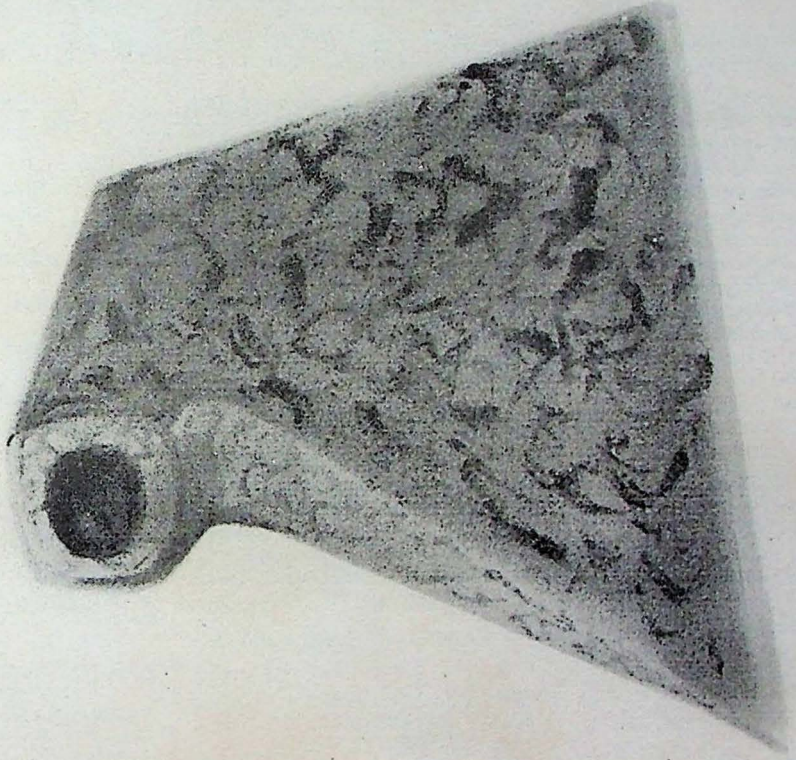


MANKIND

FDR. EDR. DR. RAM MANOHAR LOHIA

Volume 1, No. 10, July 1996.

Price Rs. 25/-



The Axe by Devilal Patidar

The Axe is a symbol of agricultural civilisation. It was with the axe that man cleared the forest and sowed the seeds in slash-and-burn or *jhum* cultivation, which later became permanent occupation of fields, with well or lake-side or river-bank and canal-fed tilling-and-reaping cycles.

The Axe, the Ploughshare, and the Spear-Sword are the real *Trimurti* (triple-icon) or *Trishul* (triple-points) of our Indian culture. Magadha's iron mines were the basis on which the mighty Haryanka-

Saisunaga-Nanda-Maurya-Sunga Empires arose from the Seventh Century B.C. onwards. Plentiful and cheap iron enabled the Magadhans to prevail over their rival Mahajanapadas. The Axe cleared the Sindhu-Ganges-Brahmaputra forests, the plough-share made agriculture more prosperous and the spear-sword enabled ambitious feudalists to overcome all competition.

The artist has captured the essence of the axe and its massive heaviness, along

with its suggestive sharp cutting edge. It is Parasu, which was wielded by the Sixth Avatara (incarnation) of Vishnu, Parasuram, probably a Scythian Warrior of the great Kushana Dynasty whose empire spread from Central Asia, Ma Wara an-Nahr, Balkh, Khurasan and Seistan to Western India. In fact, Parsuram, who preceded Rama of Ayodhya, was most probably a historical figure and he is reputed to have reclaimed the entire coastal belt along the Arabian Sea from Lata to Kanyakumari.

