

# MANKIND

FDR. EDR. DR. RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

Volume 1, No. 8, May 1996.

Price Rs. 25/-

## The Lalten by Devilal Patidar



It is a simple lilted word by which rural India still identifies the kerosene-fed lantern. It illumines most of the poor homes of our countryside, even half a century after our pseudo-independence of 1947. It is still used at night to flash red and green signals to slow locals, rattling, screeching and halting, at hundreds of remote railway stations; and the red and green laltens also swing pathetically as thousands of fast expresses mercilessly and derisively rush past these wayside stations.

The lalten is the symbol of our uneven development. It proclaims both colonial importation and comprador stagnation.

The artist has captured the rhythm of its lines, its rounded contours and its shadowy circularities. I wish Devilal had suggested its swing too, for that would have imparted a human dimension to the design, which obviously belongs to the rural-folk sphere. Perhaps he will send us one in the near future.

# MANKIND

Founder Editor : Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

Vol. 1, No. 8, May 1996

Price Rs. 25/- per retail copy  
Rs. 200/- for 10 issues in a year  
Rs. 2500/- for Life Subscription  
Overseas Annual Subscription \$ 60 or £ 40  
Overseas Life Subscription \$ 600 or £ 400

Executive Editor  
Dr. Vinayak Purohit

Assistant Editor  
Dr. Sharayu Mhatre

## Advisory Committee

George Gomez  
Jagdish Joshi  
Krishnanath  
Prabhakar More  
Kishen Pattanyak  
Badrivishal Pitti

Editorial Assistant  
Ms. Jyoti Bagewadi

Office Address  
5, Hansali, Damle Path,  
Pune - 411 004.  
Tel. No. 36 65 57

Bombay Bureau  
3, 2nd Floor,  
372-A, Veer Savarkar Marg,  
Dadar, Bombay - 400 028.  
Tel. No. 422 58 75, 430 90 49  
(Contact : Mon. Wed. Fri.  
2 - 4 p.m. and leave message)

The views expressed in *Mankind* are those of the contributors concerned.

Contents of *Mankind* are covered by copyright and may not be reproduced without written consent of Exe. Edr.

DTP by,  
New Way Typesetters and Processors,  
D-102, Sunita Apts., 1417/18, Kasba Peth,  
Pune 411 011.  
Tel. No. 45 43 07

Printed by,  
Kalpana Mudranalaya,  
461/4, Sadashiv Peth,  
Tilak Road,  
Pune 411 030.  
Tel. : 47 54 61

## Contents

An Opening Statement : 8	Exe. Edr.	3
Elections 1996 : The Eleventh Exercise in Shamocracy		
Real Rulers of India		
Manmohan Singh Declines <i>Mankind's</i> Challenge		
Trade Unionism After Indian Independence		
Small Fracas at FTII		
Swadeshi Again To the Fore		
Two Old Friends Pass Away		
Ulta Zamana		13
Neo - Colonialism, the Sucking Dry of the Third World		14
Neo-Colonialism Runs Amok		
Sports, the Distraction of the Masses		16
The World Cricket Cup 1996		
The Last Letter of Vakkom Khader	Translated from Malayalam	18
Lest We Forget	C. G. K. Reddy	19
Two Poems	Pattabhi Rama Reddy Jaya Prakash Narayan	21
Socialist Movement in Andhra Pradesh	M. Madhava Rao, A.V.K. Chaitanaya, Ravela Somayya	22
Adda at Nukkad		26
A World of Permanent Revolutions - Spain, Spanish America, Greece, Europe, Italy		30
Marxism in a Changing World (From the Archives, From Old <i>Mankind</i> )	Milovan Djilas	40
Art as History	Vinayak Purohit	48
India's Place in the Sun : 7	Mankind Statistical Research Bureau	60
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 *Chappal* in the No. 4/5 Jan./Feb. 1996, The *Container* in No. 6 Mar. 1996 and *The Grinding Stone* in No. 7 April 1996 and *The Lalten* 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: 8

Exe. Edr.

## ELECTIONS 1996 : THE ELEVENTH EXERCISE IN SHAMOCRACY AND FUTILITY

THE REAL RULERS OF INDIA  
MANMOHAN SINGH DELCINES *MANKIND'S* CHALLENGE  
TRADE UNIONISM AFTER INDIAN INDEPENDENCE  
SMALL FRACAS AT FTII  
SWADESHI AGAIN TO THE FORE  
TWO OLD FRIENDS PASS AWAY

### ELECTIONS 1996 : ELEVENTH EXERCISE IN SHAMOCRACY AND FUTILITY

The forthcoming elections to the eleventh Lok Sabha will cost the people of India over Rs. 100 crores. The expenditure was only 10.5 crores in 1952, for the first Lok Sabha elections, and more than Rs. 95 crores for the ninth Lok Sabha in 1989.

The electorate size has gone up to 59.50 crores in 1996 from 51.41 crores in 1991. There will be eight lakh polling booths spread over the country and there are 443 recognised political parties by the Election Commission, for the Centre and for the States, who will be contesting for 543 seats. The number of candidates per seat were just 3.8 in 1952, by 1991 the average per contest had risen to 16.6, and stands at 26 in 1996. Of the 51.4 crore eligible voters in 1991 only 27.52 exercised the franchise. There has been an addition of about 10 crore voters in the last five years. The number actually voting will therefore go up by about 5 crores this time, to say, around 32 crores.

The cost of the actual functioning of the Parliament was Rs. 73.79 crores in '95-'96 budget. Taking 235 working days, with each working day of 7.5 hours, the cost per minute of the Parliament comes to about Rs. 6,700.

Why are we spending so much on a completely useless institution? We spend about 100 crores every five years in an exercise which may be best termed as shamocracy. And then, we spend about Rs. 75 crores per year to run the Parliament, that is about Rs. 375 crores for each full

term of the Lok Sabha. In all, for the eleventh Lok Sabha, we will spend 100+375+ inflationary escalation, or very probably, something like 600 to 700 crores from '96-'97 to 2001-02. (*Parliament Gobbles Rs. 6,700 Every Minute, Indian Express 26.2.96; Largest Poll Will Cost India Rs. 100 Cr., Times of India, 25.2.96; I haven't Softened After the SC Ruling: Seshan, Indian Express, 7.1.96; Electorate Size Gone Up By 8 Cr., Indian Express, 27.3.96*)

Under the present Constitution the Parliament is entirely powerless. MPs have been prevented from asking questions and/or debating issues of public interest by Congress Speakers on the grounds of "state subject," "sub judice" and "defamation."

Even if some particular matter about which the people are greatly agitated, is allowed to be debated, nothing flows out of the debate. The administration is not bound to take notice of the debate and conduct itself in such a way so as to assuage public ire and anxiety.

As far as control over the executive is concerned, the Parliament has no power whatsoever. Even if a Joint Parliamentary Committee unanimously recommends something, its strictures are not translated into action. The nodal ministry concerned will submit an ATR (Action Taken Report) to the Parliament whenever it pleases and that is all. (Readers may remember the Securities Scam of Harshad Mehta.)

In the columns of *Mankind* we have repeatedly stated that the present Constitution is a travesty, a joke and a farce. (See *MK*, No. 1, Oct. 1995, pp.5 & 7.) It

was not passed by any representative body of Indians, elected on the basis of universal, equal, adult franchise. Some *dalals* had got together with some commission agents, brokers, pimps and title-holders of imperialism, and they decided to call themselves a Constituent Assembly, though its powers were narrowly circumscribed by the India "Independence" Act, 1947 passed by an alien parliament. It was nothing but a fraud upon the people of India.

The present Constitution of India is designed to preserve the power and privileges of the bureaucracy against the wishes of the representatives of the people. That is why, there are no chapters on Corruption in Public Service and on Accountability of Public Servants. That is why, in spite of hundreds of scams in every nook and corner of the country, almost no one has ever been punished. Recovery of the defalcations perpetrated by *naukarshahs*, has never taken place. The loot of the masses just goes on and on endlessly.

So, what is the use of electing such powerless MPs, who merely provide a cover for the banditry of the bureaucrats and who thereby receive some share of the loot from the *naukarshahs*?

The Bihar Fodder Scam (See *Mankind*, Vol. 1, No. 7, April 1996, p.26) provides a perfect example. 30 per cent went to the businessmen, who provided nothing more than the bills. Perhaps, 10 per cent or so went to the ministers, who made the Public Accounts Committees of the Bihar Assembly and other scrutinising bodies, dysfunctional. The rest, that is, more or less two-thirds of the misappropriations must have formed the share of the bureaucrats themselves. As for the recovery of the misappropriations, nothing has ever been restored to the people.

The total amount involved in all the scams together would by now exceed one lakh crores. (See *Mankind*, Vol 1, No. 1, 12th October, 1995, p.44)

Or take the example of C.S. Khairwal, IAS, from the 1974 batch, who became Secretary-cum-Commissioner in charge of the Delhi State Transport Authority (DSTA) for just two years, 1992-94, and later rose to be Joint Secretary in the Ministry of Surface Transport under Jagdish Tytler in 1994. He was arrested from Delhi airport on Feb. 19, 1996, and it was soon found out through police raids upon his residence and offices, and upon those of his associates, that Khairwal possessed property worth 9.5 crores, apart from millions in cash, silver and jewellery.

Khairwal was a low profile officer, and the special judge V.B. Gupta was simply amazed to find that the man owned lands and buildings worth nearly ten crores ! Despite the heinousness and the enormity of the crime, this *naukarshah* has been enlarged on bail ! We do not know the sharing out arrangements between Tytler and Khairwal. But if, Khairwal got 10 crores, we can be sure, that Tytler would have secured at least 20 per cent of the joint loot !

There are hundreds of such cases, reported everyday in the press. The Constitution of 1946-49 was modelled on the colonial Constitution of 1935-37, and 95 clauses of the latter were bodily carried over into the former.

In short, the present Constitution of India is designed to protect the Executive against the demands raised by the people. Why should we spend a hundred crores per election on such a useless and powerless Parliament ?

We have not calculated as yet the amount that the candidates spend for the privilege of looting the people in association with the permanent bureaucratic bandits. *India Today*, has estimated the national expenditure by aspirants for the 1991 Lok Sabha elections as follows :

(in Rs. lakh)

State	Parliamentary Seats	Average Spending *	Total Spending
Andhra Pradesh	42	75	6,300
Assam	14	15	840
Other North-East States	11	8	264
Bihar	52	40	8,320
Gujarat	26	55	2,860
Haryana	10	45	1,800
Himachal Pradesh	4	30	240
Karnataka	28	75	6,300
Kerala	20	22	880
Madhya Pradesh	40	50	4,000
Maharashtra	48	55	7,920
Orissa	21	20	840
Rajasthan	25	35	1,750
Tamil Nadu	39	50	3,900
Uttar Pradesh	85	40	13,600
West Bengal	42	30	5,040
Delhi	7	100	2,100
Union Territories	8	20	320
<b>Total</b>	<b>522</b>		<b>67,274</b> (Rs. 672.74 crore)

\* Total spending by main contestants per constituency

Source : *India Today*, March 31, 1996, p.32.

To compile a total, we may include the following items, :

#### COST OF 11TH LOK SABHA

1. The total spent by the main contenders for the privilege of looting the people	672.74
2. Expenditure by Central Govt. on holding the elections	100.00
3. Parliamentary Budget for 5 year Term	375.00
	<u>1,147.74</u>

The principal decisions of the Government of India, which affect the life of the common people are necessarily economic.

\* The terms and conditions and amounts of foreign loans

negotiated by ministers are not subject to approval by Parliament.

\* The devaluations of the rupee effected by the Finance Ministry and the Reserve Bank of India do not come for ratification before Parliament.

\* The GATT agreement setting up the WTO and its major policy implications were never debated in Parliament. It was ratified by India through an ordinance.

What comes before Parliament are the annual budgets, and

#### CONSTITUTION OF INDIA PLACES BUREAUCRATS ABOVE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES

The present Constitution of India is designed to preserve the power and privileges of the bureaucracy against the wishes of the representatives of the people. That is why, there are no chapters on Corruption in Public Service and on Accountability of Public Servants. That is why, inspite of hundreds of scams in every nook and corner of the country, almost no one has ever been punished. Recovery of the defalcations perpetrated by *naukarshahs*, has never taken place. The loot of the masses just goes on and on endlessly.

So, what is the use of electing such powerless MPs, who merely provide a cover for the banditry of the bureaucrats and who thereby receive some share of the loot from the *naukarshahs* ?

only a portion of the budget is even discussed in Parliament per year. Even here, a most perfunctory and listless speechifying takes place and the party machines just roll over to secure all majority decisions.

Let us consider the elections from the point of view of the political issues involved.

● Are Centre-State relations going to be decided by the polls.?

● Is the right of information and transparency of all government transactions, to be determined by the polls ?

● Are job security or alternative social welfare grants, going to be made available to the people at the end of the polls for the eleventh Lok Sabha ?

● What exactly is going to be secured by the people for their own benefit, as a result of the coming elections ?

What is going to be decided ? And by whom ?

The Constitution guarantees that the corrupt shall flourish. The Constitution guarantees non-accountability of the functionaries. The Constitution ensures endless legal delays. The Constitution provides that only the wealthy can afford to plead for justice. The Constitution guarantees that the members of Parliament shall have no rights and the decisions made by the Committees of MPs are just recommendatory. They have no authority or sanction behind them.

We are electing MPs, but what are their powers ? Why are we electing them at a cost of Rs. 1,150 crores for a five year term ? What is the point of this exercise ?

Some 550 people will strut about the country as VVIPs. They will be shuttling to and fro by air planes. They will occupy air-conditioned berths in every rake between all important railway stations; each member will be allowed to spend Rs. 1 crore through the District Collector in his constituency every year; the Prime Minister and other ministers will lay the foundation stones and cut the tapes to inaugurate thousands of projects, which will a) never

be completed; b) which will take decades to complete; c) where cost escalations will result in overspending by hundreds and thousands of crores; d) where nothing tangible will ever occur to help the small man or the poor man.

*Mankind* humbly suggests that by a small amendment to Representation of the People Act, the next Indian Lok Sabha be elected to consist of only government servants. All four arms of the executive, namely, the judiciary, the army, the police and the civil services, would have equal rights to get elected. Only those included in the List of Precedence as published on 26.7.1979 and reproduced in the latest *India Reference Annual 1994*, will be allowed to stand as candidates for the Lok Sabha. Political parties will be allowed to give their tickets to only those who fall in the 26 categories of the List of Precedence.

Until such time as the Indian people are able to exercise for the first time their right to elect a Constituent Assembly on the basis of direct, universal, adult franchise, it would be most economical for this poor country to handover power to such a committee of *naukarshahs*, who will continue to rule the country for the next 50 years, as they have done over the past 50 years.

#### THE REAL RULERS OF INDIA

<sup>m p. 64</sup>  
We give below a table giving the designations of our ruling class elite. This is the gang that has cornered all the honours, during the five decades of comprador rule. (1947-1996)

The Warrant of Precedence, as it used to be called earlier, or the Table of Precedence, as it is called now, lists the precise order, in which the Great Men of the country (VVIPs) will stand, be introduced, receive recognition, etc., at all official functions.

This is an extraordinary list and shows that India is a highly organised and bureaucratized society and polity.

The three more groups that stand outside this Roll of Honour of Officialdom, are those of the Chairmen and Directors of (a) the MRTS Houses (seventy four Houses listed in *Report of the Monopolies Inquiry Commission*, 1966, pp. 373-414); and (b) the Giant Multi-National and Trans-National Corporations whose numbers have swelled into a flood-tide over the last few years.; and the criminal "nexus" identified by the Supreme Court that ties up all the other four elements.

We cannot list the hundreds and thousands, who may fall in these two groups of unnamed monopoly houses, but these are the real moneybags, who bribe the politicians and bureaucrats listed in our Table I and manage the economy of India, through well recognised corrupt practices. (We present a sample list of the national moneybags in this issue of *Mankind*. See *India's Place in the Sun* : 8, at the end.)

It will be seen that the directly and indirectly elected individuals are mere front-men for the bureaucrats, who are the

#### MAIN FEATURES OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

The Constitution guarantees that the corrupt shall flourish. The Constitution guarantees non-accountability of the functionaries. The Constitution ensures endless legal delays. The Constitution provides that only the wealthy can afford to plead for justice. The Constitution guarantees that the members of Parliament shall have no rights and the decisions made by the Committees of MPs are just recommendatory. They have no authority or sanction behind them.

real rulers of the country under our comprador Constitution of 1946-49. The *naukarshahs* are generally immune from all prosecution. They cannot be sacked, even for atrociously heinous, corrupt practices. They are not accountable for enormous and

endless delays in implementation of state projects and schemes. They are the real *betaj badshahs* (uncrowned kings) of India.

A simple amendment to the Representation of People Act, 1950, should provide that only those listed in ~~our table~~ our table i.e. all those *naukarshahs* whose salaries and perquisites are paid for by the Indian people and who are sufficiently important to figure in the Warrant / Table of Precedence, would be eligible to contest as candidates in all present and future Lok Sabha elections.

These are the senior most *naukarshahs* and VVIPs that we possess, and let them rule over us, since they have received the best and the most expensive training "to administer" the nameless multitude (over 90 crores) that make up the people of India.

Let them rule *de jure* as they have ruled *de facto*, till such time as the people of India gather up the courage and the strength to overthrow the shamocracy that has been established under our current Dominion Status and Comprador Constitution of 1946-49.

It may be noted in particular that the Warrant / Table of Precedence is a true comprador listing. Foreigners are treated as though they were of the national polity and are given rights of precedence over the elected representatives of the people of India! This is an extraordinary state of affairs, which should make us sit up and take notice. I do not think that there is any other country in the world, where foreigners enjoy such high official status.

About the changes for the worse which have occurred between 1952 and 1994, we may in particular notice the demotion of the Prime Minister of India, from Category 2 to Category 3, from above that of the miserable Vice President to that below him. In a democracy, how can the Prime Minister of the country be second to anyone else? Hence, our democracy is really a true shamocracy!

Other, small alterations will be studied by *Mankind* readers with care. We shall avoid commentary

upon other demotions and promotions.

Let us make proper use of the Warrant / Table of Precedence and elect the Elite of Precedence, and invest all power to them *de jure* and *de facto* and save at least a thousand crores per each term of five years.

#### MANMOHAN SINGH DECLINES MANKIND'S CHALLENGE

We had challenged Manmohan Singh to a public debate on his policy of "liberalization, privatization and globalization" (*Mankind* Vol. I, No. 6, p.6). We had pointed out, especially, how disastrous the devaluation of the rupee has been for the country. In fact, in

the present neo-colonial period, devaluation is the preferred instrument for the super-exploitation of the Third World. (See *Mankind*, Vol. I, No. 2, Table II p. 96)

The Official Exchange Rate (OER) has diverged so far from the real Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) of different national currencies of the underdeveloped countries, that for the purposes of international comparisons, increasingly recourse is being made to PPP figures. The World Bank itself publishes PPP equivalents year after year in its annual World Development Reports. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) has also been stressing the PPP data in its Human Development Reports from the 1991 report itself (that was the first). This PPP method has been followed by *Mankind* in "India's Place in the Sun" (Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 55-62, and *Mankind*, Vol 1, Nos, 4/5, Jan-Feb 1996, pp. 43-58).

In our statistical presentations, we have utilized not only the national GDP figures as calculated by the PPP method, but we have compared them, nation by nation, as a proportion of the world total. *This is the most accurate comparison between countries that is possible today.* The London *Economist* has followed our lead, and *Mankind* is entitled to pat itself on the back for having made a significant, statistical metho-dological contribution.

Manmohan Singh's inability to pick up the gauntlet thrown by us, exposes him to derision and ridicule. But it is in the nature of the Indian comprador *naukarshah* to be cowardly and comical.

As Manmohan Singh knows only too well, during his tenure as finance minister, the value of the rupee has declined from Rs. 17.94 (mid 1991) to Rs. 36.20 (April 1996) that is, a fall of 49 percent. We have earlier noted in *Mankind* that a fall of 1 paise in exchange value results in an addition of one hundred crores, to the burden of our foreign debt and that a fall of one rupee causes an addition of rupees ten thousand crores to the same.

Since during his tenure the rupee fell by 18.26, we can conclude that Manmohan Singh has added Rs. 182,600 crores on this count alone to our external debt burden, by succumbing to the neo-colonial pressure of WB and IMF. The interest burden has multiplied in the same proportion from about Rs. 2,700 crores in 1991 to about 4350 crores in 1995. Our exports have increased by less than Rs. 10,000 cores per year in the last 5 years. Even if all the credit for the rise of exports is attributed to Manmohan *Paaji's* disastrous devaluation policy, the decline by a single rupee in the external value of the rupee results in an addition of Rs. 10,000 cores to our debt burden and wipes out the annual increase in exports. Thus a decline of 18.26 in our exchange rate has already overshot his five year rise in exports by 18 times. In short, the *Mahamurkh* (Great Fool) Manmohan Singh has already set our country back by ninety years.

There have been many demands for Narasimha Rao's resignation as a sequel to the hawala scandal. But the world bourgeoisie is carefully shielding Manmohan Singh. *Mankind* calls upon the concerned group of Indian nationalists and humanists to force this semi-educated lumpen *naukarshah* to resign forthwith as he has truly bankrupted the country.

Five generations of Indians will have to labour strenuously to undo the criminal economic policies of this foolish bureaucrat over the last five years.

## TRADE UNIONISM AFTER INDIAN INDEPENDENCE

I was a trade unionist in the immediate post-independence period (1948-52).

In those days, we dedicated ourselves to full time work for the party to which we were ideologically affiliated. In our own innocent way, we had become, instruments of history.

Instruments like me didn't even accept honorarium or salary. Our families were supposed to finance our idealistic activity and sustain our professionalism.

It is difficult even to conceive of such a situation these days. With many NGO's financed by MNC's, what price idealism? In the West, I have been observing over CNN and BBC, even charities are collected by professionals, for a fee, a commission or a monthly emolument.

I do not know what to make of this new and strange world. In my young days I wouldn't have asked for any money or compensation for an aim or a goal

which I wanted to pursue.

But this is a fantastic world. These days I have to be paid for doing what I want. I suppose the underlying assumption is that I would have to be paid so much for being "incorruptible". In other words, I am for sale, idealism and altogether!

Even today, I find it difficult to understand how someone can pay me for doing what I want. Secondly, how can he pay me for doing what I do not want. Can any pay be enough? I belong to the old generation. I truly am innocent. I am bewildered by today's standards or lack of them.

We dedicated our lives to what we considered worthwhile goals. We were not practical. We did not compromise. We did not pursue career goals. We just wanted to build a new India of our dreams.

I was deputed to take over the General Secretaryship of the Bombay Press Employees Union by the Socialist Party which had just emerged out of the Congress in 1948. At the time that I took up the task of building up the BPEU, the membership was 219. Four year later I had pushed it up to 18,360. In all I had learnt some lessons. I had also instituted arbitration proceedings in the industrial court in nineteen significant cases. In fact, after 1928-29, the first major revision in the wages of Bombay press workers was carried out by my efforts.

I am sorry to recall that as a trade unionist I succeeded beyond measure. Several eveningers had to close down, eg. Saanj Vartaman and Vande Mataram, since I could not allow compromise on wage levels in order to maintain employment.

I thought that by sacrificing the 300 jobs of *Saanj Vartaman* and *Vande Mataram*, I would be able to guarantee something near to a living wage for the rest of the industry (*Bombay Samachar*, *Bombay Chronicle*, *Free Press Journal*, *Indian Express* and few other large job presses like G.Claridge, British India Press etc.) Later adjudication proceedings encompassed Mohammadi Press,

### ALARMING INCREASE IN INDIA'S EXTERNAL DEBT BURDEN

Since during his tenure the rupee fell by 18.26, we can conclude that Manmohan Singh has added Rs. 182,600 crores on this count alone to our external debt burden, by succumbing to the neo-colonial pressure of WB and IMF. The interest burden has multiplied in the same proportion from about Rs. 2,700 crores in 1991 to about 4350 crores in 1995. Our exports have increased by less than Rs. 10,000 cores per year in the last 5 years. Even if all the credit for the rise of exports is attributed to Manmohan *Paaji's* disastrous devaluation policy, the decline by a single rupee in the external value of the rupee results in an addition of Rs. 10,000 cores to our debt burden and wipes out the annual increase in exports. Thus a decline of 18.26 in our exchange rate has already overshot his five year rise in exports by 18 times.

Vakil and Sons and several other large employers.

In those days, let me admit that I did not receive too many offers to sell-out. A few that were transmitted to me, I turned down not only with contempt, but also with disdain. That was the world we lived in. Of idealism, sacrifice and contempt for careerism.

We were outsiders in the narrow sense. I was not a press worker. I never intended to be one. I studied the press industry as a socialist, and I helped to work out technical norms for all grades of press workers. During the nineteen major adjudication proceedings in the Labour Court (1948-52) I enlisted the help of technocrats and eventually became one myself.

On the committee of every unit I saw to it that every dept. of every press was properly represented. For instance, in the Free Press Journal Unit for the line operator's section I would have my old friend Brown representing the sectional grievances whilst the printers, the boilers were represented by other friends.

Generally I was allowed to enter any printing press at any time, except in the old *Morning Herald* of Hamilton (which later became *Indian Express* Bombay). But even in such places usually permission to enter, collect subscriptions and speak to shop representative was routinely granted. I never had any difficulty and half a dozen times a show of strength by workers sufficed to open access.

We were outsiders, party cadres, and proud of being so.

Today trade unionism has become a career path for the organizers as well as the workers. The workers want to directly participate and at the same time be disrespectful towards the ideological aims of all working class action. They want to act directly and by themselves, but they do not know and do not want to know what the long term aims of working class action are or should be.

There is no trade union action, however small, which does not possess political implications. Trade Unionism and political activism are two facets of the same coin.

The Indian judiciary is the fourth limb of our bureaucracy. It is not a *deus ex machina* standing above society. The salaries of judges are paid by the public exchequer and their promotion and placements are determined by politicians. The judge is elevated to a high position in order to foster the illusion that the State stands above society. This is a rank falsehood. The judiciary is as partisan as the police, the army and the civil services, save that it practises a greater degree of hypocrisy and to some extent a rationalism that integrates the system.

In a recent judgement of Bombay High Court (*Indian Express*, March 31, 1996) upholding the right of the management to refuse to pay the salary of an employee who does trade union work during office hours, we are confronted with a strange situation.

In our old days to ensure the ideological edge of the Left Movement and to prevent careerist corruption, we preferred outsiders to lead the trade union movement. Unfortunately the Stalinist Progressivists ruined this idealist aim by practising anti-nationalist and undemocratic manoeuvres and intrigues.

We have come a full circle. Insiders are now to take the lead and limit the horizons of the trade union movement by their selfish careerist goals. But even these limited reformist goals are not acceptable to the comprador bourgeoisie of India. Therefore the judicial arm of the bureaucracy withdraws a facility which had been allowed to career trade unionists of insider sort who had

been functioning for a longtime.

I am a bit puzzled. Outsiders have not remained idealistic. Insiders have degenerated to rank reformism and pure careerism.

However, the hope of any future lies with the rank and file insiders or shop-stewards. Therefore *Mankind* condemns the retrogressive judgement of the Bombay High Court.

The workers have the inherent right to unionize. This right includes the right of a unionist at shop floor level to conduct union activities without any interference or hindrance from the factory owner.

*Mankind* feels certain that the trade union movement of India is strong enough to obtain a reversal of Bombay High Court order by either an appeal to Supreme Court or, preferably, by direct mass action.

## SMALL FRACAS AT FTII

A minor overturn has occurred at the FTII which can only be compared with a storm in a tea cup. John Shankarmangalam has been forced to resign like many of his predecessors. I can count atleast eight such departures.

Seven or eight review committees have been set up comprising of outside experts, faculty and students, to stretch out the present two year course to three so as to pat and pamper the privileged students a little more.

My association with the FTII (Film and Television Institute of India originally known as FII. Film Institute of India, founded in 1960) commenced in the late seventies, when I was pleasantly surprised to get an invitation from N.V.K. Murthy to come and lecture. I had just obtained my Ph D. and was fairly enthusiastic about teaching.

I enjoyed lecturing intermittently at the FTII over the last two decades. I received a very

warm response from my students, who would come and meet me for further clarifications in the evenings, wherever I happened to be staying. In the early period, I used to be a guest of my old friend and colleague Nilubhau Limaye, ex-Mayor of Pune and widely known locally as owner of Poonam hotel (Now sold off by him.) Some adventurous spirits amongst the class world even make their way to my little flat in Bombay. I welcomed these young minds and interacted with them to the best of my ability. Some of the boys and girls were so thrilled by my radical approach to the problems of film-making and art expression in general, that they occasionally embarrassed me with their encomiums. Once or twice, I even gave a lecture or two in the Television wing of the Institute, which trained the personnel of Doordarshan. One such young man from the television wing was so captivated by my lecture, that he literally smothered me with his words of praise. I have never considered myself to be a great orator or anything like that. But, occasionally my class would make me feel that I possessed "the golden tongue." I feel that I must have been carried away by the atmosphere and poured forth some inspired stuff.

Anyway, it was good fun and I felt gratified, as many teachers must have been from times immemorial. Once, when I had just finished delivering a better than average inspirational effort at the vocational Film Appreciation Course, and we were standing around the Wisdom Tree, I recollect that Sai Paranjypte and her nice-mannered late husband Arun Joglekar let fall a few words of appreciation, which naturally, I lapped avidly.

Those days in the late '70s and the early '80s were the

## TRADE UNIONS AND POLITICAL ACTIVISM

There is no trade union action, however small, which does not possess political implications. Trade Unionism and political activism are two facets of the same coin.

The workers have the inherent right to unionize. This right includes the right of a unionist at shop floor level to conduct union activities without any interference or hindrance from the factory owner.

haydays of the Art Cinema and the entire atmosphere was one of experimentation and new explorations. However, our comradre urban middle classes were not able to sustain this Parallel and Alternative Cinema movement. The interest in such ventures, and in my Sociology of Film lectures waxed and waned at tandem with the larger socio-political currents.

Not that I had analysed the situation minutely in those days. Looking back, I can now see that I was myself a creature of my times, and what I spoke and thought in those days was a refraction of the wider politico-cultural currents, that were sweeping over our societal existence.

Mrinal Sen and Mithun Chakravarty told me once at a preview theatre in Bombay, at a show of *Mrigaya* that I had "tremendous stamina." May be I had, and still have that stamina. I wouldn't know. But I must recognise that the times are more adverse than ever before. Two decades ago, there was an almost standardised career path, which the FTII students followed, especially, my pupils in the Script-Writing and Directorial courses (The more specialised technical course products of the Cinematography, Recording, and Editing, etc. branches were directly absorbed by the mainstream commercial cinema almost as soon as they graduated.)

The aspirants for Script-Writing and Direction assignments followed a three step path to success and affluence. Upon emerging from the portals of the FTII, they would first get into the field of advertisement shorts. Having felt their way in and around the ad agencies, they would launch into a big or small art-film, with generally the products from the National School of Drama, Delhi, as lead players. (Still earlier, those that had passed out of FTII's own Acting Course used to be hired, but that Acting Course was a trouble makers' den, right from the beginning particularly under the patronage of one Jagat Murari, of Emergency disrepute. He runs his Acting School in Bombay even now, or at least did so till recently, where he extracts or extracted money out of the young and the gullible for "fat premia for placements")

The third and final step would be entry into the *Masala* film world of Bombay and Madras.

It is difficult for me to pursue my recollections in a strict

chronological order. Memories crowd upon me, tumbling over each other. Once, I had been forced out of my guest room by the merciless army of mosquitoes, and at two o'clock in the morning, I found Candy swinging by the secondary roots of the banyan tree. She was a fairly pretty woman in the North Indian heavy style, rather big bosomed and very fair with silky long traces. I asked her what she was doing, at that time of the night, and she just giggled and informed me that "she was enjoying herself." Candy was a product of the Internal Emergency declared by Indira Gandhi from 1975-77. She had been placed in the FTII by G.P. Sippy at Vidya Charan Shukla's behest. Vidya Charan considered himself to be a great lady's-man or Casanova, as many actresses, who had travelled to International Festivals, as part of VC's entourage, know to their eternal chargin. (Candy, a Himachal Pradesh belle, has not been heard of for a long time now. I wonder what mischief she is up to!).

The Emergency of 1975-77 was itself a very funny thing. There was great severity visited upon certain individuals and sections of the population. But there was no coordination amongst the repressive agencies. I remember that C.S.H. Jhabvala had invited me to give a series of nine lectures at his Delhi School of Architecture, right in the middle of the Emergency Regime. Before proceeding to Delhi, I had dinner with Charles Correa, at his place. Just as I was leaving Charles has popped a query about the titles of my lectures. I can't remember all of them now, but I recollect telling Charles that one of them was "The Skyline Mirrors Class Relations in Society". Charles had warned me from his doorstep, that "We want you to come back, Vinayak!" During those nine lectures at the School of Architecture, one of my students was a son of a Supreme Court Judge, the same Supreme Court that had backed Indira's Emergency. (In these days of

"judicial activism," which is resulting in many good things for the people, we have forgotten the ignominious role that the SC played then. It was a horrible nadir of the SC which had made the Emergency, completely legal!) We had got into a heated argument outside the classroom and on the campus of the School of Architecture at the junction of the Ring Road and Indraprastha

### FORMAL END OF ART FILM ERA AT THE FTII

John Shankarmangalam's departure from the FTII was inevitable, with the appointment of Mahesh Bhatt, a commercial Gujarati Masala filmwala from Bombay, as Chairman of the Governing Board. This was one of the rare occasions, when a man from mainstream cinema had been appointed to this post, which had earlier been a near-monopoly of the Art Film lobby, with luminaries like Shyam Benegal and Girish Karnad, both from Karnataka, and Adoor Gopalakrishna, from Kerala, Shankarmangalam's home state, having been recent heads of FTII.

Somehow, a North Indian and South Indian divide separates the Masala film-stream and the Art film-stream within the FTII. Mahesh Bhatt, the present leader of the *Masala* group, has arty-tarty pretensions. But then, which Bombay or Madras film, tycoon does not boast of such inclinations? Mehboob Khan is another member of this North Indian commercial mainstream lobby, about whose antecedents I know very little, and who is supposed to have triggered the whole fracas by creating an artificial raw black and white stock shortage. Other members of the commercial lobby are possibly Surinder Chaudhary, a Haryana man, who has been writing a biography of Satyajit Ray for the last decade or so, and Saghir Ahmed, an Orissa man who might have tilted the balance in favour of the North Indian commercial cinema block. Against this was arrayed the whole South Indian Art Film lobby.

Today, the winds of change have taken over. The Art Film movement in the country has been completely eclipsed, with Satellite TV, Cable, Video cassettees and libraries, BBC, Star TV, Sun TV, (the last named a proxy for Jayalalitha's propaganda machine), ATN, Sony, and a dozen others, completely swamping the field. It is commerce, commerce and commerce everywhere, every minute for each 24 hours! It is Western Culture, Masala Film output and ad sponsorship which reign supreme!

The downfall of John Shankarmangalam marks the formal end of the Art Film era at the FTII. The stream of Parallel Cinema had already dried up several years ago, and John Shankarmangalam must have made frantic efforts to adjust to the new commercial climate in the country, and in the FTII. However, relics from the past can have no future in this brash new commercial world of *Hum Apke Hai Kaun* and *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge*, on the one hand and BBC, Star Network, M&V TV and CNN International on the other.



Estate. The argument was about to explode into violence, as the young man had raised his hand to hit me. Some other boys, of no doubt radical sympathy, had to drag me away and words of caution and wisdom were poured into my ears that night. However, nothing happened the next day and instead of being taken to Tihar jail, I was able to return to Bombay and inform Charles of my safety.

Let us return to the FTII and the three step career path of my students.

I believe by the late '80s, the three step career path had become two step or even one step. The graduate of more recent years straight away walked into the TV Short or Serial Slot, and promptly merged into the *Masala* milieu. Now there are no intermediate stages. The demand is boundless, and the bounties are enormous. The state spends three and a half lakhs per year, per student at the FTII ("Searching For Direction" *India Today*, March 15, 1996, p. 148), whilst the student pays just about Rs. 3,000 + mess charges. And as soon as, he has graduated, TV serial direction assignments would begin to fetch him something like Rs. 50,000 a month, which he quietly pockets, without any consideration for the public money that he has swallowed up, during his student days. (I firmly believe that all these children of the elite, who pursue professional courses at institutes like FTII, IIMs, IITs and Medical and Engineering colleges, should be required to return the public subsidies that their training has received, out of their later professional earnings. It would be no burden to them at all! But our elite is so cussed and mean that it believes in robbing, as a matter of principle, the people for purely personal aggrandisement.)

One other result of the pernicious, elitist education system may be noted. The boy or girl who receives a subsidy of Rs. three and half lakhs per year, whilst he/she personally forks out only a few thousands, immediately begins to believe that "he is God's gift to humanity." He or she becomes thoroughly spoilt, wayward and self centred. He is immune to discipline. He is bound to behave badly, as has been proved time and again by the students of the FTII. These students are spoilt right from the word go, and their ending up with *masala* SITCOM serials at the end of their petty careers is strictly in the fitness of things.

It took me quite a while to learn that the teaching which does not promote the career of the student is in the final analysis, not very much appreciated by him.

After all, what are the students of the FTII expected to achieve? Have they succeeded in changing to the smallest degree the Bombay or Madras *Masala* movie scene? Are better films being appreciated by larger audiences now, than before?

The purpose of the establishment of the Film Institute was simple. It was to recruit technologically better qualified personnel

for the same heinous commercial purposes which the film industry had been pursuing from the start, i.e. from 1913 or 1931.

As I tried to explain to John Shankarmangalam about two years ago, "there is a limitation to education. How can you teach a person something which does not promote his or her career? After all, the poor boy or girl, is acquiring knowledge precisely to go ahead in life and make a career."

He is not learning as we did in the freedom movement to make a better India or to be a better Indian! Poor fellows, they are learning only in order to advance themselves. How far can such limited self-centred learning go? Why would they want such information and training which only makes them better men? And make them feel uncomfortable for the rest of their lives?

Therefore, there can be no teacher, on a long term basis, who does not help them adapt and conform to the system. In fact the career teacher's professional task is to brainwash his pupils and accommodate them to the system under which they are to function.

I started with a bang in FTII (FII) in the late seventies. There was an overflow in my classes, which were the largest at the CTA. I was an early critic of the worthless Bengalibabu Satyajit Ray and of the so-called Art or Parallel cinema movement designed for the urban elite market. But everybody expected me to be a "bougeois rebel" that is, one who begins with thunder and lightning and gradually, accommodates himself to moderation, compromise and adjustment.

At that time, I did not know that they had such silly expectations. I remained obdurate, uncompromising, dour and unrecalcitrant. Somehow, I never learnt to adjust and compromise.

I observed for two decades the goings on at the FTII. I also know that in certain years, the faculty found me useful as a battering ram to break down the conventional prejudices of the middle class students. After all, revolutionaries are sometimes useful to the system for the elimination of bourgeois psychological wrinkles!

