradition in Europe and beyond, it also showed that the obverse face of the coin was military domination of the state, rule by a new Caesar.

THE COUNTER TERROR

The French revolution spanned the period from July 1789 to July 1794; until September 1792 the country was notionally, a constitutional monarchy, and at times Louis XVI did attempt rather feebly to exercise a restraining influence. By contrast the counter-terror which was unleashed in the wake of the events of 9 Thermidor (27 July 1794) lasted for over a decade, and affected the political shape of French society for generations thereafter. The Terror had been bureaucratized and was by its own lights justified and systematic - the atrocious events at Nantes and Lyon were put down to the extremity of the emergency. But on the whole it was not marked by excesses of mindless brutality like the assaults of September 1792 on the prisons of Paris. But the counter-terror or white terror unleashed by the royalists on the south and south-east of France sought to terrorize by bestiality. Gangs of murderers roamed the small towns and countryside of the Midi (the south of France) murdering and mutilating anyone with revolutionary connections. In some places Protestants and Jews suffered in consequence of the ultra-Catholic nature of many of the murder gangs. Whole families and clans were exterminated, often in pursuit of old village feuds long antedating the revolution. Many of the revolutionaries from the provinces who had either gone to Paris, or fled there, were returned for 'justice' to the south. The memory both of the Red Terror of the revolution and the counter-terror of the *egorgeurs* and *sabreurs* (from their habitual use of the knife on their victims) lasted through families for generations, becoming reflected in voting patterns for left or right, in attributes for and against Vichy France generations later.

IRELAND 1798

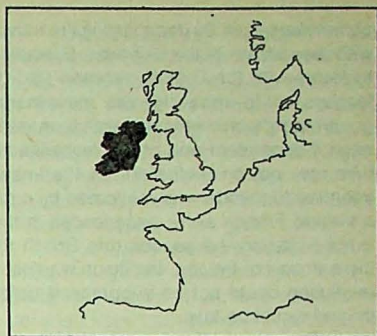
THE IRISH UPRISING

The hatred the peasants of Ireland bore for their English overlords was the product of centuries of exploitation, of oppression under Elizabeth I and the 'Godly slaughter' which Cromwell wrought on a guiltless Irish Catholic population in 1649. Upon that memory, of the massacres of the Drogheda, Wexford, and Clonmel, and a host of minor injustices, was built a more immediate and ardent sense of grievance. Catholic Irishmen were forced to pay tithes to support a Protestant church which they abhorred. Ireland was delivered into the hands of Scotsmen and Englishmen. Economic power belonged to a Protestant minority, and frequently the profits of trade in Ireland were diverted to support absentee owners in London. In short, the province felt a deep sense of inferiority and resentment, almost a mirror image of grievances which pushed the American colonists into revolution. As in America, their sense of outrage, most forcefully urged by an urban and educated class, was given point by armed force. A Volunteer militia was formed to defend Ireland during the war of the American Revolution, but like the Americans, the Volunteers turned to demand redress of their grievances. They were successfully bought off by the sort of concessions, both economic and political, which a wise British administration would have conceded to the

Americans in 1775-6. The 'constitution of 1782' provided cosmetic freedoms, but did little or nothing to satisfy the deep sense of injustice felt by the bulk of the Irish nation. For them the new independent Irish Protestant Parliament was a body representing their oppressors.

In the nine years between the outbreak of the French Revolution and the rising of the Irish people in 1798, the process of gradual but grudging reform was continued. But Irish Catholics, both the peasantry and the Catholic aristocracy, saw how first the Americans and latterly the French had gained liberty, and made active plans for violent action. In France the Irish revolutionaries, led by Wolfe Tone - a Protestant - found a base from which to work; they achieved a promise of armed French intervention to support an internal rising. The 'United Irishmen' thus had a mass movement at their back with, the government believed, almost 280,000 men arming and training for war. They possessed a coherent political programme and an able leadership not only in Dublin but with agents throughout the country.

Plans were made throughout 1796 and 1797 in the most elaborate detail, designed to contain the British garrison and to control all the major lines of communication within the country. But all this skilful revolutionary activity was vitiated



by the simple fact that the central organizing body in Dublin, the Supreme Executive, was penetrated by government informers. In a swoop on a house in Bridge Street, on 11 March 1798, the government secured the Directory for the province of Leinster, and then quickly scooped up most of the Supreme Executive of the 'United Irishmen'. With sixteen of their leaders in custody, the energy went out of the movement. The government declared martial law on 30 March 1798, and this was used to unleash a terror campaign. Atrocities were committed by soldiers in the provinces around Dublin to a horrifying degree; the practical justification was the huge quantity of arms yielded by these methods. The terror campaign lasted through April and May, breaking the unity and co-ordination of the revolutionary movement as more of the leaders were captured. But it also served to harden the feeling among the mass of the membership that they had little to lose by rebellion. When the outburst finally came on 24 May 1798, it surged upwards from the masses, directed at best by local leaders, but largely out of control, and without much of the careful co-ordination determined by the Supreme Executive.

The British military leadership saw no real reason to fear the Irish; they rather regarded them with contempt. The numerous violent incidents which preceded the outbreak — the murder of magistrates, intimidation, house burning and the like, required no *military* skill. It came as a shock when they discovered that not only were they vastly outnumbered by the United armies, as they had expected, but that Irish peasants would attack with desperate and lunatic courage, regardless of losses. The peasants also took their revenge on Protestants where they could, matching the barbarities of the troops. Within a few days of the outbreak, the British government had lost control of most of the counties around Dublin. Where they did win a victory, as at Tara Hill, or Kilcullen Bridge, the rebels simply withdrew and the violence burst out

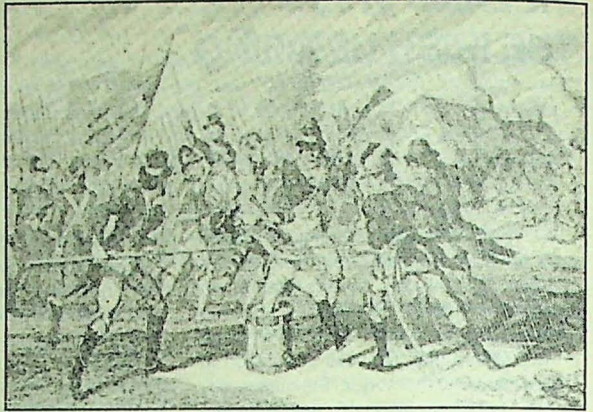


The Irish rebels repel the British charge on their camp at Vinegar Hill.

sc.nowhere else. By decapitating the movement, as they had done with the seizure of the Supreme Executive, the option of coming to terms with the United Irishmen had gone. None of the new leaders could speak for the movement as a whole, and the government's only recourse was to mass its resources, and bring each independent unit of the revolutionary armies to battle. Yet time was not on their side, for the knowledge that the French intended to invade was reinforced by captured documents. With a trained French army, experienced in the revolutionary wars in Europe, facing the second-rate British forces which comprised the garrison of Ireland, the issue was not in doubt. If the internal revolution could not be suppressed before the French arrived, Ireland would be lost.