MANKIND

Founder Editor : Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

Vol. 1, No. 10, July 1996

Price Rs. 25/- per retail copy

Rs. 200/- for 10 issues in a year

Rs. 150/- Students' Concessional Rate

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

Krishnanath

Devilal Patidar

Kishen Pattnayak

Vinod Payyada

Badrivishal Pitti

M.P.R. Reddy

U. K. Sengottaian

Ravela Somayya

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,
Step-In Services,
1311, Kasba Peth,
Pune 411 011.
Tel. : 420667

Contents

An Opening Statement : 10	Exe. Edr.	3
American Economy and Crime		
Comprador Guide to Neo-		
Colonial Liberalisation		
Will the Sun Rise in the West ?		
<i>Sarva Dharma Samabhav</i> is not		
Secular		
Corruption, a Feudal Sub-		
Continental Relic		
Arafat, A Willing Victim Of		
Neo-Colonialism		
United Front Government 1996	Exe. Edr	9
Ulta Zamana		24
Enron, the Neo-Colonial	Dr. Sulabha Brahmne	25
Onslaught on India	Dr. Sharayu Mhatre	
Neo-Colonialism in the Arts	Dr. Vinayak Purohit	30
Displaced People and Rehabilitation	Dr. M.P.R. Reddy	43
Ornish's Programme For Health - 2	Dr. Sharayu Mhatre	44
Adda at Nukkad		47
Preventive Detention Act	Mridula Sarabhai	53
A World of Permanent Revolutions -		56
France and Russia		
Vemana - A Materialist (fl.c.1400 A.D.)	Dr. K. B. Krishna	65
India's Place In The Sun - 10	Mankind Statistical	67
	Research Bureau	
Mankind Distribution Network		68

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 No. 4/5, Jan./Feb. 1996; *The Container* in No. 6, Mar. 1996; *The Grinding Stone* in No. 7, April 1996; *The Lalten* in No. 8, May 1996; *The Ghanti* in No. 9, June 1996; and *The Axe* 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 : 10

Exe. Edr.

AMERICAN ECONOMY AND CRIME COMPRADOR GUIDE TO NEO-COLONIAL LIBERALISATION WILL THE SUN RISE IN THE WEST ? SARVA DHARMA SAMABHAV IS NOT SECULAR CORRUPTION, A FEUDAL SUB-CONTINENTAL RELIC ARAFAT, A WILLING VICTIM OF NEO-COLONIALISM

AMERICAN ECONOMY AND CRIME

Associated Press reported from New York on April 23, 1996 that :

"Crime costs Americans at least 450 billion dollars a year according to the most comprehensive survey ever done on the price of violence.

"The study excludes the cost of running the nation's prisons, jails and parole and probation systems, which would add 40 billion dollars bringing the total annual cost of crime to almost 500 billion dollars according to Justice Department statistics."

Anarchy of private enterprise has been carried to such lengths in USA that whilst there is some sort of job security and a degree of unemployment insurance, medicare has been completely neglected. It has become dangerous for poor people to fall ill in USA. More often than not, they will be allowed to die.

State-supported Health Care Plan was one of the principal planks of Clinton's election campaign. It was a pledge that he was forced to NOT fulfill and he has openly admitted his failure on this front.

However, lack of adequate social security and inadequacy of state welfare measures, inevitably pushes up the price of maintaining law and order, as reported by AP in the above dispatch. The cost of crime has reached phenomenal proportions in the Benighted States of America. It costs USA about \$ 500 billion per annum which is 8% of its GDP. Had America instituted a proper system of social welfare for its citizens, the annual burden could hardly have been more than the 13.3% of GDP which USA is actually spending (Privately, ofcourse). For

instance, in the United Kingdom, total expenditure on health both private and public is hardly 6.6% of the GDP and in Germany just 9.1%.

Thus by saving on health care, USA doesn't save anything. It spends an equal amount on policemen, detectives, forensic laboratories and probation agencies. **In short, American culture acquires a highly violent face as compared to other Western cultures.** (According to the latest CNN and BBC surveys, Russian culture has begun to acquire an American look in the '90s.)