There were one or two years when I was used for the Introductory Lectures for the first year batch and also for the final orientation of the third year-walas in the script and directorial classes. I was supposed to break them in and also carry them over to the ultimate commercial transition.

It was the same with the middle class *nouveau-riche* in the Film Appreciation Classes. The intelligent and sincere middle class housewives and house-husbands who composed the Appreciation classes (that included at one time, Mrs. Verma wife of one of the dismissed Directors of the FTII. This Verma IAS, made a killing during his tenure and resigned under a heavy cloud for flouting norms, and amassing wealth beyond his sources of income and collecting a fabulous library of video and pronos cassettes at state expense.) did not want to learn anything unpleasant or discordant,

### SWADESHI AND INDIAN BUSINESS HOUSES

Indian business houses rightly complained of the terrible corruption and red tapism of our bureaucracy under the Licence-Permit-Quota Raj of Congressmen acting in league with these *naukarshahs*. But the answer to corruption and Absence of Accountability does not lie in foolish and reckless liberalisation in favour of global neo-colonial interests. To the New Economic Policy of "liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation," the liberal bourgeoisie of India should counterpose a policy of "modifications and elasticity, incorruptibility of administration and accountability, and technological upgradation of infra-structural sectors."

Foreign investments must be completely excluded from non-priority areas. MNCs and TNCs should be barred from purely consumer industries. Foreign capital should not be allowed to dominate any important area of national economic endeavour. Those outsiders who wish to come in must fulfill strict export obligations, and must provide true technological advancement. Secondhand and obsolete machinery should not be allowed into India, at the cost of the Indian people.

Whatever may be the temporary electoral calculations of Mr. Tarun Das and the CII, the concerned liberal and humanist intellectuals of India should not allow the *swadeshi* controversy to die down. We must keep on farming the embers of national resolve, in whichever quarter they appear.

anything which would upset the tone of their evening parties. Anything, which was even if true, was rather ugly, dirty or unpleasant.

Just as Macaulay with brutal imperialist frankness committed himself to the designing of an Indian educational system whose end-products would be "Indian in colour, but English in manners, morals and thoughts", similarly the educational system that we inherited in 1947 and have promoted since then, has been designed to produce *bicholias*, dalals, commission agents and clerks.

The upper class elements of our comprador society which compose the Film Appreciation classes, also need the same psychological reinforcements which the average lot of FTII students need. The normal students are young, whilst the Appreciation - Walas tend to be middle aged. That is about the only difference, Both groups abhor revolutionary or radical or non-conformist ideas, which would make them uncomfortable.

I guest-lectured at the FTII for two decades and found that since I did not manoeuvre to get reinvited, I was in fact fairly regularly reinvited, especially since I was useful in breaking down quite a few of the initial and final illusions of the young stars.

But the institute itself has undergone vicissitudes which are unrelated to my lectures.

There was a period when the state required the promotion of a middle class cinema (also known as "Art" "Alternative" and "Parallel" cinema) in order to justify its international compradorist prestige. This however did not last long. The comprador bourgeois did not have the guts to sustain its soaring ambitions for long. India was reconquered by the *trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO. The pseudo-nationalist bourgeoisie of India have totally surrendered to the foreign MNCs and TNCs. The current comprador culture of India is indistinguishable from the neo-colonial imposition. We have become what the West wants us to be. We are apers and imitators of the West ! We glory in boot-licking the boot that tramples us !

John Shankarmangalam was on extension of tenure which he could have easily refused. Thus he overstayed his welcome and the students, egged on by some dissatisfied elements in the faculty, celebrated his departure with singing and dancing at the gate.

I am sorry that he had to go in such shattering circumstances. I had known him since he was a lowly assistant in the Script - writing Department. He was a nice soft-spoken man and I have spent many a pleasant evening with him discussing the problems of film-making and film-teaching.

I wish him well and look forward to seeing or hearing about his post-retirement projects.

### SWADESHI AGAIN TO THE FORE

I was pleasantly surprised to read the indictment of foreign multinationals by Tarun Das, Secretary General of the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII). The CII has evolved out of the Confederation of Engineering Industries and its growth has been phenomenal in recent years (*Frontline*, April, 1996).

I was happy to note that at last some sense is dawning upon our spineless compradors. I do not know how long they will want to maintain their more independent stance. I hope that it will last and that it is not merely a pre-election gimmick to distance themselves from the Rao-Singh duo's disastrous economic course, hidden under the cloak of the policy of "liberalisation, privatization and globalization." This policy is nothing but the Structural Adjustment Programme foisted upon us by the neo-colonial quartet of G7, WB, IMF and WTO.

Tarun Das is obviously the best qualified person in the matter of the "dirty tricks" being played by the MNCs and TNCs against

our national interests. He is knowledgeable precisely because he has himself negotiated and witnessed hundreds if not thousands of such deals struck by neo-colonialists with Indian partners.

His principal charges are :

- An attempt to access the Indian market through minimum production on the ground and maximum production at home.

- The objective : to generate profits quickly rather than go for the long haul.

- No state-of-the art technology or products, but ones that are being phased out in the home country.

- Leveraging an Indian partner to get in on a 50 : 50 or 40 : 40 basis to get approvals quickly and then acquire controlling shareholding.

- In spite of having a point venture with an Indian partner to set up a 100 percent subsidiary over which TNC has full control.

- Use of expatriate managers and CEOs rather than Indian management talent.

- The cowboy approach; land in India, choose a partner too hastily, then break the relationship. (*Outlook* April 10, 1996, P 54)

Earlier, in these columns, we had occasion to comment upon the advice given to Indian industrialists by Japanese expert Yoshihito Karibe (Chairman of Research Institute for Self Government, a think-tank of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party), who had chosen to remind us of the East India Company days! His advice was that whilst we may liberalise the bureaucratic regulations and try to minimise corruption, we should not allow the long term interests of Indian industries and consequential reduction in job opportunities, to suffer. "We should not hand over India to fortune-hunters."

For whatever reasons, some light seems to be dawning on our comprador business brains. They seem to be moving in the direction of a policy modification to control and set some limits to the predatory operations of the international neo-colonial giants.

Wisdom is welcome, from whatever sources it comes and however late in the day it may be. Some wiseacre may say that we are trying to close the stable doors after the horses have fled!

It is never too late to change. We are a sovereign nation and we must assert our sovereignty in the face of mounting assaults, by the G-7 and its associates.

It is obvious that there are three things which we must urgently attend to :

1. We must impose nationalist restrictions, in the interest of rapid industrialisation and creation of jobs, on the entry of MNCs and TNCs.

2. We must add a new chapter on Prevention of Corruption to our present Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49.

3. We must also add a new chapter on Accountability of all Public Servants and Transparency of all Government Transactions.

I believe that the members of the 1993 Bombay Club of industrialists who demanded "an even playing field" for Indian business interests, should take the lead and go a step further to insist upon "a playing field tilted in favour of Indian business houses." We would suggest that Rahul Bajaj could take a personal lead in the matter.

His father was one of the leaders of the earlier generation of Indian businessmen and industrialists, and now Rahul could easily place himself at the head of the "second assault."

Things cannot go on as they are !

Consider our external debt. It stood at astronomical \$ 84 billion already in 1991 (\$ 83,959 to be exact), when it was repayable at Rs. 17.943 at Rs. 18 at the then prevailing exchange rate. It has now to be repaid at the devalued current rate of Rs. 36.63 to the dollar. This spells a loss of Rs. 156, 492 crores to

the nation due to the Structural Adjustment Programme of the WB and IMF, accepted by the Rao-Singh disaster duo in power. In the subsequent five years, the external debt kept climbing to \$ 85,334 million or say, \$ 8500 crores in 1992, \$ 89,986 million or \$ 9000 crores in 1993; to \$ 90,723 million or \$ 9100 crores in 1994; to \$ 95,321 million or in round figures \$ 9532 crores in 1995; and now stands at around \$ 100 billion or \$ 10,000 crores in 1996.

In 1992, it would have been repayable at Rs. 25 to the dollar; in 1993 and 1994 at Rs. 31 to the dollar. The exchange rate plummeted at the end of 1995 to Rs. 38 to the dollar and is now (Feb.- April 1996) hovering between Rs. 36.63 and 34.43 to the dollar. The additional loss in these years on account of exchange rate erosion may be placed at another Rs. 10,000 crores. In other words, the Rao-Singh disaster duo has already cost the country a loss of Rs. 1,66,000 crores.

Next let us consider the trade deficit. Exports did rise over the last five years, but imports rose much faster so that the trade deficit which was \$ 1,546 million in 1991-92 doubled to \$ 3,345 million in 1992-93, then came down again to \$ 1,068 million in 1993-94, rose once again to \$ 2,027 million in 1994-95 and rose still further to \$ 4,538 million in 1995-96. Thus, the total deficit over the last five years may be computed at \$ 12,524 millions or a magnificent sum of Rs. 458,754 crores.

This is the consequence of the Rao-Singh policy of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation.

The spectacular increases in external debt and annual trade deficits have caused an additional burden of higher repayments of principal, as well as of interest, the latter spiralling to over Rs. 4,892 crores last year.

For many years now, no external aid has been received by the country. The outgo has been progressively greater and greater, so that a NET AID OUTGO has been ensured. We do not know why such negative aid should be called aid at all. However, that is the mindset of our *naukarshahs*.

Acutally, poor India has been aiding the rich West for years on end as of now.

What of the future? If the villainous policies of the present continue to be pursued by the post-election coalition government at the centre, a very likely scenario, our exchange rate which has halved the value of the rupee in last five years will be again halved in the next five meaning that the exchange rate will plummet to between Rs. 70 and Rs. 75 in the year 2001. And by the same year our external debt would mount to \$ 115 billion assuming the same rate of downfall as in the preceding five years. There is no repayment of past obligations, there is endless accumulation of more and more debt. Are the consequences of such a collapse at all imaginable? Should not the 1993 Bombay Club industrialists and other liberal bourgeois bodies like Tarun Das's CII and FICCI and ASSOCHAM take immediate steps to remedy the situation?

Indian business houses rightly complained of the terrible corruption and red tapism of our bureaucracy under the Licence-Permit-Quota Raj of Congressmen acting in league with these *naukarshahs*. But the answer to corruption and Absence of Accountability does not lie in foolish and reckless liberalisation in favour of global neo-colonial interests. To the New Economic Policy of "liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation," the liberal bourgeoisie of India should counterpose a policy of "modifications and elasticity, incorruptibility of administration and accountability, and technological upgradation of infra-structural sectors."

Foreign investments must be completely excluded from non-priority areas. MNCs and TNCs should be barred from purely consumer industries. Foreign capital should not be allowed to dominate any important area of national economic endeavour.

Those outsiders who wish to come in must fulfill strict export obligations, and must provide true technological advancement. Secondhand and obsolete machinery should not be allowed into India, at the cost of the Indian people.

Whatever may be the temporary electoral calculations of Mr. Tarun Das and the CII, the concerned liberal and humanist intellectuals of India should not allow the *swadeshi* controversy to die down. We must keep on farming the embers of national resolve, in whichever quarter they appear.

We have no axe to grind. We merely wish to grind down neo-colonial interests.

## TWO OLD FRIENDS PASS AWAY

It is with a heavy heart that I take notice of the passing away of two very old friends. Krishna. K. Hebbar the painter; and Erland Hofsten, the Swedish demographer and psephologist.

I was fortunate enough to have been associated right from the beginning with persons much older than me. It all began with the 1942 movement when I was strictly underage and had to lie to the police in order to avoid the juvenile delinquent's remand home and become qualified to enter the adult preventive detention jails. Thus all my life I have been intimately associated with adults five to fifteen years elder to me. (Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia the founder editor of this magazine was 17 years my elder.)

Krishna Hebbar I knew from the mid-fifties when I interviewed him for a piece in Patwant Singh's *Design*.

I liked the man. He was warm hearted, was aware of his political and economic surroundings and was trying to be helpful to his fellow creatures. Almost at our first meeting he told me a very interesting anecdote of the Father of the Nation.

It seems that very early in late fortysix or fortyseven, he had been sent by a Congress bigwig of those days to Birla house in Delhi where Gandhi was resident. Hebbar was a very young man then, in his thirties. He had gone very enthusiastically carrying a huge portfolio of his sketches and drawings, the usual two by three cardboard affair. He was made to wait for two to three hours as there was a long queue to meet the Great Man.

After this long wait, Gandhi emerged from his inner sanctum and walked past Hebbar directing him "to show his stuff" to Shirin behan or Perin behan who will let him (Gandhi) know."

Hebbar was taken aback, not because Gandhi was so perfumatory. That can happen on a busy day with any Great Man. But a basic philistinism and lack of interest in art and culture was displayed by Gandhi in not fixing an alternative time for another meeting, though even the one to which Hebbar went had been previously fixed. After all Hebbar had travelled a long distance to Delhi!

Hebbar had been a student of J.J. School of Art, Bombay. He had liberated himself from the shackles of the Shantiniketan style by joining the Progressive Artists' Group. This group had come into being in the mid-thirties and in the initial years functioned under the spiritual guidance of Amrita Sher-Gil, a Hungarian-Sikh lady who had suddenly arrived in India from Paris, with notions about modernizing Indian art. Amrita Sher-Gill herself was a peculiar transitional product not exactly Royal Academic in style, and not yet overrun by the avant-garde schools of Paris, like Fauvism, Cubism, Abstract Expressionism, Orphism, Surrealism, Dadaism etc. Amrita Sher-Gill straddled the East and the West as well as two eras the Royal academism of the mid-eighteenth century onwards and the Post Impressionism of the late nineteenth century onwards. Perhaps, in Hungary the advanced art currents of the West reached somewhat late, and these late admixtures were carried to India by Amrita, still later.

Let us emphasise, for the benefit of students of art history,

that the earlier Shantiniketan style was equally non-nationalist. The sources of inspiration for that style were Japan and China. However, because of the various schools of *thangka* and *tantra* painting and of Patua and Patna *qualams*, the Shantiniketan school appeared to be more Indian in inspiration, and since its rise coincided with the Anti-Partition Swadeshi and Boycott Movement led by Bal, Pal and Lal in 1905-11, the impression remains that the Bengal school was somehow more native than the Bombay cosmopolitan school, which came into prominence in the '30s of this century led by Amrita Sher-Gill and followed by the Progressive Artists' Group of Hebbbar, Ara, Hussein, Souza, Gade, Bakre, Raza etc.

Habbar died in his mid-80s and therefore, lived upto a ripe old age. But for the last several years, he had been miserable and ailing. He had smoked his lungs into cancerous cinders. He knew that it was an irreversible damage that he had self-inflicted. But he faced his end with fortitude. When he could not stand for long hours before his easel, he took to sitting down and resting a pad of drawing papers on his knees and outlining in wiry, steely black, the dynamic moments of the human body. Long ago, he had given me a programme folder, full of swift sketches of Martha Graham. I think that we went together for her show at the Excelsior many decades ago.

Erland Hofsten headed the Planning Department of the Stockholm Municipal Corporation for many years. He stayed in India also for quite a while and wrote a book in Swedish on Indian demography. In his later years, he became a TV personality, analysing election results, a *la* Pranoy Roy of our DD.

Either he, or one of the professors of the Swadesh Institute of Architecture, perhaps, John Alpere took me to see the old working class quarters of Stockholm, which the present city planners want to preserve as a Heritage Monument. This locality had dry latrines, which were cleaned manually by a contractor of the Corporation, who was Greta Garbo's father. (I was told by Alpere that "Garbo" has no connection with garbage, in Swedish, though it would seem so from the English.) Garbo was expensively educated by her millionaire father, who had made his pile out of what the Chinese call "yellow gold". She had received training in a Dramatic Acting School and later, became a world famous figure, via Hollywood stardom, deliberately cultivating an enigmatic person.

I met Hofsten in Chandigarh and my criticism of Corbusier appealed to him enormously. When I was in England, in 1981, on an invitation of the British Council to visit the Edwin Lutyens show, Erland got in touch with me and invited me over to Sweden to lecture in Gothenberg and Stockholm. In Gothenberg, my host was Hans Nordenstrom, the Head of the School of Architecture and well-known cartoonist, calligrapher and painter. In Stockholm, my host was Bjorn Torsson who was only an architect then, but is now renowned as a Swedish "folk poet."

I loved my days in Sweden and the long sessions I had with Erland, Hans, Bjorn, Alpere, and their colleagues and students.

Erland's wife, Miree, was the Secretary of the Swedish Writers' Association and used to edit their journal.

Erland's wife has just informed me that whilst Erland had passed away, his daughter is about to have her first child.

So life goes on. One generation passes away as the third is making its bow.

Erland was a wonderful warm friend. We talked over the phone several times, and I remember, that I asked him to hold on, till I could visit Stockholm again, a trip which I cancelled at my wife's behest at the last minute in 1991. Erland was very disappointed and wrote a moving letter to me, which I will treasure as long as I live. I am unable to write as emotionally as I would wish. I am unable to say that I am on the verge of joining Erland in the hereafter, as I am a rationalist and an atheist. I am unable to wish for a blessing for Erland or for me. We are the tragic figures of our times. We have fought, to the best of our ability, for the underdog, the neglected, the despised, the oppressed and the exploited. But, we are cut off from the middle class mainstream of status-quo upholders, of the believers, of the brain-washed and brainless bourgeois brats. We have become hard, humourless and unrelenting.

I wish there were an oasis somewhere in this limbo, this vale of pain and sorrow for the vast majority. Some place where we could rest a while, renew our limited spiritual energies, where we can relax for a while before girding up our loins to fight another day, to be free for a few seconds from turmoil and tension, where Erland and I and Krishna can exchange a few innocent jokes, and collectively aspire for a bright future for all our children.

May be one day there will be such a place !

### APPEAL FOR ARTICLES

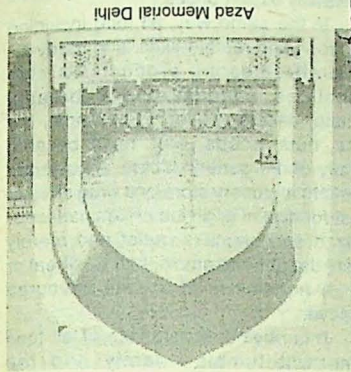
Well-researched and well-thought-out contributions are invited from concerned intellectuals, especially nationalists, socialists, leftists, rationalists and radical thinkers of all hues.

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

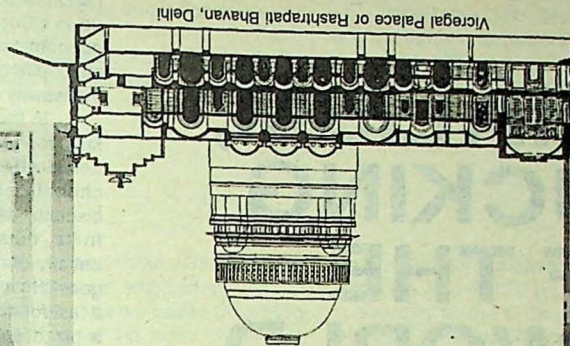
translation bureaus in all languages. Readers are invited to join these bureaus and help *Mankind*.

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

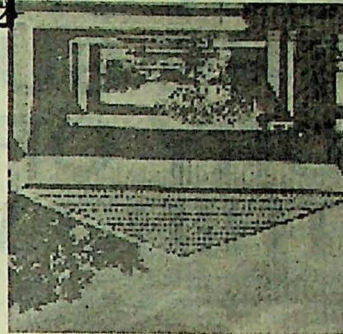
Readers are also invited to contribute brief discussion notes in the "Adda at Nukkad" Section of *Mankind*, which will begin to appear from issue no. 2 : November 1995.



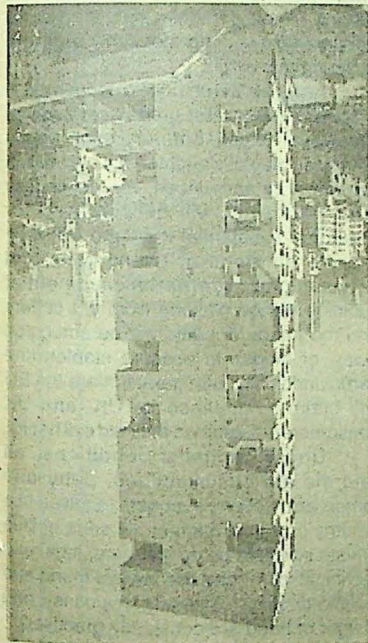
Azad Memorial Delhi



Vicregal Palace or Rashtrapati Bhavan, Delhi



Gandhi Ashram Ahmedabad

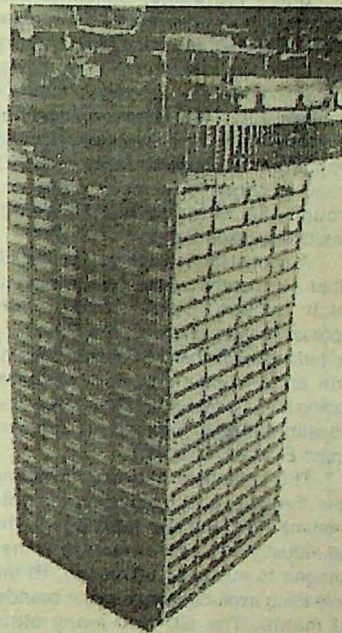


Kanchan Jungtha Apts. Bombay

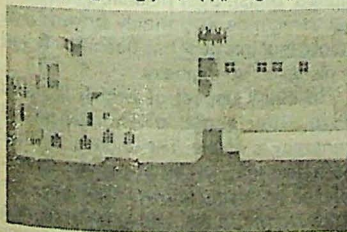
## ULTA-ZAMANA OR DISJOINTED TIMES

Neo-colonialism, the Sucking  
Dry of the Third World

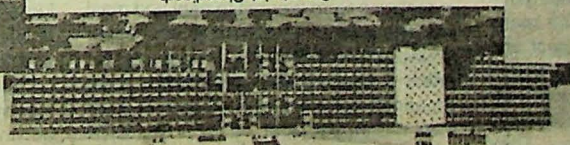
Sports, the Distraction of the  
Masses



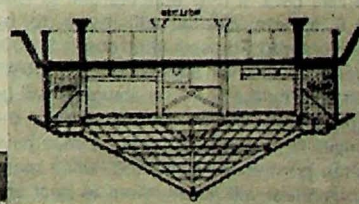
Express Towers Bombay



Indra Gandhi Inst. of Dev. Bombay



Secretariat Chandigarh



Mother and Child Centre, W.Bengal

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

## NEO - COLONIALISM RUNS AMOK

Some years ago, British farmers started feeding an estimated twelve million cows in England, the carcasses of cows, as well as, diseased sheep. They turned vegetarian cows into non-vegetarians and cannibals. From the diseased sheep the so-called Mad Cow Disease. (*Bovine Spongiform Encephalopathy* or BSE), spread amongst the herds of cattle, and through the latter to human beings (Creutzfeld-Jakob Disease or CJD).

Amongst human beings, "victims die within six months of the first symptoms which include poor concentration, depression and anxiety attacks. Trembling and jerking follow before patients become mute and incompetent. They die after slipping into a vegetable state. At the time of death, the brain looks like a sponge." (*Indian Express*, 30.3.96.)

The scientists had been warning about the BSE-CJD connection for quite sometime now. But the capitalists in the beef industry were so powerful, that they managed to suppress all dissent, till the whole thing exploded into a major scandal last month. The EU and many other nations, and major food chains like MacDonalds, have banned the import of British beef. It now appears that at least 4.5 million heads will have to be slaughtered. The estimated cost is \$ 1,000 per head, of which approximately \$ 500 will be paid by the EU. The slaughter will be spread over the next five years and the prices of British beef products may have been permanently affected, since many consumers will never return to beef and especially, not to British beef.

The vegetarians in India are very happy at the "divine" retribution that has been visited upon the beef-eaters. They

forget that for the overwhelming bulk of the people of India, the diet is not a matter of choice. The poor in India are forced to eat whatever is available at the lowest possible price.

Furthermore, for humans, the length of the human intestine in relation to overall body length is intermediate between the intestinal length of herbivores, which is 20 times as against that of carnivores, which is 5 or 6 times.

In short, human beings are neither vegetarians nor non-vegetarians by nature, but are omnivorous, like bears.

It has been proved time and again, that branded products are extremely dangerous. We do not know exactly what goes into sausages, salamis, minces, fast foods, chocolates, gelatines and tinned foods generally. All sorts of harmful ingredients are mixed into them and often they are chemically treated or irradiated with rays to prolong shelf-life or provide a "desirable" colour and aroma/scent.

As economists know, brand names are evolved by ad agencies to create quasi-monopolies in an otherwise competitive market. Once a customer has associated some imaginary desirable quality with a particular brand name he will not buy a soft drink, but ask for a Pepsi or a Coca Cola.

The Hathi Committee report on drugs and medicines, not implemented in India, but enforced in Bangladesh, required that the major essential life-saving drugs shall be marketed only under generic names. By this simple device the multi-national drug companies were brought to heel and most essential drugs are five or six times cheaper in Dacca than in Bombay. (And of course, much cheaper than in New York, since American companies loot primarily their own nationals. Just on 11.4.96, CNN showed that along the US-Mexican border

hundreds of small drug stores have opened up to cater to elderly people, who find it economical to travel long distances for stock-piling several months' supplies at throwaway export prices.)

In the same way, all food including fast foods and ready-mixes, and ready-to-serve-after-heating products as also chocolates, candies, cakes, breads, biscuits, deserts, jellies, ice-creams, dry fruits, nuts, seeds, etc., must be sold entirely under generic labels. A customer goes into a grocery store or a drug store or a fast-food joint or an ice-cream parlour or a pizza and pancake outlet and merely orders the generic article, that is, wheat or rice or noodles or chocolate flavoured whatever.

It is obvious that prices of all food items will tumble sharply and the consumers will be immediately and substantially benefited. The ad agencies which manufacture brand monopolies are not only simple parasites, they are vicious leaches, who jack-up monopoly profits to an enormous extent.

As far as British beef is concerned, it is good that capitalist greed has received a powerful check, but very soon bogus grandiose plan of slaughter of 4 or 5 million heads will be announced, very much less than the target will be prepared for slaughter, substantial numbers will then receive all kinds of exemptions and suspensions. Thereafter, substantial subsidies will be claimed from EU coffers and the heads of cattle will be smuggled away, or hidden in obscure stables and yards and finally, with great fanfare the EU will claim compliance by UK, and UK consumers will return to their old evil habits.

Under capitalist conditions, all reforms are circumscribed, petty and temporary. Nothing ever gets resolved in a healthy or robust manner. All sorts of little private interests go on festering, legal and technical loop-holes are always found and double-dealing, chicanery, hypocrisy and sleight of hand are constantly practised.

In the old imperial days of second-half of 18th, 19th and first-half of 20th centuries, British beef bolstered claims of racial arrogance and manly brawn. It is symbolic that this beef has become riddled with diseased sponginess.

In every aspect of British life and culture, the same phenomenon of degeneracy is visible. These days, on Star Movies, two long series of popular British comedies are being shown. The *Carry On* and the *Doctor* series. I have been off and on watching parts of these spectacular successes, with horrific fascination. They go on with constant double entendres,

endless exposures of breasts and buttocks, the stupidest possible giggles and farts, the most idiotic imperialist arrogance combined with brainless guffaws and toilet jokes.

We can see visibly and feel palpably the degeneration of English society and culture, in these *Carry On* and *Doctorcinematic*

block-busters.

The Mad Cow Disease is a symptom of the same psychosomatic degeneration of the entire edifice of British imperialist culture.

(continued from page 25)

Bala Koteswara Rao, Kesava Rao Jadhav, Seethal Singh Laskari and Y. Kista Reddy were imprisoned in the emergency.

The S.P. and P.S.P. existed as separate bodies from 1955 to 1971 when both wings merged under the name of Socialist Party. This Party merged in the Janata Party in May, 1977. This was because the Janata Party adopted the main points in the Socialist programme, in its policy statement. They are : (1) Nationalisation of large scale and key industries (2) industrialisation should be encouraged by setting up small-scale and cottage industries as the only means of solving the unemployment problem

(3) Providing all facilities to agricultural sector (4) limiting incomes within the ratio of 1:20 (5) Social justice through 60% reservation in services to the B.Cs., S.Cs., S.Ts., minorities and women. (6) Decentralisation of economy and political power and (7) Internal democracy in the functioning of the party (8) Satyagraha as an alternative to violence to fight against injustice.

By 1977 Socialists have lost their separate organisation but their policies and programmes are being accepted by different parties.

### MANKIND

Fdr. Edr. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

Retail Price Per Copy : Rs. 25  
Annual Subscription for  
10 Numbers : Rs. 200  
Life Subscription : Rs. 2500  
Overseas Annual Subscription : \$ 60 or £ 40  
Overseas Life Subscription : \$ 600 or £ 400

Pune Address :  
5, Hansali,  
Damle Path,  
Off Law College Road,  
Pune - 411 004.  
Tel. No. : 36 65 57

Bombay Bureau :  
3, 2nd Floor,  
372-A, Veer Savarkar Marg,  
Dadar, Bombay - 400 028.  
Tel. No. : 4225875, 4309049

### MANKIND

5, Hansali, Damle Path, Pune - 411 004.  
Tel. No. : 366557.

I am sending herewith my cheque/draft for Rs. 200/- or Rs. 2500/- or \$ 60 or £ 40 or \$ 600 or £ 400 as my annual/life subscription.

Plus Banking Charges Rs. 15/- or Rs. 50/- for overseas.

All Cheques/Drafts should be in the name of Mankind, encashable at Pune.

Thanking You,

Yours sincerely,

Date : \_\_\_\_\_ (Subscriber's Signature)

Name (IN BLOCK) \_\_\_\_\_

Place : (Give complete address)  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

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

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Subscriber's Signature

# SPORTS, THE DISTRACTION OF THE MASSES

## THE WORLD CRICKET CUP 1996

I was not an avid cricket fan in my young days. In school I played hockey and was a member of the class team at St. Xavier's, Calcutta. At home I played badminton on our grass-court in the back garden.

In the '30s there was a wave of nationalism that swept over every facet of our life. People took to khadi wearing; on a massive scale, bonfires were made of extremely expensive foreign clothes. Almost everyone eschewed communal politics that the British were promoting. Hardly anyone accepted or offered dowry and there were no dowry deaths. No woman hesitated to join either a torchlight procession or a Sarvodaya organisation. Hardly anyone of them wore a bra or a high-heeled shoe, atleast not in public, where they would be contemptuously laughed at for putting on airs, like title-holders' wives and daughters. English was much less in common use and everything that was healthy out of our own past was promoted.

Thus it came about that when we shifted from Calcutta to Bombay and were carrying on in much reduced circumstances (I and my family have known many ups and downs in the circumstances of life) and definitely in the more intensely nationalistic atmosphere of Bombay city of those days, at the beginning of the IInd World War, I learnt to play several national games like *Atya-Patya*, *Kho-Kho*, *Lagori*, *Kabaddi* and *Gulli-danda*. Cricket was actually despised amongst our school children as a worthless colonial legacy.

I had been taken to the Eden Gardens by my father to see the match played by Lord Tennyson's Eleven and thoroughly enjoyed the outing where our main interest was not in cricket but the cakes and chocolate ice-creams which we managed to cajole out of our parents.

Later in Bombay with a few friends sharing the benches of the East End stands, I had witnessed the so-called Pentangulars which the British had promoted on communal and racialist lines. The five teams were the Hindus, the

Muslims, the Parsis, the Europeans and the Rest, the last named included all the lower castes. At that time I must confess, I was not even aware that the Hindu team consisted of the *dwijas* and the rest meant the scheduled castes, the OBC's and the Indian Christians. Even at the East End stand of the Brabourne Stadium my main interest was in bhelपुरi and ice-sticks.

We have come a long way. Nobody wears khadi these days except innocents like me, and a few crooked Congressmen at election time. Dowry deaths are a daily occurrence. Women would think twice before venturing out at night. Torchlight processions are only a memory (my first arrest was on a charge of 'trying to burn a policeman alive,' because I had hit a constable with a flaming *mashal*). English is supreme, and if you ask a middle class urban housewife to speak in her own tongue continuously even for a minute, she will decline the challenge. Never have plays in English enjoyed such patronage and popularity as in the decades after the pseudo-Independence of 1947. Nowadays a designer bra costs thousands of rupees per unit and even in the villages the kulakbahans would prefer death to the shame of being braless. High heeled shoes and lipsticks are *de rigueur* at all formal parties, along with long skirts and blouses deep cut at the neck. The kind of party and picnic dress now worn by city college girls would have been considered outrageous by the *nautchwalis* of the old days.

In the small talk of the elite, sports have replaced religion. One may confess proudly to being ignorant about elementary politics, but it would be shameful to be unknowing about the velocity, line, swing, length, spin and bounce of a bowler's delivery. In fact it would be quite chic and fashionable to be ignorant about politics and facets our socio-cultural life, but it would be shameful not to know the upto-the-minute test score.

I must not appear to be decrying the present over much. After all some of the youngsters crying themselves hoarse at India-Pakistan matches are bound to mount the barricades on both sides when

the chips are down. Unfortunately I suspect that most of the active cricket lovers would come down on the side of the property owners.

Cricket has become serious business. That is, business has become serious about cricket. Crores are to be made out of staging cricket jamborees. TV advertisement rights are the big money-spinners, but everything is for sale. Stadia are decorated by private interests, side screens at the batsman's end flash signs half the time; every bit of cricketing gear and dresses of players are emblazoned with brand names; boxes and marquees are sold out to corporations that offer various levels of hospitalities to VIP's including alcohol, food and airconditioned comforts; boundary markers are placed all around where banks, tobacco companies and soft drinks manufacturers vie with each other for urgent notice; and so on.

The Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka Committee which organized the recent World Cup - 96 (PILCOM) in the three countries is supposed to have cleared at least rupees 150 crs. Doordarshan which merely acted as *dalal* for uplink facilities to satellites made a whopping profit of Rs. 50 crores!

It is all megabucks now. Private betting on crucial matches reached the figure of Rs. 500 crore for the India - Pakistan tie. It is money, money and money everywhere with cricket not in sight except as an excuse or a peg to hang dirty deals on.

Heavy private betting on matches is surely designed to queer the results. The Assistant Editor of this journal, Dr. Sharayu Mhatre, firmly believes that all sports results are invariably rigged. In wrestling and boxing, it is blatant, foul and vulgar. In Cricket, it is more subtly done; games are won and lost in order to promote fan frenzy and add to incomes of star-players. I do believe that the disruption of the semi-final at Calcutta between India and Sri Lanka was accomplished by a determined gang of hired touts, since in an abandoned match all bets are off. Those who might have betted heavily for an Indian win must have planned and executed the disruption.

Individual players now count their income in lakhs and crores. Ravi Shastri, former test player, has become the Indian business partner of Mark Mascarenhas of WorldTel, who has signed up Sachin Tendulkar for an estimated \$ 7.5 million (Rs. 27 crore) spread over five years. Sachin has endorsed Action, Boost, Pepsi, VISA, Gillette, Bajaj Sunny and Band Aid. (Comparatively Brian Lara's earnings are estimated at Rs. 2.16 crores per year;



Shane Warne's at Rs. 60 lakhs per year, and Wasim Akram's at Rs. 18 lakhs per year).

Of course, these are peanuts when we compare them with the earnings of top international sports stars like Michael Jordan (Rs. 108.36 crores in 1994); or Mike Tyson (Rs. 90 crores in 1995, for a convicted rapist); or Andre Agassi (Rs. 41.04 crores in 1994). Again, this itself is small change, when we compare with top international entertainers, like Steven Spielberg Rs. 1026 crores; Oprah Winfrey 525.6 crores; Michael Jackson Rs. 241.2 crores, all these figures are for the two years 1994 and 1995 combined. (Source for earnings *Outlook* 15-11-1995)

In an earlier issue of *Mankind* we have tabulated the enormous investments in sports by American tycoons (basket ball, baseball, ice-hockey, American football, race tracks, etc.) The Forbes list of the top fourteen was reproduced in *Mankind* Vol, 1, No. 2, Nov. 1995, p. 48. It was noted there that the investments ranged from \$ 1 billion to \$ 6 billion (i.e., from Rs. 3800 crores to Rs. 22,420 crores at Rs. 38 to a \$). It is truly sickening! How can such amounts be invested, unless these multi-billionaires had made sure of brain-washing billions of spectators, both on the ground and across the world in front of tele-screens? Why are the people of the world and of our country so supine and passive and manipulatable that these giant corporations are able to count on their pliability!

Let us return to the World Cup of Cricket 1996.

In a typical neo-colonial manner the descendants of the criminal convicts of Australia fired the first salvo by refusing to play in Colombo and bamboozled the West Indies Cricket Board to follow suit. Both teams forfeited the points to the Sri Lankans. Perhaps, West Indies was compensating the neo-colonial Whites

by their earlier casting vote in favour of PILCOM, against the claims of England, to host the 1996 World Cup, backed as it was by the other White racialists of the cricketing world.

The Australians were so frightened of possible loss to small Sri Lanka, that they refused to listen to every comprador proposal of compromise put forward by PILCOM.

Last year's Sri Lankans tour of Australia has exposed Australian cowardice thoroughly. At the beginning of their tour, Australia had accused Sri Lankans of ball-tempering, which the ICC (International Cricket Council) turned down. Later, they no-balled Murlitharan with the help of their criminal fraternity of umpires. Ultimately, they had to play Murlitharan's "throws" in the finals, when Sri Lanka thrashed them soundly. The Australians tried every trick that they could think of to upset the Sri Lankans and the more they tried, the more they exposed themselves as scoundrels and bullies.

Finally, the Sri Lankans won resoundingly and convincingly. But their glory was short-lived. In the Singer Cup, which followed in Singapore they lost, both to India and Pakistan. And now, Ranathunga the Ceylon captain is being accused of throwing the final match in favour of Pakistan for a hefty consideration! (*Times of India and Indian Express*, 9.4.96)

The West Indies after losing a preliminary round to lowly Kenya, managed to beat the South Africans to redeem what is called loosely their "honour."

Thus, it goes on! Perhaps, Dr. Sharayu Mhatre is right. The whole circus is rigged and is a mere farce!

The only reality is money, and the power of money to manipulate and corrupt our mind!

(continued from page 19)

have craved. I have left unnamed several of my friends and relatives who had been my well wishers and helpers in various circumstances.

The clock is about to strike twelve midnight. The initial moments of the day of my death are closing up. The hands are running. On Friday, the seventh day in Ramzan, early morning between five and six I die. Most Beloved and Respected Father, and Mother, brothers and sisters, hosts of relatives and friends known and unknown I am leaving you all. I have no consolation to offer you. We shall meet in heaven. Do not grieve for me. Only a few more moments are left to close the drama of my humble life. From eye witness of my death, one day you will learn how calmly and bravely I faced death. You will be proud and happy then.

Clock strikes  
Death awaits.

Your loving son,  
Abdul Kadar (Sd.)