The scale of the rising, both in the south of the country, and later in the province of Ulster, staggered the British government in London. A member of the Viceroy's staff in Dublin wrote to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, 'there was never in any country so formidable an effort on the part of the people'. The Viceroy, Lord Camden, declared: 'The organizing of this Treason is universal.' Moreover, there were less than 10,000 regular infantry in the whole of Britain, and the Viceroy believed that it would take that number to subdue the Irish. The rebels had taken the town of Wexford and proclaimed a republic: ominously, a committee of public safety on the French model was established. But while they could win victories in the field, and even survive defeat, there was no sense of objectives. The Wexford republic talked grandly of 'We the people associated and united for the purpose of procuring our just rights', but how these were to be achieved was quite unclear. One school of thought held that the Wexford army should march on Dublin, but they had no means of co-ordinating activity with the other armies outside their own province. The revolution was degenerating into provincialism, held together more by fear of the British than by common aims. The first task of the new British Viceroy, Lord Cornwallis, was to capitalize on divisions among the rebels by allowing the rank and file to surrender without reprisals. His principal objective was to conserve his forces for countering a French invasion force, rather than squandering his reserves in endless skirmishes with desperate peasants. Not all his field commanders had such an acute political sense. General Lake in County Wexford, and General Asgill in Counties Carlow, Kilkenny and Queen's, perpetuated the same policy of brutality which, although it seemed to work in the short term, made the outbreak liable to recur once the troops were removed. The common people had little confidence in their leaders, who save the priests like Father Philip Roch, were a feeble crew with little stomach for the cause. In August 1798 Cornwallis offered a general amnesty, and the last remains of resistance petered out. The war had lasted for some three months, and left well over 25,000 dead including 2000 Protestant civilians and Catholics loyal to the Crown. The numbers of arms recovered — over 48,000 muskets, 70,000 pikes (a most effective weapon), and 22 cannon — were evidence of the scale of the armed uprising. It was at this point, with the revolution quelled and peace being restored, that the French arrived.

They landed on 23 August 1798 at Killala in County Mayo in the far west, hitherto unaffected by the fighting. One thousand landed, with some 7000 more to come. Wolfe Tone arrived with the first group, under General Humbert, while Napper Tandy, the other leading United Irish leader with the French, was to come with the relief force. Over 7000 Irishmen rose to support the invasion, mostly from Counties Westmeath and Longford, and the British feared that the whole revolutionary movement would come



No quarter was given on either side

to life once more. But the French had come too late, and as poor timing and ill-fortune had dogged the first stages of the revolution, so it continued to the end. The British army defeated the United Irishmen at Granard. Humbert, without the French relief army he had expected, faced over 5000 British troops with only 850 men at Ballinamuck, fought for half an hour and then surrendered. The few remaining rebels near the French landing at Killala were soon disposed of.

The aftermath of the war was marked by hangings, transportation to Australia, and a general repression: Violent resistance continued with disturbances in Galway and Clare in following years.

Political violence remained (and remains) a notable characteristic of Irish political life. But the revolution and the horrors which it brought were not what had been planned. A number of the leaders of the United Irishmen under sentence of death persuaded the government to allow them to emigrate in exchange for a full description of the planning of the revolution. In it they detailed an entirely plausible and practical plan for the seizure of power and the achievement of independence, based on the alliance with France and a well-controlled mass rising. They believed that the untried leadership which had succeeded them had been panicked into premature action, and had launched not a revolution but a peasant revolt. But what is remarkable about the events as they turned out was the speed with which the peasant host adapted, learned to face regular troops, grasped the skills of using artillery. Whether the huge mass of the rebel forces, men, women and children living off the land and in the open through a warm summer, could have survived the rigours of winters, is open to doubt. But equally, had the French forces arrived as planned, with effective Irish leaders — Tone and Napper Tandy — and powder and shot for the rebel muskets and cannon, independent Ireland would have been won.

The series 'A World of Permanent Revolutions continues in next month's Mankind, with The Spanish War of Independence, 1808-14; The Greek War of Independence, 1821-27; The Latin American War of Independence, 1803-30 and The European Revolutions and Counter-Revolutions, 1848.

ECONOMIC HISTORY OF INDIA

R. C. Dutt

COTTON COMMITTEE

A more important Select Committee was appointed in the same year in inquire into the growth of cotton in India. India was known from ancient times for her cotton fabrics with which she had supplied the markets of Asia and of Europe. And when England, with the help of her power looms and her protective tariffs, had suppressed that industry, the hope was still entertained that India would continue to grow the raw material required for the factories of Lancashire. Endeavours were therefore made to extend and improve the growth of cotton in India, with the idea that Great Britain would thereby have both the raw material and the manufacture in her own hands, and be thus independent of America and other foreign countries. The Select Committee, which was appointed in 1848, was therefore entrusted with a task of the very highest importance; and one of the most illustrious men of England was the chairman of the Committee. John Bright, who had already won distinction as the colleague of Cobden in the agitation which led to the repeal of the Corn Laws, was in the chair; and it was in the course of this inquiry that he obtained that intimate knowledge of Indian affairs, which marked his public utterances during the rest of his life.

Before the Select Committee had gone very far in recording evidence on the subject of the cultivation of cotton, the connected question of the assessment of the soil in India forced itself to their notice.

Francis William Prideaux, then Assistant-Examiner of India Correspondence, read from the petition of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce on the subject of land assessments: "Amongst the obstacles to the better cultivation of cotton, none are more obvious than the Land Tax, the tenure under which land is held, and the want of roads and the means of conveyance. Your Memorialists believe that your honourable Court is itself impressed with the conviction that the Land Tax in the present cotton-growing districts is imperfect, and has more than once begun

reforms which have been abandoned almost as soon as begun; but until the injustice of levying a heavier assessment upon cotton than upon other crops be abandoned, and the tenure of land be placed upon a wise and equitable basis, all hope of so improving the quality of cotton as to procure for it prices which will stimulate further culture will be futile." (Select Committee's Report, p. 6)

The influence of British manufacturers had so far prevailed that all duties on cotton exported into England from Bengal had been abolished in 1836, those on Bombay cotton in 1838, and those on Madras cotton in 1844. But the Court of Directors declined to reduce the land assessment in order to stimulate the cultivation of cotton.

The next witness was Dr. John Forbes Royle, who had been for nine years in charge of the Botanical Gardens at Saharanpur, and in 1837 had published a valuable essay on the Antiquity of Hindu Medicine, explaining the nature and extent of the chemical and surgical knowledge possessed by the ancient Hindus. He deposed that Surat cotton was 30 per cent. lower in price at Liverpool than American cotton, and that Indian cotton was generally shipped in a dirty state. American cotton grow better on the red soil, and Indian cotton on the black soil, in India. In the American States of Alabama and Louisiana, they got 400 lbs. of clean cotton per acre, while in India not more than 100 or 150 lbs. The cultivation of cotton had much increased in Northern India since the new settlement of 1833, which gave long leases to cultivators. It was desirable to introduce the saw-gin into India, but Manchester spinners would not use the Indian cotton if the American cotton was cheap. Indian cotton was used in two ways in England; it was either manufactured into cloths, or used as wadding, i.e. people wore coats padded with cotton in the cold weather. The importation of English cotton goods into India was increasing, and was superseding the manufactures of India more and more every year.

Thomas Bazley, President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, furnished a table showing the proportion of Indian cotton to American cotton imported into England — the proportion of the Indian supply to the total British import varying between 8 and 15 per cent. The figures for ten years from the date of Queen Victoria's accession are given below.

The same witness deposed that while the spinner obtained from 1 lb. of Surat cotton only 12 ounces of yarn, he obtained from 1 lb. of American cotton, 13 1/2 ounces of yarn. The price of the latter was therefore between 3 1/2 d. and 6 d. the lb. when Indian cotton was between 3 d. and 5 d.