Readers of *Mankind* will be interested to note a few more interesting ratios relating to the American economy.

Significant Ratios Relating to US Economy

Area	Annual Expenditure (as % of G.D.P.)	Reference Year
Defence	5.3	1992
ODA	0.15	1993
Education	7.0	1991
Health	13.3	1991
Crime Control	8.0	1995
Litigation	2.7	1994
Gross Domestic Savings	16.0	1993
Exp. on Advt.	2.88	1995-6
	<u>55.33</u>	

Sources :1. Crime Control, as quoted above.

2. Litigiousness, see *Mankind* Vol. 1 No. 1, p.17.

3. ODA and Savings Rate, *World Development Report*, 1995, pp. 178-9,

196-7.

4. Defence, Education and Health, *Human Development Report*, 1995, pp 199, 200, 206

5. National Advertisement Expenditure, CNN report, 24.6.96

COMPRADOR GUIDE TO NEO-COLONIAL LIBERALISATION

The above would have been the correct title of the book *The Intelligent Person's Guide to Liberalisation* by Amit Bhaduri and Deepak Nayyar (Penguin, 1996)

Let us understand clearly that the world bourgeoisie thinks that it is superlatively clever ! For every \$ 100 billion invested in the Third World, the MNCs and TNCs invest approximately 1 billion in Academic Grants, and an additional billion is distributed to NGOs, for building up a public relations image of the donor country, which is made out to be "generous, large-hearted, philanthropic, kind, considerate, unselfish, public spirited, 'technologically superior' etc." Of course, the donor is nothing of the sort ! He is a pure neo-colonial scoundrel, who is cruel, merciless, and bent upon extracting the last drop of blood out of the poor of the Third World.

Reader's of *Mankind* will recollect that some two decades ago it was

ANARCHY OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

"Crime costs Americans at least 450 billion dollars a year according to the most comprehensive survey ever done on the price of violence.

"The study excludes the cost of running the nation's prisons, jails and parole and probation systems, which would add 40 billion dollars bringing the total annual cost of crime to almost 500 billion dollars according to Justice Department statistics."

Anarchy of private enterprise has been carried to such lengths in USA that whilst there is some sort of job security and a degree of unemployment insurance, medicare has been completely neglected. It has become dangerous for poor people to fall ill in USA. More often than not, they will be allowed to die.

proclaimed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund that ODA should reach a level of 0.7% of the GDP of the donor countries, mainly belonging to

the OECD (Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development) and the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries). This ODA target was supposed to be over and above the shares which we have shown above, that are allocated to Academic Bribery and *Chai-Pani* to Social Workers to build public opinion.

As the latest World Bank report clearly demonstrates, not a single OECD / OPEC member ever attained the prescribed percentage between 1970 to 1993, except Sweden, Netherlands, Norway and Denmark, which four countries were amongst the smallest aid-givers of the world. Total ODA as percentage of GNP from OECD countries as a whole, has been hovering around 0.34% from 1970 to 1992 and in 1993 it stood at 0.30%! The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and the Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries additionally contributed to ODA, 0.19 and 0.56 per cent of their GNP's in 1989. (See *World Development Report*, 1995, by World Bank, pp. 196-7)

It is like advertisement expenses for international brand names — Pepsi, Coca-Cola, Sony, MacDonald's, General Electric, Citibank, Kodak, IBM, General Motors, American Airways, and so on. For full globalisation of these brand names immense amounts are spent in publicity, as much as 5, 10 and 15 percent of the annual turnover of these MNCs and TNCs. For just one event, the 1996 Centenary Olympics in Atlanta, only in India, the Coca-Cola Corporation will spend Rs. 28 crores for ads.