Don't think that a very terrible tragedy is going to happen. This is one of the many unimportant events that happen in the world. If you compare some of the events that happened before your very eyes our death our humble self sacrifice is something like a word that has been struck off so soon as it is written. Our

death leads to the birth of some others. Countless heroes, noble spirited sons of India who had sacrificed their everything for the freedom of their motherland have passed away from this world. Compared with them we are but candles before full moon. It was nothing but bad luck that we could do nothing and that we were defeated in our purpose at the very outset. I cannot but curse the ill star that made the opportunity and time slip from our hands before we could do anything worthy of our death and your sufferings. We had determined to do something in all sincerity and without any thought of self. But before we could think of taking the first step we were thrown down by defeat: But never mind. Enough fellows and sufficient time are ahead of us. I firmly believe that in the final match between the Indian Nationalist Team and the British Imperialist Team the former would score the goal. May you become a free son of India and be embraced between the arms of a free mother! I do not want to say more of this. Let not the thought of us sadden you. Remember the pledge that we have taken. Do your duty without any prick of conscience. That is the duty of man, what we call Dharma. Failure is the beginning of success. Wish you every blessed thing. Hope you won't forget what I have told you on former occasions.

Your own Kadar.

# THE LAST LETTER OF VAKKOM KHADER

Translated from Malayalam

My Dear Father,

I would have written this letter about two months back but certain circumstances prevented me. Now I am taking my pen and paper for the last time in my life. Very often in our life time we come across situations some of which are painful and grievous in multiple ways. Such should be considered as temptation or trials placed before us by God.

Dreadful expressions like poverty and misery, futility of hopes and even threats to life face us. These are not occasions when we should be grave. On the other hand, we have to consider them as the will of God and yield to it and suffer with unflinching faith in him. The Holy Quran emphatically teaches us that the capacity to suffer is one among the several virtues. Often when we are in the midst of momentous trials of life, God provides us the mental capacity to suffer them bravely. He does not let anything face us which we cannot stand.

Dear father, God has blessed me by bestowing a peaceful and tranquil mind. In this present helplessness of mine and yours, we should not grudge or be disturbed. This is the moment to sacrifice a life gladly yielding to the will of God. To me it is with my life, and to you by loosing a son that God has set the present trial. I feel brave. Every moment adds to my mental peace and strength.

I know this letter will be a torpedo to your already vexed mind. I am driving you from the frying pan to the fire. My birth and life have been miserable to you alike. Misery right from the moment of the birth down to this day. You had hoped to educate me beyond your capacity could provide, to train me with physical culture to my taste, and provide me with all comforts beyond your means even. My heart breaks to think of all the worries and miseries you have undergone to provide for my necessities and comforts to make my infancy happy and my future bright and prosperous. The endless streams of tears you have shed on account of me melt down my heart within me. By going over to Malaya, you hoped that I would shed all my naughty habits. You hoped that at least I would be of use

and help to you. You hoped much more, I know. But what can I do now? Ask God. Pray to him. He will reply you. So says Holy Quran.

Whatever success I had in this short life was given by God's mercy and as a result of your incessant prayers for me. It was my greatest desire in life not to disappoint you, nor to cause you pain on my accord. I prayed for divine help in fulfilling this wish. Hopes and ambition remain unfulfilled. How grand it would have been if all our ambitions materialised. Along life's path we move forward searching for things unknown. Things foreseen happen to us. Still we don't pause to think what is the meaning of life. That is mystery itself. The more we think, the greater is the confusion. Man wants simply to live. But has his ambition any reality in its finality? I wonder. This is God's mystery of life, which is beyond our brains to disentangle. We cling to some ideas and ideals as dearest in our forward march through practical life. But against truth and justice we are condemned for holding to those dear ideals and striving to achieve them.

Man though destined to death as every animal, rises above the bestial plane to devote an aim and meaning to life. He tries to give it a perfume and purpose; occasionally he even forgets himself, and challenges death holding fast to his ideals. Thus he is prepared to do anything, to face any eventuality sincerely and selflessly why should not take it seriously. Straight away he starts to act.

Father, I have written much but I do not know what all. I left your dear fold about five years ago at the dawn of my adolescence, in search of fortune and prospect outside my motherland. You might have hoped much to happen through my departure. But I am proud that I have been benefited. How. By understanding a little bit of life. You sent me abroad to learn to live through diverse circumstances and varying opportunities. But I have taken to a path unforeseen by you. I never forgot the duty I owed you. I thought I could fulfil that duty. Only now do I realise that it was a miscalculation.

Dear Father, I have never been

selfish and had never been oblivious to this duty I owed you. I know it for myself. Others may not. But god knows my sincerity. He will bless you and me for that. He will bestow on you ten times what you would have expected from me. Our present miserable lot will certainly be bettered in this very generation.

On April 1st the judgement over me was pronounced. According to Indian Penal Code 121 A, I am sentenced to 5 years rigorous imprisonment, and by Ordinance III, I am condemned to death. A European special judge formally reviewed the case in the High Court. He upheld the lower court's decision and added that as they have waited an enemy attack on this land; imperilling India at a momentous time, their crime is unforgivable. They should die. This was pronounced on April 26th, A petition was then prepared and sent to the Viceroy.....

Beloved Father, this unpalatable news will bring you unlimited grief, I know, what I plead you in the name of God is to control your feelings, to pacify yourself and not to grieve for me. In this moment of helplessness our only help is God. Dear father I am leaving you all for ever. Tomorrow morning, by six O'clock, this life will be extinct, this hand will not move, this heart will never more feel, nor beat. At this moment I recall my brother and sisters, and all the rest of you as in a motion picture. My heart speaks to their hearts and yours in solemn Communion (My pen fails to proceed; a pencil comes to my help) I could not help any of them. I thought the hour when I could help them was almost in hand.

Dear Brother Abdul Rahim, your elder brother, is leaving this world. In the short span of my life I have gathered several distinguished and sincere friends. They will consider you as their own brother and their affection one day will compensate for the affection you lose by my death. I am rendering to your and Abdul Salam's hands our dear mother and only sister. May they forget my loss by your affectionate regards to them. If you get any reward for my services let it go to them both. I cannot say what, when or from whom you will get the rewards due to me. Certainly you will get. You need not even enquire who it is that will give. It will come to you. I entrust you to convey my best and last regards to all our intimates, relatives. They have all loved me in their heart of hearts. Ask them to forget me. My love and last respects to all friends and relatives who love me. T.M. Kadar, Paravoor, M.K. Asan, Edava, Abdul Majid, Alancode, are in Malaya now. They had been my close associates. They may be the future upholders of the glory that I

(continued on page 17)

# LEST WE FORGET

C.G.K. REDDY

September 10, this year, is a significant day. On that date 50 years ago, Abdul Khader, who hailed from Vakkom, near Trivandrum and three of his comrades, Satish Bardhan of Bengal, Fouja Singh of Punjab and Anandan, also of Kerala, were led out of their cells in the Madras Jail and executed. They faced their trial under the Enemy Agents Ordinance with great courage and went to their deaths, shouting *Bharat Mata Ki Jai*. September 10 this year is the 50th anniversary of their martyrdom.

Their story began in early 1942, when the Japanese had driven out the British, Dutch and American colonial interests from the whole of East and South East Asia. They were at the doors of the British Indian Empire. It was then that the Indian National Army was formed under Captain Mohan Singh from among the Indian soldiers of the British Army that had surrendered. This was the army that later, under Subhash Bose, attempted to invade India and free her from British rule.

Simultaneously, the political wing of the INA, the Indian Independence League, came into being. The League was the beacon for Indians living in South East Asia and served to instil among them patriotism and hope of Indian independence. Immediately after a conference in Bangkok, the League decided to recruit young Indians, train them and send them across to India to help the 1942 underground.

About 50 were recruited from among those who were working in various capacities, principally in Malaya. They were brought together in the Free School, Penang, which was renamed the Indian Swaraj Institute. The institute was nominally under the Indian Independence League, but was organized and run by Japanese intelligence. The Japanese apparently had intelligence aims, other than the urge for Indian independence that had inspired the young men who had volunteered.

The recruits were put through an intensive course for about a month in the arts of guerrilla tactics, espionage and subversive activities. They were, however, not quite prepared for the tasks that were set for them to enter India surreptitiously, contact the underground, gather intelligence and pass it on to the Independence League in South East Asia. Even so, twenty among those who were

being trained were selected to form the vanguard.

The twenty were split into batches of five each. Two batches were sent by submarine and landed in rubber boats on the coasts of Malabar (near Tanur) and Gujarat (near Okha) coasts, towards the end of September 1942. The first batch landed amidst Ramzan festivities, and the other in unfamiliar terrain. Their lack of proper training (they had never handled rubber boats) and ignorance of local topography and in the case of those who landed on the Kathiawar coast, lack of knowledge of Gujarati, were compounded by betrayal.

The first batch led by Abdul Kader and the others near Okha, tried valiantly to escape detection and enlist local help by appealing to their patriotism, but to no avail. They were all caught, arrested and interrogated and detained. Anandan, among the first batch, posed as really a British agent who had come to India to inform the British intelligence of Japanese military plans. He gave full details of the activities in the Swaraj Institute, the names and descriptions of those who were to follow by another submarine and overland.

Two other batches of five each entered India through Arakan and across the border near Imphal. It proved easy for the security forces in India to anticipate the arrival of these and to round them up soon after they entered India. They were kept in the Calcutta Police lock-up, the Red Fort in Delhi and the Madras Fort and brought together to the Madras Penitentiary (jail) in January 1943.

Immediately thereafter, the Enemy Agents Ordinance was promulgated. The ordinance was given retrospective effect and made the acts of the twenty young men, grave offences. According to the ordinance, an Enemy Agent was one who entered India at the behest and with the help of the enemy (the Japanese). When they were brought to trial, they were also charged with conspiracy to "Wage War Against the King". Both the offences were punishable by death.

The twenty were arraigned before a Special Judge, Mr. E. E. Mack ICS, who was later elevated to the Madras High Court. The trial was held inside the Madras Jail and conducted in *camera*. One among

the 20, as happened in most conspiracy cases during the struggle for independence, K. P. Balan of Tellicherry, turned approver. The judge, considering the circumstances, was a fair man and went out of the way to provide the best defence to those who had no lawyers to defend them. The court-appointed lawyers were : V. Rajagopala Chari, T. M. Kasturi, prominent members of the Madras Bar, N. M. Sastry, a noted criminal lawyer of Bellary who was practising before Mr. Mack and Mr. Chandrasekhara Sastry, also of the Madras Bar. The lawyers engaged privately by some of the accused were Mr. V.T. Rangaswamy, a noted criminal defence lawyer, Mr. P. Basi Reddy, Bar-at-law and Mr. Govind Swaminathan, Bar-at-law. The prosecutor was the famous V. L. Ethiraj. The accused were : 1. Abdul Khader, Vakkom, Kerala, 2. Anandan, Thykkad, Kerala, 3. Satish Bardhan, Tripura, 4. Fouja Singh, Punjab, 5. C.P. Eapen, Kerala, 6. Boniface Pereira, Kerala, 7. S. R. Paul, Tripura, 8. P. Roy, Tripura, 9. K.M. Cheriyan, Kerala, 10. G. Santha Pillai, T. Nadu, 11. A. Andrew, T. Nadu, 12. K. K. Govind, Kerala, 13. K.M. Mammen, Kerala, 14. J.M. Kaura, Punjab, 15. B.M. Ghani, T. Nadu, 16. M. Gangadharan, Kerala, 17. Leon D'Cruz, Kerala, 18. K.A. George, Kerala, 19. C.G.K. Reddy, Andhra.

The trial and submissions ended on April 1, 1943, when Mr. Mack pronounced judgement. He sentenced Abdul Khader, Fouja Singh, S.C. Bardhan, Boniface Pereira and Anandan to death. There was no difference in the degree of guilt or otherwise among the twenty, but the judge apparently was unwilling to send all the 20 to death. The sentence on Anandan came as a kind of poetic justice, the judge concluding that he was attempting to be too clever, and was without doubt an agent of the enemy.

By design or otherwise, the judge picked a representative of each religion to face death. Abdul Khader was a Muslim, Fouja Singh a Sikh, Boniface Pereira, a Christian and Bardhan and Anandan, Hindus. The accused arraigned before him also represented all the principal regions of India. It seemed as if that the entire people of India, of all regions and religions were represented by the accused in the case, and by those convicted.

The judgement was reviewed by Mr. Justice Wordsworth who held the view that all 19 were guilty and should have been sentenced to death, but that under the ordinance he had no power to overrule their acquittal. He, however, relieved Boniface Pereira on the technical ground that he was a subject of Travancore State and that the

alleged offence was committed in another Indian State, Baroda. His sentence for 5 years R.I. on the ground of conspiracy was retained and he served almost all of it until he was released in April 1946, when the Government of the Madras Presidency was formed under the late Mr. Prakasam.

The British Government filled the loop-hole pointed out by Mr. Justice Wordsworth, by promulgating another ordinance which again retrospectively provided that the review judge had the power, and was deemed to have had the power, to enhance the sentence, or overrule acquittal by the trial court. But for the intervention of Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, who was then Advocate-General of Madras Presidency who expressed his firm view that it would be morally and legally scandalous to expose the 14 acquitted to the effect of the ordinance, none of the 19 who stood trial would have escaped the gallows.

From April 1, 1943, for over 5 months, Khader and his companions were lodged in the condemned cells, which fortunately were adjacent to the block where we, the fourteen who were reprieved were put in as detenus. There was no direct communication or face-to-face conversation, but there was a drain that ran between the two blocks which provided a fairly satisfactory way to talk to each other. During this time, the condemned were generally brave and more cheerful than those who were in relatively better comfort. It is they, Khader and his comrades, who gave them cheer and asked them to be brave and be confident that they will live to be in a free land. They sang *Vande Mataram* together early morning and before they went to bed.

The five months went past, much of it for the review of the case by Mr. Justice Wordsworth, and the formality of the mercy petition, whose fate was to be anticipated. We, the lucky ones, were hoping against hope that somehow our comrades would be

reprieved and would join us. But those who were condemned had no such illusions and were continuously telling us that we shouldn't entertain them.

In fact, they would say, teasingly, that they were the lucky ones. Their indomitable courage had to be experienced to be believed. And they exhibited their courage right till the end.

In the early morning of September 10, 1943, they sang *Vande Mataram* together, and as they were led away to the gallows, they were shouting *Bharat Mata Ki Jai* and *Gandhi Ji ki Jai* and telling us not to grieve for them, but to be proud of them and ourselves. Such was the mettle that Khader and his companion martyrs were made of. Their courage even on the gallows was recounted to me after the war by a Deputy Commissioner of Police who was a witness to the execution. He said that he had never witnessed such exemplary bravery in the face of impending, certain death! The poignant, philosophical and brave last letter of Abdul Khader to his father on the eve of his execution exhibits this rare courage.

It is a tribute to their memory that prominent personages have voluntarily come forward to observe the 50th anniversary of the martyrdom of the brave who made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of the country's freedom.

In observing the anniversary, we should be aware that they were not the only ones who died in the cause of freedom. Thousands all over the country bravely laid down their lives in the struggle for independence. In paying tribute to the martyrs of September 10, 1943, we remember those thousands, and hope to revive the memory of those brave sons of India.

*(C.G.K. Reddy, was a long time associate of Hindu, Madras, passed away in December 1994.)*

### SPECIAL APPEAL TO MANKIND READERS

Please send your views on any subject of your choice and of public interest to Adda at Nukkad, Exe. Edr.

# THE QUEST AND THE GOAL

Jaya Prakash Narayan

Life is full of failures.  
When fruitions sought me  
I spurned them off my path.  
Was it foolish ? No.  
Different are my definitions  
Of success and failure.  
Years ago, I might have become the  
Prime Minister -

Ask that of history  
But the revolutionary  
Chooses other paths - paths destined -  
Of sacrifice, of service, of reconstruction.  
The paths of struggle, of Total Revolution -  
What the world calls futilities  
They but punctuate my quest :  
Countless indeed the steps

And the destination far, far way.  
Yet, to me there is no halting anywhere,  
However hostile the path.  
Of desire, I have not a whit -  
All that is dedicated unto God.  
So, I am pleased with my failures.  
And this life of futility  
Shall be fulfilled a hundred-fold,  
In the thorny path of the youth  
Who share my vision

9.9.1975

- Jayaprakash Narayan  
(From Prison Diary)

(Translated from Hindi by  
Dr. P. Adeswara Rao, Andhra University)

# SPRING

Pattabhi Rama Reddy

I am told "Spring" has come to  
Madras city.  
But where is it ?  
I have not heard any cuckoo's cooing  
anywhere  
except the shrill sounds of the  
buses and the trains.

Has it really come !  
The Spring Season ?

Yes ! Yes !

Look ! Look ! There !  
There, before the 'Chellaram's'  
How it is advertised with words  
"Grand Spring Sales",  
"At most attractive rates",  
"At unheard of discount rates",  
Words, stinging into the eyes,  
ringing into the ears.

Yes ! Spring must have really come !

Not only that

Have you not read the poems of our most

honoured poet in honour of Spring  
published in today's newspaper  
with all those rumble-jumble of the  
names of trees which he says have  
blossomed ?

I was not able to contain my laughter  
at his reference of all those mediplants  
which, with all his punditry  
he had called out of the dictionary  
to grill our memory.  
I am quite sure he might not have seen  
even one tree out of them.

Lo ! The Ladies !  
looking verily like the creepers all  
a blossom with all those flowers  
overdecked in their chignons,  
in those sarees printed in tree prints all  
over, proving truly the anvil of Spring  
to this great city Madras.

O, Dear ! What is wrong ?  
Inhale those fragrances from those  
flowers enchanting in their hair dos.  
If it is not for this, why then did they

bedeck them somewhere like that without  
themselves being able to smell them  
with their noses, to see them with their  
own eyes.

The hearts of the women too would be  
tender to go gay-fonder in the season of  
spring.  
They may not so much mind.

Bold ! Be Bold !  
For, no happiness comes to anyone  
who dares not, who keeps cold

*[-Original in Telugu by Pattabhi Translated  
by Sri V. Kondal Rao.]*

*(Pattabhi Rama Reddy is a well-  
known Telugu poet. He launched the New  
Wave Kannada Cinema with Samskara in  
1970, based on U.R. Ananthamurthy's  
novel. Later also produced Chomana Dudi  
Pattabhi has been associated with  
the Socialist movement for many years and  
was a friend of Dr. Lohia and husband of  
Snehlata Reddy poetess and actress who  
was an Emergency martyr.)*

# SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN ANDHRA PRADESH : SOME REFLECTIONS

M. Madhava Rao  
A. V. K. Chaitanya  
Ravela Somayya

At least a few Indians were attracted by Socialist ideas even during the last century. There is evidence that an Indian corresponded with Karl Marx during the period of the International Workingmen's Association (The First International 1864-1874). Towards the end of the century Swami Vivekananda said, "I prefer socialism, not because it is a perfect system, but because half a loaf is better than no bread." He also said that at the beginning there was the rule of the Brahmanas (or priestly class), then the rule of the Kshatriyas (or the warrior class), that the contemporary situation was the rule of the Vysyas (the merchant class) and that the future would see the rule of the Sudras (the working class). In making this analysis Vivekananda was obviously influenced by the Historical Materialist outlook worked out by Marx and Engels, Brahmana rule has a parallel with the slave-owning society with the priest kings of Egypt and with the Roman Patricians being elected as temple priests; Kshatriya rule corresponds to feudalism, Vysya rule compares with capitalism and Sudra rule with socialism. The Swami's younger brother Bhupendranath Datta met Lenin in the Soviet Union and was active in the Communist International.

The Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 made the revolutionary groups in India to start studying Marxist theory and Leninist practice. A number of Communist groups were formed by 1921-22 and they came together to launch the Communist Party of India by 1925-26. Yet, there were some socialist groups in India which did not wish to merge with the C.P.I. Such were the Hindustan Socialist Republican Party of Bhagat Singh and Chandrasekhara Azad in the Punjab and the M.P., and the Hindustan Republican Army of Surya Sen in Bengal.

Similar was the case with the Congress Socialist party, which was launched in 1934, though there was already a Communist Party in existence. It looks all the more strange when we consider the fact that most of the founders of the party were Marxists; Jai Prakash Narayan was a member of the Communist Party when he was in the U.S.A.

But there was a reason for this. The Communist International (Comintern) in its Sixth Congress (1928) adopted a thesis which formulated that the world was passing through the "Third Period", a period of growing revolutionary situations in most countries of the world. The Comintern instructed its affiliated Communist Parties to take a sectarian, ultra-left line, refusing to have any truck with the other leftist and socialist parties. It was this line that made the Communist Party of Germany prefer the Nazis to the Social Democrats and paved the way to the dictatorship of Hitler in 1933.

In India the Communists implemented the Third period policy by splitting the Trade Union movement, forming "Red" Trade Unions. They also kept away from the Salt Satyagraha of 1930-31 and the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1932-33, on the plea that they were bourgeois movements.

The founders of the Congress Socialist Party, Acharya Narendra Dev, Jai Prakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardan, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, Mrs. Kamala Devi Chattopadhyaya, were men and women who had participated in the above struggles launched by the Congress under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. In fact the idea of launching the C.S.P. was born among some of the prisoners in Nasik Central Jail. Naturally, the Congress Socialists could not join the Communist Party which had remained aloof from the

mainstream of the national liberation movement.

In the document released from Nasik Central Jail and sent to the various socialist groups in the country, the authors took as their starting point the resolution on fundamental rights passed in the Karachi Congress in 1931. In the preamble to that resolution it was stated, "For ending the exploitation of the people, the real economic freedom of the starving millions should become an essential part of political freedom". The document argued that if this aim was to be realised, the Congress should adopt the philosophy and programme of socialism. The Congress Socialist Party was to be formed to make the Congress adopt the ideal of socialism, by preaching socialist ideas both within the Congress and outside.

In the same document, in the section dealing with membership, it was stated, "Any member of the Congress who accepts the programmes of this party will be considered as eligible for membership in the Party."

The document also contains a draft programme of the C.S.P. In Section (A) of this Programme entitled "Setting up mass organisations to carry on struggles for the achievement of economic and political freedom for the people," there is a list of civil liberties for which people's struggles had to be organised. They are: 1) Freedom of Speech; 2) Freedom of the Press; 3) Freedom of Assembly; 4) Freedom to set up Organisations, and 5) Freedom to Possess Arms. The last item is significant; it makes it clear that the Socialists did not believe in the Gandhian creed of non-violence in the beginning.

The Foundation Conference of the Congress Socialist Party was held in Bombay on the 21st, 22nd of October, 1934. Jai Prakash Narayan, in his Report as Organising Secretary said, "After the Patna Conference I started the work of organising the regional (Socialist) parties .... In Andhra and Kerala regions the parties had been formed even before my tour..."

The Congress Socialist Party took its birth in the coastal districts of the Andhra area on the basis of a number of youth leagues which had been attracted by the Socialist ideology. Jonnalagadda Ramalingaiah organised a socialist youth conference in Kantheru village of Guntur district at the beginning of 1934. On 23rd June 1934 the preliminary convention of the Andhra C.S.P. was held in Vijayawada. Three hundred delegates attended the convention. Minoo Masani attended on behalf of the Central Committee. Prof. N. G. Ranga presided

over it. Basavaraju Rangasai was elected as the Secretary of the Organising Committee. Madduri Annapoornaiah, who had experience of having edited a Telugu weekly called "Congress" from 1921, was elected as the Chief Editor of the C.S.P.'s Telugu Journal "Nava Shakti".

Jai Prakash Narayan toured Andhra in July, 1934. "The Hindu" of July 27, 1934 carried this report.

### SWARAJ AND SOCIALISM

"Under the auspices of the Ellore Congress Socialist Party, Mr. Jaya Prakash Narayan, Organising Secretary of the All India Congress Socialist Party, delivered an address on socialism and its relation to the Indian political situation as it was then. He spoke at a public meeting, held on the evening of July 26, in the premises of the Ellore Town Hall, with Mr. J. Ramalingayya of Guntur in the Chair.

"Mr. Narayan said that the Indian National Congress was carrying on struggle with British Imperialism only for political independence of India. Often times the leaders of the Congress Party had said that Independence meant independence for the people and for the masses of India. They had said that they were trying to achieve *swaraj* for 98 percent of the people. The Congress Socialist group was saying that if that were the object of the Congress, then it should establish a kind of *swaraj* in India which would be *swaraj* for the masses of India and which was a *swaraj* for the workers and peasants of India. Such a *swaraj* had to be based strongly on the principles of Socialism.

"Mr. Narayan then dwelt in detail on the meaning of Socialism in general, and in particular on the objectives of the Socialists in India. He demonstrated his point that mere political independence coupled with what he called 'capitalist democracy' would be powerless to cope with the conditions of that time. That point had been proved by the situation prevailing in various countries. In India too, *swaraj*, even if achieved would not be worth anything in the absence of economic and social freedom which constituted socialism.

"After Mr. Narayan's address, Mr. N. G. Ranga spoke at length in Telugu explaining Socialism; and the meeting ended after about two hours at 8 p.m."

On 31st December, 1934 The Andhra Provincial Political Conference was held in Visakhapatnam. Krovvidi Lingaraju moved a resolution that the conference approved the programme of the Congress Socialist Party. It was seconded by Mosalikanti Tirumala Rao (who later became a Congress Minister). It was carried by 58 votes to 46. This shows the influence enjoyed by the C.S.P. among Congress Youth of Andhra. Out of the 24 members elected to the A.I.C.C. from Andhra 3 belonged to the C.S.P. Out of the 100 members at the A.P.C.C. 23 were C.S.P. members.

On 19th February, 1935 the First Conference of the Andhra Provincial C.S.P. was held in Guntur. Tenneti Viswanadham presided and M.R. Masani delivered the inaugural address. Soon after this conference Prof. N.G. Ranga left the C.S.P. in order to participate in the elections. Madduri Annapoornaiah, newly released from Jail, went round the region setting up district committees of the C.S.P. and organising youth leagues.

The C.S.P. proposed to hold a commemoration meeting to observe the death anniversary of Alluri Seetharama Raju on 23rd June, 1936. The government passed ban orders on the C.S.P. members Madduri Annapoornaiah, Garapati Satyanarayana and Basavaraju Ranga Sai. The Government also issued a warning to the "Andhra Patrika" daily for publishing a speech delivered by Vajravelu Chetty, a C.S.P. member belonging to Chittoor district. This shows how much the British rulers were afraid of leftist ideas.

The same hyper-sensitiveness was shown by the British bureaucracy when it banned the C.P.I. in 1934. After having isolated itself from the national liberation movement, the C.P.I. was such a pitifully small group that it did not pose any real threat to the British rule in India.

By the time of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern held in 1935, the leadership realised its folly in having allowed Hitler to come to power in Germany. At this Congress was adopted the Dimitroff Thesis which formulated a change in policy. It was proposed that the Communist Parties should join hands with Socialist, Social Democratic, Anarchist and other left parties to set up People's Fronts in order to combat the growing threat of fascism.

The Popular Front line was modified for India as the National Front line in the Dutt-Bradley Thesis adopted by the underground C.P.I. As a result of this the C.P.I. entered into a pact with the C.S.P. - called J.P. - Joshi pact (Jai Prakash Narayan and P.C. Joshi were General Secretaries of the C.S.P. and the C.P.I. respectively). As a result of this pact the Communists, whose party had been banned, were allowed to join the C.S.P.

The Second Conference of the Andhra C.S.P. was held in Rajahmundry on the 26th and 27th of September, 1936. Yusuf Meherally attended on behalf of the Central Committee and presided. 60 delegates attended and a considerable number of them were Communists. There were 11 Communists in the 17 member Provincial Committee elected at the Conference. Madduri Annapoornaiah was elected as the General Secretary and the Joint Secretaries were Krovvidi Lingaraju, Basavaraju Ranga Sai and Puchalapalli Sundaraiiah.

In spite of frequent quarrels between the Communists and Socialists within the organization, the C.S.P. managed to build youth leagues and women's associations in almost all the Andhra districts by 1937-38. Also, in cooperation with the followers of Prof. N.G. Ranga, Kisan Sabhas and Agricultural Labour Organisations were set up. Political study camps were held in Kothapatnam, Veurulapadu and Manthenavaripalem. After the Congress ministry was formed in Madras Presidency in 1937, the C.S.P. led peasants' struggles in Munagala and Kasipatnam. Alluri Satyanarayana Raju and Kakani Venkataratnam (both of whom became Congress ministers later) led these agitations.

By 1938 the Communists managed to capture the C.S.P. organisation in Andhra and Puchalapalli Sundaraiiah became the General Secretary. On the editorial board of "Navasakti" Madduri Annapoornaiah was the lone non-Communist. Most of the non-Communists in the Andhra C.S.P. either went over to the rightist camp in the Congress or became de-politicalised.

In 1938 there was the Vande Mataram movement in Nizam State. Previously, in the few educational institutions in the state, the students were expected to sing some song in praise of the Nizam as a sort of anthem. In that year the students in a number of schools and colleges insisted on singing Bankim Chandra's *Vande Mataram*. The leaders of this movement were rusticated and they completed their studies in the various cities and towns under British rule. When they went back home they formed the nucleus of the Communist and Socialist parties in that State.

The Quit India Struggle of August, 1942 found the C.P.I. which had been legalised in January, 1942, once again keeping aloof, on the plea that, with the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union, the Imperialist War was transformed into a People's War. The Communists argued that the British war effort in India should not be hampered and they actively opposed the revolutionary struggle of the people. The Congress leaders, except Gandhiji, were half-hearted about the struggle. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad had initially opposed the Quit India Resolution.

It was left to the Congress Socialists - Jai Prakash Narayan, Achyut Patwardhan, Aruna Asaf Ali, Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and others — to give an organised shape to this spontaneous outburst of mass fury. They did a good job of it, organising guerrilla bands and setting up parallel governments in various parts of the country — the most important centres being Satara district in Bombay Presidency, Ballia district in the United Provinces, North Bihar and Midnapore district in Bengal.

Naturally, the students and youth of Andhra, who plunged into the revolutionary struggle, looked for leadership to the central struggle committee set up by the Congress Socialists. This same revolutionary youth formed the cadres and leaders of the Andhra C.S.P. When it was reborn in 1947, after a gap of nine years. The prominent among these were Chimakurthi Seshagiri Rao, Surapaneni Ramaseshagiri Rao, Ainampudi Chakradhar, Kollu Ramakumar Varma, Bhupathy Koteswara Rao, M.V. Subba Reddy and Chundi Jagannadham. It is true there were other prominent underground fighters who did not join the C.S.P. — like, Bhayankarachary (a veteran of the Kakinada Bomb case of 1930 and an Andamans prisoner), Sardar Gouthu Lachanna (who had got his title for leading the Mandasa Kisan Struggle during the Congress Ministry), V.L. Sundara Rao (who joined the Forward Block) and others.

Chundi Jagannadham and Musunuru Balakrishna were secretaries of the Organising Committee set up in 1947 to revive the C.S.P. in Andhra. The other members were Madduri Annapoomaiah, A. Chakradhar, B. S. Mallikharjuna Rao, M. V. Subba Reddy, T.K.R. Sarma, Nannapaneni Venkata Rao, Gokaraju Srirama Raju, B. Ratnasabhpathy, K. S. Sastry, K. S. Tilak, Eranki Narayana Murthy, Bhupathy Koteswara Rao, and Gutha Rajarao.

In the meanwhile, there were some important developments in the neighbouring Nizam State. The Quit India Struggle had its repercussions in the Nizam State also — the attack on the Sultan Bazaar Police Station in Hyderabad City, the setting fire to the goods shed in Nampally Railway Station under the leadership of Krishna Dube and the derailment of a goods train near Kothagudem are a few instances. But the liberation struggle against the Nizam started only in 1945.

In 1946 a Socialist group was formed in the Nizam State with Mahadev Singh as the President, the other members being S. B. Giri, Srinu Abbasi, R. V. Bidap, L. Narayana, Basavaraj, Y. Sivarama Sastry, Virendra Kabra, Bansilal Dadhe, Sriramulu Amdyal, Krishna Dube, V. Rajeshwara Rao and J. R. Gauthama Rao.

When the liberation struggle against the Nizam intensified in 1947, guerilla training camps were set up by the Socialists in Akola, Amaravati, Jabalpur and Rayapur in the Maharashtra area of the Bombay Presidency. The strategy was to liberate the border villages of the Nizam State, declare their accession into India and defend them against reoccupation by the Nizam's forces. Itigi was one such village. A hundred Girijan villages in Palwancha area were liberated under the leadership of Maturi Narasimha Rao. In Aurangabad district of Marathwada 600 villages were liberated and self-governing panchayats were established, under the leadership of a Socialist called Deshmukh. Even some jagirdars were willing to accede to India. Raja Rameswara Rao of Wanaparthy Samsthanam proclaimed that he would merge his samsthanam with India. But the Nehru Government discouraged these moves; the governments of the border states — Madras, Bombay and Central Provinces — started harassing the liberation fighters for carrying arms.

In the All India Conference of the C.S.P. held in Kanpur in February, 1947, it was decided to drop the word "Congress" from

the name of the Party. It was also decided to admit as members even those who were not members of the Congress. In February 1948 the Congress amended its constitution and banned the formation of ideological or programmatic groups within the party. This move forced the Socialists to leave the Congress and they decided to do so at their National Conference held at Nasik in March, 1948. In the Patna Conference held in 1949 it was decided to make the Socialist Party a mass party — upto that time it was a cadre-based party.

The Madras Conference of the S.P. held in 1950 initiated some important changes in the party's outlook. Jai Prakash Narayan, in his General Secretary's Report, stated, "The party should evolve a new philosophy". Upto that time it was taken for granted that the party's philosophy was Marxism.

In the same report it was said that the newly-adopted Constitution of the Indian Union was "Fairly deomocratic" and, hence, there was no need to use methods of armed struggle to bring about any political, social or economic changes in the country. This was a major departure for a party whose first document had mentioned the Right to Bear Arms as one of the Fundamental Rights of the Citizen.

The first general elections of 1951-52 saw the S.P. having an alliance with the Scheduled Castes Federation of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar. After the elections, one section of the S.P. leadership worked for a merger of these two parties in some sort of a "Federal Party". Another section tried for a merger with the Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party started by Acharya Kripalani, Dr. P.C. Ghosh, Tanguturi Prakasam Panthulu, Pattom Thanu Pillai and others in 1951. The latter move succeeded and the Praja Socialist Party was born in September, 1952.

In the General Elections held in 1946, B. S. Mallikharjuna Rao, a Congress Socialist was elected to the Madras Presidency Legislative Assembly from the North Madras Labour Constituency. When the Socialists left the Congress in 1948 the Party directed those of its members who had been elected on Congress ticket to the various legislatures to resign their posts, thus establishing moral values in parliamentary democracy long before the Anti-Defection Act was contemplated. B. S. Mallikharjuna Rao obeyed the directive and left the Madras Assembly.

The S.P. in Andhra brought out a Telugu Weekly called "Socialist" between 1949 and 1952. It served the dual purpose of propogating the Socialist ideology and highlighting the hardships and struggles of the toiling masses. It was the only paper that condemned outright the atrocities committed by the Malabar Special Police in Katuru and Yelamaru villages, when they made the people strip themselves and parade, around Gandhiji statue. The M.S.P. was used at the time to suppress the activities of the C.P.I. which, following the policy of the Ranadive Thesis adopted at the Calcutta Congress in 1948, took the ultra-left line of armed struggle. The First Conference of the Andhra S.P. was held in Gudiwada 24, 25, 26 February. Nannapaneni Venkata Rao was elected as Chairman and K.S. Tilak as General Secretary. Prem Bhasin of the National Committee inaugurated the Conference.

The Fourth Conference of Hyderabad S.P. was held on 19, 20 July, 1951. Ashok Mehta delivered the inaugural address. B. S. Mahadev Singh was elected as President and Y. S. Rao as General Secretary.

The First General Elections under the Republican Constitution were held in 1951-52. From the Andhra area six Socialists were elected to the Madras Assembly and two to the Lok Sabha, K. S. Tilak and Nallareddy Naidu. From Telangana eleven Socialists were elected in the Hyderabad Assembly and one to the Lok Sabha, C. Madhava Reddy.

When the Praja Socialist Party was formed in December,



1951, the P.S.P. Committee in Andhra had Tenneti Viswanadham as President and P.V.G. Raju as General Secretary. The P.S.P. Committee in Telangana had C. Madhav Reddy as President and Chundi Jagannadham as General Secretary.

In July, 1952 the Hyderabad City Socialist Party launched the Food Satyagraha, in protest against the exorbitant rise in the prices of food grains. It spread to the districts also; picketing the grains godowns was the technique. It continued for a month and the prominent persons arrested were B.S. Mahadev Singh, S. B. Giri, Y. S. Rao, Bhai Ramamurthy Naidu and Chundi Jagannadham.

There were also innumerable struggles for distribution of government land to the landless labourers in Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad and Mahaboobnagar districts in Telangana throughout 1952. P. Narsing Rao, D. Venkata Rao, Satyanarayana Rao, G. Sreeramulu, B. Venkatarama Rao, A. Kishan Reddy, J. Gauthama Rao, R. M. Kamalakara Rao, Anantha Reddy, C. Madhava Reddy, C. Papi Reddy and M. Rami Reddy were some of the leading figures.

The Socialists in Andhra played an active part in the struggle for separation of Andhra from Madras State, which burst out after the martyrdom of Potti Sriramulu on 15th December, 1952. Andhra State was formed on 1st October, 1953. In this new born state the C.P.I. had 41 members in the Legislature and the Congress had only 40 members, out of a house of 140; and the Congress allies were about 10 members. The P.S.P. had 23 members with Tanguturi Prakasam Panthulu as the leader. The national leadership of the P.S.P. permitted Prakasam to form a coalition government with the Congress and its allies. But the Congress was not willing to give the Chief Ministership to Prakasam Panthulu unless he became an associate member of the Congress. Prakasam Panthulu and his followers resigned from the P.S.P. and he became the C.M. of Andhra on 1st October, 1953. The strength of the P.S.P. was reduced to 13 in the Andhra Assembly and P.V.G. Raju was the leader of the legislature party.

The first Annual Conference of the Andhra P.S.P. was held in Guntur on 20th February, 1954. Ashok Mehta presided and C.G.K. Reddy inaugurated. Kommareddi Suryanarayana was elected as the President and P.V.G. Raju as General Secretary.

On 9th August, 1954 the P.S.P. started the Karivena Satyagraha in Kurnool district, to abolish the Srotriyam and give the land to the tenant cultivators. The struggle lasted for 40 days, 231 persons were arrested, including three M.Ps., four M.L.As and 25 women. The State Government entered into an agreement with the *satyagrahis* conceding their demand on 19th September, 1954.

The Prakasam Ministry was outvoted in the Assembly and it resigned. Mid-term polls were held in February and March 1955. In this election the Congress formed the Congress Front which included the K.L.P. of Prof. N.G. Ranga and the Former Praja Party of Prakasam Panthulu. The C.P.I. stood alone, alone with a handful of independent candidates and it was hopeful of coming to power. The P.S.P. joined neither camp and retained its strength of 13 in the Assembly.