Towards the conclusion of his evidence, Thomas Bazley explained in a few words an Englishman's idea of the trade between England and India. "In India," he said, "there is an immense extent of territory, and the population of it would consume British manufactures to a most enormous extent. The whole question with respect to our Indian trade is whether they can pay us, by the products of their soil, for what we are prepared to send out as manufactures." (Select Committee's Report, p. 57.)

Import of Cotton Wool into England, Scotland, and Ireland

Year	From the United States	From British Possessions in the East
	lbs	lbs.
1837 . . .	320,351,716	51,577,141
1838 . . .	431,437,888	40,229,495
1839 . . .	311,597,798	47,170,640
1840 . . .	487,856,504	77,010,917
1841 . . .	358,214,964	97,368,312
1842 . . .	405,325,600	96,555,186
1843 . . .	558,735,600	68,820,570
1844 . . .	517,218,622	88,639,608
1845 . . .	626,650,412	58,437,426
1846 . . .	382,526,000	34,270,800

Robert Crawford, a merchant who had been resident in Bombay, gave figures showing the extent of cotton cultivation in some Bombay districts during twelve years, from 1834 to 1845. In Broach cotton cultivation was 43 per cent; in Surat it was 22 per cent.; in Kandeish it was 10 per cent.; and in Sholapur it was 3 per cent. of the total cultivation on assessed lands. Asked as to the nature of land-assessment in Gujarat, witness said: "As the Government and their officers may justly claim the credit of getting all the revenue they can possibly get, it follows that the land

is let at a rack-rent." And the witness, quoting from the report of Mr. Davies, collector of Broach, said: "As the present state of the market does not unfortunately give him [the cultivator] that reimbursement to enable him to keep up his stock, it far less enables him to reckon upon any profits; the inference is too obvious that he mainly depends upon remissions and balances for his escape from ruin." (Select Committee's Report, pp. 96 and 97.)

The same witness also deposed to the evil effects of the Navigation Laws, requiring ships to be manned by English seamen. "I have known times," said the witness, "when it would very well have settled for a ship belonging to the part of Bombay manned by lascars to come to this country if she could have sailed upon the same terms as an English ship does." (*Ibid.*, p. 104)

A more important witness was Major-General Briggs. He had entered the service of the Company in 1801, and had worked thirty-two years in India. He had served under men like Sir John Malcolm and Mountstuart Elphinstone, and had been Commissioner of Mysore and Resident of Nagpur. He had written the most valuable and exhaustive work on the Land Tax of India, and had advised Lord William Bentinck in regard to the Settlement of Northern India. And he had studied Indian history from the original sources, and produced a scholar-like translation of Ferishta's "History of India" which is still a standard work.

Major-General Briggs spoke of the enormous consumption of cotton in India, and of the capacity of that country to "produce sufficient cotton for the consumption of the whole world". And he considered that the two great obstacles which prevented a larger export of Indian cotton to England were the Land Tax, and the want of road for conveyance. (*Ibid.*, p. 121) Questioned on the first subject, he said: "The Land Tax of India, as well as all direct taxes, have founded upon the principle of an Income Tax; a portion of the income, whether in grain or in money, has usually been considered the right of the sovereign;" and under the Hindu rule the portion was originally fixed at a tenth of the produce. (*Ibid.*, p.123)

The Settlement of Northern India begun by Lord William Bentinck in 1833 "preserves the institutions of the people, and is most advantageous both to the Government and to the cultivator if it were made permanent." On the other hand, the land assessment in Madras was excessive, even after Sir Thomas Munro's reductions made in 1827; the Government demand was not, and could not be paid in full; it was left to the discretion of the Collector as to how much he could collect. And "when it is left to the discretion of the Collector, it is practically left to the discretion of a host of subordinate officers scattered throughout the country." The fixed assessment was never paid; remissions were annually made; the peasants were "in a very impoverished state. (Select Committee's Report, pp. 126 and 129;)

General Briggs strongly recommended a corn-rent, i.e. an assessment based on the produce of each year; and he held that the Ryotwari System might be workable under such a rule Fifty per cent. of the produce was not more than the surplus produce or nett produce if taken in corn' "but as the tax is a money tax, it must of course very frequently represent the whole of the produce." (*Ibid.*, p. 136)

Thomas Williamson, who had been Revenue Commissioner of Bombay, brought the strongest charge against the British system of land assessment when he said that the prosperity of the entire people depended upon the will and the inclination of one man, the Collector and Assessing Officer. "The prosperity of a whole district," he said, "mainly depended upon the personal qualifications of the officer managing it. But District Collectors were not always efficient or considerate; Gujarat had been very severely assessed till within recent years; and all land improvements had been

checked. In Broach heavy arrears accumulated; remissions were made by favouritism; and corruption in various ways had its influence over the amount. The people were generally exceedingly poor and depressed; their agricultural stock had diminished; and the produce of cotton diminished. "These are the general consequences and indications of over assessment." (Select Committee's Report, pp. 154 to 157.)

Geogre Gibberne had been Collector of Gujarat, and left the country in 1826, and had revisited it in 1840 as Judicial Commissioner. He saw very little improvement in the condition of the people after the lapse of fourteen years; and altogether it appeared to him "that the wealthy inhabitants had fallen off." The assessment had been generally speaking too high: "In all the different districts that I have been in as a Collector, I think there is scarcely enough, certainly not sufficient left to enable the Ryot to lay by anything for himself, or to become a capitalist."

"Have you known any district," witness was asked, "in which the cultivation has evidently been very much diminished in consequence of the weight of the assessment?" "I cannot say," he replied, "that I have known any; they seem stationary instead of improving; the Ryots have nothing else to do but to cultivate even if they get no profit; they must cultivate their field for food for themselves and families; they are so wedded to the country or to the village to which they belong that they would pay the rent if they could without gaining a farthing for themselves. There are no great signs of improvement." (*Ibid.*, pp. 200 to 203.)

Francis Carnac Brown had been born of English parents in India, and, like his father, had considerable experience of the cotton industry in India. He produced an Indian *Charka*, or spinning wheel, before the Select Committee, and explained that there was an oppressive Moturfa Tax which was levied on every *Charka*, on every house, and upon every implement used by artisans. The tax prevented the introduction of saw-gins in India.

Francis Brown held a high opinion of the Indian system of growing cotton, and said that he would as soon send for American planters to teach Indians in this art as he would send for Belgian farmers to teach British farmers in the art of growing wheat. He substantiated his opinion by the testimony of an American planter, Mr. Mercer, who had been sent to India to improve its cotton cultivation. In 1845-46, Mr. Mercer had represented, (to quote from the Bombay government Circular of January 28, 1847), "That the experimental farms were only a useless expense to Government; that the American system was not adapted to India; that the American system was not adapted to India; that the natives of India were, from their knowledge of the climate and capabilities of the soil, able to cultivate better and much more economically than any European." (Select Committee's Report, p. 235.)

On the question of the assessment of land, the evidence of Francis Brown was emphatic. The Madras cultivator "obtains no profit whatever beyond his food, after paying his assessment." There were millions of human beings who were cultivators in Madras, and they realised nothing beyond a mere existence or the means of existence. The pressing wants of nature, the necessity of getting food, drove them to cultivation, and wherever they planted their feet they came under the government, assessment. And the assessment was so high that it could never be realised in full. "The estimation," said the witness, "in which a native has always appeared to me to be held, is, that he is a creature born to pay to the East India Company." (*Ibid.*, pp. 241 to 243)

Charged with stating opinions so unfavourable to the Government of India, Francis Brown said: "I do not wish to detract from the credit of the East India Company-but there is the country; and I ask let it be looked at with the eyes, the understanding, and the honesty of Englishmen, and let the Government of the East

India Company be judged by that examination. ... I solemnly declare that I have seen the people of Malabar perish, and become pauperised as a country under the operation of the Government. . . The Government of the country has generally tended to the impoverishment and abasement of the people." (Select Committee's Report, pp. 262 and 263.)