In the same way, the neo-colonial Structural Adjustment Programme of the WB, IMF and WTO, has to be sold to the people of the Third World, who are to be made to pay for the privilege of globalisation, privatisation and liberalisation. A net aid outflow from the poor countries has to be organised systematically and hypocritically. Let us remind ourselves of the findings of the UNDP *Human Development Report*, 1992 which we had an occasion to quote in an earlier issue of *Mankind* (Vol. 1, No. 6, March 1996, pp 20-21). We had in that issue given twenty significant extracts from the UNDP's *Human Development Report* of 1992. We shall repeat just a few of the most important indictments :

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

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

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

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

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

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

from 105 to 57" (p. 59)

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

As for India the latest figures for the year April 1995 to March 1996, the net aid outflow was Rs. 674 crores as against an outflow of Rs. 463 crores in the financial year 1994-95. Thus, the aid being given by India to the rich countries has increased by over Rs. 200 crores in just one year !

In order to convince the people of India that black is white, and that ODA flows are lovelier, when the Developed world forces liberalisation upon the Developing countries, as we have shown above, three main strategies are adopted :

1. Enormous amounts are expended in globalising brand names. This is a colossal amount which is spent through advertisement agencies. These pimps sponsor programmes in the mass media which are oriented to absorption of Western cultural values. Thus MNCs sell their brand names by sponsoring VTV, MTV, Zee TV, Star TV, Star Movies, TNT Movies and Cartoons, and so on, which spread sex, violence, pornography, mindless tourism, hysterical consumerism and such other Western evils. It is thus a

double-edged weapon. Brand names are propagated that create quasi-monopolies; and at the same time, the mass media blitz promotes the values which lead to the acceptance of *Batman*, *Superman*, *Jurassic Park*, *Sci-fi* glamorised rubbish, video games and so on ! We need not go into the ramifications of this tremendous propaganda barrage, which incidentally destroys the environment and endangers our habitat; and also causes a

tremendous spurt in wasteful expenditure, smuggling, increased drug abuse and similar health hazards (particularly promotion of teenage smoking and alcoholism. The commercial earnings of TV channels in India totalled Rs. 1,158 crores in 1995 of which the share of DD and its producers was 796 crores (*Ind. Exp.* 14.4.96)

2. At the same time, large amounts are granted to thousands of Non-Government Organizations to sponsor seminars, colloquiums, study projects, operations research, management studies, action research, and so on.

My estimate is that the amounts distributed among academic circles and NGOs, for creation of public opinion in favour of the aims and objects pursued by the neo-colonial powers, is at least as much as two percent of the FDI (Foreign Direct Investment) made by them.

Furthermore, another one percent of FDI is probably allocated for focussed re-education of politicians and bureaucrats. (Enron admitted to spending \$ 60 million for "educating" influential Indians)

We admit that these estimates are somewhat approximate. As more detailed data becomes available, we shall report them in *Mankind* and render our figures more precise.

In the meantime, let us record the confessions made by the comprador duo, who have written the book under review. We do not believe, like them, in the theory of treacherous candour! The whole book is devoted to purveying nonsensical lies about macro-economic conditions in India, and by just a few candid confessions about the cheap careerist motives of most Establishment economists, Bhaduri and Nayyar cannot absolve themselves from

MANIPULATION OF THE THIRD WORLD PUBLIC OPINION

Enormous amounts are expended in globalising brand names. This is a colossal amount which is spent through advertisement agencies.

At the same time, large amounts are granted to thousands of Non-Government Organizations to sponsor seminars, colloquiums, study projects, operations research, management studies, action research, and so on.

the guilt of publicising the myths circulated by the WB, IMF, WTO and the MNC/TNCs. Its like the Hollywood gangster movies, which for 99% of their length, glamorise the gangster, with just a brief insertion of a few scenes at the end which seek to suggest that "Crime Doesn't Pay".

We Quote :

"Academic economists find it inconvenient to question the dominant orthodoxy, the so-called 'Washington Consensus', for the simple reason that it is not good for their careers; especially, if they come from the Third World. The international reward system is such that attractive jobs, not only in the IMF or the World Bank, but even prestigious academic appointments, are often far easier to get if one sticks to the narrow virtuous path of conventional wisdom. Much the same is true for the national reward system in developing countries where the patronage of the State is an important source of career development in academia and elsewhere in the system.