On 10th December, 1955 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru came to Andhra to lay the foundation stone of the Nagarjuna Sagar Project. The P.S.P. planned a black-flag demonstration to highlight the problems of the farmers and agricultural labourers who would be displaced by the construction of the project. P.V.G. Raju, Mrs. Kusuma Gajapathi Raju, Guttha Raja Rao, Bezawada Papi Reddy, Bhavanam Venkata Rami Reddy and others were arrested.

In September, 1954 there was a police firing on some demonstrators in the State of Travancore-Cochin and a few people died. At that time Pattam Thanu Pillai of the P.S.P. was

the Chief Minister. Dr. Lohia was the General Secretary of the P.S.P. and he was in jail as a consequence of having participated in the struggle of the farmers of U.P. against the enhancement of water cess. From his prison Dr. Lohia sent a telegram to Pattam Thanu Pillai demanding that he should resign. Pillai did not resign but appealed to the National Executive of the P.S.P. This body, after a heated discussion, countermanded Dr. Lohia's directive. Dr. Lohia resigned his post of General Secretary of the P.S.P. His stand was that the Socialists had always held the view that the police firing should be used only to put fear into an unruly mob, but not to take lives. Whenever there was death in police firing the Socialists demanded the resignation of that Government. The same yardstick which they had used with regard to governments of other parties should be used in the case of a government formed by their own party; there should be no double standards.

Dr. Lohia was expelled from the P.S.P. in July, 1955. The Socialist Party was revived with Dr. Lohia as the President in a Conference held in Hyderabad between 28th December 1955 and 1st January, 1956.

Even before this move at the national level, the first conference of the Andhra Socialist Party was held in Vijayawada on 23, 24 November, 1955. Guttha Raja Rao presided over it; 67 delegates from Andhra Area and 52 delegates from Telangana area attended.

In 1957 elections were held for both Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha in Telangana and only for Lok Sabha in Andhra. The Socialist Party, going it alone, contested 13 Vidhan Sabha seats and won 4; it also contested 6 Lok Sabha seats and won two of them. On 1st July, 1957 Rajamallu, an M.L.A. and C. Madhava Reddy in Adilabad District joined the S.P. from the P.S.P. On 11-7-1957, the President of the State P.S.P. also joined the S.P. The English monthly "*Mankind*" edited by Dr. Lohia was being published from Hyderabad, from 1956.

Socialists of Andhra State played an important role in the student movement. N.V.S. Prasada Rao, G.V. Subba Rao, K. V. Satyanarayana and K. S. Sastry were in Students Congress belonging to Socialist Group.

Democratic Students' Union (DSU) was formed in 1952 with Mr. A. V. K. Chaitanya as President, the Pathiwada Suryanarayana Mente Padmanabham as Vice Presidents and V. R. Tumati as General Secretary. DSU took an active part in separate Andhra State movement when Sri Potti Sreeramulu undertook fast unto death.

DSU organised agitation against Detention system in High Schools and succeeded in getting it abolished.

Mr. P. Upendra, Tummala Choudhary, were office bearers of DSU.

Socialists played an important role in Trade Union Movement. Hyderabad State Mazdoor Sangh was formed prior to the formation of HMS. Shri B. S. Mahadev Singh, N. Raghavendra Rao S. B. Giri, Somayajulu were the leaders of the Socialist Trade Unions.

In Andhra State Shri B. S. Mallikarjuna Rao, K. S. Tilak, and K.S. Sastry were the leaders and organised unions in various sections.

Later in Andhra Pradesh Sri Badrivasal Pitti, AVK Chaitanya, M. Madhava Reddy, N. Narasimha Reddy led several unions belonging to HMS & HMKP.

Socialists of A.P. played an important role in the J.P. Movement against the emergency. Shri A. Chakradhar ex. M.P., P. Janardhana Reddy, MLA, Ravela Somayya and others played active role in the underground movement.

Shri. A. Chakradhar, Ex. M.P. A.V.K. Chaitanya, Nayani Narasimha Reddy, Tummala Chowdari, M. Papi Reddy, Tumati

(continued on page 15)

# ADDA AT NUKKAD

## Letter from Gerry Adams and Reply

Gerry Adams,  
President of Sinn Fein  
51/55 Bothar na bhFal, Beal Feirste  
BT12 4PD

4.3.96

a Chara Vinayak,

Thank you for your letter of 14 Feb. 1996 to Mr. Adams which he has read and asked me to reply to.

Mr Adams has noted your comments and wishes to thank you for taking time to write to him.

Mr. Adams would also like to take this opportunity to urge your continued support for Sinn Fein's efforts to find a just and lasting peace.

Is mise le meas  
Paula Luac Luams

for Gerry Adams

I thank Mr. Gerry Adams for his reply. Whilst I was forthright in my condemnation of the Irish partition of 1921, Mr. Gerry Adams has chosen to remain silent about the Indian Partition of 1947, during which not only were six lakh Indians slain, but also seventeen million people displaced, the largest single migratory movement known to human history.

I wish he had said something about this terrible human tragedy, which was a consequence of the same imperialist policy of divide and rule, of which Ireland was an early victim in 1921.

Anyway, *Mankind's* support to Irish national aspirations and to the goal of Irish national unity is unconditional and unwavering.

With best wishes to Sinn Fein,

Ex. Edr.

## Letter from London Economist

The Economist,  
25, St. James's Street,  
London SW1A 1HG,

11.3.96

Dear Dr. Purohit,

The editor thanks you for your recent letter, which has been passed to the appropriate person - our research / Stats. Dept.

Thank you for taking the trouble to write.

H. Mann  
(in the editor's office)

## Letter to Hamas

To,  
President,  
HAMAS,  
Palestine Gaza Strip, Arab Republic

By Courier

Dear Comrade,

*Mankind* does not think that you are Islamic Fundamentalists. It also does not think that you are Terrorists.

*Mankind* believes that you are an organisation representing the national aspirations of the Palestinian Arabs, who have been betrayed by the traitor Arafat.

Further, *Mankind* knows that terror is the instrument (Irgun Zeumi, the Stern gang, etc.) by which Israel was born and terror is the means by which it survives. Israel has occupied Southern Lebanon and Golan Heights of Syria by nothing but terror tactics. It has bombed from the air areas unilaterally selected by it, from Tunisia, Uganda and Egypt to Lebanon, Syria and Iraq, anytime it chose.

*Mankind* believes that British Imperialism used the League of Nations mandate to divide and rule the Arab subjects of the old Ottoman Turkish empire. They opened the doors to legal and illegal immigration of several lakh Jews, who could have been easily settled in the '20s and the '30s in sparsely populated Canada and Australia or in unpopulated Sahara and Greenland. But the Jewish tycoons of the

international armaments industry sought to kill two birds with one stone. By organising Jewish emigration to Palestine, they would have a dagger thrust into the heart of the Middle East and also at the same time promote the sale of lethal arms to all the current and future combatants in the area. The Military-Industrial Complex of the West has succeeded beyond its dreams. Billions of dollars of earnings of Arab nations out of exports of oil, have been frittered away in arms purchases, which could have easily solved the entire problem of poverty and lack of development of the Arab lands of Yemen, P. Gulf, Arabia, Egypt, Jordan, Palestine, Syria and Iraq.

But *Mankind* appeals to your intellectual and ideological leaders to weigh the sacrifices against the probable gains to be made by your present day strategy.

There are times when the enemy has to be hit by the traditional guerrilla methods.

In India we had to resort to guerrilla struggle in the years 1857-60, that was led by Mangal Pandey and Kunwar Singh. Thereafter also, as the British rulers operating through Viceroy Dufferin and Home Secretary Hume formed the Indian National Congress in 1885, to divert the national movement into safe comprador channels, and as there were no democratic freedoms available in India at all, at the end of the last and the beginning of this century, Vasudeo Balwant Phadke, Veer Savarkar, Jugantar and Anushilan Committees, Surya Sen, Jatin Das, Bhagat Singh, Sukhdev, Khudiram Bose, Chandrasekhar Azad, Preetilata Waddedar, Kalpana Dutt, and many many others had no alternative but to have recourse to guerrilla and terror operations.

But please consider the loss of four flowers of Arab youth as suicide bombers, against 60 lives of miserable Jewish shopkeepers and similar lumpens. Was it really worthwhile? *Mankind* places a very high value on the lives of such brilliant self-sacrificing cadre. You will not be able to replace them easily!

*Mankind* pays its heart-felt tribute to the valour and idealism of these four heroes! They will be remembered forever, as long as the Arab people live!

But suicide bombers cannot sustain a long drawn-out political struggle. The cream of freedom fighters will be lost in a fairly short time.

Perhaps you could take stock and reconsider your strategy and tactics.

*Mankind* is far away and is unable to offer you comradely counsel of a detailed nature. We can only consider the general picture and advise you to proceed with

revolutionary caution.

The loss of four ideologically inspired comrades in 10 days is a very heavy price to pay for any organisation.

If you think that you can afford this price and that there is no agitational alternative, who are we to question your judgement from such a distance ?

But please believe us that our heart beats with yours. We do not believe in the criminal rhetoric of the armament industry dealers of the West, nor in that of their salesmen who are ruling in Israel. We only wish that you triumph at the end of your struggle however long that may be.

We hope that you are paying sufficient attention to the ideological training of your cadre. "Terrorism" is after all only temporary ! Our goal is to establish an egalitarian society where man has ceased to exploit man and all the nations of the world are at peace with each other. This ultimate goal can never be realised by conspiratorial means. It must be achieved by a broad mass movement.

We wish you well.

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE OPPRESSED !

Exe. Edr.

*Mankind requests a sympathetic reader to contact the Exe. Editor, for a courier delivery of the above communication to the Hamas underground headquarters. Or a courier may deliver this issue of Mankind itself to the Hamas intermediary.*

#### Letter to Hezbollah

The President,  
Hezbollah,  
Beirut,  
Lebanon.

Dear friend,

*Mankind* does not consider you to be Terrorists financed by Iran.

On the contrary, you are freedom fighters legitimately resisting the Israeli terrorist occupiers of Southern Lebanon.

By the logic of Israeli terrorism, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, should each be authorised to occupy an equivalent Security Zone within Israel, in order to prevent murderous Israeli assaults upon themselves. If after the carving out of such equivalent Security Zones by each of the five countries bordering Israel, there is almost nothing left of Israel, it would be in the fitness of things. Israel has no rights greater than those of

the other sovereign nations of the world, and of the sovereign Arab nations of the Middle East. Israel has no right to bomb Lebanese cities and kill their civilian population at will.

It is shameless American chicanery and disinformation tactics to accuse you of fundamentalism and terrorism.

Actually, it is Jewish fundamentalism and terrorism, which is menacing the world. However, this fundamentalism and terrorism is in the interests of the world armament industry, which therefore receives media approval. Israel thinks that it is entitled to bomb and terrorise every Arab city; Beirut today, Damascus, Amman, Cairo, Tunis, Riyadh or any other populous centre in the Middle East, tomorrow. Israeli and American racist swinishness must be resisted at all costs.

*Mankind* warmly welcomes your resolve to defy the armament salesmen leading Israel like Yitzak Rabin and Simon Perez (or even some other more obscure salesmen from Likud).

*Mankind* is confident that the struggle of the Arab peoples for Justice and Peace will triumph sooner or later.

*Mankind* hails your revolutionary resolve to resist Israeli racist and terrorist occupation of Lebanon.

LONG LIVE THE ARAB PEOPLES' REVOLUTIONARY RESOLVE !

LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF THE OPPRESSED !

Exe. Edr.

#### Letter to P. V. Narsimha Rao

Shri. P. V. Narsimha Rao,  
Prime Minister's Office,  
New Delhi - 110 001.

2.1.96

Dear Shri Rao,

Thank you for your letter of 18th December 1995. I am happy that you found the new *Mankind* stimulating.

I am sending the first three Nos. of *Mankind*, Oct, Nov, Dec. 1995. Please replace the October Number in your possession as the DTP operators and proof readers have made a mess of the Statistical Section, "India's Place in the Sun" (pp. 55-62)

Please have the data on India's external transactions studied by the various Economic Ministries and the EAM (pp. 92-98, No. 2, November, 1995).

Table II "Exchange Rate" and Table

III "Terms of Trade" prove that devaluation is the instrument of choice for neo-colonial powers to thwart and hurt the development of the Third World. India's Exchange Rate declined from Rs. 3.32 to the dollar in August 1947 to over Rs. 35.15 in December 1995, i.e., by nearly 12 times, whilst the Terms of Trade moved adversely by just about 50 percent. (See p. 93, Nov. 95 issue)

Exports can never keep pace with devaluations. That country which does not control its Official Exchange Rate (OER) is no longer sovereign. The only way out is to keep imports, including "Net Aid Outflows of Interest and Amortization" within the limits of exports, including re-exports. India must have Trade Surpluses in the next decade to clear the Foreign Debt which now stands at over US \$ 100 bn. There is no other way, as Devaluations invariably lead to Inflationary Cycles to keep pace with World Prices. (vide the two Sugar Imbroglions) The more you "globalise", the quicker will devaluations trigger Price rises.

I believe you panicked or were made to panic by Manmohan Singh in mid-1991. After all, he is a mere *naukarshah*, who cannot be expected to have a macro-economic long-term national outlook. This is the policy framework which political leadership must provide.

With regards,  
Yours sincerely,

Exe. Edr.

#### Letters to Election Commissioners

Shri. T.N. Seshan / M.S. Gill/  
G.V.G. Krishnamurthy,  
Chief / Election Commissioners,  
Nirvachan Sadan, Ashoka Road,  
Delhi 110 001.

29.3.96

Dear Shri Seshan/Gill/Krishnamurthy,

I have to request you to send a complete list of strength of electorates for all Parliamentary Constituencies, for the 1996 elections (11th Lok Sabha).

My comments on the differential ratio of 1:52 prevailing for the 9th Lok Sabha elections are contained in *Mankind*, Vol. 1 No. 7 April 1996, enclosed herewith.

Thanking you, and if some fee is to be paid, please so advise. (I want merely the number of voters for each of the 543 constituencies, statewide.)

Yours sincerely,

Exe. Edr.

**Letter from Ravela Somayya  
and Reply**

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

03.04.96

Dear Dr. Vinayakjee,

Namaste, I thank you very much for your affectionate letter of 25th March. It is C.G.K. Reddy, who has passed away in December, 1994 at Madras. I am glad to inform you that our dear friend M.S. Appa Rao is quite hale and hearty. In the middle of last month I had met him in Madras. A few months back when he came to Hyderabad I mentioned about your plans to revive the journal 'Mankind'. He was surprised that he did not know and also told me that you have written some time back about some information from Madras Museum.

In 1977, I had published a memorial volume in Telugu on Snehalata Reddy. Smt. Mrinal Gore and Smt. Prameela Dandavath came to Guntur to release that volume which contains articles about International Women's Year besides Telugu Translations of the writings of Snehalata and also tributes to her. I am disgusted at the working of the political parties since 1980. I hail from a middle class agricultural family. In the past I had organised Tobacco and Cotton Growers. Since the last one decade, I have settled in Hyderabad, working in civil liberties movements. At present I am not working in any mass organisation. I am interested in only publications of my liking.

Thanking you,  
Yours Sincerely,

Ravela Somayya

Dear Ravela Somayya,

I have received the following : *Irrigation Works in India, Felicitations Number for Pattabhi; Souvenir of 1993 Convention of Socialists*; four paper clippings.

Many thanks and you will find from No. 8 (May, 1996) that I have used some of the material sent in your first packet (*Socialist Movement in Andhra Pradesh, the Last Letter of V. Khader, and Lest We Forget* by C.G.K. Reddy).

Please send printed or xeroxed copies of V. Shiva's *The Violence of the Green Revolution* at my cost.

Thanks for the address of Appa Rao. I have sent Nos. 4-5, 6 & 7 to him.

Please keep on sending materials that I can use in *Mankind*.

I remain an optimist. I am sure our people will find a way out of the present crisis. Nearly a hundred crore people cannot be bamboozled against their historical national interests by the *trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO as abetted by the local Congress comprador interests and their minions, *naukarshahs* and the criminal lumpens.

We have to be a little patient and engage in the task of ideological clarification.

As Dr. Lohia was fond of repeating "Aandhi to bindekhi hoti hai" (The dust storm gathers momentum invisibly).

With best wishes

Yours sincerely,

Exe. Edr.

**Letter from Sengottaian and Reply**

U. K. Sengottaian,  
Advocate,  
108, Cutchery Street,  
Erode - 638 001.

8.4.96

Dear Sir,

I have already received the copies of *Mankind* (Vol 1. No. 6). I will send the amount due, shortly. Today I have received your letter dated 2.4.96. I am happy to go through the same as it reflects our mood as on to date. I have decided to write to you a news letter periodically expressing my views precisely. You have listed so many current topics on which we have to initiate our discussion. I will write a detailed reply to the said letter shortly. There is no socialist politics today as visualised by Dr. Lohia. During the freedom struggle cine actors were not able to intrude into political field, because leaders of those days were not actors but genuine people with moral calibre. During those days religious fanatics were not able to intrude in to politics because politics was not as stagnant as religion then. Now the entire political field is being controlled by Bandit Queens and Bandit Rajas. Therefore, we have to create a new creative atmosphere so as to create a new civilisation. During British regime, only England was exploiting India. But after we have won our freedom, we are being exploited by the whole world.

There are no leaders but dealers. Entire country is polluted with inaction.

Therefore, publication of *Mankind* is timely and helpful in shaping the Indian destiny. Soon I will send a detailed reply to your letter aforesaid. I will try to send some articles. If we are honest and earnest in evolving a revolutionary atmosphere, we will be successful atleast in the near future.

With regards  
Comradely yours,

U. K. Sengottaian

I had written in *Mankind*, Vol. 1, No. 7, p.21 ff, that in every crime committed by our Congress-*Naukarshahi* coalition, one gang or another of our journalists are invariably involved. Further that, the Nexus Triangle formed by Congressmen, *Naukarshahs* and Criminals is actually a Nexus Quadrangle consisting of the overt three plus Journalists. I had cited the example of one journalist tout murdering another in the premises of the Delhi Press Club, a short while ago.

When I reached Bombay on the 13th April, 1996, a letter from the DP Club was waiting for me, which is reproduced below. I had received no previous notice of any sum due from me. I was amazed to read the peremptory tone and contents of the letter from "The Secretary General". (The first Secretary General was the disreputable Girija Shankar Bajpai, ICS. Another Secretary General, is of the FICCI. It seems we also have another Secretary General in the DP Club)

**Letter from Delhi Press Club  
and Reply**

Mr. Pramod Kumar,  
Secretary-General,  
Press Club of India,  
Raisina Road,  
New Delhi.

19.3.1996

Dear Vinayak Purohit,

The Managing Committee would like to draw your attention to the fact that you are in arrears of payment of subscription dues. We have not received subscription from you for over a year.

As per the club constitution, a member who has defaulted on subscription dues for three consecutive months is liable to expulsion from the membership of the club.

The amount due from you on account of subscription charges is Rs. 496/- Should you wish to continue as a member of the

club, we would appreciate it if you could please clear your subscription dues by April 5, 1996. If payment is not received by the above mentioned date, the management will initiate action as per the provisions of the club constitution.

Yours sincerely,

Pramod Kumar  
Secretary-General

16.4.96

Dear Shri Pramod Kumar,

I was taken aback by your letter of 9.3.96 received here on 23.3.96 when I was in Pune, from where I have been bringing out *Mankind* from October '95.

I saw your letter when I was in

Bombay on 13.4.96 (I will get back to Pune on the 19th).

I had no idea that you would find it necessary to use such rude and ultimatumist language to a member (No. 588) who has paid all his dues right through for about 3 decades though he is in far away Bombay.

I do not know what the cultural and educational level of the average member of the Press Club is.

I do feel that this kind of threatening tone should be eschewed where somewhat senior members are concerned.

I have kept up my membership, as I do not believe in resigning old memberships just for 'saving' a few rupees. I can afford it, and there is no point in terminating something which may come in

useful, if and when I visit Delhi. Fortunately or unfortunately, there has been no occasion for me to travel to Delhi for the last many years. I travel hardly once in a year or two these days, and that too to some academic conference or another towards the end of the year. I was visiting Scientist to CSIR-NISTANDS for sometime and Visiting Professor to Chandigarh prior to that. But now some big academic gathering must coincide for me to come to Delhi at my age (69).

I have money-ordered Rs. 496/- as demanded by you, on 15.4.96.

You are free to have your own standards of conduct. I regret them.

Yours sincerely,

Exe. Edr.

## ADVERTISING RATES AND RULES

Annual Contract for ten insertions : Rs. 10,000 (Full Pages)

(B&W only)

Casual insertions for single issue : Rs. 2,000 (Full Page)

(B&W only)

Casual for half page : Rs. 1,200 (Half Page)

(B&W only)

Print Area : 10.5" x 8"

Paper Area : 11.5" x 9"

Paper quality : Newsprint

Frequency of Publication : Monthly, 10 issues in a year

Language : English

Last date for receipt of ads : 1st of the month preceding the month of intended publication

Retail price per copy : Rs. 25/-

Annual Subscription : Rs. 200/-

Number of pages : 100

Nature of contents of magazine : Politics, History, Sociology, Economics, Art and Culture.

Cover Page 3rd : Rs. 4,000

4th : Rs. 4,500

(Two colours acceptable)

### GENERAL CONDITIONS

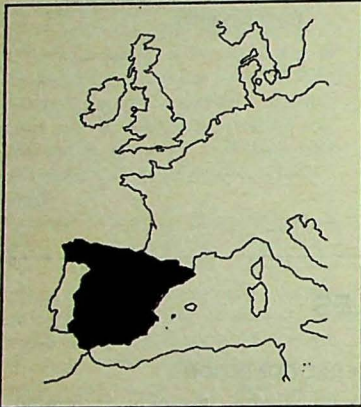
1. Ads. promoting multinational interests of foreign pharmaceuticals or electronic goods, in general consumerism, will not be accepted.
2. Ads. centrally featuring Female Anatomy, or women in skimpy dresses, or generally offering feminine body to male gaze, will not be accepted.
3. Surrogate advertising for alcohol and tobacco will not be accepted.
4. Environment unfriendly products and services will not be accepted for ads.
5. Parasitical activities like tourism, hoteliering, fashion-design, gourmet guzzling, etc. will not be accepted for ads.
6. Products and Services hazardous or harmful to human health will not be accepted.
7. Ads. must be tasteful in form and dignified in presentation.
8. *Swadeshi* effort will be promoted in all respects, editorially as well as in ads.
9. Alternative Medicine (Ayurvedic, Yunani, Homeopathic, Naturopathic, Yoga, etc.) will be promoted.
10. Infrastructure industries (machine tools, energy from Indian sources, scientific instruments, cement, fertilizers, steel, etc.) will be promoted, provided, it is overwhelmingly Indian-owned.
11. Small-scale, khadi, cottage industries will be promoted.
12. Book publishing, literacy drives, R & D, cultural activities, etc., will be promoted.

We dedicate this set of five articles to May Day 1996

## A WORLD OF PERMANENT REVOLUTIONS

### SPAIN 1808-14

### GUERRILLA MEANS THE LITTLE WAR



By December 1807 the armies of France had no equal in Europe, and Napoleon regarded his Spanish allies with utter contempt. His decision to end the 'dirty intrigues' which had split the Spanish Royal family into squabbling factions was made firstly out of a desire to relieve a minor irritation and, as a by-product, to tighten the economic blockade of England in the Iberian peninsula. His method was not new : he simply replaced the lawful Bourbon dynasty, whose leading members he enticed to a meeting in Bayonne, with a trusted follower of his own, in this case his brother Joseph.

The events of May 1808 in Madrid, when the Spanish people unexpectedly revealed their capacity to resist, are known most graphically from the two great paintings of Goya : the mob rising to massacre any Frenchman or suspected Spanish collaborator, and the French response of the firing squad and a ferocious general repression. These two qualities a fierce determination on the part of the Spaniards defending their country from the invader, and a willingness by the French commanders to match nationalism with terror - were to characterize the entire six

years of the conflict. The events in Madrid were largely spontaneous, and they were echoed in similar risings, variously calling for constitutional liberty sometimes confused with a demand for the return of the Bourbons, through every part of the Spain. Some, like the patriot Calvo de Rozaz, declared : 'The Spaniard must now know what he is not struggling so gloriously against the aggressor in order to place his independence ... once more at the mercy of a capricious Court ' 1 (1809). But liberty was a word much in the mouths of the French, and many Spaniards dedicated to reform believed that co-operation with the new regime was a better means to achieve progress than trusting to the quarreling Bourbon princes. But from the outset of the war against the French, there was no agreement, no common understanding as to the political objectives of the 'little war'. Each band, each little group of fighters fought for its own cause, sometimes acknowledging the theoretical authority of the 'representatives of the nation' established in the many juntas which sprang up throughout the country, and latterly in the central junta established in one of the few cities free from French control, Cadiz. This junta, which was transformed into first a Regency, and latterly, in 1810, into a Cortes, was out of touch, issuing endless instructions for the conduct of the war against the French and tables of procedure and organization which bore no resemblance to the situations of the guerrilla bands of the *sierras*.

The regular Spanish army, as Napoleon was aware, was a feeble entity, badly led. In the first few months after the Madrid rising it achieved some success against the second-rate troops which had been sent to accomplish the occupation of Spain, notably on the plain of Jaen at Bailen, where a French army of 20,000 exhausted and dispirited after their long march south from Madrid, surrendered to 30,000 Spaniards (on 19 July 1808). But

*We are continuing our 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-Revolution.*

*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!**

*In the last issue of Mankind (No. 7 April '96), we had given a descriptive account of the American War of Independence, the French Revolution and the Irish Uprising. We continue our studies of revolutionary times with five more episodes in our World of Permanent Revolutions : 1) Spain 1808-14 2) Spanish America : 1808-30; 3) Greece : 1821-27; 4) Europe 1848-49 and 5) Italy 1860)*

matters were very different when Napoleon himself came south with an army of battle-tried soldiers in November 1808. The Spanish generals, by now intoxicated with the spirit of Bailen, saw one French army as being much like another. They were quickly proved wrong. In the space of a few months, their armies had ceased to exist, in any organized sense, as effective military units. The most determined and energetic of the soldiers left to join the many resistance groups which had sprung up in almost every area of the country, and in particular strength in the mountains of the south, in the Basque country of the north, and in the highlands of Castille and Aragon.

These were the traditional lands of the brigand and the fugitive from justice. The tradition of violent resistance to central authority was well established in rural Spain : even the word *guerrilla* ('little war'),

*Spain's greatest contribution to the vocabulary of war*, had been in use for centuries to describe the state of internal war endemic in much of the countryside of Southern Spain. In short, Spaniards were practised in the art of the *guerrilla*.

Spanish successes in the 'little war' were built on French mistakes. In February 1810, while Joseph was seeking to win over his new subjects by making a progress through the south (after he had been reimposed on his throne by force of his brother's armies), the French were seeking to impose a more draconian military rule in the north. Many of the uncommitted turned against Joseph and the French armies for the simple reasons of their barbarity and their callous insensitivity towards Spaniards. In one village, Arenas de San Pedro near Talavera, where some French troops were captured and mutilated by the women of the village, three regiments were sent to obliterate the village and its inhabitants. In the words of an eyewitness, 'sharpshooters amused themselves by running after the fleeing Spaniards and shooting them down like hares at a hunt. I have seen men burst out laughing when their victims fell into the grass.' Women and children were slaughtered and the village finally burnt to the ground. Such instances could be multiplied at will, for as an English prisoner noted, 'it is a general order that the inhabitants of a place where such a crime is committed are to be put to the sword without exception of age or sex, and their habitations burned to the ground; nor is any enquiry ever made into the provocation which may have occasioned their excess'. There does seem to have been some conscious desire to use the weapon of terror against the French soldiers. As a device, it achieved some success. It was a common catch-phrase among French soldiers that *war in Spain spelt 'death for the soldier, ruin for officers, fortune for generals'*. French soldiers were less and less willing to expose themselves to danger, preferring to seek the protection of fortresses or even field fortifications. Although Napoleon was determined that the way to defeat the guerrilla was to harry the bands of irregulars with mobile flying columns, it was never possible to use any more than a tiny proportion of the occupying forces in this way.

Over the years 1809-13, the guerrilla bands expanded and came to dominate most of the land outside the cities. In one or two cases, such as Saragossa and Gerona, there was an urban resistance to the French, but it had no hope of anything other than temporary success. It is often suggested that the true motive force for the liberation of Spain from the French was *the Anglo-Spanish force based in Portugal from 1808*. This was the army

which undoubtedly beat the French in the field and forced its withdrawal across the frontier in March 1814. But as Sir Basil Liddell Hart has observed, *while the army under Sir Arthur Wellesley caused some 45,000 casualties to the French, the deaths at the hands of the guerrillas were ten to twenty times that number something like 4.5 to 9 lakhs*

Their action made Spain, in his words, 'a desert where the French stayed only to starve'. There was no means by which the French armies could preserve their lines of communication from attack, and as the years went on, the economic cost of the Spanish involvement was the most substantial drain on the French government. Nor should it be assumed that had Napoleon himself taken the Spanish imbroglio in hand, as he did in 1808, his superior genius would have resolved the problem. His only experience of irregular war had been against the rebels in the Vendee during the Revolution. But in these flat lands of western France, bounded by the Atlantic, it had been possible to adopt a strategy of containment and pursuit. In the mountains and plains of Spain, a vast land in which a guerrilla could strike, run and hide, the same approach had no chance of succeeding. It remained a stock French response, as in Algeria from 1840-7, but the conditions of Spain, with its capital city deep inland, and any foreign army dependent on long lines of supply, ruled out any military solution to the problem of the 'little war'.

The forces ranged against the French could agree on nothing except their desire to remove the intruder. The prime mistake made by the French themselves was their contempt for Spain and its inhabitants and their neglect of any political approach. The majority of the 'political nation' leaned towards the ideals of the Enlightenment and away from the authoritarianism enshrined in Bourbon rule. Many became active supporters of the French — the *afrancesados* — and many more might have followed the same path. As the extreme reactionary Blas Ostolaza sourly remarked in the Cortes of Cadiz in 1811, there were many policies advanced by Spaniards which were 'deceitfully dubbed liberal ... (and) coincide with the revolutionary principles of Robespierre, the greatest enemy of the people'. The lessons of the war of liberation in Spain were not learned outside Spain; within they were learned too well. From the Carlist Wars of the 1840s and the 1870s, through the Civil war of 1936-39, the Spaniards resorted to the *guerrilla* with practised ease. The success of these tactics against the French, the very terminology of the 'war of liberation', sanctified the notion of violence within political life in Spain

# SPANISH AMERICA 1808-30

## THE LATIN AMERICAN WAR OF INDEPENDENCE



The French take-over in Spain in 1808 induced a crisis of authority in the Spanish lands of South America. Joseph Bonaparte might be confidently proclaimed 'King of Spain and the Indies'. But the effect of the invasion was to catalyze opposition to foreign rule which had been dormant in America for a generation. Americans of Spanish descent saw themselves as exploited and patronized by Spanish newcomers whose only asset was their unimpeachable birth in the mother country. As in the colonies of north America, the various domains had developed cultural and social patterns quite unlike those of Spain itself. There was pressure from those who had become rich and successful in the Americas, for whom the monopoly of political power by the Spanish-born was irksome, to achieve a limited independence from Madrid's excessive paternalism. These were the tentative revolutionaries who laid claim to their independence in the years after 1808. But from this same group — the *criollos*, those of Spanish blood but born in America — were to come the true revolutionaries, like Simon Bolivar, Jose de San Martin, Bernardino Rivadavia.

From the outset, there was a tone of stridency underlying the process of the revolution. While the leaders of the *criollos* in Buenos Aires were debating political abstractions, in the highlands of the future Bolivia in May 1809, at Chuquisaca and La Paz, power was being seized from the Spanish authorities, and the issues stated

unambiguously: 'Now is the time to organize a new system of government, founded upon the interest of our country which is downtrodden by the bastard policy of Madrid .... Now is the time to raise the standard of revolt in these unfortunate colonies.' However, the real question which would dominate all the revolutionary activity of two decades (1808-28) was raised immediately. Every territory of the vast area which made up Spanish America contained a cocktail of different races and interest-groups: Spaniards born in the mother country (*peninsulares*); Spaniards born in America (*criollos*); those of mixed race — *mestizos*, *pardos*, *castas*, *coyotes*, *cholos*, *zambos* — all indicating the precise admixture of European, Indian and Negro blood; and, at the base of the social pyramid, the vast body of the exploited, Indians tried to permanent servitude and Negro slaves. No successful revolution could exist on the basis of support from the *criollos* alone, for they represented a small and largely urban minority. Supporters of the Spanish crown found it easy to construct a counter-revolution from among the many groups who looked on *criollo* supremacy with even less pleasure than they had on Spanish rule. Beyond the racial and social interest-groups lay an equivalent variety of regional and local interests. Spanish rule had grouped territories into viceroalties usually based on the pattern of the original conquest. In the ferment of revolution each area laid claim to its own independence. The revolution which began in Buenos Aires in the years 1808-10 proclaimed a unitary state of all the territories which had made up the viceroyalty of the Rio de la Plata (Argentina in colloquial speech); up-country, towns and provinces connected with the coast only by administrative accident saw things differently and demanded *their* freedom. Elsewhere, the tide of revolution washed away the bases of political organization which had to be built anew.

The pattern of the revolution developed slowly, at the extremities of the sub-continent. A post-Spanish regime was quickly and painlessly established in Buenos Aires, and despite endless squabbles with provincial separatists and royalist incursions from the interior, the

revolution there was never seriously threatened. The Rio de la Plata provided a base for the revolution in Chile and, eventually, in Peru. In the north in Venezuela the revolution was much more bloody and less certainly accomplished, but there too, at the hands of the genius of revolutions, Simon Bolivar, a base was created from which he moved forward to free the lands which were to become Colombia, Ecuador, and Bolivia. Both Bolivar and San Martin, who led the liberation of Chile from his base in Mendoza province (Argentina), had a strategic vision which allowed them to see beyond local problems to revolution on a continental scale. San Martin took his small army across the Andes in January 1817, together with the exiled Chilean revolutionaries, headed by Bernardo O'Higgins, who had already suffered defeat at the hands of the Spaniards (Rancagua, 1814). In the space of one spring, and a single battle in February 1817, the Army of the Andes was able to take the capital, Santiago, and to hold it against royalist armies sent south from Peru. San Martin however lost to the royalists in March 1818 and this struggle for the possession of Santiago, fought out at nearby Maipu (April 1818), was desperately close. To secure the revolution it was necessary to attack the source of Spanish power in America, the viceroyalty of Peru. San Martin opted for a seaborne landing, made possible by the destruction of the Spanish command of the sea. The speed and daring with which the small Chilean navy had obliterated the powerful Spanish forces and captured the Spanish base at Valdivia (1820) came from the



A later picture of Simon Bolivar gives an exact impression of the many groups and races who made up his army



inspirational command of Thomas Cochrane.

The Army of the Andes, now 4500 men, sailed from Valparaiso in August 1820, to Pisco. Here San Martin set up his base and sought to rally Peruvian opposition to Spain, while Cochrane (always happier with direct action), besieged the Spanish port of Callao. The combination of San Martin's waiting game and Cochrane's impetuosity brought success: town after town rallied to the cause and in July 1821 the Spaniards (cut off from relief), abandoned Lima and retreated into the mountains.

San Martin's victories, although dramatic, were also largely illusory. He had destroyed the Spanish domination of the towns but he could not control the countryside. The whole history of the conquest of the Americas had demonstrated that a small group of determined men could take control of the centres of power; but from Pizarro onwards, the difficulty lay in the deep recesses of the country. In Peru the concentration of wealth and resources lay along the coastal strip. Inland the war was waged by guerrilla bands, some for the revolution, some against. It was this style of warfare which Bolivar, after a sequence of revolutions and counter-revolutions in the towns and valleys of the coast, had been forced to adopt in his struggle far to the north. There revolution had slipped into a social and racial war. In Venezuela, over sixty percent of the population was wholly or partly black. Many upper-class Venezuelans feared independence, believing that 'in revolutions they would run the risk of losing their slaves', as the traveller and explorer Alexander von Humboldt observed. They also had memories of the great slave rebellion of 1795. Bolivar, a great aristocrat and landowner, saw that the revolution would have to encompass a social transformation, removing what he described as 'the dark mantle of barbarous and profane slavery'. He stated categorically that it was 'madness that a revolution for liberty should try to retain slavery'. Against him were ranged not merely the forces of Spain but all those elements of *criollo* society unwilling to stomach such heresy; and, allied with the freebooting cavalry of the plains of Venezuela, they overcame the revolution in a blood bath. Bolivar fled by sea to the port of Cartagena and eventually to Jamaica. Gradually, after an abortive return to Venezuela over the summer of 1816, he devised an approach which led to the victory. In December 1816, against much opposition, he established his base in the lands south of the Orinoco, as far as possible from the coast. Other revolutionary groups fought back in Barcelona, Cumana, and Maturin, but Bolivar, with his sanctuary at Angostura, eventually led the republican revolution. A year after

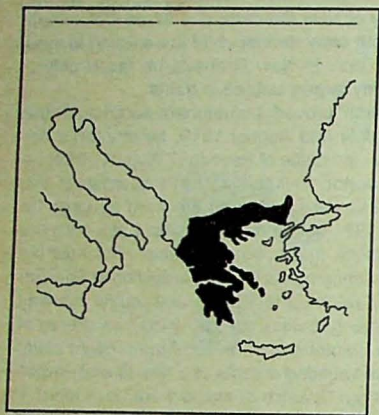
he set up his Orinoco base, he and his troops made a long and dangerous march to the plains of the Apure river, where he forged an alliance with Jose Antonio Paez, who led the fierce horsemen of the plains. These *llaneros* had been the key element in the defeat of the revolution of 1814; Bolivar now promised them what they wanted, plunder. What he needed above all was victory, and it continued to elude him. In May 1819 he decided on a momentous stroke: to attack the Spanish at their weakest point, across the Andes in the viceroyalty of New Granada (the future Colombia). In Venezuela he had both army and much of the existing landed interest ranged against him. In New Granada he faced only a complacent Spanish army largely untried in battle.

Bolivar's 'long march' proved a triumphant success. In the space of six weeks in July and August 1819, he shattered the royalist armies, and after the battle of Boyaca (7 August 1819) he entered Bogota as liberator. Flushed with the success of the campaign, he returned to Venezuela and the hard struggle for victory. It was 24 June 1821 before he won a final battle with the Spanish army at Carabobo and entered Caracas. But now his aspirations had grown to encompass the final reduction of Spanish power in the south. He returned to Bogota and fought his way south towards Quito, hoping to win Ecuador for his new dream of a united state of Gran Colombia before San Martin could claim the land for Peru. These vaunting dreams of a new liberal empire built out of the ruins of the Spanish domains were not rooted in reality. After his final move to the south, in 1823, when he arrived in Lima, Bolivar began the final phase of wresting America free from Spain. In a series of hard-fought battles — Junin, Ayacucho, Tumusla — 'the armies of 'the Liberator' drove the Spaniards firstly from Peru, and latterly from their final redoubt in Upper Peru, the present Bolivia. With that the sixteen-year struggle for liberation ended, almost where it had first begun in 1809.