Contrasting the land system of America where cotton cultivation was extending, with that of India where cotton for the purpose of export was dwindling, witness said : "Land in America is put up to sale at a dollar an acre, a man purchases the fee-simple of it outright, and there is an end of all charge. But the state of things in India is diametrically opposite to this; there is not proprietary right; and consequently a man is not induced to lay out that money, or to make those exertions for his own benefit, which have been the natural stimulus applied to the production of cotton in America." (*Ibid.*, p. 264)

It is to the credit of Francis Brown that he was one of the first to sound the note of alarm at the destruction of forests in India and consequent decrease in rainfall. It was a subject which was little understood then, and witness read the following passage from Baron Humbolt's Personal Narrative : "By felling the trees that cover the tops and the sides of mountains, men in every climate prepare at once two calamities for future generations, the want of fuel and scarcity of water." (*Ibid.*, p. 269)

With regard to the ancient irrigation works of India, Francis Brown said : "There are throughout the whole of Southern India from Ganjam to Cape Comorin, the most extraordinary remains of tanks that it is possible to imagine." *The East India Company's Government had allowed all these valuable works to go out of repair*, except Tanjore, where irrigation had been attended with the most favourable results. Major Arthur Cotton had vainly pressed the importance of irrigation works on the Company's Government; and Francis Brown believed that much of India could be made by means of irrigation what the valley of the Nile had long been." (*Ibid.*, p. 270.)

In the Permanently Settled Province of Bengal, he said, the government revenue paid by Zemindars was, on an average, about one-half of the rental of their estates. The Government demand in tracts not permanently settled was often 75 per cent. of the rental. In Madras the Ryot was the proprietor, and paid the land revenue direct to the Government, but the great evil of the Ryotwari System was the eternal meddling and yearly fixing of rates. "It must open the door to a vast quantity of bribery, extortion, and oppression." (Select Committee's Report, p. 276.)

On the second day of his examination Ross Mangles had some discussion with John Bright, the Chairman of the Select Committee, and with George Thompson, one of the members of the Committee, which it is interesting to follow.

George Thompson - Are you prepared to justify on moral grounds the assumption on the part of the Government, whether British or any other, of a proprietary right on the soil of all India, supposing they rule over all India?

Ross Mangles - I do not think that is a question connected with the revenue; I never have assumed or alleged that the Government was the proprietor of the soil of India, and I do not believe that it is the proprietor of the soil in India.

George Thompson - Is it not virtually so when it takes upon itself to demand 75 per cent. of the natural rent of the land over all the country?

Ross Mangles - A portion of the rent from time immemorial has been the right of the State for public purposes.

John Bright - Speaking of the mode of collecting the rent through Collectors, can you say at all, supposing the produce of a certain quantity of land to be 100, whether there be any fixed

proportion which the Collector is understood to be authorised to fix as the amount of the assessment to the government?

Ross Mangles - I have explained to the Committee that of late years it has been found extremely dangerous to make the produce the basis of the settlement, and the Collectors have been enjoined on every occasion to endeavour to find what the rent is, and to make that the basis.

John Bright - If the assessment was an annual assessment, as it is throughout a large portion of the Company's Government in India, would such an increase of the assessment in such a case (i.e. in case of improvements effected by cultivators) be calculated to improvements effected by cultivators) be calculated to improve the cultivation still further, or to discourage the cultivator from making improvements?

Ross Mangles - The natural effect would be discouragement. I am as much opposed to annual settlements as the honourable Chairman can be.

These passages are important, as they throw light on some great principles recognised as long ago as 1848.

(1) The Government did not claim to be the proprietor of the soil; Zemindars and Ryots were recognised as proprietors.

(2) The Government claimed a portion of the economic rent as the Land Revenue.

(3) The portion was not fixed. It amounted to about 50 per cent. in permanently settled estates, and approached 75 per cent. where there was no permanent settlement. (This uncertainty has been subsequently removed, at least in theory. The Saharanpur Rules of 1855, and the Secretary of State's Despatch of 1864, fix 50 per cent. of the rental as the approximate Government demand in temporarily settled estates, Zemindari and Ryotwari.)

For the rest Ross Mangles held with John Stuart Mill that the Land Revenue of India, being a portion of the rent, did not enter into the cost of production of articles grown on the soil, and could not therefore have any deterrent effect on the cultivation of cotton.

John Sullivan, who had been Member of the Government of Madras, and President of the Board of Revenue, also defended the Indian Land Revenue system, but complained against the annual Economic Drain from India. "As to the complaints which the people of India have to make of the present fiscal system, I do not conceive that it is the amount altogether that they have to complain of. I think they have rather to complain of the application of that amount. Under their own dynasties, all the revenue that was collected in the country was spent in the country; but under our rule, a large proportion of the revenue is annually drained away, and without any return being made for it; this drain has been going on now for sixty or seventy years, and it is rather increasing than the reverse. . . Our system acts very much like a sponge, drawing up all the good things from the banks of the Ganges, and squeezing them down on the banks of the Thames. . . They (the people of India) have no voice whatever in imposing the taxes which they are called upon to pay, no voice in framing the laws which they are bound to obey, no real share in the administration of their own country; and they are denied those rights from the insolent and insulting pretext that they are wanting in mental and moral qualifications for the discharge of such duties." (Report of the Select Committee, p. 402.)

Some other less important witnesses are examined, but it is unnecessary to prolong this analysis. Enough has been said to indicate the nature of the evidence placed before the Select Committee; and on this evidence John Bright and his colleagues submitted their report on July 17, 1848.

They reported that for sixty years, i.e. since 1788, the Court of Directors had made experiments in India for extending the

cultivation and export of cotton, and had introduced American gins, sent out American cotton growers, and had established experimental farms for this purpose. The Directors still believed that the obstacles which retarded cotton cultivation in India could be overcome.

The result of the experiments satisfied the Select Committee that India had the capacity to supply cotton of an improved quality to an indefinite extent, but the Committee did not expect that this effect would be achieved by the means adopted. American cotton, long-stapled, was not so well suited to the Indian manufacturer as the Indian cotton, and the fluctuating demands for exportation were not a sufficient inducement for the introduction of a variety adapted to a foreign and distant market. (Cotton, like sugar, was grown in India mainly for consumption in India; and the people of India, very rightly, produced those articles mainly with an eye to their national requirements, rather than to the demands of Lancashire looms.)

The miserable condition of the cultivators of India received the attention of the Select Committee. The great mass of cultivators in Madras and Bombay were "almost wholly without capital, or any of those means which capital alone can furnish, by which industry may be improved and extended. They are in reality a class of cultivators in the most abject condition."

There was difference of opinion on the question as to how far this depressed condition of the cultivators was due to the Government Land Revenue demand. On the one hand the principle was urged that so long as the Government demand was limited to a part of the economic rent, no depressing result on the cultivation of soil could ensue. On the other hand, evidence had been given that districts with large populations under the control of single officers were in practice badly administered; that imprudent zeal, inefficiency, or grave errors had affected the prosperity of entire districts, and that "the whole system is depressing, if not destructive to any spirit of improvement on the part of the agricultural population."

The two principles "of moderation in the Government demand, and certainty as to the amount and tenure" were recommended as the basis of land settlements in India.