"Journalists in India commenting on economic affairs are only a step removed from academic economists. Less concerned with the theoretical validity of IMF-style stabilisation, one of their main jobs in this respect is to monitor the day-to-day consequences of economic reforms. Facts usually come from the same government whose performance is being monitored to create a bias of selectivity, if not distortion. More importantly, the patronage of the State becomes a stronger factor for career advancement in journalism than in academia. On top of that, there is the inevitable lure of globalisation in a poor country. If the typical academic economist aspires to a cushy job, or a consultancy, abroad through a path of least intellectual resistance, there is no reason why a journalist would not be lured by the lucrative prospect of being associated with, say, *The Wall Street Journal*, *Financial Times* or even the house journals of the World Bank. Not surprisingly liberalisation gets an exceptionally good press in English but less so in Indian languages.

A JOKE RETURNS TO HAUNT

Whenever I met a progressive Stalinist or a fancy jet-set lefty, I used to designate their view as the 'Voice from Tirana'.

Tirana is the capital of Albania, where one Enver Hoxha, a big hoax, took power under the guise of being a "communist". I do not know how much of a communist he was. All I know is that he placed some 90 relations of his (Albania is probably a tribal community!) on the Central Committee of his Labour Party.

Albania itself is a little joke! It is a "great" nation of less than 30,000 km² and a present population of 34 lakhs. When the hoax took over it must have been boasting of a total population, including children and the aged, of less than 5 lakhs!

Hoxha came into prominence when in 1948 he repudiated Josip Broz Tito. Little Enver tied up with Little Caesar Joseph Djughashvili Stalin to denounce the Yugoslav Party. In the meantime Joseph Stalin died in 1953 and Nikita Khrushchev exposed the crimes of the Little Caesar at the 20th party Congress in 1956. By the way, Little Caesar's crimes were not so little! Several million Russians had disappeared in the Siberian Labour camps known as GULAG! A whole generation of Old Bolsheviks had been purged and executed.

But our little hoax swung away from Khrushchev and allied himself with the Chinese, who had moved away from the Soviet Union, as it had refused to part with nuclear bomb technology. Mao felt that it was his birthright to acquire the atom bomb! Tens of thousands of Russians working on hundreds of Chinese projects left China suddenly between 1959 and 1961, carrying away all the blueprints and plunging Chinese economy into a deep crisis. Perhaps Mao was impelled towards the suicidal course of the Cultural Revolution by this Russian act of sabotage!

Anyway, our Enver broke with China also in due course, and was warmly greeted by the West for his overall and thorough-going dissidence from all possible communist allies Yugoslavia, Russia and China.

I am told that the big hoax died a little while ago!

Any radical statement of the old jargonish fossilized variety that I came across became for me the "Voice from Tirana".

One day, some 15 years ago a man descended upon my little flat at Prabhadevi in Bombay, with an introduction from an old CPI acquaintance. I didn't know why he had come, except that we socialist idealists, particularly Lohiaites, are well known for our tolerant attitude towards all dissident views. Anyway, after half an hour's *gup-shup* the man left. Just as he was leaving, he informed me that his "party" was affiliated to the Albanian Labour Party of Enver Hoxha! I was completely dumb-founded! I didn't know that Enver Hoxha had the ambition to influence 70 crore Indians and therefore needed a spokesman in our country!

With the arrival in my Pune flat of 'the Gang of Naxal Three,' my joke about the 'Voice from Tirana' had suddenly come to life and begun to haunt me!