The military victory had been achieved at enormous cost. The economies of Peru and Venezuela were in ruins, and human losses had been high. The social transformation desired by the more enlightend never came, and Bolivar the great Liberator ended his days quarrelling with his former allies and declared a traitor to his homeland, Venezuela. A month before his death in December 1830, he wrote: 'America is ungovernable. Those who serve the revolution plough the sea. The only thing to do in America is to emigrate.' The revolutionaries succeeded against an enfeebled Spain. In the end, it was a matter of attrition.

## GREECE 1821-27

### THE GREEK WAR OF LIBERATION



In 1810, writing at Smyrna on the coast of Asia Minor, George Gordon, Lord Byron, epitomized in two lines the land of Greece which he had recently seen for the first time. The reality of Greece had shaken his hitherto exclusively literary notion of the country :

*Fair Greece ! said relic of departed worth !*

*Immortal, though no more; though fallen, great !*

Byron responded to Greece with a paradox, as well he might, for nineteenth-century Greece embodied only the faintest trace of its classical heritage. The population was mixed with strong Turkish, Slav and Albanian elements, while the country was a backwater with all the more enterprising spirits in Constantinople, in the service of the Ottoman empire, in trade or in self-exile in Europe or Russia. The national industry was banditry. Some of the bandits had been recruited by the Turkish rulers of Greece as a militia. Others merely preyed on travellers, and engaged in a desultory warfare with other bandit groups. The militia were known as *armatoli*, the bandits as *kleftes*; to the outsider they were indistinguishable. The only real voice of order was the Orthodox Church. Throughout their empire, the Ottomans had adopted a policy with non-Moslem subject peoples of allowing them relative independence provided they pay their taxes.

*The Turks used the upper echelons of Greek society as administrators, for*

which the Greeks proved peculiarly talented, and the capital city of Constantinople had a large Greek population — within which were to be found numerous fanatics devoted to the idea of a free and independent Greece. It was the Greeks of the diaspora who provided the intellectual leaven for the independence movement. The most ardent fighters for independence were on the islands of the Aegean, however. While on the mainland there was a system of Turkish administration, the islanders came under the much lighter hand of the Turkish admiralty. With their fishing boats and trading vessels, they provided the network of communication essential to any independence movement. A secret society, the *Filikia Etaria* (Friendly Society), began to enlist members to fight for Balkan independence, promising the support of the Greek Orthodox patriarch and of the Emperor of Russia. In fact, they had no promise of support from any powerful body. The Sultan soon got news of the conspiracy from his Pasha at Jannina. But *Ali Pasha* was a byword for cunning and duplicity. His aim was to achieve an independent state in Greece for himself and his family and by the end of 1821 the Sultan was at war with his own Pasha, to the delight of the Greeks who watched the Ottoman armies tear each other to pieces.

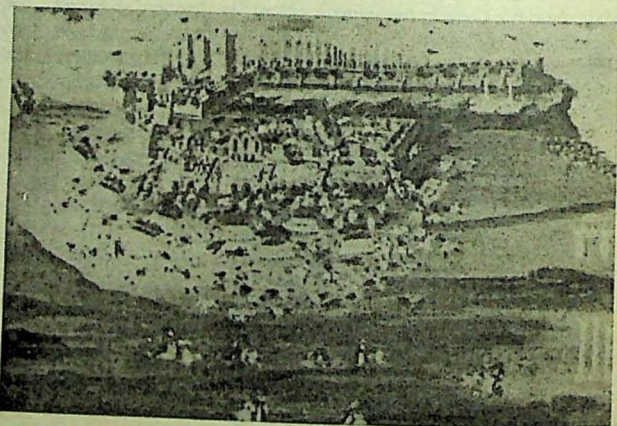
*The Greek etaria decided to act while the Turkish forces were engaged in an internecine struggle.* In January 1821, far to the north, a small force of 4500 liberators crossed the river Pruth into Turkish territory, and after a few

engagements withdrew again. Much more significant was the start of the rising in the Peloponnese. Since the beginning of the year, recruits and arms had been landed in the very south of the peninsula, in the

wild country of the Mani peninsula. On 6th April the bishop of Patras declared at the monastery of Agia Lavra, near Kalavrita, that Greece would take her freedom; in the space of a few weeks the whole of the Peloponnese was awash with blood, as the *Greeks launched a war of racial hatred against any Moslems they could find.* In the region north of the Mani peninsula 15,000 *Turks were slaughtered.* The remainder of the 40,000 fled into the towns and fortresses which the Ottomans still held. *Greeks were flayed alive, roasted over slow fires, or burned to death in their churches.* The Turks could rarely catch the guerrilla fighters, for kleftic warfare was based on sniping and the ambush. They vented their fury on the villages, often those which were notionally clients of the Turkish administration. Greeks were gripped by a blind hatred.

The revolution was launched in a spirit of optimism, and in the belief that external help would soon arrive. An appeal had already been sent to all the courts of Europe on 9 April, invoking 'the aid of all the civilized nations of Europe ..... Greece, our mother, was the lamp that illuminated you; on this ground she reckons on your active philanthropy...' *The invocation went unheeded* and even Russia, of whom they expected so much, provided nothing. *The Greek revolutionaries were on their own.*

There were many fragments in the revolutionary cause, and the enthusiastic spirit of unity soon evaporated. Local issues predominated. The revolutionaries of the Peloponnese (Morea) had no interest in the



*The siege of the Acropolis by the Greeks, 1821. The Turks were all massacred after their surrender in 1822.*

fate of the Rumelioties across the Gulf of Corinth. The mainland looked down upon the islanders. Geography isolated western from eastern Greece. In 1822 *Ali Pasha at last received his just deserts, and his head*

was dispatched to Constantinople in a sack. The Turkish armies were now free to turn their full attention to the Greeks. However, success demanded co-ordination between the eastern and western Turkish armies, separated by the central mountain spine, and the navy which was to support their advance. They were never able to achieve it. In 1823 the Sultan planned a combined military and naval assault on the western Peloponnese with a huge artillery train of 1200 guns. Fortunately for the Greeks, these were lost in a huge fire in Constantinople, which destroyed the arsenal and much of the city as well. The fleet managed to reinforce the few fortresses which the Turks still held, but spent most of its time in aimless cruising, with an occasional descent on one of the islands. No real progress was made towards the recovery of sovereignty in Greece.

Progress was eventually made by internationalizing the conflict. In 1825, having failed to gather sufficient resources himself, the Sultan Mahmud called in the Egyptian army, the best trained and led force in the Ottoman empire. On 24 February 1825 Ibrahim Pasha landed at Methoni with 4000 infantry and 500 cavalry; a month later, he had added another 6000 infantry and plentiful artillery. On the way, his forces had overwintered on Crete and ravaged the island. On the northern coast of the Gulf of Corinth international support for the Greek cause could be seen in the base of Mesolonghi. The Philhellenes, with Byron as their most notable member, raised money and troops throughout Europe. Even governments despised by the Philhellenes for their passivity became alarmed at the prolonged struggle and began to think in terms of an imposed solution. While they deliberated, the military advantage lay with the Turks and Egyptians. In April 1826 Mesolonghi fell to Ibrahim, and in August, Reshid Pasha with his Turkish army captured Athens. But it was a war of attrition and of the 24,000 Egyptian troops dispatched to Greece since 1825, only 8000 remained fit for battle. On the Greek side, despite the efforts of the volunteers from Europe, hope of success had almost died,

and the endless bickering among the Greek factions grew stronger.

The resolution of the Greek issue was imposed from outside. The Turkish position was untenable at Salona and Navarino, *two Turkish fleets were destroyed, in the first case by a fleet led by Lord Cochrane, and in the second by the combined fleet of the European powers who had come to impose a settlement.* Navarino was a mistake on the allies part, but its effect was catastrophic for the Ottoman cause. Sixty Ottoman and Egyptian ships were sunk, and 8000 lives were lost. No ships were sunk in the allied fleet, and only 176 were killed. *Once the European powers became embroiled in the Greek question and were determined to impose a settlement which favoured the Greeks, there was no hope for the Ottomans.* The war continued, with the balance of advantage shifting to the Greeks and their allies. *Russia went to war with Turkey in the spring of 1828, while the French sent a detachment to aid the Greeks in the Peloponnese.* Not until September 1829 did the Turks at last concede and accept an independent Greece at the Peace of Adrianople, although the problems of Greece did not end there. The allied powers wanted the new state to be a monarchy, but it proved impossible to find a suitable candidate. Civil war broke out among the various interests, and it was not until January 1833 that the new king, Otho (son of the king of Bavaria), disembarked at Nafplion.

The settlement ultimately resolved less than they should have. The monarchy failed, the borders satisfied neither Greek nor Turk, and the European powers, having involved themselves in the affairs of the Eastern Mediterranean, returned to it again and again *Greece had to wait until almost a century after the war of liberation to achieve 'natural' frontiers, and the Turks equally as long to rid themselves of the Greek presence in Smyrna and other cities of Anatolia.* Even the issue of Cyprus was a continuation of the struggle of Greek and Turk, a racial and religious war seemingly without end.

## EUROPE 1848-49 REVOLUTIONARY EBB AND TIDE



In the years of 1846 and 1847, there was famine in Europe. The potato crop, staple diet of the peasants in Ireland, Silesia, northern France, the Low Countries, and parts of Germany and Scotland, was affected with a blight which turned it into a black mush. There was a cattle plague in Hungary and devastating floods along the Vistula. Cities like Salzburg, where the bread flour was being eked out with clover, experienced a massive inrush of those who could no longer find a living in the countryside. In Vienna refugees from Styria, Bohemia and Silesia brought with them typhus, which spread rapidly in the overcrowded conditions. In Paris the country-people massed in the eastern districts of the city. In both town and country the hunger sparked bread riots and attacks on food shops and those thought to be hoarding or profiteering. Wherever the hunger struck, social tensions were magnified, and the authorities became increasingly edgy. Police reports in Vienna, on the shanty towns of the dispossessed which had grown up on the outskirts, stressed the volatility of the population, the startling rise in crime, and the overall sense of social decay. From Paris official reports expressed the same concerns.

The stereotype of the revolutionary of 1848, with broad-brimmed hat, beard, long hair, and a generally raffish air, is that of the student, and students did indeed play a significant part in the revolutions. Throughout Europe there was

overproduction by the universities. In Prussia the number of law students rose by almost a third in the years after 1841, and there was no hope of work for them. The same pattern was visible in other disciplines. Students were trapped, since they had few of the skills which would qualify them for the better grades of manual work; they were discontented, articulate, receptive to ideas, and as marginal to the society in which they lived as the dispossessed living in squalor and poverty.

At a time when communications throughout Europe were still poor, the revolutionary impulse spread with remarkable speed. The Parisian uprising of February 1848 began the general process. Within the space of a few weeks France, Germany, the Habsburg Empire, had all been thrown into political turmoil, and on the periphery Ireland and Romania experienced a faint echo of the shock wave. Even in England where there was no rising, it was expected that the Chartist movement for political reform would take a revolutionary turn. So serious was the danger felt to be that Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, with their newborn daughter and remaining children, left London hurriedly for the safety of the Isle of Wight.

It was in the countryside where the greatest danger of a true social revolution lay. The peasants' demands were a universal chorus - land and freedom. In some areas like southern Italy and southern Germany, they had already begun to riot and occupy the great estates. In the Habsburg empire, memories of the peasant rising in Galicia in 1846, when the peasants had massacred their landlords, were still fresh. The agricultural catastrophe of 1846-47 meant that the countryside was everywhere in an ugly mood, and the urban revolution could catalyze a rural revolt on a vast scale.

In the Austrian domains where the peasant problem was at its most sensitive the peasants' demands were met in full. Labour service was abolished, as were all the dues and payments attached to peasant lands, and

Hungarian peasants who had lived as villeins for generations became freeholders.

Each of the revolutions had its own character, but there were certain elements in common which led to initial success. The first and most important was governmental failure. In almost every case the authorities caved in to the revolutionaries at the first blow. In Vienna, after a day of rioting in the Inner City on 13 March 1848, the Emperor Ferdinand declared, "Tell the people that I agree to everything." In Paris, Louis Philippe, who had come to the throne of France as a consequence of the revolution in 1830, seemed resigned to the outcome. King Frederick William of Prussia disregarded his generals' advice to crush the revolution in Berlin, and drove around the city sporting the black, red and gold colours of the revolution. Even in Prague, where the Habsburg administration had a firm grip, concessions were made. The best that could be said for this course of action was that it was a tactical withdrawal, like Radetsky's removal of Austrian troops from Milan when the scale of the opposition became clear. The second element of importance was that the revolution should have mass support. In Vienna the revolution broke out on a Monday, 'Saint Monday', which many workers took as an unofficial holiday each week. Observers noticed many faces in the crowd who had obviously come in from the shanty towns. In Paris, after the clash on the Boulevard des Capucines when over forty people were shot, the workers tore up the cobblestones - over a million of them - cut down several thousands trees and blocked the streets of Paris with over 1500 barricades.

The apparent ease with which the Paris revolution was accomplished in

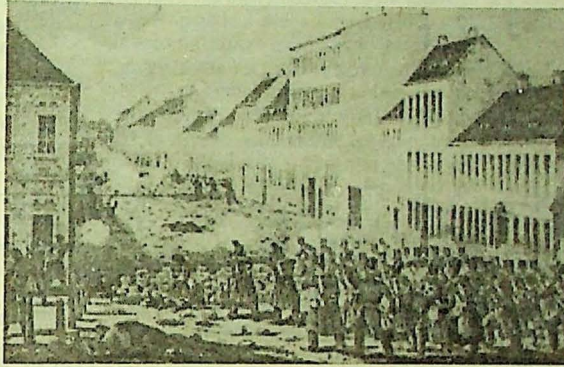


From Alfred Rethel's *The Dance of Death Again*, a view of the revolution of 1848

February 1848 acted as a stimulus to revolution elsewhere. It emboldened the reluctant middle classes to come out onto

the streets, and it helped to foster that sense of paralysis which gripped the rulers of Europe. But only where revolutionary spirit fused with nationalist fervour, as in Italy and Hungary, did this enthusiasm last more than a few days. Elsewhere revolutionary zeal was spasmodic. In Vienna the demonstrations lasted over the thirteenth and fourteenth of March, then there was relative calm until early May, when the revolutionaries tightened their grip and the Imperial family withdrew to the safety of Oimutz. Month by month, the number of those willing to come out onto the streets in support of the revolution was reduced. As each of the interest groups - the peasants, the middle classes - achieved redress of its grievances, it lost interest in the revolutionary cause. In Germany and Austria the opening of the Frankfurt Parliament was greeted with elation; in fact it was a meaningless gesture. As the revolution lurched leftwards, the middle classes deserted the cause, justifying the remark by the architect of Italian nationalism, Count Cavour: 'If the social order were to be genuinely menaced. . . the most enthusiastic republicans. . . would be the first to join the ranks of the conservative party. By the summer of 1848 the revolution had lost its mass character, leaving only a hard core of workers, some students, and a handful of professional revolutionaries. In June the forces of the new French republic,

under General Cavaignac, destroyed the Paris revolution. Over 1500 were killed in the battles for the barricades of eastern Paris, plus some 3000 more in the reprisals which followed, and 4500 were imprisoned. In the same month, the same process was begun in the Habsburg empire. The briefest of cannonades brought the surrender of Prague on 16 June; and in the following months the Austrian general Windichgratz made his preparations to retake Vienna. At the end of October, with 70,000 troops surrounding the city, he began his bombardment. A planned surrender went awry, and he was forced to take the city by storm. At 5.00 pm on 31 October, his troops broke through the Burg Tor in the old city walls, and fought their way to the Royal palaces and the city centre. At dusk all the city gates were locked and guarded, and the troops hunted the revolutionary leaders. In all there were 2000 arrests and over 3000 killed in the final assault and its aftermath. Of the survivors, nine of the leaders were executed, and nine sentenced to imprisonment.



*The final attack on Vienna in October 1848 by the army of Prince Schwarzenburg. Cobbles have been used to make the barricades, useful because they enabled revolutionaries to create instant defences.*

Two main centres of the revolution remained after the fall of Vienna. In Hungary and Italy the revolution had become a war of national liberation. In both cases, the Habsburg armies were ultimately successful, although it was August 1849 before the Hungarian armies surrendered at Vilagos, and the fortress of Komarom held out until October. The cause of the Italian revolutionaries was doomed when their powerful ally, the Kingdom of Piedmont, was decisively beaten at the battles of Custoza (July 1848) and Novara (March 1849). In the summer of 1849 the Roman Republic, defended by Garibaldi, fell to a French army; Garibaldi was lucky to escape with his life. The last redoubt of the revolution in Italy, the Republic of Venice, surrendered to the

Austrians in August. The victors took their revenge. In northern Italy and Hungary, General Haynau organized a massive plan of repression. In Hungary he had over 500 sentenced to death, and it was only through the intervention of the new young Emperor Franz Joseph that no more than 114 of these actually went to the gallows. The terror launched by Haynau, known as 'the cold vampire', poisoned relationships between Austria and Hungary for a generation.

A few months before the revolution, Alexis de Tocqueville, the political philosopher, gave the French Chamber of Deputies this warning. 'We are sleeping on a volcano. . . Do you not see that

the earth trembles anew? A wind of revolution blows, the storm is on the horizon. Tocqueville might have claimed a degree of prescience, but he later admitted that his speech was mostly empty rhetoric. The wind blew down governments in its path, but they sprang back again. Nor did the revolutions leave much sign of their passing. They had seemingly come without warning and were gone in a moment. In 1848 people played at revolution like a game, albeit a risky one. Only at the end, when all the casual crowd had departed, did it turn into a bloody and unpleasant business. The great tradition of coming onto the streets to seek redress of grievances, a refinement of rioting, began to die away. The middle classes had become too scared, while the workers began to discover that industrial strikes were a much more effective way of achieving their ends. Only a few 'revolutionaries' remained, of whom Garibaldi was the archetype. Most became folk heroes, at least among the working classes and the peasants. Future revolutions - the Paris Commune of 1871, Russia in 1905 and 1917 - would be in deadly earnest.

# ITALY 1860

## GARIBALDI : THE REVOLUTIONARY

### AS HERO



GIUSEPPE Garibaldi possesses the "supreme" quality in a revolutionary - he made his own luck ! On any rational grounds, many of his greatest exploits had no chance of success. His years of training had been spent in aiding the infant revolutions in South America. He was 28 when he sailed from Marseille to Rio de Janeiro, and over 40 when he returned to aid the Italian struggle for freedom. He had achieved his greatest success when he was able to use his skills as a seaman, a guerrilla of the ocean. Born in 1807, it was 1840 before he fought his first substantial engagement on land, at Taquari in Brazil. His capacity to rouse his men to achieve seemingly impossible objectives won him his greatest battle in South America, at San Antonio in 1846, when 200 of his Italian Legion plus a few Uruguayans smashed an enemy column of over 1000. Even so, this was little more than a lengthy skirmish, and when he returned to Europe with a handful of the Italian Legion, his reputation was larger than his experience warranted. The sea-captain from Nice was already being hailed as the archetypal revolutionary.

To authority Garibaldi posed a threat. After the King of Piedmont, Charles Albert, had met him he wrote to his minister of war : 'If there were a naval war he might be employed as a leader of privateers, but to employ him otherwise would be to dishonour the army.' He hoped that 'the self-styled general and his disciples' could be bought off: 'The best would be if they

went off to any other place....' This view of Garibaldi as a danger rather than an asset ran through the whole of his relationship with the leaders of Italy whom he so loyally followed. Even at the height of his success in 1860, they distrusted him. In 1848, the year of his return, he was fobbed off with a minor campaign around Lake Maggiore in the north. Yet when, in the following year, he was called upon to defend the hard-pressed Roman Republic, under the guidance of his political mentor Mazzini, he responded with instant energy. On 27 April 1849 he rode into Rome after a forced march from the north. Beside him rode a black Uruguayan and some sixty of his Italian Legion who had followed him from Montevideo and the South American campaigns: all wore the red shirts that became a symbol of the Garibaldini. In total his forces amounted to about 1300 men. He inspired the whole of the defending force with a spirit approaching elation, a feeling which grew to adulation when he threw the attacking armies, first of the French and then of the King of Naples, at Velletri. But the odds were too great, and by the third week in June 1849, he recognized the battle was lost. 'I regard Rome as having fallen' was his laconic statement. By 2 July all the city's defences had fallen to the French and Garibaldi decided to carry on a guerrilla war in the countryside. He drew up his small army in St. Peter's Square and made an epic declaration which added another star to his incandescent reputation: 'This is what I have to offer those who wish to follow me: hunger, cold, the heat of the sun ; no wages, no barracks, no ammunition; but continual skirmishes, forced marches and bayonet fights. Those of you who love your country and love glory, follow me.' It was irresistible, and over four thousand streamed after him out of the Porta San Giovanni.

In the event, his hopes of continuing struggle were futile, and he was lucky to escape, after many adventures, to the coast. His wife Anita died during their flight. His defence of Rome was epic and became more so with each re-telling. When war came again in 1859, he volunteered as he had eleven years before. Although he was now too famous to be ignored he was fobbed off with a minor command and the rank of general in the Sardinian army. In his distinguished blue uniform, he looked

an unlikely revolutionary, as the Parisian Dupont discovered. 'A felt hat, a ferocious countenance, imbedded in a mass of dishevelled hair ... a naked sabre in his hand; such is the personage of the legend. He may have appeared in this condition ten years ago, under the walls of Rome, but times have changed and Garibaldi in his fifties had lost none of the passions of his youth. The war of 1859 had made some progress towards the liberation of Italy, but Garibaldi was more convinced than ever that the failing structure of power needed only one further violent push to bring it down. This reminds me of the slogan "Ek Dhakka Aakhri ka" ("One push — to end it all" which we Freedom Fighters of 1942-46 made popular - Exe. Edr.) He began to wear the red shirt again, and to collect arms for an expedition to Sicily to strike a new blow for a united Italy. He sailed from Quarto on 5 May 1860, with little over 1000 men. No one, least of all the government of Sardinia, gave him any hope of success. They were glad to see the back of a turbulent and disruptive influence.

From the moment the expedition left, it seemed to have a charmed existence. On 11 May, as the Garibaldini sailed towards Marsala, the two Neapolitan warships which could have blown them out of the water left to patrol the south. He landed his troops and sent an advance party to seize the telegraph office. They found a message had already been sent that an invasion was in progress, and the telegraph relay station at Trapani was asking for confirmation of this disturbing news. They quickly sent a correction that it was an error, and the 'invaders' were only merchantships discharging stores. 'Idiots' came the reply. Then the Neapolitan ships returned and began to shell the red shirts. But almost all of them had disembarked; had the shelling begun a few minutes earlier, many would have been killed. Good fortune continued once they moved inland. When they met a force of Neapolitan soldiers at Calatafimi, the Garibaldini swept through them in a bayonet charge, despite their stronger position. The Sicilians, who hated the intruders from Naples, began to turn against their overlords. There was considerable violence on the Bronte estates near Mount Etna, and as Garibaldi approached the capital Palermo, the people drove the Neapolitan soldiers from the streets back into the citadel. By 6 June, Garibaldi had sent columns through the island to mop up the remaining groups of enemy soldiers, and accepted the surrender of 20,000. The only garrison which still resisted him were 5000 at Messina. The Thousand had overcome

## The Twenty-Five Thousand.

He quickly reduced the Messina garrison and shipped them out of the island, but he was anxious to move. He had already been forced to suppress the peasant rising at Bronte, and he knew the volatility of the Sicilians. But while he had entered Sicily by stealth, the whole world was now expecting his move forward on the mainland. A naval squadron guarded the Straits of Messina, and troops were massed to defend the coastline. His first exploratory thrust across the sea was a failure. 200 men put ashore near Scilla met a larger Neapolitan force and had to retreat into the hills of Aspromonte. But this feint attracted the enemy to the narrowest part of the straits of the north. On 18 August after a brief foray to Sardinia to collect more troops, Garibaldi drove south from Messina to Taormina where 3360 troops had been collected. That night they sailed in two steamers to Melito, south of Reggio di Calabria. Garibaldi was always at his happiest on the deck of a ship, and the seaborne assault was his most practiced tactic. On the morning of 19 August, the Garibaldini took Reggio by storm. The ships guarding the straits now moved quickly south, and his remaining 1500 troops crossed the straits in fishing boats. He had wrong-footed them twice. By now the peasants of the countryside were rising to support him, and the armies of the King of Naples shrunk daily through desertion. By 5 September he had arrived at Salerno, and so he arrived at Naples by train, a conquering hero under the guns of the Carmine fortress. Yet so great was the sense of demoralization that the royalist garrison made no attempt to resist him. From 7 September to 8 November 1860, Garibaldi was Dictator of Naples.

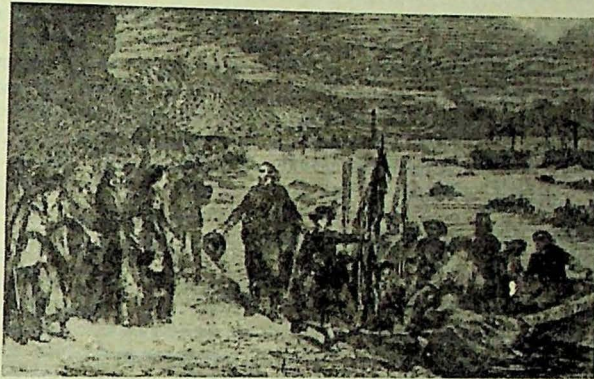
On 11 September, the Sardinian army moved south through the Papal States with the intention of linking with Garibaldi. He, by this time, had moved forward to Caserta to confront the remainder of the Neapolitan army gathered on the Volturno River. He was also faced with the need to garrison Naples, and to send troops against royalist peasants in the Ariano, where they were massacring anyone thought to be sympathetic to the revolution. In all he had 20,000 men against 50,000 in the Royal army. In the battle which followed in the first days of October, Garibaldi stopped

the royalist advance on Naples, but their army was left largely intact. He could not advance any further from the coast without endangering his line of retreat. He was forced to await the advance of the Sardinians under King Victor Emmanuel. On 25 October the two armies met near the village of Marganello, a meeting celebrated both in words and heroic painting. From that moment, Garibaldi was pushed progressively into the side lines. Rewards were heaped upon him — a full general's rank, a castle and a private steamer — all of which he refused. When he asked for political office, as first Governor of Naples which he had so recently ruled as Dictator, he was denied it. All that was left was to return to his home on Caprera, and await a new call to arms.

It had all been too easy. As he believed, the pack of cards had collapsed, and the power of the Kingdom of Naples fallen at the first push. Yet he could have been stopped on the shore at Marsala, and limped home in defeat. The Garibaldi legend grew year by year, strengthened by his extraordinary human warmth and resolute simplicity. He came to be seen as the archetypal revolutionary hero, honourable and chivalrous, daring and inventive. Even in his sixties and seventies, the visual

image of Garibaldi never aged: he was always seen as the young hero described by Dupont. Yet all his enterprises had been hit or miss affairs, the same story of volunteers flocking to the colours, arms hurriedly assembled, of a campaign won at the point of a bayonet in the nick of time. It was thrilling, but not a good model to follow.

*In the next issue of Mankind (No. 9, June 1996,) we shall continue our series A World of Permanent Revolutions with brief description of India 1857-60, The Dying Flicker of Feudalism; the Meiji Restoration in Japan, 1868; the Manchu overthrow in China 1911; the Mexican Crisis, 1920; and the Arabian cockpit of Intrigue, 1900-35.*



*Garibaldi leaving for the expedition to Sicily on the night of 5 May 1860. The Thousand, as his revolutionaries became known, actually numbered 1089 and were mostly North Italians.*

# MARXISM IN A CHANGING WORLD

Milovan Djilas, 1956

Marx was a scientist and an ideologist. As a scientist he made some significant discoveries, particularly in sociology and economics. As an ideologist he provided the foundation of the most significant movements of modern history. Clearly, being a scientist, he was far from wishing to elaborate an all-embracing philosophic system. If, from the philosophic stand-point, this can be considered a weakness, it was also his advantage over all his pupils, who were at best only ideologists not scientists, e.g. Plekhanov, Labriola, Lenin, Kautsky, Stalin, etc. The systematisation of Marx, that is, philosophy, was their passion, and it seems the passion grew as the person knew less about philosophy (Stalin). Moreover, Marx's heirs interpreted and understood his teaching as a closed and more or less total system, considering themselves as continuators of the already finished and more or less definite work of their teacher.

Being a child of his time, Marx denied the need of any philosophy. Marx's friend, Engels, cried that the development of science had put an end to philosophy, and Marx's own aphorism in the Eleventh Thesis on Feuerbach is famous: "Philosophers have only variously interpreted the world, but the point is to change it."

If, in the formulation of his thesis, Marx has been inspired above all by the scientific atmosphere of his time and the wish to provide, at least relatively, a scientific basis to a new movement, his heirs wanted to transform him into a dogma, under quite different conditions.

If the new social conditions, or more concretely, the political needs of the labour movement in Europe, did not require a new ideology, the philosophy which is known as the marxist philosophy (dialectical materialism) would have been forgotten,

even though Marx's economic and social studies belong among the most significant scientific and literary works of the human mind.

The force of marxist philosophy lay, therefore, not in its intrinsic merit, in its comparatively great scientific substance, but in its connection with a mass movement, in its reliance upon objective and revolutionary trends of social change.

Side by side with these trends grew the influence of this philosophy, and the labour movement, as well as society, got the illusion that it was almighty, at least as

## MARXIST PHILOSOPHY AND MASS MOVEMENTS

The force of marxist philosophy lay, therefore, not in its intrinsic merit, in its comparatively great scientific substance, but in its connection with a mass movement, in its reliance upon objective and revolutionary trends of social change.

a method. Where such tendencies did not exist, the influence and significance of this philosophy were insignificant (Great Britain, the USA).

As a science, marxist philosophy did not mean much — a few schematised theses drawn from Hegelian and materialistic thought. As the ideology of new suppressed classes, and especially movements, it meant an epoch.

## II

Marx considered that the transformation of capitalist society would be made through revolutionary struggles between the two basic classes, bourgeoisie and proletariat. This seemed to him the more probable since, in the capitalist system of his times, misery and riches grew at the opposite poles of a society shaken by periodical economic crises. Marx did not believe that revolution was inevitable for all countries and particularly for those in which democratic institutions had become a tradition. Among those countries he

mentioned, in a speech the Netherlands, Great Britain and the USA. But from his general doctrine it can be concluded that his belief in the inevitability of revolution was the essential characteristic of his views.

From Marx's analysis it could be concluded, and Marx did so conclude, that revolution would be the product, above all, of developed capitalist relations. As for the outcome of revolution, that is the new society that would follow, Marx conceived a new and higher level of human liberty than so called liberal capitalism. It is quite understandable because, though he rejected this capitalism, Marx was still the offspring of that liberal epoch.

On the premise that liberal capitalism should be transformed into not only a higher economic form, socialism, but into a higher form of human liberty. Social-democrats rightly considered themselves to be Marx's heirs. They had that right as much as the Communists, when the latter quoted the authority of Marx for the contention that capitalism could be changed only by way of revolution. In fact however, neither the one nor the other of Marx's heirs had the right to represent him. They did their own practice, a practice that was being applied in different and changed situation.

Relying upon Marx's ideas, the real development of the labour movement took quite a different course.

Where the struggle of the working class could not yield more significant and immediate political and economic results, in other words where the objective role of the working class in society was small, the need to systematize and dogmatize Marx's teaching grew. Moreover, where economic forces and social relations were not ripe for a change, as, for instance, in Russia, the dogmatization of the revolutionary aspect of Marx's teaching was given a more definite and resolute form.

On the other hand, where political and economic progress eliminated the social need for revolution, as for instance in Germany, the democratic and reformistic aspect of Marx's teaching was underlined, as well as its anti-dogmatic ideological and political tendencies.

In the first case, the reference to Marx became all the more emphatic, while in the second, the separation from him became all the more rapid. Lenin and Bernstein are two extremities of these different objective processes.

What were the characteristics of the development of capitalism after Marx?



In countries which had already completed the so-called industrial revolution (Germany, Great Britain, the USA) in the eighteen-seventies through the unification of banking and industrial capital, so-called finance-capital was being formed.

The scientific analysis of this transformation was first made by Hobson and Hilferding. In his work "Imperialism, the Last Stage of Capitalism," Lenin made, in reality, only a political analysis based on the above mentioned works.

The real changes, based on the technical upheaval of production, were enormous. They also caused the formation of monopolies and the division of the world into spheres of influence of the monopolies of the advanced countries. The struggle for spheres of interest was the chief cause of the First World War.

In the advanced countries, the sharp increase in production and the conquest of colonial resources and markets deeply changed the situation of the working class. The struggle for reforms, for a better material situation, and through it the parliamentary form of struggle, became more useful than revolutionary ideals.

The non-industrial countries, especially Russia, were in a totally different position. They were faced with a dilemma. Either they had to industrialise or they would become, as a source of raw materials, the prey of advanced countries and monopolies, and thereby be doomed to degeneration. Domestic capital was too weak to solve this problem. So was the class which represented it. Revolution became inevitable, and it could be made only by another class — the proletariat, and its vanguard, the revolutionary party.

From the developed West, where it came into being at the time of so-called liberal capitalism, revolutionary marxism transported itself, in the era of monopolistic capitalism to the under-developed East (Russia, China etc.). This parallels the development of the labour movement in that period, which began with its unification and political organisation (the Second International), and ended with its split into socialist (reformist) and communist (revolutionary) wings following the revolution in Russia and the creation of the Third International

### III

This is not the place to investigate the details of how various countries developed economically, politically or otherwise, nor of how that process developed in Europe as a whole, or in the USA. But some changes must be emphasised. The results of World War I were the transformation of tsarist Russia into a new type of state, corresponding to a new type of social relations. There was also a difference of technical level and productivity between the USA and West Europe, which World War II would have converted into a yawning chasm but for great changes in the economic structure of the USA.

The war was not the only cause of this difference between the USA and the rest of the world. It only accelerated the process of differentiation. The real cause of the rapid development of the USA lie in the internal resources of that country — in its natural and social conditions as well as the character of its economy.

Today this difference consists more or less in that 6 per cent of the world's population, living in the USA, produce 40 per cent of the goods and services of the entire world (according to Johnson and Croos). Its relationship to Europe is that, whereas between World War I and World War II, the share of the USA in world production was 33 per cent and after World War II about 50 per cent, the share of Europe, including the USSR, decreased from 86 per cent in 1870 to 42 per cent in 1935, to 34 per cent in 1937 and to 25 per cent in 1948 (according to UNO data).

An especially important change occurred in the colonies, which started on modern (capitalist) development, bringing with it the liberation movements which were finally to end in the liberation of a large majority of these countries after World War II.

In the period between the two world wars, capitalism lived through a deep economic crisis, and its social consequences were so great that only the dogmatised minds of the USSR have not recognised them. This latest crisis had become a danger to the survival of the nation as a whole. Developed capitalist countries, the USA in the first place, had gradually and perceptibly to resort to planned production on a national scale, and after World War II

on an international scale. The changes had an epochal significance for those countries as well as for the rest of the world, and it seems that they have not been sufficiently studied theoretically.

This period was also to give birth to totalitarianism both in the USSR and in some capitalist countries (Nazi Germany).

Germany could not, like the USA, solve its problems of internal and external expansion by normal, that is economic, means. War and totalitarianism (Nazism) became the only way out for the German monopolies and they rallied to a chauvinistic party.

The Soviet Union entered totalitarianism because of other reasons. It was a condition of its industrial transformation. It did not

have enough capital and only through political pressure could it compensate for its poverty.

But there was still another, an insufficiently noticed, but a really revolutionary element in the modern development. This was that modern wars bring about essential changes even where revolutions are not their consequence.

The revolutionary character of modern wars does not consist only in that they provide an impetus to technical discoveries, but even more in that they change the economic and social structure, both the individual countries and in the world. Did not World War II in Great Britain shake the existing relations so much that significant nationalisations became inevitable? Did not India, Burma, Indonesia, etc. emerge from it as independent states? Has not the unification of West Europe begun after it? Has it not brought about the emergence of the USA and the USSR as the two main economic and political forces in the world?

There could have been no question of such a deep influence of war on the life of nations and of humanity in former times. And this for two reasons: firstly, modern war inevitably has to become total war; it is a war in which no economic, human or other resources can remain unused, because the technical level of production is already so high that no nation or branch of economy

### REFORMS IN EUROPE, REVOLUTION IN RUSSIA

In the advanced countries, the sharp increase in production and the conquest of colonial resources and markets deeply changed the situation of the working class. The struggle for reforms, for a better material situation, and through it the parliamentary form of struggle, became more useful than revolutionary ideals.

The non-industrial countries, especially Russia, were in a totally different position. They were faced with a dilemma. Either they had to industrialise or they would become, as a source of raw materials, the prey of advanced countries and monopolies, and thereby be doomed to degeneration. Domestic capital was too weak to solve this problem. So was the class which represented it. Revolution became inevitable, and it could be made only by another class — the proletariat, and its vanguard, the revolutionary party.

can be left out of it. Secondly, because of the above-mentioned technical, economic and other conditions, the world has been unified to such an extent that the least change (and war brings plenty of changes) in one part causes, as in the case of any single living organism, a reaction in other parts.

The Communists have not theoretically noticed this revolutionary character of wars, because of their ideological and other exclusivism. For them the only changes are those which are to their interests. But non-communists also do not notice the social significance of modern wars, because of their inherited ways of thinking, according to which the revolutionary is only that which expresses itself through open armed struggle, and not that which forces itself upon society regardless of law.

#### IV

The present world, which has emerged from World War II, clearly is not what it used to be. Atomic energy, which man has picked out of the heart of matter, is the most spectacular, if not the only indication of the new epoch. When speaking about atomic energy, it must be noted that Communist prophets of the future of humanity declare that it is the symbol of their communist society, in the same way as steam was the symbol and the source of energy of the earlier society.

Whether we understand this naive reasoning in this or that way, one thing is true: atomic energy has brought about changes not merely in individual countries, but in the world as a whole. True, these changes do not go in the direction of such communism and socialism as is desired by the above-mentioned Communist theoreticians. Atomic energy, as a discovery, is not the fruit of one nation, but the result of a hundred years of work of the most brilliant minds of many nations. Its use is also the result of many efforts, not only scientific but economic as well, of a number of countries. Without the already existing unity of the world, its discovery and use would have been impossible. Its most immediate impact will be in the direction of the further unity of the world. On its way it will irresistibly shatter all inherited obstacles — property and social relations, and above all exclusive and closed systems and ideologies, such as communism is even after Stalin's death.

The tendency towards the unity of the world is the basic characteristic of our time. But this does not mean that the world did not have this tendency towards unity in the past. It means only that it existed in a different way.

The tendency to unite the world through a world market dominated in the nineteenth century. The world market was also a form of unity of the world. It was also the epoch of national (capitalist) economies and national wars. The unity of the world was being realised through national conflicts and wars.