Lastly the Select Committee commented on the lamentable want of roads in India, and they referred to the evidence of Ross Mangles himself, a Director of the East India Company, showing how little had been done to improve internal communications. The witnesses examined had also recommended the construction of railways in India from the centres of export and import to the interior.

TEA, SALT, AND OPIUM

JOHN BRIGHT'S report was submitted in 1848. Five years after, the East India Company's Charter came up for renewal. And, as usual, a thorough inquiry into the Company's administration was made by Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament in 1852 and 1853. We shall have to refer to this inquiry when dealing with the general administration of the Company; but some interesting facts about the production of tea, salt, and opium, elicited during this inquiry, should find a place in the present chapter.

TEA

The most important evidence on the culture of tea was given by Dr. Royle of Saharanpur Botanical Gardens, whose evidence before the Cotton Committee has been referred to before. He had recommended the cultivation of tea to the Indian Government in 1827 and 1834; it was first undertaken by the Indian Government in 1835; and in 1842 the first tea was manufactured. At the time when the witness was examined (1853) the cultivation of the plant

was going on to a considerable extent all through the North-West Himalayas, and also in Assam.

Not more than 10,000 lbs. had been grown in Kumaon in any year yet, but the cultivation was extending. The whole of the mountains from Sikkim, through Nepal and Kumaon up to the Kangra valley and even to Kashmir, was suited to the cultivation of tea. Dr. Jameson, who had been employed by the East India Company, had reported that "nowhere could the tea plant thrive with greater luxuriance than it was doing in the Kangra valley. Tea was not an article of general consumption by any part of the population of India." (Commons' Fourth Report, 1853. Dr. Royle's evidence.)

The Government of India had transferred all their interest in the growth of tea in Assam to a Company, and a Company was proposing to purchase from the Government the tea cultivation in Kumaon. (Lords Third Report, 1853, Edward Thornton's evidence.)

SALT

Among the sources of the Company's revenues in British India, their monopoly in salt and opium was not the least important. Salt was prepared in Bengal by the Company's agents, and a duty of 5 shillings per Maund (82 lbs.) was added to the cost of production before the article was placed in the market. A duty of 4 shilling per Maund was raised on salt obtained from mines in the Punjab; while salt prepared in Native States had to pay a duty of 4 shillings or 5 shillings before it passed into British territory.

Madras salt was formed by solar evaporation on the margin of the sea, and was cheaper than Bengal salt; and the Company derived a considerable revenue by selling it at 2 shillings the Maund. In Bombay the Government permitted manufacturers to remove the salt from the pans on payment of a duty of 1 shilling 6 pence. the Maund. Salt imported into India from England or other countries paid a duty of 5 shillings or 6 shillings the Maund, so that the importers might not under-sell the duty-paying Indian salt. (Commons Fourth Report, 1853. Prideaux's evidence.)

The net revenue of the Company derived from salt manufacture rose from £ 800,000 in 1793 to nearly £ 1,300,000 in 1844. The total quantity of salt manufactured by the East India Company in these fifty-two years is estimated at a little over two hundred million years is estimated at a little over two hundred million Maunds; and the total revenue derived from the manufacture at sixty millions sterling. (Common's Fourth Report, 1853. Aylwin's evidence.)

From what has been stated before, it will appear that the East India Company endeavoured to hold the balance evenly between the salt manufactured by them in India, and the salt imported from Great Britain. The House of Commons had dictated this policy by a Resolution of their Select Committee in 1836; and it was the object of the Company to comply with this Resolution. But in working out the principle the Company went too far, and gave an undue advantage to the British manufacturer. For they included the expenses of securing and protecting revenues in the "cost price," and thus added to the selling price of the Bengal salt. The British manufacturer obtained the full advantage of this blunder, and the sale of British salt went up by leaps and bounds. Two witnesses, (D.C. Aylwin and W. Worthington. Commons' Fourth Report, 1853.) both interested in the sale of British salt in India, supplied the Select Committee with figures which are given below.

British salt imported into Calcutta, in Maunds (82 lbs.)						
1845-46	1846-47	1847-48	1848-49	1849-50	1850-51	1851-52
502,616	352,835	752,998	459,803	694,447	1,012,698	1,850,762

British Salt sent to India in Tons

1847	1848	1849	1850	1851
25,754	15,507	27,640	36,341	61,711

The great increase in the import of British salt alarmed the Bengal Board of Revenue; and they submitted an able and lengthy letter (Letter No. 685, dated June 29, 1852.) pointing out the unfairness of enhancing the price of the Bengal salt by including in the "cost price" various charges which did not fall within the definition of cost.

Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General of India, dealt with the important subject in an able Minute, (Minute dated September, 11, 1852) from which we make the following extracts —

"The representatives of the Board of Revenue, in my humble judgement, have established that, under the existing system, no injustice is done to the importer of salt, but that great and growing injustice is inflicted on the native producer of the article."

"The direct effect of this has been to enable imported salt to compete with native manufactured salt so successfully that it is thrusting the latter out of the market, while, if the selling price of native salt were, what it would be in the hands of native traders, it might still hold its ground."

"The Government, in my opinion, should be far less ashamed of confessing that it has committed a blunder than of showing reluctance to remedy an injustice lest it should at the same time be convicted of having previously blundered."

"It may be too that the imported salt, with the many advantages which it is shown to enjoy in its import over other articles of commerce, may still drive the native salt out of the market, even at its readjusted price. If this should prove to be the case, the Government will have to consider the question under that new aspect. Its present duty is obvious."

"So great a change, however, cannot with propriety be carried into effect until a reference shall have been made to the Honourable Court of Directors. Let this be done by next mail, and as the case is urgent, an early reply should be requested."

A reference was accordingly made to the Court of Directors, explaining the injustice done to the Indian salt, and demanding sanction for redress. (Letter of the Indian Government, dated September 17, 1852.)

While the authorities in India were thus endeavouring to readjust the "cost price" of Indian salt so as to give it a fair chance of competing with imported salt, the importers of British salt were not idle. British manufacturers, professing a desire to supply the people of India with their superior article, petitioned the House of Commons for a total abolition of the duty on imported salt. And they hoped that, if that measure were adopted, the impure Indian salt would be driven out of the market, and the population of India would be consumers of British salt.

The merchants, manufacturers, tradesmen, and others of the city of Manchester held that "a constant supply of salt, of good quality and at a reasonable price, is of the utmost importance to the extensive population of India." The duty of £ 7 per ton imposed in India on imported salt was not less than 2000 per cent. upon the value of the article, and was "highly oppressive towards the native population of India." It was therefore prayed that British salt might be imported to India either free, or on payment of a nominal duty.

The inhabitants of Northwich, in the county of Chester, stated that 600,000 tons of salt were annually made in the salt districts of Cheshire, and gave employment to 5000 Englishmen. That if British salt could be sent to India on the same duty as other produce, a quantity for the consumption of India could be sent

from Cheshire "pure in quality, certain and sufficient in supply, and low in price."

The inhabitants of the borough of Droitwich complained that the manufacture of salt by the East India Company in India was a "manifest violation or evasion of Act 3 & 4 William IV, cap. 85, by which the Company were required to close their commercial business"; that the duty of £ 7 per ton of salt imported into India limited the import to 50,000 tons per annum, while the consumption in India ought to be over 800,000 tons; and that it was the duty of the East India Company to collect their revenues in India "without excluding the British merchant from the benefit of a market to which he has natural and paramount claims to be admitted."

The mayor, alderman, and burgesses of Wych, otherwise Droitwich, in the county of Worcester, also complained that the East India Company by their enormous duty of £ 7 per ton "excluded British salt from the Indian market."