"For bureaucrats in the Third World, the reward system is even more straightforward. A few years 'on deputation' in the World Bank or the IMF means a sojourn in Washington DC at enormous salaries (compared with what they earn at home) to be followed by untaxable dollar pensions which provide enough money for a secured retired life. Not surprisingly, most civil servants in the Ministry of Finance who have dealt with the World Bank or the IMF in recent times, and ~~toed~~ **pushed** their line meekly or **pushed** it aggressively, **have found** themselves on such **deputations**. The unwritten rule is to push unquestioningly the IMF-World Bank line and be rewarded at an appropriate time.

"There is yet another dimension to this phenomenon. Many young economists from the Third World trained in the United States join the World Bank or the IMF as professional staff, repeating more or less mindlessly the received economic orthodoxy of 'stabilisation and structural adjustment' verbatim in country after country, while 'on mission', as the path of least resistance to a cushy career. Some of them move 'on leave' to the Ministry of Finance, the central bank or other important places in the Government in their home countries. With the passage of time and with considerable help from their erstwhile (or continuing) employers in Washington DC, these **economists-turned-bureaucrats** come to occupy high, sometimes strategic positions. This makes for an interesting two-way movement. There are some who are on leave from the government working in the World Bank or the IMF, and there are others who are on leave from the World Bank or the IMF working in the government. After a time, it becomes impossible to discern who is on leave from where, for these movements are not once-and-for-all. For some of these mandarins, it would seem that there is a revolving door between the Ministry of Finance in New Delhi (or elsewhere in the developing world) and the World Bank or the IMF in Washington DC."

VOICE OF PYONGYANG ARISES OUT OF THE RUINS OF THE STALINIST EMPIRE

Just as the 'Voice of Tirana' suddenly acquired flesh and blood and began to infest my little flat in Bombay, out of the collapse of the Cold War in East Europe, Russia and elsewhere in the Second World, a new cacophony of squeals and screeches has arisen.

The Berlin Wall collapsed (and East Germany was reabsorbed by West Germany in 1990); Ceausescu, wife and elder son, were summarily and publically tried and executed in Bucharest in 1989; Czechoslovakia broke up into Czech and Slovak republics in 1993; Gorbachev propounded the grand theories of *glasnost* (openness) and *perestroika* (restructuring) in 1985; Deng Xiaopeng anticipated Gorbachev by seven years, in 1978, and claimed priority for his *kaifang* (openness) and *gaige* (restructuring) and "market socialism" (a phrase actually coined by Tito in 1948); the USSR dissolved into 15 constituent units in 1991; and similar cataclysmic events shook up the Soviet Empire from the Baltic and the Adriatic Seas to the Pacific Ocean.

As long as Stalin and to a much lesser extent Khrushchev and Brezhnev, were in power, there was a semblance of centralised direction. [Note : STALIN (1879-1953), rise to power 1924-29, monopoly of power 1929-53, liquidation of Old Bolsheviks 1927-39, establishment of GULAG Archipelago 1929-53. Stalin's political victims numbered in tens of millions according to *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1993 edn.

KHRUSHCHEV (1894-1971), rise to power 1953-58, pre-eminence 1958-66.

BREZHNEV (1906-1982), rise to power 1966-77, dictatorial power 1977-82]]

All the Communist Parties of the world, with a few exceptions, behaved in a disciplined manner, accepting directions from the Communist International (1919-43), the Cominform (1947-56), and its successor underground bureaus, till GORBACHEV'S advent (rise to power 1982-85, precipitous decline 1985-89, collapse of USSR 1989-91).

Varying with distance from Moscow, local conditions and degree of ideological subservience acceptable to the local leadership gangs, the Communist Parties of the world, began to break up, and their right wings began to call themselves the Social Democratic parties; and the left wings began to call themselves Marxist Leninists. All these myriads of bigger and smaller semi-Stalinist formations became suddenly and anarchically oriented in any which way. They began to call themselves by all sorts of old resuscitated, combined and new names. They had been used to receiving directions, instructions, guidelines and suggestions, along with material assistance, from sources abroad. Above all they could not shake off the mental slavery which they had enjoyed for over half a century. They were not used to thinking and therefore welcomed anybody who was willing to take over the responsibility of directing them.