Further unification was effected by the breaking down of pre-capitalistic forms of production in under-developed areas and the division of these areas among the advanced countries. It was the period of monopolistic capitalism, colonial conquests and war, in which the internal ties and interests of monopolies often played a more decisive role than national defence. The tendency towards the unity of the world was being realised at the time through the mutual rivalries of monopolistic capital. It was a higher form of unity than that of the market. Capital ruled over the entire world.

The present tendencies towards unity are something different. The irresistible development towards it can be found in the high level of production as well as of science and scientific thinking, so that their further advance is impossible, not only on a national basis, but even through the division of the world into various monopolistic spheres of influence.

The tendencies towards this new unity, the unity of production, based on the earlier stages of the unity of the market and the unity of capital, collide, however, with inherited and inadequate national, state, and, above all, social relations. As former unities were realised through national struggles that is through conflicts and wars for spheres of interest, the modern unity is being achieved and can only be achieved through the breaking up of social relations inherited from former periods. In what way will the coordination of the world's production be effected — through war or by peaceful means? No one can say for certain, but there can be no doubt that, as a tendency, it can no more be stopped.

It seems that this unification of the present world will be made through the conflict of systems, as distinct from the conflict through which unification was achieved in former periods. In other words, all present day conflicts will reduce themselves to the conflict of systems alone. Corresponding to it, of course, there

exist and will exist other powerful forces, new ones as well as those inherited from former periods. But through the conflict of systems the tendency towards the unification of production expresses itself most clearly and most importantly.

Furthermore, it would be absurd to believe that the unity of production will be realised. Just as for the former unities were never really achieved as something final, so this unity only realises itself as an irrepensible tendency, nothing more. Once it becomes dominant, new relations will ensue to a much

greater degree than can be envisaged today.

#### V

The end of World War II has confirmed the tendency of division primarily according to systems. All countries under the Soviet influence, even parts of nations (Germany, Korea,) enjoy more or less the same system.

Soviet leaders were fully aware of what was taking place. I remember Stalin said, at an intimate dinner party in 1945, that in modern wars the victor enforces his system on the vanquished, which was not the case in former wars. It was before the end of the war that he said this, when full love, hope and confidence existed between the allies. And in February, 1948 he told us Yugoslavs and Bulgarians: "They (the Western powers) will make West Germany their state, and we will make East Germany ours. It is unavoidable."

It is now a fashion, not without reason, to judge Soviet politics from the angle of a Stalin and a post-Stalin era. But Stalin did not invent systems, nor do his heirs, after his death, less abide by them. The difference after his death lies in the method by which Soviet leaders discuss relations between systems, not in the systems themselves. After all, has not Khrushchev, at the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, emphasised the world of socialism as something apart, which in practice does not mean anything else but insistence on the division according to systems

### BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY VS. COMMUNISM

It is important to note that both systems want the unity of the world to be achieved on the model of their particular systems. Both systems, therefore, take the attitude that world unity is necessary. But their view-points are diametrically opposed. The tendency towards unity of the present world is expressed and realised through conflict, through the struggle of opposites, and that in a very sharp form.

The ideological and political expressions of this struggle are (Western) democracy and (Eastern) communism.

and further on the exclusiveness of his own system ?

The conflict on the basis of systems gives to this main world struggle the aspect of ideological rivalry. Ideological war goes on even when some compromises are made, and it poisons the atmosphere of the rival camps. Moreover, as the conflict in material, that is economic, political and other relations, grows more sharp, it appears all the more as a struggle of pure ideas. Ideas already become a special force and a world apart.

But there is a third set of countries, those that have freed themselves of colonial dependence (India, Indonesia, Burma, the Arab states, etc.) These are countries which are endeavouring to build up their independent economies, and thus free themselves of economic dependence. But the influences and elements of the two principal systems are also to be found in these countries. Though these countries are, mainly because of their national interests, sincere in their adherence to slogans of national sovereignty, peace and the like, they cannot eliminate the conflict of the two systems so long as, in one way or another, the tendency we have earlier mentioned does not become dominant, viz. the tendency towards world unity on the basis of production. The third group of countries can moderate the world conflict, but they cannot solve it.

It is important to note that both systems want the unity of the world to be achieved on the model of their particular systems. Both systems, therefore, take the attitude that world unity is necessary. But their view-points are diametrically opposed. The tendency towards unity of the present world is expressed and realised through conflict, through the struggle of opposites, and that in a very sharp form.

The ideological and political expressions of this struggle are (Western) democracy and (Eastern) communism.

As the West, because of its political democracy and higher technical and cultural level, shows more powerfully the elementary tendencies towards unity, it appears as the defender of freedom, political and spiritual. Private property does not play any essential role in this tendency towards unity. One form or another of property in the Western countries can suppress or give an impetus to this tendency. But the tendency towards unity expresses itself in any case. This tendency is very strong even in Britain, which has nationalised its industries, and not only in the USA. The USA is also nationalising, in increasing scope, but without changing the forms of property, and by taking into the hands of the government a considerable part of the national income. The necessity of society and of human beings is to expand and perfect production. At the present level of science, technique, thought, etc., this law is expressed as a tendency towards the unity of production, and the higher the level, the more irresistible this tendency grows.

The western tendencies towards world unification are an expression of economic, technical and other needs and come only after the expression of political, property and other forces. They must manifest themselves regardless of the form of government, property, etc. The existing forms of authority, property, etc. can only change, according to concrete conditions, more or less in correspondence with these tendencies.

The picture in the other (soviet) camp is different. Even if there were no other reasons, the communist East, being backward,

would have been forced to shut itself in economically and ideologically, and to seek by political measures to compensate its economic and other weakness.

It may sound strange, but it is true that collective property, national in form, that is, belonging to the state, but in reality in the hands of a new class (the political bureaucracy) is the main obstacle to tendencies towards world unification in the communist world. The collective and total ownership of this new class creates this closed-in social, political and economic system, which could not open its doors during Stalin's lifetime and cannot do so even after his death. It can change, and does change, but not in the direction of mixing with other systems, and only in the direction of its perfection and strengthening. The unification of the world is for it, being closed in, the same as its own expansion. Making of itself a unique type of property, this system makes itself into its own authority and spawns a vicious circle of ideas. Even if its leaders did not want it, the system would develop an exclusive and fenced-in character. The united world it desires, it cannot imagine except as possessing a system more or less identical with its own.

As the world conflict of today develops mostly as a conflict of systems, it has more the character of civil war than of a conflict between states and nations. From this derives its unusual sharpness and exclusiveness.

As has already been stated, the conflict of systems does not mean that national and other conflicts have come to an end. But even through them is expressed the basic conflict, the conflict

between systems. Nobody could earlier have imagined divided nations like the two Germanies, the two Koreas, etc. Yet today it is a "normal," "understandable" phenomenon, because behind this division is something more deep and significant, of which it is only a concrete expression. The same is the case with other outstanding problems between the two systems.

The extreme sharpness of conflict in all forms of international life is an inevitable result of such a situation and such relations. The normal and peacetime state of the

present world is the "cold war." The forms of the cold war can change, and they are changing. The cold war could become more relaxed or more tense, but under present conditions it cannot be eliminated. First must be eliminated something far deeper, something which is in nature of the present world, the present systems, and particularly communism. The cold war, which today is the cause of tension, is itself the product of other, deeper and older conflicts.

The world in which we live is a world of uncertainty. It is a world of great and invisible horizons opened to humanity by science, but also a world of great fear of cosmic catastrophe, because of the existence of modern war weapon.

This world will be changed, in this or that way. But being divided and yet possessed with the irrepressible wish to unite, it cannot survive. The world relations which will finally emerge from this conflict will not be ideal or without friction. But they will be better than those of today for those who are to live in it.

Today's world conflict does not confirm or imply that humanity is marching towards a single system. This conflict confirms only that the further unification of the world is being achieved through the struggle of systems. By this we mean that the future world will

### UNIFICATION OF WORLD PRODUCTION

The unification of world production, to which the world is tending, does not mean the same type of production through similar forms of property, authority, etc. This unity of production means and can only mean the tendency towards eliminating inherited and artificial (political, property) obstacles to the development of modern production. It also means the need to adapt these forces to the natural, national and other local conditions. In short, it means a greater variety than today in the means of production, with a better harmonization and use of world productive possibilities.

not and cannot be the world of a single system.

The unification of world production, to which the world is tending, does not mean the same type of production through similar forms of property, authority, etc. This unity of production means and can only mean the tendency towards eliminating inherited and artificial (political, property) obstacles to the development of modern production. It also means the need to adapt these forces to the natural, national and other local conditions. In short, it means a greater variety than today in the means of production, with a better harmonization and use of world productive possibilities.

The tragedy of the world is not that it lacks a uniform system. On the contrary, the tragedy is that there is too small a variety of systems: the tragedy lies, above all, in the exclusiveness and closing-in of the systems, regardless of their type.

A greater variety of social systems together with a growing productivity is also one of the laws governing society.

The future world will, probably, show a greater variety and as such will be more united. Its impending unification will be made possible through variety, not monotony or monotonous. The latter would mean slavery and stagnation, and not a higher level of freedom and production.

## VI

Changes of this kind have always been followed by changes in property relations. The role of government in the economy recently has everywhere been strengthening. If by the expression "property", we understand not only the right of disposing, but also the right to manage and use, such a role of the Government is today a world phenomenon.

The increased, even the decisive, role of governmental organs in the economy is an expression of the tendency towards unification about which we have spoken. But this is a separate problem.

Here we will not deal with the question of who is the real owner of the means of production in the USSR, but we only wish to state the generally known fact that the whole economy is in the hands of those in power.

The increasing role of government in the economies of the West seems to indicate that the development of property here, in spite of different political forms, is also going in the direction in which the USSR is going. It will be seen, however, that this is really not true and that the similarity is only superficial.

And now, we shall briefly deal with the changes of property forms in the West. In Great Britain, private, more exactly, monopolistic property has already legally lost ground through the Labourite nationalisation. In the Scandinavian countries, a cooperative type of property can be noticed, alongside government owned property.

The increased role of government in the economy is particularly characteristic of former colonies and semi-independent countries, regardless of whether it is a socialist government (Burma), a government of parliamentary democracy (India), or military dictatorship (Egypt). Everywhere the government appears

as the initiator of economic changes, and nationalisation as a growing form of property. The Government makes a majority of investments, it controls exports appropriates the greatest part of foreign currency, etc.

It seems that the situation is not different in the most advanced capitalist country, the USA. Not only does everybody recognise the growing role of government in economy since the great crisis of 1929, but nobody denies the need of this role.

For example, James Blaine Walker declares (*The Epic of American Industry*, New York, 1949): "The growing ties and closeness of government and economic life is one of the noticeable characteristics of the twentieth century." (page 380) Correspondingly grows the number of government employees and government functions, especially in the Federal Government. Walker indicates that in 1938 about 20 percent of national income had been socialized, and that this percentage grew in 1940 to at least 25 per cent. With Roosevelt started systematic governmental planning

### WORLD UNIFICATION OF PRODUCTION AND THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES

The tendency towards the world unification of production, if it does not mean free aid to underdeveloped countries, would in practice mean the domination of one nation (the USA) or at best a group of nations. The economy and, through it, the life of an underdeveloped people are forced by the process of exchange to subject themselves to developed countries. That means that underdeveloped countries, if they wish to survive, have to defend themselves against such subjection by political measures, thus fencing themselves in. This is one way. The other is assistance from more developed countries. There is no third way. For the present there is not even the second way of assistance, except in very inadequate form.

of national economy.

Johnson and Croos (*The Origins and Development of American Economy*) arrive at the same conclusions. They observe that management has been separated from property and that the role of the government as creditor has considerably increased. "One of the main characteristics of the twentieth century," they write, "is the constant increase of the influence of government, and particularly the federal government, over economic business."

Shepard B. Clough (*The American Way*, New York, 1953) gives figures illustrating the above occurrences. According to him, the expenditure and public debt of the Federal government present the following picture:

Year	Expenditure of the Federal govt (in million dollars)	Public debt (Federal) (in thousand dollars)
1860-1878	309.6	2,436,453
1929-1939	8,998.1	42,967,531
1950	40,166.8	256,708,000

In the above work, Clough writes about the "managerial revolution", by which he understands the appearance of professional managers without whom the owners cannot operate any more. Their number and role are increasing, while men of great business imagination, such as John Rockefeller, John Wanamaker of Charles Schwab, do not appear any more in the USA.

Fainson and Gordon (*Government and American Economy*, New York, 1941) note that authority has always played a role in economic life. But now there are essential differences. "The regulating role of the State, they say, has appeared not only in the field of labour, but also in the field of production in such essential branches for the nation as transport, earthen gas, coal and petrol. New and far-reaching changes have also been obvious in forms of expansion of public enterprise with regard to the safeguarding

of natural and human resources. Public enterprise is particularly important in the field of banking and credits, in electricity and provision of cheap housing... The government began to play a far more important role than 50 years ago, even than 10 years ago.. The result of this development was the "mixed" economy, economy in which public enterprise, private enterprise, partly controlled by the government and relatively uncontrolled private activity, exist one alongside the other." (pp. 804-5)

These and other authors enumerate various aspects of this process : the increasing need of society for social life, education and others, which can be satisfied through government organs; constant increase, relative as well as absolute, of the number of persons employed by the government.

It must be understood that this process during World War II gains in sharpness and significance, as the result of war requirements. But after the war it did not die down, but went on at a pace faster than before. Not only the democratic, but even the Republican administration of Eisenhower, which came to power on the slogan of the return to private enterprise could not make any essential changes. Neither did the Conservative Government achieve any denationalization,

except in the steel industry, and its role in economy, compared with the Labourite government, has not been reduced. On the other hand, it can be said that it has increased.

The process is, obviously, the result of objective tendencies which have long ago come to be recognised by men. All serious economists since Keynes, have required the intervention of Government in economy. Now it is a reality more or less in the whole world.

If property is not understood only as a formal right, but as a right to manage and dispose, which in fact it is, the government intervention and state ownership are today a decisive factor in the economy of the majority of developed and under-developed countries.

It seems possible to conclude that the conflict between systems does not derive from the important role the State plays in the economy of one, as contrasted with the role of private ownership in the economy of the other. This conclusion may appear irresistible in as much as the role of ownership has decreased in the West, while the role of the State is increasing. It is not so, however. Besides other differences between the two systems, there is particularly important difference between the economy of the West and the so-called state economy.

No Western government behaves as an owner, and in reality it is not the owner, of the nationalised property or of the funds it has acquired through taxes. It cannot be the owner because it can be overthrown. It manages and disposes of this property under the control of Parliament, that is, the nation. It only manages the property which is not in its ownership, and that only as long as it is in power. This is not so in the USSR. The government, rather the Party oligarchy, does the distribution and management. It behaves as the owner, and it really is the owner. There is no control over it. Its own interests and aims determine its moves. Similarities of ownership between East and West are manifested in the increasing role of government in the economy, but, when qualified in this way, they appear as real and deep differences.

## VII

Ownership relations, after World War I, were perhaps the essential cause of conflict between the West and the USSR. The monopolies then played a much more important role and could not reconcile themselves to the fact that one part of the world - in this case, the Soviet Union - had slipped out of their hands. Today, however, the cause of international conflicts can be found, above all in various levels and tendencies of material and other development, and ownership relations are sometimes the consequence, and not only the cause of such a condition.

Ownership and other relations are not essential any more in the relations between Western countries and others. The conditions which will best favour economic, cultural and other exchanges are decisive in the relation of Western countries with others. The USA, for instance, maintained intensive economic and other relations with countries which have been nationalizing and are nationalizing, with Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries, and even with communist Yugoslavia.

As for the Soviet Union, ownership relations are primary. Where it was in power, it always imposed its type of ownership and political relations, and if it did establish some commercial relations with other countries, it did not and could not slide out of the framework of commodity exchange characteristic of the period of national States.

The same was the case with Yugoslavia at the time of its break with Moscow. It too could not develop a more significant form of economic co-operation than commodity exchange, because its own economy remained closed.

This picture and these relations are complicated by other elements. The tendency towards the world unification of production, if it does not mean free aid to underdeveloped countries, would in practice mean the domination of

one nation (the USA) or at best a group of nations. The economy and, through it, the life of an underdeveloped people are forced by the process of exchange to subject themselves to developed countries. That means that underdeveloped countries, if they wish to survive, have to defend themselves against such subjection by political measures, thus fencing themselves in. This is one way. The other is assistance from more developed countries. There is no third way. For the present there is not even the second way of assistance, except in very inadequate form.

Inequality between developed and underdeveloped is increasingly expressed today in purely economic terms. The traditional form of political rule through governors and local feudal rulers belongs to the past. In practice now, the economy of an underdeveloped, but politically independent state is subject to the more developed one. And yet no people can now voluntarily agree to such a relationship, since no one wants to renounce the advantages achieved through its (more productive) work.

Economic assistance has only partly become inevitable viz. in cases where the underdeveloped countries, with their weak purchasing power and low productivity, have become an obstacle and a heavy load to developed countries (Colombo plan, Marshall plan.) The existing conflict is the main obstacle that makes economic assistance unavoidable. When once these and such

### ECONOMIC AID AND THE THIRD WORLD

Economic assistance has only partly become inevitable viz. in cases where the underdeveloped countries, with their weak purchasing power and low productivity, have become an obstacle and a heavy load to developed countries (Colombo plan, Marshall plan.) The existing conflict is the main obstacle that makes economic assistance unavoidable. When once these and such

relations have been straightened out, the developed productive forces which irrepressibly tend towards the unification of production in the world, will have to allocate means for the development of under-developed area, in order to be able to further develop their own economy. The elimination of economic and other inequalities must be the fruit of necessity, in order to become the child of goodwill.

The internal development of various countries is related to the above changes. In developed countries, democracy grew and social differences were reduced. But the differences between developed and underdeveloped countries also grew. The real difference between the American and the Indonesian worker is today greater than between the American worker and his employer. The average wages per inhabitant in 1949 in the USA were 1,440 dollars, and in Indonesia 58 times less, that is, only 27 dollars. (UNO data)

In the USSR liberties were reduced with the growth of industrialization and the strengthening of the new forms of ownership. It was an illusion that economic development would lead to liberty. New ownership and other relations have already gained root in that country. The new ruling class wants quiet and an easy life. It has become less dogmatic towards itself, but it is not capable of changing the essence of its system, because it continues to retain its monopoly of distribution rights, with regard to both income and the total property of society.

The Soviet system is changing today, but only in that it is becoming stronger and milder. And as this system is not changing in its essence, the Soviet leaders will foster many hopes, but will end with the further strengthening of political despotism. It can not be avoided. That was the case with every despotism in history. I do not know why this should not be the case with Soviet despotism, merely because it calls itself socialist.

In the West, economic means acting towards world unification are dominant. In the Soviet Union, on the other hands, what still dominate are political means of uniting the world.

It is being confirmed that the USSR is able to unite only what it captures. In this respect the government of Khrushchev and Bulganin cannot effect any changes. Its methods have become more elastic. It has changed certain of its beliefs. But it is not capable of emerging out of its closed system, even if it wanted, even when it assists others or receives assistance. Established ownership and other relations act there as elemental powers. Although it was forced to recognise that there are other forms of socialism than bolshevism, the new soviet government still clings to the position that the forces of social ownership, and political and other relations in the USSR are unique. It defends these relations as ideal socialistic relations. To the foreign world this would not be very important if in practice it did not mean the fencing in of its system and resistance to tendencies of unification of the world.

From the viewpoint of tendencies of world development, the Soviet Union has become a conservative power. It is and must become a spiritually conservative power, with all its marxism, dialectics, revolutionary dogmas, stories about classless society and new culture. It is conservative from the viewpoint of Socialism. Stalin's collaborators damn him now, as if they had not participated in his crimes. But they are not capable of advancing the interests of socialism or socialist thought. To be capable of this, they would have to renounce the system they have created together with Stalin. They have no such intention. After all, one must not expect that from them, if by socialism we do not understand totalitarian despotism in place of liberty, or the exclusive right of the class to rule and distribute all national resources in place of organs freely elected by the people.

WHAT has remained of Marxism in this changed world?

In the West, the revisionists, and actual experience still more, have changed it so much, that nothing remains of it.

Born in European countries of the nineteenth century, marxism lost ground in them. But in Eastern Europe and partly in Asia, it has remained the ruling ideology. It has not kept its original form. It has been transformed into a dogma. In the West, marxism was a consequence of the industrial revolution. Changed, in the East, it has become its inspirer.

Once the ideology of progress, and in Russia the ideology of revolution, that which is today known by the name of marxism has become the ideology of backwardness, because it expresses tendencies of a closed-in system, even if, as today, it seeks to find explanations for modern phenomena. Marxism is not to blame for the place it has found for itself. All ideologies are good as long as they are relatively true, that is as long as they discover truth and reflect progress. Today's marxism does not move forward even where it could play a revolutionary role in relation to traditional colonial and capitalist relations. Original marxism belongs to history, among the greatest and most courageous human acts. The fact that it still exists does not indicate that it brings new ideas, but that the system which still has use for it needs "socialist", "communist" and other masks for despotism and class exploitation.

What happens to individuals, happens also to nations. Living their lives in the belief that they are creating ideal relations and ideal worlds, they turn back suddenly and notice that life has already passed by and, unexpected, contrary relations have brought into being a different world from that which they thought they were creating.

The most progressive communist leaders, armed with, "scientific" ideology, could not avoid this simple human doom. Believing that they were creating a perfect system and that they had finally discovered ideal social relations, they found themselves surrounded by unexpected difficulties, both internal and external.

For thirty years they have repeated that they have discovered social laws and that, according to them, they are creating a new, ideal society. They thought that all the rest of the world would be reduced to stagnation and decay in contrast. Now they must admit that this world has changed, that it has developed further and that the creation of their world was followed by the worst of crimes.

What happens to them?

They do not see, and cannot see, that there are some unchanging laws and aspirations in human society, which are expressed in all social epochs and through all forms. This or that society is only a means, a form in which these laws are expressed.

Having found themselves in conflict with objective social laws and human inspirations, the soviet way lead them now to attempt to eliminate this conflict by a change of strategy. Instead of liberating society from their ideology, they speak about its further development. Just as thirty years ago! This ideological attitude is a direct reflection of their irrepressible tendency to maintain and strengthen their system and themselves in it. They think that other methods and beliefs are out-of-date, but they themselves are out-of-date.

But if they could perceive it and recognise it, the Soviets would be supermen. They would be capable of changing that which is unchangeable, that is their own essence. And they have not been given this privilege, whatever their power. They can wither away in the long period. But they cannot change themselves.

Even their present changes confirm this. These are calculated to maintain their substance, their total power over society. All they do, all they think, all they dream is only calculated

to maintain their substance. They have no other principle or ideal. For them, any means and any method leading to this end is good; all that is opposed, to it deserves only contempt and destruction. They are the first in history to mock the eternal laws of human life, by behaving as if they were destined by history to give men an ideal society. The insistence on this is the source of their violence against men. Society is recreating itself, and classes, parties and individuals can only eliminate, obstacles which some older form of its existence puts in the way.

The transformation of the world is being accomplished and will be accomplished. One of the laws of society is that no system can change according to its will, but according to need, under pressure of some other system. And as the whole world today is involved in a process of higher unification, the problem of communism or of any other system, is more than the problem of

just one country.

*(From Mankind, Vol. 1, No. 1, August 1956 :*

*Milovan Djilas received law degree from University of Belgrade in 1933. Arrested for his political activities against the royalist dictatorship and imprisoned for three years. Became a member of Yugoslav Communist Party's Central Committee in 1938 and of its Politburo in 1940. Played major role in Partisan resistance to Germans in WW II. Became Vice-President of Yugoslavia in 1953. Resigned from party in 1954, imprisoned in 1956 for supporting Hungarian uprising. Published New Class in 1957, and analysed the typical communist oligarchy as a new group of privileged parasitical tyrants. Released from prison in 1961, but rearrested in 1962 for publication of Conversations with Stalin. Amnestied in 1966.)*

#### **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.

# ART AS HISTORY

Vinayak Purohit

1

## METHODOLOGY AND HISTORY

Methodology involves history doubly. First, art objects or artifacts can be utilised as analytical tools to uncover the underlying mode of production. Secondly, certain artifacts (portraits in two or three dimensions; biographical references in literature, theatre and film; songs in praise of specific rulers; etc.) are themselves history.

Each mode of production, as stamped with national cultural peculiarities, projects a unique complex of super-structural elements. Thus art of the past enables us to expose the socio-economic structure that subtends the art tradition under investigation. In other words, a specific art form cannot be the projection of any kind of social organisation and a specific social organisation cannot project any kind of art. There are necessary and sufficient iron links that tie art objects and modes of production together.

We may concretise by taking a quick retrospect of Indian art history, which is the manifestation of the sequence of modes of production that obtained through Indian history.<sup>1</sup>

2

## SELECTIVE LIST OF TYPICAL HISTORICAL EXAMPLES

i) PASTORALIST VEDIC ART : c. 4500 - 700 B.C.

a) *Architecture* : There is negative evidence of absence of large settlements built with permanent materials. This is as it should be, since we are concerned, at the Vedic horizon, with nomadic tent-dwellers and roving herdsmen.

The only architectural allusions in the Vedas are to the replaceable altars whether for community or household worship, and to *yupas* or sacrificial posts to which animals to be slaughtered were tethered. The continuity of the *yupas* with Ashokan pillars and with the *harmika yashits* of the *stupas* is brought out hereinbelow under (iii) (a) Mature Feudal Society : Architecture. The ubiquitous *Tulsi*

(Basil plant) placed in a raised receptacle in front of upper caste Indian homes to this day is not as benign as it looks. It is actually a relic of the bloody altar where animals were sacrificed and their blood run off through a hole in the bottom.

b) *Literature* : This is typically oral, since the nomad must travel light, unencumbered by weighty written tomes. The Vedas, oral literature epitomised, are self-revelatory of the pastoralist psyche. In fact, only a pastoralist can see flocks of cattle in sun's rays and conceive of *Kamadhenu*, the sacred cow, that fulfills all desires. At the same time, the nearness and loud echoes of tribal life are quite evident, not only because of the *Varna* system which was quite distinct from the later feudal *Jati* system, but also because of the format of the Vedic Chants themselves, which are close to the magical, shamanistic character of tribal culture. The magical healer is more emphatically in evidence in the fourth or the *Atharvaveda*. The *Varna* system was tribal and racialist (*Varna*=Colour) whilst the *Jati* system was sub-tribal, casteist and hierarchical.

c) *Music* : If we accept the authenticity of Samvedic singing that has survived up to the present, we have a tritone scale and simple musical structure to distinguish the Vedic society. Whatever may be its connection with pastoralism, the point to be noted is the absence of the elaborate

## MODE OF PRODUCTION PROJECTS SUPERSTRUCTURAL ELEMENTS

Each mode of production, as stamped with national cultural peculiarities, projects a unique complex of super-structural elements. Thus art of the past enables us to expose the socio-economic structure that subtends the art tradition under investigation.

heptatonic *marga* music of the later mature Indian feudal society.

d) *Minor Arts* : We have ample evidence of jewellery which is characteristically the forte of the roaming nomad, who must carry valuables that are compact, portable and body-attached.

The extremely hoary Indian tradition of leather work, embroidery, animal decoration, patch and quilt work is most

We are continuing the reproduction of chapters of Dr. Vinayak Purohit's forthcoming publication : Twenty five Essays in Indian History. We have already reproduced in Mankind the following chapters of the work :

1. Sangha Feudalism (c. 300 B.C. - c. 1300 A.D.) (No. 1, Oct 1995, pp. 63-91)

2. Intricacies of India's Land Tenure System (No. 1, Oct. 1995, pp. 92-97)

3. Samanta Feudalism (c. 300 B.C. - c. 1300 A.D.) (No. 2, Nov. 1995, pp. 62-84)

4. Art and History (No. 2, Nov. 1995, pp. 85-86)

5. Indian Architecture : Background and Balance Sheet (No. 2, Nov. 1995, pp. 87-91)

6. Fallacy of Asiatic Mode of Production (No. 3, Dec. 1995, pp. 44-64)

7. Pastoralist Class Society (No. 4/5, Jan/Feb. 1996, pp. 68-85)

8. Gazetteers as Records of Indian Bourgeoisification Process (No. 6, March 1996, pp. 47-55)

This issue carries Art as History.

likely to be related to the ancient pastoralist mode of production. Hides and skins were easily and plentifully available for dwellings, costumes, vessels, furnishings and decoration. Leather readily lends itself to patchwork, strapwork and embroidery. (Embroidery is basically a manner of stitching two or more things together in such a way that the stitch is displayed and is not hidden as in sewing.)

ii) PROTO-FEUDAL HARAPPAN ART : c. 2750-1250 B.C.

a) *Architecture and Town Planning* : A single sweeping glance, over the scores of sites of the Harappan civilisation brought

to light by the archaeologist's spade, is sufficient to convince any student of history that here we have a society distinctly divided in classes. On the one hand, there are the high level protected citadels with their public edifices - baths, granaries, etc. On the other hand, we have the humble quarters of the artisans and other citizens, the uniform prevalence of standard weights and measures over a territory of several



hundred thousand square miles, and so on. This kind of set-up is inconceivable in the absence of a class-divided society.

b) *Sculpture* : Let us focus on the four well-known examples unearthed by the earliest excavators, viz. the bust of the so-called priest king, the two male torsos and the renowned dancing girl; as well as the four magnificent bronzes uncovered recently at Daimabad. The first point to be noticed is the relatively small size of these eight objects. The aristocratic arrogance and the gigantism of the mature medieval feudal society is entirely absent. Compare these eight art objects of the Harappan horizon to the Parkham Yaksha or Sultanganj Buddha or the Mathura Kanishka. We can see that the Harappan society was just emerging out of the pre-class, tribal formation and whilst chiefs as priest kings had made their bow on the historical stage, their appearance was in low profile. The bust of the so-called priest-king, wearing a robe with the typical trefoil pattern, is egoistically assertive no doubt, but is, at the same time, rather modest in posture and benign in appearance. Secondly, let us consider the famous dancing girl and her features. This is a typical dancing tribal and her features have been echoed by hundreds of thousands of forest dwellers of India right up to the present. She is also literally black. Certainly, tribal life was not very distant from the Harappan horizon. As "Shyamali" (Black Beauty) she symbolises the first Indian canon of feminine allure. The Daimabad bronzes underscore the advanced technology of the period for such weighty bronze castings are not to be found anywhere in the world at a comparable date.

c) *Seals* : The writing on the seals has been recently deciphered. Nevertheless the autochthony of the Indian art tradition is forcefully stressed by the hundreds of seals that have come to light. All the persistent Ind'ian motifs are present : the peepul leaf, the zebu ox, the ithyphallic yogi, etc.

iii) MATURE FEUDAL SOCIETY : FIRST PHASE : SANGHA PERIOD : BUDDHIST MONASTIC ART : 700 B.C. - 300 A.D.

a) *Architecture* : The gigantic, semi-circular, ephemeral dung heap set on fire for pastoralist *yagna* sacrifices of the Vedic period was now transformed into the hemispherical *anda* of the stupa. The sacrificial post or *yupa* to which

animals intended for slaughter were tethered was similarly feudalised and metamorphosed into the famous Ashokan columns with their benign animal finials and into the "tiers of umbrellas" called *harmikas*, placed on top of stupas. The cowpen with its fences was changed into the magnificent carved railings and *toranas* of the Bharhut, Sanchi and other stupas.

It is now a settled society based on exploitation of agricultural labour. Light-weight, transportable tents are not incumbent, and permanent heavy materials like stone, marble, bricks were preferable to mark emphatically the feudalists' domain and his delusion that his power would last forever. Instead of the *kamadhenu*, the symbol is now the *kalpavriksha* or the *kalpataru*, so delicately carved on the Sarnath Stupa. In place of the animal that provides everything, we now have the plant that fulfills all of man's cravings. Another favourite motif is the *shalhanjika* i.e. the *yakshi*, the touch of whose foot brings the plant to fruition.

That the feudalisation process was a double one is made clear by two parallel art streams. The one described above, of stupa, railing, gateway and pillar, is that of recycling of potent

pastoralist symbols known and venerated by the mass of the herd-tenders. The second feudalisation process of tribes with or without chiefs being gradually fitted into the feudal hierarchic structure of castes is seen in the rock-carved *chaityas* and *viharas* of the wooded hill tops. Primitive man had used caves and rock shelters as dwellings for tens of thousands of years. There was safety, security and social life in and around these cave dwellings. The feudalisation process now swept into its ideological net the associations that the jungle and hill-dwelling tribals had with the old lithic forms. The caves are now elaborately carved and painted over, brilliantly lit with lamps and sumptuously decorated with expensive ornaments. The wealthy who donated the funds to the communities of monks are permanently given a place of honour - the donor couples in bold relief flank the entrances to the *chaityas*.

b) *Sculpture* : Along with the giant complexes of *stupas* and cave temples, there came into being the megalomaniacal projections of the upstart feudalists - the *yakshas* and *yakshis*, soon to be followed by many more free-standing statues of royalty, representing the first phase of arrogant and assertive feudalism.

c) *Literature* : In order to establish and preserve feudal property relations, a vast amount of written literature now comes into being ranging from Ashoka's edicts to Satavahana copper plate land grants, from *Ja'taka Kathas* to Buddhist religious lore in the form of the *Tripitaka*, from high level moralising of *Milindpanha* to Machiavellian realpolitik of Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and from Aswaghosha's primitive *Buddhacharita* to Bhasa's mature dramatic works. In fact, such is the volume of literary output that the world's earliest grammarians appear in India led by the great Panini. Secondly, the entire story-literature of Europe and Asia is immediately traceable to the Buddhist *Jataka Kathas* and their

Jain and Hindu counterparts and successors, namely the Jain stories or dreams of the births of the *Tirthankaras* (generally known as "mothers' dreams"); Gunadhyaya's *Brihatkatha*; Somadeva's *Kathasaritsagar*; the *Panchatantra*; the *Vikrama's*, *Vetala's* and the *Parrot's Tales*, and the *Hitopadesha*. Through Latin, Greek, Syriac, Turkic, Arabic, Persian, Tibetan, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Burmese, Malay and Cambodian translations, Indian story literature

### THE PASTO-FEUDAL COMPROMISE

The new pasto-feudal compromise amalgamated the *yagna* and the *pooja*, and the *varna* and the *jati*. The Vedic Brahmin herd-owners had been crushed and their flocks confiscated. The repeated attempts by the surviving pastoralists to invite help from abroad in the form of the Saka-Huna-Kushan-Parthian-Bactrian militarist adventurers had been either beaten back or efficiently reabsorbed by the feudal polity.

permeated the entire world's story-literature and in itself represents one of the greatest autochthonous Indian achievements in world culture.

iv) CLASSICAL FEUDAL SOCIETY : SECOND PHASE : SAMANTA PERIOD : BRAHMINICAL PASTO-FEUDALIST ART : c. 300-1300 A.D.

a) *Fundamental Pasto-Feudal Compromise* : The most important feature of this second classical phase of Indian feudalism lies in the nature of the pasto-feudal compromise effected by the defeated pastoralist vedic elements with the now completely triumphant classical feudalists of India. The classical text which spells out the terms of the pastoral surrender and adjustments is provided by the *Gita*.<sup>2</sup> This text was formulated around this time, - that is, the Gupta period - and was conveniently added to that mammoth compendium of knowledge, the *Mahabharata*, a veritable *encyclopaedia* of state-craft, military strategy, political economy, social conduct, moral policy, ethical imperatives, religious injunctions, economic compulsions and philosophic speculations, that was continuously being augmented by gratuitous

insertions. One such addendum was the *Gita*.

Under the leadership of the Kshatriyas professing late *Upanishadic* eclecticism and Buddhist, Jainist or Ajivikaist non-conformism,<sup>3</sup> the Vedic ritual of expensive *yagna* and endless blood-sacrifices involving valuable herds was effectively superceded by, in particular, the Buddhist trinity of Dhamma, Sangha, and Buddha. However, this was a transitory monastic phase whose societal links were with the libertarian egalitarian tribal order and whose art-cultural moorings were in congregational worship around open-air stupas and retreat to cave complexes astride the major caravan trade-routes.

The new pasto-feudal compromise amalgamated the *yagna* and the *pooja*, and the *vama* and the *jati*. The Vedic Brahmin herd-owners had been crushed and their flocks confiscated. The repeated attempts by the surviving pastoralists to invite help from abroad in the form of the Saka-Huna-Kushan-Parthian-Bactrian militarist adventurers had been either beaten back or efficiently reabsorbed by the feudal polity.

At the same time the Buddhist monastery was also proving to be an onerous burden. First, the *sangha* retained too many traces of tribal democracy. Secondly it had grown fat with too many perpetual land-endowments, which were by their very nature untaxable. Thirdly, the Buddhist monasteries harboured a multitude of craftsmen and artisans, who also claimed immunities from innumerable feudal imposts. Fourthly, the *viharas* and *chaitiyas* were designed for collective worship and this made them dangerously populist, the orders of monks and nuns withdrew too many able-bodied potential labourers and tenant farmers from the available work-force.

Thus, conditions were created for the historic pasto-feudal compromise. A most ingenious solution was found. The deprived and harried Vedic Brahmin herd-owner was planted in the heart of every village. His programme was to smash communal life to smithereens, to set each individual and occupational group at each other's throats and to act as the ears and eyes of the remote royal centre. The Brahmin kept a close watch on every potential disloyal ideological trend and assisted the King's forces to liquidate the tiniest centre of disaffection. By brain-washing the population, the New Brahmin temple priest was able to substantially enhance the rate of exploitation and the quantum of extracted surplus value.

The principal lever of this cruel and abominable strategy was the structural temple with a dark *sanctum sanctorum* and a narrow entrance fit for only individual isolated worship. Much attention has been unnecessarily paid to trivial, superficial and stylistic features of the structural temple.

For instance, the forms of temples and their *shikharas* have been analysed in endless detail. The major styles have been classified as *Nagara* in the north, *Dravida* in the south and *Vesara* in the intermediate Deccan. Furthermore, the *Shikharas* have been classified into the North-Indian type, i.e. *Latina* or *Phamsana*. The *Latina*-type is further subdivided into the *Sekhari* and the *Bhumija*. The South-Indian type is distinguished from all the above and is called *Kutina*.

All this is like making the shape of the nose and the mouth as the distinguishing marks of the human being. What is essential is to understand the distinguishing feature of the structural temple as such, and not of the successive stylistic minor evolutionary phases of the basic form. What is of utmost significance is not the shape of the *Shikhara* but the fact of the temple and the reasons for its gestation. The structural temple portends the end of collective congregational worship and proclaims the primacy of individual service to patrons by members of the priestly caste.

b) *Architecture*: In the foregoing paragraphs we have emphasized the historical and sociological function of the structural temple. We shall have something to say about its stylistic features also, but that in due course. The most important point about the earliest of these structural temples, e.g. the one at Sanchi dated to approximately 5th century A.D., is its modest size, which contrasts qualitatively with the spacious *chaitiyas* and *viharas* of Karle, Nasik, Bhaja, Kondhane, *et al.* The contrast with the open air stupas of Bharhut, Amravati, Sanchi, Mirpur-Khas, and so on, was even greater. Instead of the older congregational worship we have now individual small-scale worship in the *garbha-griha* and

the narrow (sometimes actually tunnel-like) *pradakshina path* around the dark chamber. Instead of a monk or a nun leading a mass chorus in prayer and singing, we had the personalised service of a priest attendant individually doling out *panchamrit* or *prasad*.