The Chamber of Commerce of the city of Gloucester also pointed out that the manufacture of salt by the East India Company was a "manifest violation and evasion of Act 3 & 4 William IV., c. 85," and protested against the exclusion of the British merchant "from the benefit of a market to which he has natural and paramount claims to be admitted."

The merchants, manufacturers, and tradesmen of St. Helens held that a plentiful supply of good salt at low price was "of the utmost importance to the well-being of the people of India," that Indian salt was of inferior quality and costly, and that "if the salt manufactured in England could be imported into India free of duty, or upon the same terms as other commodities at an *ad valorem* duty, and free from all excise imposts when imported, sufficient supply to meet the wants of that country would be easily sent."

The inhabitants of Winsford, in the county of Chester, submitted a petition word for word the same as the petition from Northwich referred to above.

The Chamber of Commerce of Worcester complained that the manufacture of salt from the inexhaustible springs of Worcestershire was materially circumscribed from the ports of British India being virtually closed against British salt. "An enlightened and humane policy would provide for and encourage unfettered importation on payment of a reasonable duty for revenue only; whereas the restrictions imposed by the Indian Government are made to protect a monopoly of its own of inferior salt, carried on, as your petitioners are advised, in direct violation of Act 3 & 4 William IV., c. 85."

The Chamber of Commerce of Bristol submitted a vigorous and well-argued petition on the hardship caused by the salt tax in India. "The price to the consumer by the salt tax in India. "The price to the consumer here (in England) is but about 30 shillings per ton instead of £ 21 per ton as in India; and if it were necessary to abolish the salt tax at home some years since, it appears to your petitioners that the millions of her Majesty's subjects of India have a much stronger claim for its remission in their case, wretchedly poor as they are, and essentially necessary as salt is to their daily sustenance, and to the prevention of disease in such a climate."

The merchants, shipowners, and tradesmen of Liverpool held it to be "the sacred and solemn duty of the Government to afford to the people of that country (India) the same fostering care as is and ought to be afforded to the people of this country." And they were of opinion that "the abolition of the duty on salt in British India would be not only a great boon to the people of that country, to which justice and humanity entitle them, but would also tend greatly to improve and strengthen the mercantile interests of this country generally by increasing particularly the demand for cotton and other goods of English manufacture." (Commons' Fourth

Report, 1853, Appendix 2, and Fifth Report, 1853, Appendix 3.)

It is clear from the extracts given above, that the merchants and salt manufacturers of England joined an organised movement on this occasion primarily and mainly in their own interests.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons had abundant evidence before it to show how the salt tax operated in India. In a petition submitted by the Madras Native Association, and signed by T. Ramaswami and others, the petitioners described the state of things in Madras :-

"That in the year 1806 the Government established an agency for the control and management of the salt department, the first consequence of which was the doubling of the price of the article, which was then fixed at 70 rupees (£ 7) the garce, when the average consumption for the space of three years amounted to 31,685 garces, at the end of which time, in the year 1809, the price was again raised from 70 to 105 rupees (£ 10, 10S.) the garce, being three times as much as it had been prior to the Government monopoly. But as the enhanced price naturally decreased the consumption, the price, in 1820, was again fixed at 70 rupees (£ 7); but after a course of eight years the price was again fixed at 105 rupees (£ 10 10 shillings), which was still further raised to 180 rupees (£ 18) in 1844; but in the same year it was reduced to 120 rupees (£ 12), at which price it has ever since continued. But this being the wholesale price, it is of course sold to the retail dealer at an advance, who necessarily adds his profit, to be paid by the consumer."

"And the consequence is that either the people go without salt altogether or substitute an unwholesome article, obtained from common earth impregnated with saline particles, which they manufacture at the risk of punishment; the procurement of salt other than that of the monopoly being prohibited under the penalty of fine and corporal punishment, inflicted at the discretion of the Collector or his Tahsildar." (Commons' First Report, 1853, Appendix 7.)

Similarly, in a petition submitted by the British Indian Association of Calcutta, and signed by Raja Radha Kant Deb Bahadur and others, the harshness of the salt operations was fully exposed :-

"The selling price of salt is arbitrarily fixed by the Government, and is at all times so high that, though the country has abundant resources for the manufacture of the article, English merchants can afford to import it. The dearness of the article induces even those who live near the salt manufactures to use earth scraped from the salt lands; while those who reside in the interior have recourse to the alkali found in the ashes of burnt vegetables. The officers employed in the salt department are vested with judicial powers contrary to all principles of justice and policy, and necessarily employ them very irregularly and vexatiously. The subordinate officers are furnished with opportunities, on pretence of preventing smuggling, of harassing the carriers of salt and the refiners of salt-petre. Your petitioners are of opinion that, among other reforms required in this department, it is desirable that the Government, if they cannot immediately afford to forego so odious a source of revenue, should fix an unvarying rate of impost on the manufacture of salt, say 200 rupees (£ 20) on every 100 maunds (8200 lbs.), whereby not only the poor will be greatly benefited, but the laws will be rid of the anomaly of judicial excisemen, and the traders of the harassment caused by the subordinate officers of salt Chowkis. But as salt is the necessary of life, the duty on salt should be entirely taken off as soon as possible. (Ibid.)

Cultivators from Bombay submitted their petition to the Bombay Government against the oppressive salt tax on November 26, 1852; and Rustomjee Viccajee, who was examined by the

Select Committee of the House of Commons in the following year, quoted from this petition. The petitioners urged that the produce of their fields supplied them with foods enough for eight months in the year; that during the remaining four months they subsisted on vegetables, "which they season with chillies, and salt when the latter was free from duty; but when it was made subject to duty, they were obliged to forego even this poor comfort." (Commons Fourth Report, 1853, p. 27.)

The evidence, given by many distinguished and experienced officials, who not less strong than the evidence which came from the inhabitants of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay.

Robert Bird, who had served for thirty years in India as a Judicial and Revenue Officer, and was the author of the great Land Settlement of Northern India, was asked if the Salt Tax was as oppressive as it was represented to be.

"I do not know," he replied, "how oppressive it is represented to be, but that it is a very severe duty there is no doubt whatever. It is a duty of a very nearly 300 per cent., or perhaps 250 per cent., upon the cost of production of the article, but it is only levied on the frontier. When Lord Auckland came up to the Western Provinces, as he was in the habit of doing, to discuss with me all the operations I was engaged in, he spoke to me about this, and said that great complaints were made about the hardships inflicted upon the people as regarded the salt duty, especially the ill-effect produced and the disrepute brought upon, the Government by the palanquins of females, in which females are carried across the frontier, being searched for salt. . . I could only say, that if they were not to be searched, we should have more Lot's wives brought into the Western Provinces than you ever saw in any country; that every woman's palanquin would be filled with salt from top to the bottom." (Commons' Fourth Report, 1853.)

Frederick Halliday, who was then Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, and shortly after was appointed the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, spoke of the corruptions and extortions inevitable in such a system as that of the Company's salt monopoly in India. He was of opinion that if that monopoly was withdrawn, and the people of India were allowed to manufacture their own salt, imported salt would have no chance in India.

"The present price of the Government manufactured salt in Bengal is very much raised to the consumer in the market by the necessary want of economy, not to say extravagances, connected with the Government system of manufacture, and by those many speculations, and extortions, and corruptions, which are inevitable in such a system, and carried on with such instruments. It has seemed almost certain under those circumstances to persons informed upon the subject, that if the Government were to withdraw, and if there were no duty imposed, and the whole were left perfectly free, the native manufacturers in Bengal would forthwith completely and entirely undersell the imported salt, and there would not be a grain of salt imported into Bengal." (Ibid.)