Just as that strange man came to my flat in Prabhadevi as the 'Voice of Tirana', a trio of youngsters have turned up in my Pune Office as the 'Voice of Pyongyang'. Sanjivani Jain, Praveen Ramteke and one Dr. Das, did not tell me who they were spokes-persons for, as they were more conspiratorially inclined than the man from Albania. However the literature they left behind was quite transparent. Their group had included the name Ghadar in their appellation. But obviously they were not nationalists of the old *Ghadarsort*, (unless they have made a spelling mistake and written *Ghadar* for *Gaddar* meaning the party of traitors. Actually their stand on Kashmir

fully justifies the *gaddar* name!) They believe that a revolutionary movement is taking place in Kashmir which is being fully supported and financed by Pakistan's ISI, since presumably Pakistan's government is terrifically revolutionary! The Mujahid Quomi Movement (MQM) which has lost several thousand of their cadres may not agree with these *gaddars* of the *Communist Ghadar* Party of India ! (Perhaps, alternatively, the *Ghadars* want to suggest that they are followers of *gadhars*). I am not sufficiently familiar with Urdu to be able to trace the exact source of the *ghadar-gaddar-gadha* misunderstanding !

But we can apply the litmus test. As far as their attacks on Nikita Khrushchev and all anti-Stalinists are concerned, there are many candidates. But obviously all the communist parties of the 15 constituent units of the old USSR are staunchly anti-Stalinist and so are all the former ruling parties of the East European soviet satellites.

Cuba was anti-Stalinist from the beginning! The old Communist Party had joined dictator Batista's government during the war, on instructions from Stalin. Fidel Castro started his Communist Party after taking over from Batista in 1959.

Therefore, excluding Cuba, Eastern Europe and the 15 republics of the erstwhile USSR, we are left with only some Communist Parties of the East who could be pro-Stalinist. But of these possible candidates, who would support the notorious criminal Nicolae Ceausescu, as the *ghadar-gaddar-gardhabha* group has done!

It is a complete litmus test! There is no other possibility except North Korea. Readers of *Mankind* will recollect that on his birthday and the Korean National Day, Kim Il Sung used to issue enormous full page ads. in all the leading Indian papers, squandering lakhs of rupees on his mono-maniacal publicity campaigns in India, and wasting crores of rupees world-wide that Kim had stolen from the North Korean masses. *Mankind* readers will also recollect, the absolutely absurd weeping sessions conducted around his cremation ceremonies for hours and hours by adults, by soldiers and generals, and hundreds of women and children, for weeks on end watched by millions of TV viewers all over the world! It was a horrible sight of forced conformity and mass hysteria! It was an astounding combination of naivete and sinister cynicism !

Furthermore, Kim Jong Il's attempt to succeed his father is a very rare example of the establishment of a Communist Dynasty! The only other instance, to my knowledge, is that of the Stalinist thug Ceausescu, who tried to place his lumpen son, Niku, in charge of things in Romania. The Romanian people valiantly fought off this crude imposition and that is how the son, the mother and the father all fell to popular wrath! This is again one of the reasons why I suspect the North Korean remote control for the recent visit by the delegation of *Ghadar-Gaddar-Gardhabhs* to me in Pune!

I do not have the records of the North Korean Intelligence Agencies with me. Therefore I cannot claim to have complete knowledge of the precise chain that binds my Pune visitors to Pyongyang. All that I can say is that politically they are the precise obverse and reverse of the same counterfeit coin! Thus to the 'Voice of Tirana' we may now add the 'Voice of Pyongyang' from North Korea. I am now all agog! I am waiting to hear the 'Voice of Ulan Baataar' ! Perhaps Pol Pot will speak from Pnom-Penh !.... Who knows from where suddenly a clown will pop up?

WILL THE SUN RISE TOMORROW IN THE WEST SINCE BJP HOLDS OTHERWISE ?