We cannot understand the architecture of the structural temple unless we follow its socio-economic logic. Quite a few of the temples were literally reserved for the king, the royal family, the nobles, and their nearest kith and kin, and hangers-on. But even when a temple became a popular cult centre, a focal point of pilgrim traffic and a humming complex of urban communal life, no attempt was ever made to significantly enlarge the *sanctum sanctorum*.

Only larger and larger ante-chambers, bearing more and more complicated names were added, e.g. the *mandapa*, the *ardhamandapa*, the *ranga mandapa* and finally the thousand-pillared hall. To accommodate more and more devotees, it was not thought necessary to magnify the *garbhagriha*. The entrance to the *sanctum* remained narrow even as the queue in front of its entrance lengthened. The worshippers would have to queue for hours, days and nights to catch but a fleeting glimpse within a few seconds of the idol, when passing along the *sanctum* door pushed by the crowds behind and hustled by the priests, often literally with a not non-violent stick. Of course, there were the privileged few, the mighty and the wealthy, who were taken right up to the idol inside the *sanctum* and given as much time as they wanted for worship. Naturally these extra-ordinary privileges were purchased with munificent gifts in treasure, coins, ornaments and land grants. But for the vast mass of the people, a fleeting glimpse alone was vouchsafed, few seconds during which offerings had to be made, hands folded, heads bowed and prayers mumbled, all these actions compressed into a tiny time-capsule. For the lower castes and tribes even this limited time-bound visit to the temple was prohibited in most religious centres for the greater part of the feudal era.

### THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC LOGIC OF THE STRUCTURAL TEMPLE

We cannot understand the architecture of the structural temple unless we follow its socio-economic logic. Quite a few of the temples were literally reserved for the king, the royal family, the nobles, and their nearest kith and kin, and hangers-on.

Naturally these extra-ordinary privileges were purchased with munificent gifts in treasure, coins, ornaments and land grants. But for the vast mass of the people, a fleeting glimpse alone was vouchsafed, few seconds during which offerings had to be made, hands folded, heads bowed and prayers mumbled, all these actions compressed into a tiny time-capsule. For the lower castes and tribes even this limited time-bound visit to the temple was prohibited in most religious centres for the greater part of the feudal era.

As for the stylistic features, it is worth emphasizing that no two temples excavated or in use in India have ever been exactly alike. No doubt, there were broad streams with common features for specific regions and periods. It is perhaps feasible to posit supra-regional stylistic schools like *Nagara*, *Dravida* and *Vesara*. But in our opinion it is an exercise in futility.

Even here we should hark-back to the socio-historical and politico-cultural setting. The fundamental dichotomy of the feudal mode of production lies, apart from that between the land-holding nobility and the tenants-serfs-labourers-artisans-craftguilds, in the perpetual tension between the imperial centre and the regional sub-centre. The vassals who held fiefs for the locality or region were perpetually at loggerheads with the lords-in-chief and the king-of-kings. That is why temples in India must be grouped principally in regional stylistic streams. More important than a classification that lumps together under the *Nagara* style highly divergent temple forms of East, Central and West India, is the distinction that can be easily made between the Orissan temples, those of Khajuraho, those of Himachal Pradesh, and so on. The *amalaka* and *kalasha* may be the same but they lie at the top of widely divergent concepts that are as far apart architecturally from each other as the *gharanas* of medieval music and *thikanas* of miniature painting.

c) *Sculpture*: We have noted hereinabove that sculpture in durable materials took shape initially under the feudal impulse with the fashioning of the so-called freestanding *yaksha* and *yakshi* figures. Quite a number of Kushana figures more or less free-standing have also survived. Some of the earliest carvings on the *toranas* of the *stupas* were virtually in the round.

However, with the development of the structural temple, free-standing sculpture in the round receded into the temple wall as a relief panel. So much so that the entire temple came to assume the form of a gigantic complicated encrusted sculptural tableau. Witness the *Rathas* of Mahabalipuram, the Kailashnaths of Ellora and Kanchipuram and above all the *Surya-Mandira* of Konarak with its giant chariot-wheel and seven prancing steeds about to fly away across the sea into the distant cloudy horizon.

Thus Indian sculptural development was retarded or held back in a certain direction but stimulated and enriched beyond calculation in another. Sculpture in the round did not develop vigorously, but that in low or high or super-high relief remains unmatched in the history of world art.

The reason is again sociological. The masses, especially the low and backward castes, though involved in the construction of the temple were not to be admitted in it once it was formally consecrated. The temple was for the privileged few. However, the masses were in many places and several times during the year permitted to mill around the temple and gaze at it from a middle distance. This is the principal reason for the exterior surface and the outer ornamentation of the Indian temple being so fantastically varied and unbelievably rich, in contrast to its relatively drab and minimally carved, ill-lit interior.<sup>4</sup> The masses had to be lured and

their offerings collected but were to be kept at a safe distance.

Those who came to visit the temple were not necessarily admitted inside its precincts. If they belonged to the lower castes or to the despised tribes, they would be merely allowed to circle around the sacred edifice. Their presence inside would be too polluting, from the Brahminical standpoint. That is why, all those grand narrative stories from the epics fixed in continuous bands of friezes round the exterior walls of the ante-chambers or *ardhamandapas*. That is precisely why around that portion of the temple's structure, which encircled the *garbhagriha* (or *sanctum sanctorum*), all the gods and the *dikpalas* (guardians of the eight quarters) were carved in rather larger formats. The common people would pray to these icons placed on the exterior walls and leave their offerings along the *pradakshina* (or the circumambulatory) path.

The temple itself was a gigantic icon and it had hundreds of minuscule icons encrusted upon it. Of course the upper castes, the so called *dvijas* could enter the temple proper. That is why the pillars were richly ornamented and very often bracket figures were placed at an angle to the pillar capitals and rose, sometimes

in circular tier upon circular tier, up to the centre of the deep ceiling, whose central member could be made pendulous.

Still further inside, right round the *garbhagriha*, would be a narrow passage, or even a low circular tunnel. Generally these areas were left unembellished, without any sculptural carvings. At this point the devotee would be moving round with closed eyes, hands folded, often on all fours, mumbling the *mantras*. He was neither supposed nor expected to see anything.

It was a magnificent architectural programme unfolding in time and space. The glittering, shimmering, highly ornate exterior for the multitude. Some carving, a little less profuse, though still overpowering, in and around interior walls, pillars and ceilings of the *ranga mandapas*, where musicians

and dancers would be performing for the select few, who were or claimed to be high caste *dvijas*. Right inside, plain walls and dark passages and cellars, for the true upper caste devotees who moved literally blind with closed eyes, as in any case being aristocrats they were socially blind.

Another major art tendency of our second or *Samanta* period was the still further compression of the narrative friezes into the complex frozen iconic tableau. The great Indian tradition of narrative sculpture was not abandoned. It was still further developed and symbolically compressed.

First, the central deified figure was made multi-armed and multi-headed. Each arm carried a distinctive emblem, each head a specific decorative motif. All these emblems and motifs were not merely ornamental. They were devices that enlisted the allegiances of multiple tribo-caste groups and sects.

Secondly, the gods were given consorts and offsprings. Shiva had his Parvati or Durga or Gouri or Chandī or Kali or Bhavani or a female companion known by a thousand different names to a thousand different sects, castes and tribes of devotees. Further, Shiva had his offsprings, namely, old Murugan, renamed

### THE ICONIC TABLEAU OF THE SAMANTA PERIOD

Another major art tendency of our second or *Samanta* period was the still further compression of the narrative friezes into the complex frozen iconic tableau.

Each element of the tableau thus symbolically assuaged the feelings of each tribo-caste group. The brahmin priest managed to convince each group that their allegiance rightfully belonged to Vishnu, whose *avatara* or incarnation was such; who in that incarnation had such and such consorts and offsprings and attendants and mounts; to one of which the tribe owed the most sacred obligations. In other words whether it was a rat tribe or a bull tribe or a peacock tribe or a tiger tribe or a lion tribe or any tribe of the Shiva complex, all of them equally belonged to the flock of Shiva. Similarly, the super-family of Vishnu was structured. Finally, a super-super-family of Harihara was built up, amalgamating Hari-Vishnu and Hara-Shiva.

Kartikeya or Subramanyam; and Ganesha known also as Vinayaka, Ganapati, and by a hundred other appellations. Each offspring is again an emblem or device by which more sects, castes and tribes can be attracted.

Thirdly, there are the *vahanas* or mounts which again are emblematic iconic devices by which the allegiance of still more castes and tribes is claimed and it is not merely the main iconic figure alone which possesses the *vahana*. The consorts and offsprings possess their separate *vahanas*, which are very much like the totems known to anthropologists as symbols of tribal cohesion. Shiva's mount is the Nandi bull. His offsprings Ganesha and Kartikeya have their mounts in the shape of the rat and the peacock respectively, thereby attaching to themselves the allegiance of the rat and the peacock tribes. His consorts' mounts relate to their precise names. If the crystallization was in the form of Amba, the mount was tiger; if Chandi, the lion and so on. Agni's mount was the ram; Saraswati's mount, the swan; Laxmi was seated on the lotus and her *vahana* was the owl; Yama was accompanied by the buffalo; Indra's mount was elephant, etc., *ad infinitum*.

Fourthly, there were the attendants of each iconic figure. For instance, Shiva had the *bhutas* surrounding him and his offspring Ganesha, had the *ganas*.

Fifthly, legends and myths were woven round each feature of the iconic tableau.

Each element of the tableau thus symbolically assuaged the feelings of each tribo-caste group. The brahmin priest managed to convince each group that their allegiance rightfully belonged to Vishnu, whose *avatara* or incarnation was such; who in that incarnation had such and such consorts and offsprings and attendants and mounts; to one of which the tribe owed the most sacred obligations. In other words whether it was a rat tribe or a bull tribe or a peacock tribe or a tiger tribe or a lion tribe or any tribe of the Shiva complex, all of them equally belonged to the flock of Shiva. Similarly, the super-family of Vishnu was structured. Finally, a super-super-family of Harihara was built up, amalgamating Hari-Vishnu and Hara-Shiva.

Whether this climax was universally acceptable or not, many such amalgamations were tried out eg *Ardhanarishwar* which combined in the icon and brought together in the congregation those who owed allegiance to either a male god or a female goddess; or the *Trimurti*, which combined Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesha (Shiva) followers; or the *Narsimha*, which joined the followers of Vishnu to the followers of the lion tribe.

The sociological strategy was to bring together, with the help of images, legends and myths, diverse social groups living at varied levels of development, who originally had distinctive totems and sectarian gods. The iconic tableau, so to speak, summed up an entire sociological situation and attempted to act as a unifying force.

d) *Painting*: There is not the slightest doubt that a vigorous tradition of large-scale mural painting flourished in the Buddhist Monastic Period as evidenced by Ajanta and Bagh caves. It even survived till very late in the Brihadewara at Tanjore and also at several other places recently being discovered and pinpointed.

The riddle is in the virtual disappearance of this tradition and its precipitous attenuation during this classical feudal phase.

It is true that Islamic iconoclasm played a censoring and negative role from roughly 14th century A.D. onwards. I suspect that this solution merely begs the question. The puzzle would then become one of trying to find the reasons for the sharp decline of painting from the 8th to the 13th centuries.

I suggest that we must once again look at the changed socio-historical scenario. No longer was collective worship or collective life in any form to be encouraged or granted royal patronage. In other words, mural painting was out. Secondly, Indian chemical technology probably lagged behind civil engineering technology. It was possible to construct the sculpto-architectural complexes known as temples in India, but under the Indian weather conditions of extremely harsh temperatures, saturated humidity and blinding sunlight over long hours, the Indian fresco technique, whilst fully valid for cave interiors, was not sufficiently robust and advanced to endure in the open. It is interesting to note that almost the only region in which large scale mural painting has survived even as a folk craft tradition, is in the arid zone of Rajasthan, Kutch and North Gujarat.

Secondly, it is obvious from the surviving murals at Ajanta, Ellora and Bagh that there were guilds of Buddhist (and possibly Jain) monk-painters. Further, from the profusion of murals and *thangkas* (temple banners) found in the late *Samanta* period (C. 750 to 1300 A.D.) entirely in the Indian Gupta and Post-Gupta styles, in Nepal, Ladakh, Tibet, Bhutan, Afghanistan (Bamian) Central Asia (Miran, Kizil, and other oases) and North-East China (Tun-huang, Lung-men and Yun-kang caves), that at least some of these guilds of painter-monks must have travelled far and wide as missionaries (Sigiriya in Sri Lanka is ideologically and stylistically very close to Ajanta).

Therefore, another possible reason for the apparent decline

of painting in India could be that the practising painters belonged to guilds of monks, who decided to emigrate in the late *Samanta* Period, as the patronage accorded to Buddhism by Indian Kings collapsed, especially after the anti-Buddhist campaigns of Shankara (c. 750 A.D.)

A third reason could be that no civilization in the world is able to exploit all the art media simultaneously to an equal extent. Let us look at the major continental cultures of the world:

i) *Black Africa*: Architecture was but poorly developed.

Sculpture on the other hand, was vigorously cultivated. Barring the Indian, the African sculptural tradition is probably the greatest known to the world. Dance and music were of fundamental importance but theatre otherwise was neglected and so was literature, which remained at the level of oral folk tales, till very recent times.

ii) *White Europe*: European art culture was totally derivative and repeatedly drew inspiration from Oriental and Asiatic sources. Till the rise of the bourgeoisie, European art was in a backward and undeveloped state. But even in this generally depressed condition, one can notice a marked inclination towards the two dimensional media, calligraphy, mosaic, tapestry and stained-glass.

iii) *Pre-Columbian America*: The surviving remains once

### PREFERENTIAL AND UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARTS BY DIFFERENT CIVILIZATIONS

In conclusion, we can see that everywhere in the world, paintings have survived to a much lesser extent than examples of architecture and sculpture. That however, is only one half of the story. The other part consists of preferential and uneven development of the arts by different civilizations in different periods. The Indian genius veered towards textiles and jewellery and similar intricate craftsmanship. The Chinese moved ahead with painting, ceramics, lacquer, calligraphy and printing. The Persian tilt was towards miniature painting and carpet weaving, as well as tilework and metal-work.

again indicate a higher development of architecture and sculpture. About music and dance, and performing arts in general, very little can be said.

iv) *China* : The greatest painterly tradition of the world and one of the longest duration, save the Ancient Egyptian, is undoubtedly the Chinese. Examples have survived from the T'ang (618-907). Originally the inspiration seems to have come through the Central Asian oases and the Kansu corridor, from India, during the Kushana and the Gupta periods. But selectively, China developed the painterly idiom, and of course, contributing its own original almost unique ceramic tradition, which has never been equalled anywhere in the world, not even by later day Korea and Japan.

In conclusion, we can see that everywhere in the world, paintings have survived to a much lesser extent than examples of architecture and sculpture. That however, is only one half of the story. The other part consists of preferential and uneven development of the arts by different civilizations in different periods. The Indian genius veered towards textiles and jewellery and similar intricate craftsmanship. The Chinese moved ahead with painting, ceramics, lacquer, calligraphy and printing. The Persian tilt was towards miniature painting and carpet weaving, as well as tilework and metal-work.

Anyway, I offer the above three hypotheses (chemical technology lagging behind civil engineering; emigration from India of guilds of monk-painters as missionaries of Buddhism; and uneven development of arts by different civilizations in different periods) to the community of fellow scholars for further discussion. (To some extent, the same argument has been pursued, with reference to India, in the ninth essay in this collection "Quantification of Indian Historical Cultural Developments.")

v) *Music-Dance-Theatre* : The classical music of India, as we know it today, traces its origin to this horizon. Perhaps the still earlier *saman* pastoralist chants has survived, but their three-tone range has precious little to offer to our current heptatonic basic scale.

Indian music is fundamentally feudal. Basic to it is the *Rasa* theory, which is a theory of hedonism and ivory tower aestheticism. The *rasika* is the cultivated nobleman about town, the same as the *nagarika* of Vatsyana's *Kama-sutra*. For him the *rasa* is generated when certain emotions, moods and states of someaesthetic being, are savoured as one would the delectable dishes of a repast. The notes surrounded the *rasa* as do the planets the sun and the courtiers the king.

The basic text for the *rasa* theory is Bharata's *Natyashastra*, from which we may quote the following :

"If the forty-nine *bhavas* being represented by *vibhavas* and *anubhavas* coming into contact with one another become *rasas* when they are imbued with the quality of universality, how is it that *sthaiyi bhavas* only are changed into *rasas* and not other *bhavas* ? Just as among persons having same characteristics and similar hands, feet, bellies and fame, some due to their birth, manners, learning and skill attain kingship, while others endowed with an

inferior intellect become their attendants, similarly *vibhavas*, *anubhavas* and *vyabhicharibhavas* are dependent on *sthaiyibhavas*. *Sthaiyibhavas* become masters and other *bhavas* are reduced to subordination and take shelter with them. Those who are members of the retinue are called *vyabhicharibhavas*. Is there a parallel ? Yes, just as a king is surrounded by numerous attendants similarly the *sthaiyibhavas* are followed by *vibhavas*, *anubhavas* and *vyabhicharibhavas*. Just as the king is superior to other men and the *guru* is superior to the disciples, so the *sthaiyibhavas* are superior to other *bhavas*.<sup>5</sup>

### THEORY OF DRAMATIC ALIENATION AROSE OUT OF INDIFFERENCE TO CREATIVE EFFORT

The Indian feudal society was indifferent to the problems of art production. It was not as contemptuous of artists as the slave philosophers of Greece, e.g. Aristotle and Plato.<sup>7</sup> But artisans, craftsmen, musicians, dancers and actors all belonged to the lower castes and their function was to entertain and amuse their superiors and masters.

But out of this indifference to creative effort, out of this disdain for the pangs of labour, there arose a strange theory of dramatic alienation. It was formulated and discussed in Classical Indian aesthetic literature under the topical head : "*Who is Rama?*"

That this typically Indian aesthetic conception of 'epic' theatre and of 'basic alienation' was a fecund one, is proved by its revival, in the writings and productions of Erwin Piscator,<sup>9</sup> Vsevolod Meyerhold and Bertholt Brecht.

*guru* and god.'

Amongst the *rasas* though eight were named (*shanta rasa* is foreign to *Natyashastra*), the primacy is given to *shringara* (VI.45.) In other words we are back to square one, to Vatsyana's *Kama-sutra* hero, who is forever engaged in dalliance and repartee with the skilled prostitute, who is herself adept in "the sixty-four arts."

In dance, the feudal *rasa* theory played equal havoc. The most contrived conventions and gimmickry were perpetuated as *abhinayashastra*. The object of *abhinaya* was the old and tried one of distilling *rasa* in the minds of the perceptive elitist audience.

The methodology of *abhinaya* was split three ways: by use of speech, song and dialogue (*vachika*), by body-movements and gestures (*angika*), and by decor, costume, make-up, jewellery, etc. (*aharya*). This analysis has a pseudo-scientific air about it. But a moment's consideration will reveal that not only must *vachika* include silence, *angika* include absence of movement and *aharya* include a *bodiless voice from the wings*, but also that these completely inter-related physical externals can be recombined in an endless series of styles, techniques and methods.

In actuality, during the classical feudal period in India (c 300 - c. 1300 A.D.) a most barren and meaningless set of conventions were elaborated and perpetuated. On the one hand, they took the form of the *mudra*, i.e. the fingered gesture with a quasi-linguistic connotation (like the deaf and dumb language of hand-signs). We cannot in detail analyse the different *mudras* and their permutations and combinations. Suffice it to state that the functional use of the *mudras* was in conveying cliché-ridden

messages, e.g. that Krishna was naughty, that Shiva was awe-inspiring, that the king was majestic. In other words *mudras* reduced dance and drama to baby-talk and elementary standardised feudal situations, descriptions, narrations and confrontations.

### SANSKRIT LITERATURE ELITIST AND FEUDAL

Thus in its written form Sanskrit had never been a language of the people of India. It had been a recording instrument for esoteric religious speculation, court panegyrics, stone inscriptions and copper-plate land grants. This fact has been conceded by the dramatists themselves since in the plays women, menials, and all commoners were given dialogues to be spoken in regional dialects like Maharashtra.

In other words Sanskrit literature was *sui generis* elitist, aristocratic and feudal. An air of artificiality and preciousness enveloped it from the beginning. It never carried the thoughts and feelings of the mass of the people and it always was a vehicle for the delectation of the propertied few.

The same thing happened with other *aharya* elements : Kathakali masks, varied dance costumes, and so on, acquired a fixed rigid senseless form. Arjuna was not to be created by the dancer-actor but was the end product of an extremely elaborate five hour exercise with rice paste.

Thus it came about that the *Natyashastra* went to the ridiculous length of suggesting that the danseuse-actress must enact the pangs of separation (*viraha*) from her beloved by sporting dirty crumpled garments and by wearing only one *veni* or plait. This rule suggested that a Negress with frizzy hair cannot express *viraha*, that a woman with bobbed hair cannot do so and that it is not feasible or legitimate to express anguish, pain and sorrow by one in clean and resplendent costumes. In short, an analysis of dance and theatre of the classical period in India reveals the socio-cultural roots of Indian feudalism which provided the preconditions for both its achievements and limitations.

In the foregoing paragraphs, we have noticed the limitations of the *rasa* theory and the degeneration of the *abhinaya* theory into desiccated, infantile and barren conventions.

But let us note at the same time two or three great achievements of Indian feudalism in this area.

a) In music the concept of a focal point surrounded by satellites, led, in the opinion of the present writer, to the structured form of the melody played against the drone; to the development of the dominant *vadi* tone and its entourage of subordinate *samvadi*, *anuvadi* and *vivadhi* tones; to the contrapuntal use of rhythm against melody; to the employment of sympathetic, resonating strings in conjunction with the main string; to the ensemble of accompanists playing along with the main composer-player-singer; to the development of the techniques of open and closed *jawari* on the one hand, and those of *zala*, *tarana*, *nomtom*, etc. on the other; to the dynamic idea of departure from and the return to the *sam*; to use of the refrain, the familiar *chiza* and the composed *kriti* as merely points of departure; to the employment of the *bandish* as the constant referent of all variations; to the dynamic development of *tana* patterns as a superimposed set of variations lifted up from a reiterated grid of *raga* parameters; and such other essentials of classical Indian music.<sup>6</sup>

b) The Indian feudal society was indifferent to the problems

of art production. It was not as contemptuous of artists as the slave philosophers of Greece, e.g. Aristotle and Plato.<sup>7</sup> But artisans, craftsmen, musicians, dancers and actors all belonged to the lower castes and their function was to entertain and amuse their superiors and masters.

But out of this indifference to creative effort, out of this disdain for the pangs of labour, there arose a strange theory of dramatic alienation. It was formulated and discussed in Classical Indian aesthetic literature under the topical head : "Who is Rama?"

The Indian aristocratic audience and its ideologues answered this philosophic question in a typical feudal manner. According to them, most obviously the character Rama who stood before them on the stage was not the creature created by either the author, producer, director or actor. These contemptible craftsmen were *sui generis* incapable of conceiving the lofty ideal of Rama. Further this Rama on stage was not the historical Rama, who was the son of Dasharatha and who had ruled the empire of Ayodhya in a particular era. This Rama was dead and the actor on stage was certainly not the son of any Dasharatha. Still further, the Rama on stage was not the product of any kind of combinational technique of *vachika*, *angika* and *aharyik abhinaya*. Such external superficialities cannot determine the sublime nature of Rama. For instance, even if Rama's crown was a little awry or his sword a trifle bent, it would certainly be possible to identify unflinchingly the divine King Rama.

Thus Indian aestheticians came to a fascinating theoretical solution. As Rama was not the creation of any author, producer, director or actor; as he was not the historical Rama and as he was not created by any material technique; therefore Rama was purely, solely and totally the creation of the audience. The perceptive cultured expert audience had merely to contemplate the ideal Rama. It was like the recitation of a *dhyana-mantra* or a meditative couplet. As soon as the *rasika* or the *nagarika* had done this, lo and behold, the glorious, the sublime, the divine, the supremely regal Rama came into being spontaneously and the entire audience of selected aristocrats was able to distill all the appropriate *rasas* from the theatrical performance.

No doubt the aestheticians conceded, the performers could suggest something like Rama. This line of thought later became the *dhvani* theory.<sup>8</sup> Secondly, the actual performance and the poetic lines of Valmiki may fulfill the role of ornamentation. This train of thought led to the *alankara* theory and its innumerable offshoots. But such adventitious elements, could only hint, suggest and reverberate. They could not fundamentally gestate.

Since Rama was entirely the audience's creation, therefore it followed, that even if the actor faltered, even if the *sutradhar* interrupted the flow of the action, even if the actors directly addressed the audience and exhorted the latter to behave piously, ethically and loyally, it would make no difference to the aesthetic experience. In fact such pinpricks, accidents and deliberate interventions would only test the audience's concentration. As such these alienating effects were most welcome.

That this typically Indian aesthetic conception of 'epic' theatre and of 'basic alienation' was a fecund one, is proved by its revival, in the writings and productions of Erwin Piscator,<sup>9</sup> Vsevolod Meyerhold and Bertholt Brecht.

It goes without saying that whilst many prestigious Eurocentric critics continue to make vague references to the borrowings from the Orient on the part of the above-mentioned trio, by and large, the great contributions of Indian feudal aesthetic philosophers to the fundamental theory of epic alienation in theatre has remained unacknowledged.

c) The School of Bharata was a great school of master craftsmen of the theatre. Thus the *Natyashastra* is a magnificent

compendium of a large number of valuable insights, eclectically combined. It is not a systematic, rigorously theoretical work, but there are many flashes of true understanding. For instance, Bharata traces the origin of various forms of dramas to *vrittis*, i.e., to regional variations.

vi) *Literature and Drama* : This is the classical period of Sanskrit drama and literature and has been thoroughly described by innumerable historians and students of Sanskrit. This is the period of great dramatists Kalidasa, Visakhadatta, Sudraka, etc., of the great story-tellers Gunadhya and Somadeva and the great novelists and poets Bana, Bhoja, Magha, etc.

We must notice at once a unique peculiarity of the development of Sanskrit language and literature. (a) The only time when Sanskrit was a spoken popular language of the masses, it was entirely unwritten. This was the Vedic period of c. 4500 to 700 B.C., when literature was composed orally and transmitted mnemonically. (b) During the next phase, c. 700 B.C. to c. 300 A.D., Sanskrit was eclipsed and Buddha, Mahavira, Ghoshala, etc. preached in popular dialects, like Magadhi, Pali, Arhamagadhi, Suraseni, etc. During this period a vast amount of literature including the *jatakakathas* and the scriptural *tripitakas* were written entirely in non-Sanskrit, but Sanskrit-derived Prakrits. (c) After a long break, Sanskrit became the language of feudal courts of India and of learned literature (c. 300 to c. 1300 A.D.). But this Sanskrit was Classical Sanskrit, completely divergent from Vedic Sanskrit.

Thus in its written form Sanskrit had never been a language of the people of India. It had been a recording instrument for esoteric religious speculation, court panegyrics, stone inscriptions and copper-plate land grants. This fact has been conceded by the dramatists themselves since in the plays women, menials, and all commoners were given dialogues to be spoken in regional dialects like Maharashtra.

In other words Sanskrit literature was *sui generis* elitist, aristocratic and feudal. An air of artificiality and preciousness enveloped it from the beginning. It never carried the thoughts and feelings of the mass of the people and it always was a vehicle for the delectation of the propertied few.

Such a sociological setting was bound to determine the nature and character of Sanskrit literature as also of the abstruse theories of poetic and literary composition. The stress with the latter was always on surface ornamentation or *alankara shastra*, the study of which became an intellectual discipline by itself.

By the time the next phase of Indian feudalism arrived, i.e. the post - 14th Century A.D. period, when Persian, Arabian, Turkic, Mongol and Afghan adventurers dominated the political scene, the modern Indian vernacular regional languages were already on their way to being born - and Sanskrit had entered its last degenerate phase. This is not the place to present in detail a history of Sanskrit language and literature. Suffice it to state its general sociological nature. Sanskrit literature of the classical phase, mirrors the life of the palaces and the concerns of the priestly parasites of the medieval feudal courts. The key it provides to the student of history is one which merely unlocks the secrets of princely luxurious wasteful existence that was full of conceits,

affectations and intrigues.

V) CLASSICAL FEUDAL SOCIETY : THIRD PHASE : IQTA PERIOD: MILITARIST FEUDALIST ART : c. 1300 TO c. 1556 A.D.

a) *General Features* : The Feudal *MOP* was slowly running out of steam outside of India, China and Persia. But in these three countries the feudal order was very much alive and was about to scale new heights of splendour. It was "dark ages" in Europe but its exact opposite in Asia.<sup>10</sup> The international feudal chain was breaking at its weakest links in Europe, where the medieval commune was flexing its capitalist muscles. Especially in Northern Italy, Southern Germany and in the Low Countries; it was threatening to subvert the petty, weak, divided and anaemic feudalisms of north-western Europe. However, in the Asiatic heartlands, in India, Persia, China and Anatolia, the feudal links were very strong and powerful and did not permit native embryonic bourgeoisies to grow and prosper.

During the period of the Delhi Sultanate and of the independent Muslim and Hindu Kingdoms<sup>11</sup> of late medieval India, a system of military feudalism came into being, the principal form of land-holding was the *iqta*.<sup>12</sup> This was essentially a form of vassalage whereby in return for the grant of revenues of a region (the fief), the vassal had to render military aid and service to his overlord. The quantum and manner of collection of land revenue from his tenants was left to him at his discretion. Naturally therefore, there were fierce exactions to which the populace was subjected.

But this varied from region to region. If the *iqta* holder was prudent or weak, he might leave the entire revenue-collection-machinery intact and be satisfied with skimming the surface of its cream. If he was shortsighted, vicious or beleaguered, he might break-up the entire lower administration, mount bandit expeditions against his own tenants and depopulate whole villages. It all depended upon the individual militarist leader and the budget allocations he was willing to make in favour of irrigation and public works.

b) *Architecture* : Since the essence of the period rested on the power of the word; in the

initial years of the Delhi Sultanate hardly any new architecture was attempted. Most of the activity was along two lines :

i) A large number of structures was simply taken over and misappropriated. The residences and offices of medieval Hindu Kings, princes and religious orders were appropriated by the new invaders from North West India. For instance, it was more than likely that the Kutub Minar was at least in its lower reaches a Jain or Hindu Tower of Victory. It was partly reconstructed and put to use for the *muezzinns*, call to prayer.

ii) The other method was to wreck and put to the hammer existing religious and secular structures. From such rubble heaps, elements were salvaged and recycled as units of new structures. The Kutub mosque in Delhi provides a classic example but hundreds of such mosques made of temple remnants are to be found all over the country, from Ahmedabad, Jaunpur, and Varanasi to the remotest corners of India.

After this negative and destructive phase, there followed an inevitable inter-penetration of Indian and the Islamic architectural styles. Thus the so-called Indo-Saracenic or Pathan or Deccani

### GOLGUMBAZ THE GREATEST ACHIEVEMENTS OF INDO-SARACENIC STYLE

The greatest achievements of the fused Indo-Saracenic style were the magnificent Gol Gumbaz of Bijapur and the Sher Shah Tomb at Sasaram. In my personal opinion the Gol Gumbaz is a great *tour de force*. Not only because its dome covers the largest built-up area below a single dome in the entire world, (exceeding the Pantheon and the St. Peter's, Rome). The entire conception is vigorous, bold and awe-inspiring. The juxtaposition of the four seven-storied spiralling minars at its four corners with the central dome and its great gallery are truly grand architectonic conceptions. The Taj appears to be a pretty arrangement of icing on a soft sweet cake.

style of architecture took root. The development of this hybrid or amalgam was facilitated by the importation of a few craftsmen from the Arabo-Turko-Persian world, and the simultaneous conversion and re-orientation of native master masons and their apprentices.

The greatest achievements of the fused Indo-Saracenic style were the magnificent Gol Gumbaz of Bijapur and the Sher Shah Tomb at Sasaram. In my personal opinion the Gol Gumbaz is a great *tour de force*. Not only because its dome covers the largest built-up area below a single dome in the entire world, (exceeding the Pantheon and the St. Peter's, Rome). The entire conception is vigorous, bold and awe-inspiring. The juxtaposition of the four seven-storied spiralling minars at its four corners with the central dome and its great gallery are truly grand architectonic conceptions. I do not think that the Taj Mahal bears comparison. The Taj appears to be a pretty arrangement of icing on a soft sweet cake. I believe, that the Gol Gumbaz has been seriously underrated by architects and architectural theorists of the world. A major reevaluation in its favour is long overdue.

The Sasaram Tomb, as well as innumerable funerary and secular structures of the Iqta Period, strewn about in Mandu, in the Five Bahamani kingdoms, in Ahmedabad, Jaunpur, Gaur and other regional sultanate capitals, bear testimony to the vigour and fecundity of the period. By contrast, Mughal architecture appears to be foreign, prettified, weak, over-elegant and definitely imitative of Persian models.

c) *Other Visual Arts* : Whilst traditional figurative sculpture went into decline, geometric designs and complicated arabesques as well as inlaid calligraphy flourished as never before.

Painting was now reduced to "book-covers" (Gujarat or Jain, and Pala-Sena Schools in Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, Nepal and Tibet) and miniature illuminations. The art of ceramic and glazed tile-work for the first time received state patronage and important centres of this craft were established.

d) *Performing Arts* : Unfortunately too much attention has been paid to the total eclipse of Sanskrit theatre, which in any case was a projection of an aristocratic minority. It had never played a significant role in the life and culture of the people.

We have scant data on the living popular forms of music, dance and theatre which were the predecessors of the present day Bhavai, Tamasha, Vithinatakam, Yakshaganam, Bhagawat-mela, Laihairoba, Satriya, Kuravanji, Pawada, Bhangada, Garaba, Jatra and so on. Such a fascinating variety of forms could not have survived to the present if the so-called image-breaking negative proclivity of the Muslims had been really effective.

However, our historiography and art scholarship suffer from an inveterate elitist and communal bias. Our investigators are far too busy breast beating and lamenting the demise of the performing arts of India, during the so-called Islamic Centuries.

One of the greatest achievements of this period, comparable to the synthesis of Indo-Islamic architecture, was the flowering of the North-Indian School of Classical Music which distinguished itself from the united national stream, whose end product was Sarangdeva's *Sangeet Ratnakara*.

Once again our historiography and art scholarship had been far too insular. We lack sufficient number of studies from the *Indian Point of View of Arabic, Turkish and Persian classical*

musical systems, and the points of resemblance and divergence of the North Indian system from those of the three countries.

Anyway, what survives today as North-Indian classical music is a magnificent socio-aesthetic product of this phase of Classical Indian Feudalism and the Arabic, Turkish, Persian systems are largely derived from the Indian.

e) *Literature* : The greatest achievement of the Iqta Period was possibly in the sphere of regional literatures. The artificialities and the conceits of the late Samanta period Sanskrit literature had carried the elitist ethos to the point of absurdity. Epics were being written with double and triple meanings, simultaneously relating the stories of the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and something else. Liberation from such royal panegyrists and court jesters was achieved, as the Hindu Kingdoms were destroyed and local subedars slowly elevated themselves into sultanates.

All the principal north Indian regional literatures of India (the so called literatures of the daughter languages of Sanskrit), were spawned during the Iqta period. Bengali, Assamese; Oriya; the various dialects of Hindi from Maithili to Rajasthani; Punjabi; Sindhi; Pashto-Pakhto; Baluchi; Kashmiri; Gujarati and Marathi were freed from the tyranny of Sanskrit. Spoken languages came into their own and there was a wonderful harvest of variegated blooms, in idioms and vocabularies that the common people could understand.

It was at this time that Gujarat and Deccan stimulated the development of Urdu (the language of the military camp), which became the lingua franca of the entire country. It may be emphasised that Urdu, though commonly written in Arabic script with a heavy reliance on Persian vocabulary, is an entirely Sanskritic language and its grammatical structure is completely derived from Sanskrit.

Just as the Iqta period saw the proliferation of the diverse regional architectural styles, similarly in literature it stimulated the growth of language literatures.<sup>13</sup>

f) *Music* : Iqta period was the last great period for Indian

art. The two major tendencies of the period were the growth of the literatures in the regional vernaculars and the merger of Central Asian and Iranian Islamic traditions with Indian art traditions. The confluence of both these tendencies enabled Amir Khusrau (1253-1325) to make the breakthrough in music known as *Khayal*. Both *Khadiboli* poetry and Perso-Turkic-Afghan music were combined with indigenous songs to gestate the *khayal*. In my view, the *khayal* is the exact counterpart in music of the Gol Gumbaz and the Sasaram Tomb in architecture, as well as of Urdu and other regional variations in literature.

vi) CLASSICAL FEUDAL SOCIETY : FOURTH PHASE : MANSABDARI PERIOD : BUREAUCRATIC FEUDALIST ART : 1556 TO 1748 A.D.

a) *General Features*: The overall revenue extraction methodology changed from the *Iqta* system to the *mansabdari* system. The terminology remained militarist and the ranks of the royal officials were still expressed in terms of number of horsemen he was supposed to maintain and place at the command of the overlord and for the maintenance of which he was assigned revenue from specific tracts. Thus a *mansabdar* of "five thousand horses" was expected to feed as a part of the royal host five thousand fully armed and equipped mercenaries.

### RISE OF REGIONAL LITERATURES IN THE IQTA PERIOD

The greatest achievement of the Iqta Period was possibly in the sphere of regional literatures.

All the principal north Indian regional literatures of India (the so called literatures of the daughter languages of Sanskrit), were spawned during the Iqta period. Bengali, Assamese; Oriya; the various dialects of Hindi from Maithili to Rajasthani; Punjabi; Sindhi; Pashto-Pakhto; Baluchi; Kashmiri; Gujarati and Marathi were freed from the tyranny of Sanskrit. Spoken languages came into their own and there was a wonderful harvest of variegated blooms, in idioms and vocabularies that the common people could understand.



However, this was merely a carry-over into the new phase of the old militarist terminology. Not all *mansabdars* were grand commanders of vast regional armies like the famous Jaisingh of Akbar's entourage.<sup>13A</sup>

*Mansabdari* was a ramified complicated system of bureaucratic administration. As a system of checks and balances, one *mansabdar's* land assignment was located inside the military jurisdiction of another one. The *mansabdari* system was a check-board system with the king in ultimate command of a vast bureaucratic apparatus.<sup>14</sup>

Thus, despite the overlaps, the two feudal phases - the militarist and bureaucratic - were substantially different. Under militarist feudalism it was the army hierarchy which cornered the bulk of the land-revenue, whilst under bureaucratic feudalism it was the bureaucratic administrative hierarchy which sequestered a preferential share of the total surplus value yielded up by the labouring mass of tenants and agricultural labourers, artisans and craftsmen.