It is needless to add that all memorials and agitation against the Salt Tax failed. The salt revenue was not given up.

OPIUM

The only other article in which the Company retained a monopoly was opium. And the method of raising a revenue from the article was clearly explained before the Select Committee by F.W. Prideaux, who was employed at the India House as Assistant-Examiner of India Correspondence. (Commons' Fourth Report, 1853.)

In Bengal the cultivation of poppy was altogether prohibited except for the purpose of selling the juice to the Government. Cultivators, wishing to cultivate the plant, were permitted to do so

only on condition of their delivering the juice to the Government at a fixed price. The juice was then sent to the two principal factories, one at Patna and one at Benares, where it was manufactured into opium and then sent down to Calcutta. It was there sold by auction, and the Government revenue consisted in the difference between the price it had cost the Government, and the price which was realised for it from the merchants who exported it to China.

In Bombay no poppy was cultivated and no opium was manufactured; the Company's opium revenue was derived from the opium grown and manufactured in the Native State of Malwa. Merchants of that State sent the opium to the British port of Bombay for export to China; and the British Government realised a duty of £ 40 on each chest (123 lbs.) of opium on its passage through British territory. Previous to 1843, the Malwa opium used to pass out of India by way of Sindh; but after the British conquest of Sindh in that year, there was no exit for that opium except through British territory, and on payment of the duty on the transit which formed the opium revenue of Bombay. The conquest of Sindh had thus a pecuniary value in increasing the opium revenue of Bombay.

In Madras no opium was produced.

There has been much controversy in England as to whether the Opium Revenue can really be called a tax on the people of India, whether the wars undertaken in China for maintaining the revenue were justifiable, and whether the opium monopoly should still be retained by the Indian Government at the present time. The object of the present work is to place facts before our readers to enable them to form their own judgements, and we have no desire to enter into these controversies. No sound economist will, we think, deny that a Government monopoly, which excludes the people from a profitable industry, and stops cultivation, manufacture and trade in a paying article, is a tax on the people, in the truest sense of the word. No impartial historian has defended

Lord Palmerston's wars in China in order to force the Chinese to admit Indian opium into their ports against the wishes of their Government. And no sober statesman desires to keep up the Government monopoly in this article, if it can be safely dispensed with.

At the same time, as opium is not a general article of food, the people of India do not consider the Government monopoly in the article to be nearly as hurtful to the people as the salt monopoly. There is no strong feeling in India against the first as there is against the second. Still they believe the Government would do well to abolish the monopoly as a monopoly, and derive a legitimate income by imposing heavy duties on the manufacture and sale of the article, as duties are imposed on the sale of all intoxicating drugs and liquors. The British Indian Association fairly represented the opinion of the people of India in their Petition to the House of Commons. (Commons First Report, 1853, Appendix 7.)

"Justice requires that the interference of the Government with the cultivation should cease, and that revenue derived from the drug should be in the shape of fixed duties on manufacture and exportation, but principally on the latter, as is in some measure the case with regard to Malwa opium. By the adoption of this principle, the cultivators will possess that freedom of action which all men possess under Governments which are not constituted on arbitrary and despotic principles; and whatever is lost by such an arrangement will be more than made up by the saving that will ensue from the abolition of the expensive establishments which are necessary."

The appeal, however, was in vain. Neither the East India Company, nor the Government of the Crown which succeeded in 1858, was willing to surrender the monopoly, or exchange it for a tax on the production and exportation of opium.

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.

INDIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN : 7

Mankind Statistical Research Bureau

UNEQUAL VOTE IN INDIAN PSEUDO-DEMOCRACY

As we have been writing in *Mankind*, India is a very strange country.

It has two names "India, that is Bharat." (Preamble to the Constitution).

It has two national days : 15th August (which is Dominion Status day) and 26th January (Republic Day, on which most of the Dominion Status Constitution was brought into force)

It has two national songs : *Jana, Gana, Mana* (written by Tagore, to greet George V on his arrival in India at the Calcutta Durbar) and *Vande Mataram* (a Hindu religious chant).

It has several Constitutions : The Indian Constitution (for a country as a whole), the J & K Constitution (for Jammu and Kashmir state) and possibly two more for Assam and Sikkim states. (Shri. H. R. Bharadwaj, Law Minister, has not yet responded to our request to send these Constitutions, whose existence was claimed by the CNN on 2nd February 1996.) Anyway, we have two Constitutions.

The strangest part is that India is supposed to be a democracy, where all citizens are supposed to be equal at least in vote.

This has never been so. An unbelievable and fantastic disproportion exists amongst Indian citizens. Let us take the example of Bombay.

The number of voters per Assembly Constituency in Bombay city, as per the 1991 and 1996 voters list is shown in Table I.

For Assembly Constituencies, the lowest number of voters in 1991 and 1996 were : Opera House 95,593 and Mumbadevi 93,642 respectively. The highest number of voters in 1991 and 1996 were : Borivli 3,97,953 and Malad 5,02,903 respectively. In other words, the differential ratio between the lowest and the highest in 1991 and 1996 was 416.29% and

537.04% respectively. That is to say, in 1991 the ratio was 1:4.16 and in 1996 it widened further to 1:5.02.

In other words, a voter in Opera House or Mumbadevi had 4 to 5 times the clout that the voter had in Borivli and Malad, in 1991 and 1996 respectively.

Similarly, for Parliamentary Constituencies the lowest number of voters in 1991 and 1996 were 7,03,513 and 6,93,767 in Bombay South for both years. The highest number of voters were in 1991 and 1996, 15,85,616 and 21,76,241 in Bombay North for both years. The differential in 1991 was 225.38 % and in 1996 it was 313.68%. In other words, the ratio of lowest to highest was 1:2.25 in 1991 which widened to 1:3.1 in 1996.

In other words, a Parliamentary voter in South Bombay had 2 to 3 times the clout of his counter-part in North Bombay.

We do not have similar up-to-date data for all the 540-odd constituencies in the country. We are requesting the Central Election Commission to supply us with the data. But, it will take a long time to obtain these figures.

Therefore, we decided to use the ready reference provided by The India Today Publication, *India Decides, Elections 1952-1991* by Butler, Lahiri and Roy. The data relates to 1989, which was based on the 1981 Census, though this will make no difference, as we have seen from the Bombay City figures. As a matter of fact, the differential between the lowest and highest has widened in the case of Assembly and Parliamentary Constituency between 1991 and 1996. Therefore, we will be, if anything, underestimating the disparities in our Table II.

We have divided the country into 3 parts, Major States, Minor States and Union Territories.

The facts are as follows :

Table II indicates that the differential in the case of the 15 Major States is 1:5, in the case of the 11 Minor States it is 1:16,

and in the case of the remaining 6 Union Territories it is 1:19.

For the country as a whole, the differential is 1:52, that means, that a voter in Lakshadweep has 52 times the weightage of a voter in Outer Delhi.

Though we have used the 1989 data, we can see in respect of the Bombay city that the anomalies have been widening. In 1989, the lowest was 730 for Bombay South to 1474 for Bombay North-East or a ratio of 1:2. In 1996, the lowest strength was 694 for South Bombay and 2176 for North Bombay or a ratio of 313.68% between the lowest and the highest, i.e., a differential of 1:3.14. Thus, between 6 years 1989 to 1996 the differential has widened from 1:2 to 1:3.

We conclude that for the country as a whole the differential of 1:52 in 1989 must have deteriorated to a probable current figure of 1:75.

This is a fantastic state of affairs. One vote by an Indian in one part of the country, is not equal to one vote by another Indian in another part of the country. In fact, the value of his vote, may be, 50 times more !