Now let us look at the evidence provided by art history.

b) *Architecture* : This was the climax of the Mughal or the Indo-Persian style. We have ample evidence of it in the Jama Masjid, Humayun's Tomb and the Red Fort at Delhi, the Agra Fort, the Fatehpur Sikri complex and several other monuments at Lahore and elsewhere in North-India. Looking at these structures, without reference to any other evidence, one can immediately affirm that the Mughal emperors from Akbar to Aurangzeb were no longer adventuring intruders but had made India their permanent home, that their rule was very firmly established, that they were confident enough to commission vast civil engineering projects involving the use of extremely valuable and durable materials, that they built for posterity and to inform their contemporaries that their rule was splendid and permanent. No doubt this was architecture of power. Its ideological message to the masses was the age-old feudal one, namely that the people were nothing and the kings were everything. Since we are dealing with phases of feudalism we must be prepared to read this alienating, awe-inspiring and distancing coded message in every phase. But each phase carried the impress of the social conditions prevalent during that phase, and the essential message was repeatedly repackaged by the successive dominant factions within the ruling class coalitions.

Thus the feudal message was always resoundingly clear. Only the nuances shifted and changed. And the nuances of Mughal bureaucratic architecture are different from those of the preceding militarist architecture. The latter had robbed, wrecked, vandalised and re-assembled and new creations were few and late. The former was from the start stable, tolerant, condescending and indifferent towards older traditions and was willing to invest in structures built *ab initio* and *de novo*. Mughal architectural arrogance was such that it was confident of overshadowing anything that preceded it. It was in a position to command immense resources and provide gainful employment to thousands of craftsmen over millions of man-hours. It was also sure of synthesizing a formula it had evolved of Indo-Persian and Indo-Central Asian cultural amalgam. Negatively, we should also note, that the aura of robust vigour that surrounded the earlier militarist feudalist architecture of the Sultanate was partly dissipated and, even in the forts of the Mughals, there was a suggestion of effeminacy and prettification that seemed to suit the *elan* of indolent and ponderous bureaucratic feudalism.

c) *Decorative and Sumptuary Arts* : We do not have the space to go into many details relating to the gamut of Mughal art. We may merely note that the Mughals, who pretended to be related to the world-conquering Mongols, were in reality Turks

who had been Persianised and Indianised/Afghanised prior to their arrival in India. They symbolised a peculiar cultural confluence whose source lay north of the Pamirs. They transmitted much from both the Far East and the Middle East to India that was South Asia.

This was how jade arrived in India. Magnificent examples of Mughal jade - bowls, book-rests, sword-hilts and so on - have survived. However the acme of perfection was reached in the direction in which Indian genius had always been triumphant. We have already noticed that India had always been partial to workmanship in precious metals. The art of jewellery-making may be said to have reached its apotheosis and its gigantism in the Peacock Throne whose stolen fragments lie scattered in the bandits' collections in Teheran and London.

d) *Literature* : We have no space for anything more than an aside. Persian, which had been made the language of administration and prestige, along with Urdu in the preceding phase continued to retain its primacy right through the phase under discussion and up to 1835 when it was displaced by another foreign language, namely English. The people of India have been singularly unfortunate. Only during the phase of monastic feudalism, c.700 B.C. to 300 A.D., did the languages of the people enjoy prestige. Thereafter from c. 300 A.D. to the present, languages not in common use have been the languages of administration and learning, namely Sanskrit, Persian and English. Even fifty years after independence, Hindi plays second fiddle to English and the other state languages have been assigned still more lowly roles.

We will have presently more to add about literature. In the meantime we may look at the area of Music.

e) *Music* : Here too there was a reaction from the freedom of the *khayal* in favour of the more religious and conservative *dhrupad* style promoted by Akbar as a matter of state policy. All the arts were moving away from the people along esoteric lines. In architecture, the preference was in favour of Persianised forms; in Literature for Indo-Persian Poetry; in Music for more religiosity and greater rigidity; in costume, jewellery and manners there was more artificiality and promotion of alien ways. It was a precious culture of a very small minority, which received royal encouragement.

vii) COLLAPSING FEUDAL ORDER : FIFTH PHASE : BANDIT OR PENDHARI FEUDALIST ART (1718/48-1818/60 A.D.)

viii) COLLAPSING FEUDAL ORDER : SIXTH PHASE : SUBORDINATE OR PRINCELING FEUDALIST ART : OVERLAPPING WITH RISING BOURGEOIS ORDER : FIRST PHASE : COLONIAL CAPITALIST ART. (1860-1947 A.D.)

ix) COLLAPSING FEUDAL ORDER : SEVENTH PHASE : RELIC FEUDAL ART : OVERLAPPING WITH DEGENERATE BOURGEOIS ORDER : SECOND PHASE : COMPRADOR CAPITALIST ART. (1947-1993 A.D.)

#### ART WORKS AS MIRRORS OF CLASS FORCES

Hitherto the history of the world has been a history of class struggles. Indian history has been no exception. The works of art that were gestated in the course of Indian history have been the mirrors of the class forces that chose India as the arena for their operations.

The last two more recent periods have been adequately covered by our

a) *Arts of Transitional India* : 20th Century, Chapters IV, Vol.1 and Chapter V, VI, VII, VIII, Vol.2, 1986-88; and

b) the two essays in this collection, namely *The Fallacy of Asiatic Mode of Production and The Gazetteers as Records of the Indian Bourgeoisification Process*.

3

### CONCLUSION

In the foregoing paragraphs, the thrust of our argument has been that hitherto Indian historiography has neglected the evidence provided by Indian art history to elucidate the mainstream and the cross-currents of Indian history. In actuality *the works of art of every major period and minor phase of history are indelibly stamped with the sociological, politico-economical and the ideological imperatives of their times*.

Hitherto the history of the world has been a history of class struggles. Indian history has been no exception. The works of art that were gestated in the course of Indian history have been the mirrors of the class forces that chose India as the arena for their operations.

Works of art cannot and do not lie. They are products of human labour and *labour is inherently and sincerely expressive*. The expression of alienated and fetishistic labour performed by men labouring in class societies is unmistakable and emphatic. The artifacts fashioned by men at labour provide invaluable and indispensable tools for the understanding of the historic conditions under which men lived and made a living.

*Art is not adventitious or accidental*. Art is inevitably and ideologically informed.

Art is one of the superstructural regions within which men become conscious of the historic tasks facing humanity. Men use art objects to express this consciousness and fight out their ideological battles.

No historian worth his salt should fail to use art history as a lever to unravel the problems and puzzles of historiography. In fact the stream of art-objects flowing through history provide the best means to understand the shapes and the forces of both the ideological battles raging in society and their underlying material causes. *Art is the key to history*.

### APPENDIX 1

#### Bibliographical Note Related To Footnote 1 Articles, Books and Papers by Vinayak Purohit

The series of papers which I read at the successive sessions of the Indian History Congress and elsewhere at seminars are as follows :

i) *The Asiatic Mode of Production and Feudalism in Indian History and Historiography*. A summary of this paper was published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 40th session, Waltair, 1979, pp. 741-50 (included here as the *Fallacy of The Asiatic Mode of Production*).

ii) *The Pastoralist Class Society in Indian History and Historiography*, 41st session, Bombay, 1980 (included here as the first essay).

iii) *Post-Pastoralist First Phase Feudalism in Indian History and Historiography*. A summary of this paper was published in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 42nd session, Bodhgaya, 1981, pp. 95-99 (included here as *Sangha Feudalism*).

iv) *Brahminical Second Phase Feudalism in Indian History and Historiography*, 1982, Kurukshetra (included here as *Samanta Feudalism*).

v) *The Gazetteeras Records of the Indian Bourgeoisification Process in The Indian Archives, Vol XXX, No 2, July-December 1982, included here as Essay No. 5*.

vi) *Gita Sanctifies Pastoralist Surrender to Feudalism* read

at the 44th Session, Meerut, 1983, This paper was reproduced in full in *Patriot*, Sunday Magazine, New Delhi, November, 25, 1984. It has been included in this collection and appears as Appendix VIII.

Apart from these five papers, I have published ten monographs as a set in 1990 :

*Sociology of Art and Politics, Including :*

*Sociology of Indian Ballet*

*Sociology of Thumri*

*Vistara : A Note on The Sociology of Indian Architecture;*

*Compradorism, The Times of India and M. F. Hussain;*

*Gorbachevism, Art Systems of Russia and India, Etc;*

*Three Wonders of Compradorism;*

*The Social Setting of Indian Sculpture;*

*The Social Aspects of Indian Music;*

*Philosophy of Leisure.*

*Reference may also be made to the following four publications of mine:*

i) *The Press and The People*, The Christian Literature Society for the Ecumenical Christian Centre, 1973, Bangalore.

ii) *Education For Liberation*, Ecumenical Christian Centre, 1975, Bangalore.

iii) *Narmad Ane Teno Jamano* (Gujarati), a paper presented to the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad, 30th Session, Baroda, 1980, published in Proceedings, 1981, Ahmedabad.

iv) *Sociology of Indian Films, 1990.*

Further reference should be made to the following articles published in Gujarati, in *Samakalin* (sister journal of Indian Express in Gujarati from Bombay) and in *Uddesh*, Ahmedabad

*Samaklin.*

i) *Apani Dalal Sanskriti : Rushdie, Tame Pan ? 22.593*

ii) *Videshi Veparni Behali, Pardeshi Devani Jahojalali*, 29.5.93

iii) *Jotjotama Dollar 100 Rupiyano Thai Jashe*, 18.6.93

iv) *Buniyad Bodi To Anjaam Karmo*, 24.6.93

v) *Dunkelnu Jalun : Karoliyo Makhine Amanre Chhe*, 30.6.93

vi) *Videshi Vinimaydarni Ram Kahani*, 16.7.93

vii) *Dunkelun Jalun : Karoliyo Makhine, Gali Jay Chhe*, 29.7.93

viii) *Bharatnu Sthapatya Have Parko Mal Ucchino le Chhe*, 17.9.93

ix) *Apna Shashako Gorana Dalalo Chhe*, 28.10.93

x) *Ante Dunkel Daat Vali Nej Jampshe*, 11.12.93

xi) *Terra Del Fuego, Somalia, Papua New Guinea, Bhani Bharatni Dot*, 1.4.94.

xii) *Apni Rashtriya Varshik Aay*, 28.12.93

xiii) *Scene Repeat Kem Thayakare Chhe?* 4.3.94

xiv) *GAATni Ghantona Pad ne Ghughavto Sagar*, 14.4.94

xv) *Shun Apni Pase Vikalpo Nathin?* 15.5.94

xvi) *Svalamban Jevun Sukh Nathin*, 1.6.94

xvii) *Boot Chatvani Latni Charamseema*, 21.6.94

xviii) *Kaalna Padgha*, 31.7.94

xix) *Ardhswatantryanu Arhashatak*, 27.8.94

xx) *Smritidinoni Kali Tavarikh*, 3.10.94

xxi) *Congressiyo Damanma, Lanch aapavama ane Pracharma Pavardha Chhe*, 4.10.94

xxii) *Lamba Chharaoni Raat*, 21.10.94

xxiii) *Naitiktani Gandhivadi Hansi*, 23.12.94

*Uddesh*

i) *Natakna Tran Pravaho* (This sketches briefly the history of Indian theatre from the middle of the 19th century to the present), Vol. 2 No. 6, January 1992.

ii) *Pratibhav* (Shakespeare and Indian Drama), vol 3, no 6, January 1993.

#### Footnotes to the Text of Art as History

1. In a series of papers presented at successive conferences of the Indian History Congress, we have employed analyses of art objects for historical investigations. This set of papers has been already referred to in our preface. In what follows, we have merely summed up the conclusions reached therein. For ready reference a list of our papers wherein we have explored the *inter-relationship of art and history*, appears at the end of the essay.
2. See in particular Vinayak Purohit, *Gita sanctifies Pastoralist Surrender to Feudalism*, 1983, (See Appendix VII in *Ten Essays in Indian History*)
3. At one time, it may be recollected, Ajivikaism flourished even more vigorously than Buddhism or Jainism and had spread as far as Sri Lanka. Propounded by Ghosala Makhaliputta, it emphasized the concept of *niyati* or fate. There were several other creeds that contended with each other, e.g. those of Ajit Keshkamblin, the earliest known materialist of India, and Pakudha Katyayana, the atomist
4. I must take issue with Dr. Niharranjan Ray, who in his later years grew too fond of luxurious living and flabby thinking. He was fond of explaining the detailed form of the Indian temple on the lines that the devotee was initially invited to contemplate the colourfulness and variety of existence as he completed the perambulation of the sacred structure. He was then invited to enter progressively more bare ante- ante-chambers and ante-chambers before confronting the barest of all *Sanctum Sanctorum*. This may be valid fanciful poetry, but makes little socio-historical sense.
5. The standard translation of the *Natyashastra* is by Manmohan Ghosh, Volume I, Part I, Text, Part II. Translation 1967; and volume II, Part I, Text and Part II, translation, 1961. For detailed discussion of *Natyashastra* see Vinayak Purohit : *Bharata's Natyashastra; Indian Feudalism and Classical Dance* 1983 (Mimeographed.)
6. The reader may follow up this discussion in the chapter on Music in Volume II, *Arts Of Transitional India : 20th Century*, 1986-8 as also in my *Social Aspects of Indian Music*, 1989.
7. According to Aristotle, no sensible citizen would want to be a very skilled painter, since painting was to be studied only in order to become an expert in its valuation in monetary terms.
8. See my *Arts of Transitional India : 20th Century*, "Chapters 2, 3 and 4, the discussion of the *Indian aesthetic of rasa, dhvani, alankar, riti, etc.*"
9. Erwin Piscator, *The Political Theatre*, 1963.
10. It was also a period of glorious efflorescence in Latin America (Maya, Aztec and Inca Empires) and also in Africa.
11. Mamluks, Yadavas, Khaljis, Tughluqs, Bahmanis, Sangamas, Sayyids, Eastern Gangas, Ahmadshahis, Khaljis of Malawa, Gajapatis, Sharquis, Lodis, Tuluvas, Sisodias. and Surs. See Schwartzberg (ed.) *A Historical Atlas of South Asia*. 1978, p. 255.
12. For international comparisons, particularly with Anatolia and Russia, see Vinayak Purohit: *Asiatic Mode of Production and Feudalism in Indian History and Historiography*, 1979 (mimeographed). Published here as Essay No 4: *The Fallacy of The Asiatic Mode of Production*.
- 12A. These three alien systems have been further considered in Essay and on Quantification.
13. Linguistic and literary developments in the South were somewhat different. If we take the Sangam Age to correspond to our Sangha Period, or at least to its later half (200 B.C to 300 A.D), then Kannada and Telugu had developed already by the last centuries of the Samanta Period. However Kannada and Telugu received tremendous impetus with the support of the Vijayanagar dynasties which belonged squarely to our Iqta period. Not only were the developments in Kannada and Telugu thus in alignment with the general character of the Iqta period, but the differentiation of Malaya'am from Tamil can also be assigned to the same Iqta period.
- 13A. See Appendix X on Intricacies of India's Land Tenure Systems.
14. The Classical example of bureaucratic feudalism is provided by pre-1911 China and the greatest efflorescences of the system were under the Han, the Tang and Ming dynasties.

# INDIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN : 8

Mankind Statistical Research Bureau

## UNEQUAL VOTE IN INDIAN SHAMOCRACY

In the table alongside, we have brought up the figures of disparities in voting strengths of Parliamentary Constituencies to 1991. (Last month's figures related to 1989.)

We have written to the Election Commissioners and sought data relating to 1996. However, these figures are not yet available and therefore, we must make do with 1991 data, as just published by Butler, Lahiri and Roy in *India Decides : 1952-1991*.

It appears from the latest volume of *India Decides*, that the Delimitation Commission has frozen the constituencies at the 1976 level :

"The constituencies which were drawn up in 1976 by the Delimitation Commission have been used for five elections. (Butler, Lahiri and Roy, *India Decides Elections 1952-1995*, 1995, p. 13)

The ostensible reason given for maintenance of abnormal disparities was :

"In 1976, the Constitution was amended to postpone the next delimitation until after the year 2001. This was in response to fears expressed by the states that, if they were successful in implementing population control under the national family planning schemes, they might lose some of their representation in the Lok Sabha. Therefore, the 1977, 1980, 1984, 1989 and 1991 elections were fought on the same boundaries and it is likely that the current constituency boundaries will not be changed in this century." (*op.cit.*, p.13-14)

This specious rationalisation leaves unanswered two questions.

1. Why are the *internal* disparities within each Major State/Minor State/Union Territory maintained at abnormal levels of 1:2.32 for Maharashtra and 1:2.42 for Assam ?

2. The Election Commission has the constitutional duty to ensure free and fair elections. How does this duty jibe with an all India level ratio of 1:52 in 1989, and 1:58 in 1991 ?

These are the two fundamental questions which remain unanswered, even if, the responsibility for delimitation is shifted to the Delimitation Commission.

We may now focus our scrutiny on the deterioration which has taken place between 1989 and 1991. We may tabulate the deterioration that has taken place in just two years :

State	Ratio of Lowest to Highest in 1989	Ratio of Lowest to Highest in 1991
1. Maharashtra	1:2.12	1:2.32
2. U.P.	1:1.14	1:1.44
3. Delhi	1:4.13	1:4.66
4. 11 Minor States	1:15.58	1:18.47
5. All 32 Units of India	1:52.46	1:58.31

We believe that the entire 1996 electoral strength pattern can be challenged in the Supreme Court and the whole of shamocracy set aside. As we have no interest in liberal bourgeois reformist technicalities, we will not pursue the matter through any PIL procedure. We leave it to the Supreme Court and the Election Commission to do whatever they feel like.

As far as we are concerned, Indian shamocracy marches ahead with the disparity ratio growing from 1:52 in 1989 to 1:58 in 1991. Let the Indian comprador class dig its own grave in this regard, as in every other aspect !

TABLE 1 : UNEQUAL VOTE IN INDIAN SHAMOCRACY

Union Territories	Elected Members	1991 Lowest size in '000	1991 Highest size in '000	Ratio of Lowest to Highest
1. Andaman & Nicobar	01	169	—	—
2. Chandigarh	01	373	—	—
3. Dadra & Nagar Haveli	01	75	—	—
4. Daman & Diu	01	57	—	—
5. Lakshadweep	01	32	—	—
6. Pondicherry	01	593	—	—
All 6 Union Territories	06	32 (Lakshadweep)	593 (Pondicherry)	1:18.53

Major States	Elected Members	1991 Lowest size in '000	1991 Highest size in '000	Ratio of Lowest to Highest
7. Andhra Pradesh	42	810 (Parvatipuram)	1296 (Hyderabad)	1:1.60
8. Assam	14	440 (Autonomous Districts)	1067 (Gauhati)	1:2.42
9. Bihar	54	761 (Singhbhum)	1169 (Dhanbad) <sup>1</sup>	1:1.53
10. Gujarat	26	735 (Kutch)	1409 (Surat)	1:1.91
11. Haryana	10	912 (Ambala)	1142 (Faridabad)	1:1.25
12. Karnataka	28	908 (Udipi)	1370 (Kanakapura)	1:1.50
13. Kerala	20	863 (Mavelikara)	1053 (Manjeri)	1:1.22
14. Madhya Pradesh	40	761 (Bastar)	1160 (Bhopal)	1:1.52
15. Maharashtra	48	749 (Bombay South)	1744 (Thane)	1:2.32
16. Orissa	21	824 (Mayurbhanj)	1017 (Bhubaneshwar)	1:1.23
17. Punjab	13	947 (Tarn Taran)	1202 (Ludhiana)	1:1.26
18. Rajasthan	25	901 (Jhalawar)	1438 (Bikaner)	1:1.59
19. Tamil Nadu	39	903 (Mayuram)	1410 (Madras South)	1:1.56
20. Uttar Pradesh	85	823 (Aonla)	1188 (Lucknow)	1:1.44
21. West Bengal	42	704 (Calcutta North-West)	1324 (Dum Dum)	1:1.88
All 15 Major States	507	440 (Autonomous Districts) Assam	1744 (Thane Maharashtra)	1:3.96

Note 1. Since data for Patna Lok Sabha constituency is not available for 1991, we have put Dhanbad which stands second in the order. It should be noted that number of electorate for Patna in 1989 was higher than that for Dhanbad in 1991.

TABLE 1 : UNEQUAL VOTE IN INDIAN SHAMOCRACY (Contd.)

Minor States	Elected Members	1991 Lowest size in '000	1991 Highest size in '000	Ratio of Lowest to Highest
22. Arunachal Pradesh	02	213 (Arunachal East)	306 (West)	1:1.43
23. Delhi	07	400 (Chandni Chowk)	1866 (Outer Delhi)	1:4.66
24. Goa	02	345 (Panaji)	409 (Mormugoa)	1:1.18
25. Himachal Pradesh	04	739 (Simla)	799 (Hamirpur)	1:1.08
26. Jammu & Kashmir	06	101 (Ladakh)	1026 (Jammu) <sup>2</sup>	1:10.15
27. Manipur	02	611 (Inner Manipur)	621 (Outer Manipur)	1:1.01
28. Meghalaya	02	354 (Tura)	589 (Shillong)	1:1.66
29. Mizoram	01	414 (Mizoram)	—	—
30. Nagaland	01	815 (Nagaland)	—	—
31. Sikkim	01	201 (Sikkim)	—	—
32. Tripura	02	743 (Tripura East)	818 (Tripura West)	1:1.10
All 11 Minor States	30	101 (Ladakh)	1866 (Outer Delhi)	1:18.47
All 32 Units	543	32 (Lakshadweep)	1866 (Outer Delhi)	1:58.31

Note (2) Data of Jammu and Kashmir is for 1989.

Source : Butler, Lahiri and Roy, *India Decides : Elections 1952-1995*, New Delhi, 1995

### THE REAL RULING CLASSES OF INDIA : THE COMPRADOR CAPITALIST GANG

In the *Opening Statement* : 8 of this issue we have already designated the *naukarshah* gang as the first among five gangs which are ruling the country. The total picture is composed of the following five segments :

1. The *naukarshah*/bureaucrat gang as well as, the leading, mainly Congress, politician; which is identified by the Warrant of Precedence.

2. The comprador capitalist club. These are the leading 20/30/50 business and industrial houses, whose assets exceed Rs. 1,000 crores.

3. The giant MNCs and TNCs (Multi National and Trans-National Corporations) which have entered India, under the "liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation" programme of the IMF and WTO, which has been accepted by the Government of India, from mid-1991 ; together with the leading NRIs, who often act as *benami* conduits for the alien multi-nationals.

4. The leading prestigious journalists and media persons, including top ad-agency executives, who have aided and abetted the three gangs, to carry out and carry on their crimes against the Indian people.

5. The leading criminals — smugglers, hawala men, racketeers, conmen, assassins available for hire (*supariwalas*), influential sex maniacs, boot-leggers, dealers in stolen goods, protection - money-collectors, gamblers and speculators in real estate and in all sorts of grey-area deals, this pre-eminent criminal gang, which has been identified by our Supreme Court as "the nexus" between politicians, bureaucrats and businessmen is an essential and vital link between all the four elements named above. Under the Licence-Quota-Permit Raj created by the Congress, and which, even today, in mid-1996, five years after the institution of the liberalised regime, continues to hold Indian society in its iron grip (Now, permits are needed to acknowledge that the government has made certain transactions "exempt" !), facilitated the spread of the parallel economy. The extraordinary heavy taxation system, which was designed for "primitive accumulation", further stimulated the growth of black money sloshing about in the economy. The latest estimates place the total of black money in the economy at anything, from Rs. 40,000 to 50,000 crores.

That is why, the fifth gang of criminals shades off imperceptibly into the business class.

In the table that follows, we have picked up the second group of top Indian business houses. They are not bothered by the Warrant of Precedence, which guides the behaviour patterns of our politicians and bureaucrats. They are the uncrowned kings of the country, who are organised in various Chambers of Commerce and Industry and in various service clubs like the Rotary, the Lions, the Gants, etc.

Recent, meaning post-1991 data, is being fudged and camouflaged. The figures are also in a volatile state. Foreign investment proposals of thousands of crores of rupees, with or without Indian partners, are being approved each year, of which,

barely 20 to 25 per cent actually crystallise into FDI (Foreign Direct Investment). It is very difficult to keep track of these latest transactions, which pass through a multitude of intermediate agencies, both for the purposes of tax avoidance and deflection of popular ire.

In future issues of *Mankind*, we hope to take up these foreign MNCs and TNCs, who are especially dominant in tele-communications, power, electronics and engineering sectors, apart from the high visibility areas of soft drinks, fast foods, consumer durables and financial service institutions.

It will be seen in the adjoining table, that it is very difficult to distinguish the Indian comprador from the foreign component as elements of the Indian capitalist class. Hindustan Lever is a part of the International Unilever chain, but has become "indigenised", similarly, ICI, ITC, L&T and other mongrel formations. However, we will use these "distinctions without difference" for our illustrative purposes. It is only after the overthrow of the Indian capitalist class, that we shall be able to finally analyse thread bare the inner links that bind the various segments of the Indian bourgeoisie. Till then, our table may be accepted as a preliminary sketch.

From the following table it will be apparent that the comprador Indian bourgeoisie has reaped enormous profits from the Congress rule over the last half century, as much as 23,000 % by Tatas; 13,000% by Birlas and J. K. Singhania; 2,700% by Thapars; 16,000% by Mahindras; 14,000% by Mafatlal; 10,000% by R.P. Goenka and several thousand per cent by the remaining major monopoly houses.

The hollowness of "Nehruvian Socialism" stands totally exposed by our column 8 which shows that in the period ending 1966 (Nehru died in 1964), the MRTF houses made spectacular gains. Tatas gained by 435% and Birlas by nearly 300% whilst Mahindras could rake in as much as 3,800% and Kirloskars 2,150%. It was not Nehru Raj ! it was not Socialism ! it was Birla-Tata-Mahindra-Kirloskar Raj, as well as Singhania-Thapar-Mafatlal-Shri Ram-Bangur-Walchand-Kasturbhai Raj.

The Indian leftists who are shouting themselves hoarse by eulogizing Nehru, should ponder over the implication of our table of growth in assets of Indian Big Business.

Column 10 represents the forces that moulded the new economic policy of liberalisation, privatisation and globalization. These are the Big Business Houses (Tatas, Birlas, Reliance, JK, L&T, Thapar, ITC, Mafatlal and ACC) who have dictated surrender to the *Trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO. These are the Top Ten business houses of India who have thrown away Indian Sovereignty in order to make private profits.

Columns 9 and 11 provide the overall picture of the benefits of Congress-*Naukarshah* Rule, which have yielded literally thousands of per cent of asset accumulation by our giant monopoly houses. Indian Big Business has forced the acceptance of the Structural Adjustment Program of the WB and IMF and abject surrender to Neo-Colonial powers.

The Indian masses have no alternative but to engage in a Second War of National Independence in order to march forward !

**TABLE 2**  
**THE RULING ELITE OF INDIA 1952-1994 (Summary)**

1952 *RANK*

Category	Elected by the People	Public Servants Paid by People or Indirectly elected by Coteries or Feudal Relics	Foreigners
2	Prime Minister of India	1 President of India (elected by 5390 MPs & MLAs)	6 Ambassadors accredited to India and High Commissioners to India.
9	Cabinet Ministers of Union of India	3. Governors, Maharaja Pramukhs and Raj pramukhs; and Vice President of India (elected by 789 MPs)	
11	Chief Ministers of Part A and Part B states.	5 Rulers of Indian states with a salute of 17 Guns and above within their charge.	13 Ministers Plenipotentiary and Envoys Extraordinary.
14	Minister of State for Union of India; Chief Ministers of Part C States.	7 Speaker of Parliament (elected by 545 MPs); Chief Justice of India.	
22	Ministers of Part A & B States	12 Rulers of Indian States with a salute of 15 or 13 guns.	
26	Members of Parliament	14c Judges of Supreme Court of India.	
		17 Chiefs of Staff and Commanders in Chief	
		19 Chief Justices of High Courts.	
		21 Rulers of Indian Staes with a salute of 11 or 9 guns.	
		27 Secretaries to Central Government.	
		31 Director of the Intelligence Bureau. Inspector General of Police in Part A states	

1994 *RANK*

Category	Elected by the People	Public Servants Paid by People or Indirectly elected by Coteries	Foreigners
3	Prime Minister	1 President (elected by 5390 MPs & MLAs)	9 Ambassadors Extra ordinary and Plenipotentiary and High Commissioners of Commonwealth Countries accredited to India.
5	Deputy Prime Minister	2 Vice President (elected by 789 MPs)	
7	Cabinet Ministers of the Union Chief Ministers of States Leaders of Opposition in Rajya Sabha & Lok Sabha	4 Governors of States within their respective states	
10	Deputy Chief Ministers	6 Chief Justice of India Speaker of the Lok Sabha	
15	Cabinet Ministers in State within their respective States. Chief Ministers of Union territories within their repsective states Deputy Ministers of the Union territories within their respective states.	9 Judges of Supreme Court	13 Envoys Extra-ordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary accredited to India.
18	Minister of Union Territories	10 Deputy Chairman, Rajya Sabha (elected by 246 MPs) Deputy Speaker Lok Sabha (elected by 545 MPs)	
21	Members of Parliament	11 Cabinet Secretary	
		12 Chief of Staff holding the rank of full General or equivalent rank.	
		14. Cheif Justice of High Courts within their jurisdiction.	
		23 Secretaries to the Government of India. Chief Secretaries to the State Governments.	
		25 Director, Central Bureau of Investigation. Director, General, Border Security Force Director General, Central Reserve Police Director, Intelligence Bureau	



TABLE 3 : THE ASSETS OF THE COMPRADOR CAPITALIST GANG

(In Rs. Crores)

1 Sr. No.	2 Name	3 1951	4 1966	5 1981	6 1989-90	7 1994-95	8 Those that gained most from "Nehruvian Socialism" 1951/66	9 Those that gained profit from Congress rule 1951 (or 1966) or 1981 to 1989-90	10 Those that lobbied profitability from the new liberalisation policy 1989 - 90 to 1995	11 Gain over- all from Comprador Rule 1951/66 to 1989/95	12 Notes
1.	Tata	116	505	1,692	8,531	26,711	+ 435%	+ 7,354% in 40 yrs.	+ 313%	+ 23,026%	
2.	Birla	153	458	1,840	8,473	20,390	+299%	+ 5,537% in 40 yrs.	+ 240%	+ 13,326%	
3.	Reliance	-	-	271	3,600	11,529	-	+ 1,328% in 10 yrs.	+ 320%	+ 4,257% in 15 yrs	
4.	Essar	-	-	-	-	10,544	-	-	-	-	
5.	R.P. Goenka	-	65	-	-	6,556	-	-	-	+ 10,086% in 30 yrs.	
6.	J. K. Singhania	37	67	520	2,139	4,906	+ 181%	+ 5,781% in 40 yrs.	+ 229%	+ 13,259 %	
7.	Larsen & Toubro	-	-	220	1,682	4,785 <sup>5</sup>	-	+ 764% in 10 yrs.	+ 284%	+ 2,175% in 15 yrs.	
8.	Thapar	16	99	430	2,177	4,439	+ 618%	+ 13,606% in 40 yrs.	+ 203%	+ 27,743%	
9.	Imp. Tob./ITC/VST	-	41	567 <sup>3</sup>	742 <sup>1</sup>	3,849	-	+ 1,809% in 25 yrs.	+ 518%	+ 4,387% in 30 yrs.	
10.	Mafatlal	13	93	536	1,344	1,837	+ 715%	+ 10,338% in 40 yrs	+ 136%	+ 14,130 %	
11.	ACC	22	90	343	909 <sup>1</sup>	1,569 <sup>5</sup>	+ 409%	+ 4,131% in 40 yrs.	+ 172%	+ 7,131%	
12.	Mahindra	01	38	408 <sup>6</sup>	-	1,539	+ 3,800%	+ 40,800% in 15 yrs.	-	+ 15,690%	
13.	Modi	-	19	242	1,399	-	-	+ 7,363% in 25 yrs.	-	-	
14.	Bajaj	-	35	215	1,391	-	-	+ 3,924% in 25 yrs.	-	-	
15.	MA Chidambaram	-	-	44 <sup>2</sup>	1,273	-	-	+ 2,893 % in 10 yrs.	-	-	
16.	Hindustan Lever	-	33	247	1,209	-	-	+ 3,663% in 25 yrs.	-	-	
17.	United Breweries	-	36 <sup>4</sup>	489 <sup>3</sup>	1,189	-	-	+ 3,302% in 25 yrs.	-	-	
18.	TVS	-	44	227	929 <sup>1</sup>	-	-	+ 2,111% in 25 yrs.	-	-	
19.	Sri Ram	12	74	269	799 <sup>1</sup>	-	+ 616%	+ 6,658% in 40 yrs.	-	-	
20.	ICI	-	50	336	674 <sup>1</sup>	-	-	+ 1,348% in 25 yrs.	-	-	
21.	Bangur	20	104	281	657 <sup>1</sup>	-	+ 520%	+ 631% in 40 yrs.	-	-	
22.	Kirloskar	02	43	396	633 <sup>1</sup>	-	+ 2150%	+ 31,650% in 40 yrs.	-	-	
23.	Walchand	13	81	405 <sup>6</sup>	626	-	+ 623%	+ 4,815% in 10 yrs.	-	-	
24.	Macneil/Binny	-	57	396	-	-	-	-	-	-	
25.	Sarabhai	-	57	202	463	-	-	+ 812% in 18 yrs.	-	-	
26.	Martin Burn	41	153	-	-	-	+ 373%	-	-	-	Fallen Sick
27.	Surajmull Nagarmull	-	96	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
28.	Bird-Hailgers Madura Coats	34	69	-	-	-	+ 202%	-	-	-	Fallen Sick
29.	Sahu Jain	130	59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Fallen Sick
30.	Scindia	25	56	-	-	-	+ 224%	-	-	-	
31.	Kasturbhai Lalbhai	13	51	-	-	-	+ 392%	-	-	-	
32.	Killick-Nixon	-	51	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
33.	Parry	-	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

Notes 1. For 1988-89 2. For 1980 3. For 1987-88 4. For 1972 5. For 1993-94 6. For 1984

Sources 1. For 1951 & 1966, *Illustrated Weekly of India*, 18.9.77 p.11

2. For 1981, CMIE, *Basic Statistics Relating to the Indian Economy*, Vol 1, All India 1990, Table No. 15.27

3. For 1989-90, Preface, *25 Essays in Indian History* by Vinayak Purohit (in press)

4. For 1993-94 and 1994-5, *Economic Times*, ET-500, *India's Corporate Giants*, 1996, p.18.

5. See also Vinayak Purohit, *Arts of Transitional India : 20th century*, Vol. - 1, p.356

6. For 1984, CMIE, *Basic Statistics Relating to the Indian Economy*, Vol. 1, All India, 1986, Table No. 15.14

## MANKIND DISTRIBUTION NETWORK

Readers are requested to contact :

### *In Delhi*

Oxford Subscription Agency,  
A-13, Green Park Extension,  
New Delhi 110 010.  
Phone : 6961591,  
Fax : 91-11-3325993

### *In Calcutta*

Oxford Subscription Agency,  
68, Shakespeare Sarani, (2nd Floor)  
Calcutta 700 017.

### *In Bangalore*

Mr. Hanna Myer  
Indmark Publishing,  
"Om Ganesh",  
2 (Old No. 16) Rest House Crescent,  
Bangalore 560 001.

### *In Guwahati*

Oxford Publishing Agency,  
Mahabharat Karyalaya,  
College Hostel Road,  
Panbazar, Guwahati 781 001

### *In Hyderabad*

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

### *In Bombay*

George Gomez,  
2nd Floor, 22 Newland Street,  
Bombay 400 010.  
Phone : 3731258

### *In Madras*

Geetha Ramakrishnan,  
1, 3rd Cross Street,  
United India Nagar,  
Ayanavaram,  
Madras 690 023.

### *In Erode*

U. K. Sengottaian,  
Advocate,  
108, Cutchery Street,  
Erode 638 001  
Tamil Nadu

### *In Kerala*

M. Rasheed,  
Mohammed Abdul  
Rahiman Nagar,  
P.O. Chalappuram,  
Kozhikkode Dist.  
Kerala 673002

### *In Bhopal*

Devilal Patidar,  
20, Civil Lines,  
Shimla Hills,  
Bhopal 462 002. (M.P.)

### *In Pune*

Manneys Book Store  
7, Clover Centre,  
Moledina Road,  
Pune 411 001.  
Phone : 651683

Popular Book Store  
75 Deccan Gymkhana,  
Pune 411 004.  
Phone : 331737

### *In Bhubaneshwar*

Kishen Pattnayak  
c/o Post Master,  
CRPF Compound,  
Bhubaneshwar 751 011  
Phone 403398.

### *In Chandigarh*

EBS News Agency  
1701, Sector 22-B,  
Chandigarh 160 022.

### *In Goa*

The Other India Book Store  
Above Mapusa Clinic °  
Mapusa  
Goa

For all their queries about *Mankind*

**ULTI KHOPDI AND ULTA ZAMANA will be regular features in MANKIND.**

**ULTI KHOPDI** is four-faceted :

- 1) The nonsensical Aryan Invasion Theory.
- 2) The myth of Alexander III 's Invasion.
- 3) The Imperial Shakespeare Industry.
- 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.**

---

**OECD COUNTRIES**

**EAST ASIA PACIFIC RIM,**

**ASEAN, NAFTA,**

**PERSIAN GULF,**

**MIDDLE EAST,**

**NORTH AFRICA,**

**REP. OF SOUTH AFRICA,**

**LATIN AMERICA &**

**CARIBBEAN**

**\$ 60 or £ 40 for 10 issues in a year.  
Incl. Air Mail Postage.**

**Life Subscription \$ 600 or £ 400**

**Former Centrally  
Planned Economies (CMEA)**

**SAARC Countries**

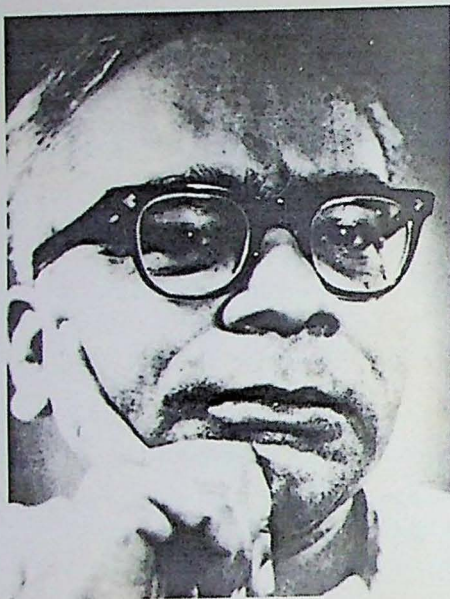
**Sub-Saharan Africa**

**\$ 40 or £ 30 for 10 issues in a year.  
Incl. Air Mail Postage.**

**Life Subscription \$ 400 or £ 300**

**INDIA**

**Rs. 25/- per copy Retail Price  
Rs. 200/- per 10 issues in a  
year.  
Incl. Inland Surface Postage.  
Rs. 2500/- Life Membership.**



**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.