I had written about this at length, long ago, in the old *Mankind* (1956-67). I do not have the *Mankind* files with me, at present, therefore, I am unable to give the exact time. However, I know that no attention was paid by the authorities, to my humble contribution in Lohia's old *Mankind*.

I am sending by Regd. Post, one copy each of this issue of *Mankind* to A.H. Ahmedi, Chief Justice, Supreme Court of India and to T.N. Seshan, Chief Election Commissioner.

Instead of talking utter rubbish all the time, T.N. Seshan would be well advised to get down to the serious business of redelimiting the Parliamentary Constituencies in such a way, that the differential in reduced from 1:5 for the Major States as at present to something like 1:1.1.

Before this, in many public interest litigations the Supreme Court has taken cognizance of letters and articles. I don't have the time to engage in such liberal bourgeois reformist activities. The Supreme Court and the Election Commissioner are free to take notice of my serious charge, that Indian democracy has been entirely subverted by our electoral process. If the authorities want to do something about this, they may act.

My judgement that Indian democracy is sham, is in any case valid !

TABLE 1 : Constituency Size in Bombay City 1991 and 1996

Name of the Assembly Constituency	1996 Voters	1991 Voters
Palghar	1,89,867	1,60,898
Vasai	3,39,663	2,45,409
Borivli	4,89,932	3,97,953
Kandivli	4,15,141	2,75,769
Malad	5,02,903	3,46,995
Goregaon	2,38,735	2,08,592
Andheri	3,45,420	2,62,012
Amboli	3,45,894	2,61,211
Vile Parle	2,07,939	1,90,124
Santacruz	2,56,229	2,11,126
Kherwadi	1,88,648	1,64,695
Bandra	1,70,577	1,58,124
Dharavi	2,48,871	2,53,805
Mahim	1,39,973	1,41,969
Matunga	2,14,134	2,15,065
Dadar	1,31,276	1,32,108
Naigaon	1,43,473	1,44,762
Nehru Nagar	2,16,620	1,73,400
Worli	1,33,840	1,29,901
Shivdi	1,47,449	1,49,222
Parel	1,37,657	1,38,177
Mazgaon	1,23,504	1,25,003
Nagpada	1,21,980	1,21,895
Chinchpokali	1,32,330	1,33,089
Malabar Hill	1,60,690	1,60,668
Opera House	94,888	95,593
Khetwadi	1,07,426	1,08,356
Mumbadevi	93,642	97,770
Umarkhadi	1,16,096	1,17,308
Kolaba	1,21,025	1,23,818
Mulund	3,15,066	2,56,286
Bhandup	3,18,062	2,64,549
Ghatkhopar	2,21,395	1,93,032
Kurla	4,21,257	3,00,992
Chembur	2,55,476	1,90,763
Trombay	4,18,783	3,10,552

Name of the Parliamentary Constituency	1996 Voters	1991 Voters
North Bombay	21,76,241	15,85,616
North-East Bombay	19,50,039	15,16,174
North-West Bombay	15,14,707	12,47,292
South Bombay	6,93,767	7,03,513
South-Central Bombay	7,95,760	7,97,287
North-Central Bombay	10,94,347	10,61,109

TABLE 2 : All India Vote Differentials

Major States	Elected Members	in '000s Lowest size	in '0002 Highest size	Ratio of Lowest to Highest
1. Andhra Pradesh	42	809 (Parvatipuram)	1278 (Hyderabad City)	1:1.6
2. Assam	14	331 (Autonomous Districts)	919 (Dibrugad)	1:2.9
3. Bihar	54	760 (Singhbhum)	1173 (Patna)	1:1.5
4. Gujarat	26	707 (Kutch)	1318 (Gandhinagar)	1:1.9
5. Haryana	10	908 (Rohtak)	1131 (Faridabad)	1:1.25
6. Karnataka	28	923 (Mangalore)	1328 (Bangalore)	1:1.5
7. Kerala	20	840 (Mavalikera)	1024 (Trivandrum)	1:1.25
8. Madhya Pradesh	40	751 (Bastar)	1120 (Bhopal)	1:1.5
9. Maharashtra	48	730 (Bombay South)	1554 (Thane)	1:2.1
10. Orissa	21	815 (Mayurbhanj)	995 (Bhubaneswar)	1:1.25
11. Punjab	13	937 (Jullandar)	1135 (Ludhiana)	1:1.25
12. Rajasthan	25	890 (Jhalawar)	1392 (Bikaner)	1:1.6
13. Tamil Nadu	39	910 (Mayuram)	1397 (Madras South)	1:1.5
14. Uttar Pradesh	85	814 (Aonla)	1131 (Lucknow)	1:1.14
15. West Bengal	42	694 (Calcutta N-W)	1297 (Dum Dum)	1:1.9
All 15 Major States	507	331 (Autonomous Districts Assam)	1554 (Thane, Maharashtra)	1:4.7

TABLE 2 : All India Vote Differentials

Minor States	Elected Members	in '000s Lowest size	in '0002 Highest size	Ratio of Lowest to Highest
16. Arunachal Pradesh	02	193 (A P East)	282 (A P West)	1:1.5
17. Delhi *	07	381 (Chandni Chowk)	1574 (Outer Delhi)	1:4
18. Goa	02	333 (Panaji)	400 (Margao)	1:1.2
19. Himachal Pradesh	04	718 (Shimla)	770 (Hamirpur)	1:1
20. Jammu & Kashmir	06	101 (Ladakh)	1028 (Jammu)	1:1
21. Manipur	02	602 (Inner Manipur)	616 (Outer Manipur)	1:1
22. Meghalaya	02	352 (Tura)	585 (Shillong)	1:1.7
23. Mizoram	01	391 (Mizoram)	—	—
24. Nagaland	01	818 (Nagaland)	—	—
25. Sikkim	01	192 (Sikkim)	—	—
26. Tripura	02	733 (Tripura East)	802 (Tripura West)	1:1.1
All 11 Minor States	30	101 (Ladakh)	1574 (Outer Delhi)	1:16
Union Territories				
27. Andaman & Nicobar Island	01	160	—	—
28. Chandigarh	01	334	—	—
29. Dadra & Nagar Haveli	01	74	—	—
30. Daman & Diu	01	36	—	—
31. Lakshadweep	01	30	—	—
32. Pondicherry	01	574	—	—
All 6 Union Territories	06	30 (Lakshadweep)	574 (Pondicherry)	1:19
All 32 Units	543	30 (Lakshadweep)	1574 (Outer Delhi)	1:52

* Delhi is a Union Territory enjoying quasi-State status. We have classed it with Minor States as 7 parliamentary seats are involved — one more than Kashmir.

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- 4) The idiocy of making English the official language of 90 crore Indians.

ULTA ZAMANA has many aspects :

- One : Corruption, the blood-letting of the poor.
- Two : Neo-colonialism, the sucking dry of the Third World.
- Three : Gurugiri and Buwabazi, the maddening of the crazed.
- Four : Naukarshahi, the ruination of all norms.
- Five : Dalalgiri, the pimping for the powerful.
- Six : Sports, the distraction of the masses.
- Seven : Consumerism, the mulcting of the middle classes.
- Eight : Compradorism, the world-view of the middle-men.

Readers of MANKIND are invited to contribute items and comments on all the above twelve features of our ugly reality and to suggest further aspects and facets of compradorism which may occur to them.

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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 & Satyagrah 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 at former Willingdon Hospital, now renamed Dr. R. M. Lohia Hospital, New Delhi.