Two self-applauding bright brats of our fancy Society-lions' circle of jet-set lefties have let fall pure pearls of lunacy !

Praful Bidwai and Achin Vanaik have accused the Deve Gowda government of toeing the BJP line on CTBT. "The BJP statement on the CTBT and the official line show a remarkably close fit. The decision is a setback to the cause of global nuclear disarmament" (*Govt. Accused of Toeing BJP line on CTBT, TOI* 20 June, 1996)

What a topsy-turvy world this is ! For once, India takes a bold nationalist stand and refuses quietly to accept the perpetuation of nuclear power quintopoly, as the U.S. is openly proclaiming.

"But agreeing to New Delhi proposal that the Nuclear Five group give a firm date to eliminate their arsenal was out of question.

"All of us will retain — for the time being — a nuclear capability." (*Nuclear Arsenal to Stay, Says US; Ind. Exp. June 22, 1996*)

Can the neo-colonial assertion of quintopoly be phrased in clearer and cruder terms ?!

Are we to reject the notions that the earth is round, that it rotates on its axis and at the same time revolves around the sun, and that the sun rises in the East to set in the West, just because the BJP accepts them ?

Nay, are we supposed to be promoting Vedic orthodoxy and obscurantism, because it is written in the Vedas that the sun rises in the East, or that Sindhu is a mighty river, or that the *Gambler's Lament* was a well-founded regret, just because the Vēda makes such claims ?!

It is obvious that Bidwai and Vanaik, out of an affinity of career paths, have chosen to speak in unison as in the adage : *Bolta Bhi Diwana, aur us wajah se unki nazaronmein Sunta Bhi Diwana !* ("As those pontificating are raving mad, they think that the world has gone crazy.")

There are good and true things in the Bible, the Koran, the Granth Sahib, the Vedas, and so on. Why should I deny them just because I am an atheist ?

I am an atheist because the overall impact of these religious texts is not good and true for a holistic, rationalist, materialist, dialectical and historical view of the world. That is all !

Why should the BJP's nationalist line be countered by an anti-nationalist, comprador, pseudo-progressivist line ?

I came to know Praful Bidwai personally two decades ago when he was a student in the IIT, Bombay, and had invited me to come and lecture. He later chose to become a drop-out from IIT. Subsequently he chose to rise socially and make a career climb holding fast to the skirts of a leading feminist Supreme Court lawyer. Having achieved the acme of his ambition by joining the *Times of India*, he promptly decided to become an insufferable and pompous bore. Still later, this IIT drop-out chose to become a Jawaharlal Nehru Scholarship-holder !

I know very little about Achin Vanaik's background. Better informed people tell me that he dropped out of NRI ranks, as he couldn't get far in London progressivist circles. He arrived in India and joined the *Times*, like Praful, but I don't know whether that represented the acme of his ambition ! Anyway, the next stage was another Jawaharlal Nehru Scholarship.

It'll be interesting to study the list of names of holders of J. N. Fellowships. I think every pretentious jet-set lefty of the country with progressivist claims and Stalinist conduct, will be found in the Honours list !

How stupid can our comprador intellectuals get !
Mankind congratulates the Deve Gowda government, the

United Front, The Left Front, the National Front, the Third Front and the BJP for refusing to sign the CTBT. Arundhati Ghose should be immediately recalled from Geneva. When the CTBT is not acceptable to us, what is this *naukarani* doing in Geneva and why is she negotiating ?

India's Sovereignty Is Not Negotiable.

We have not tested any nuclear weapon since 1974 !

In all probability, we do not have the technological capability to simulate nuclear explosions in the lab as the US is doing ! France and China discovered in 1995-96 that they had to carry out actual underground tests to improve their arsenals. Therefore India is already seriously handicapped, since two of its neighbours either possess enormous arsenals of nuclear weapons (China), or are in the process of acquiring nuclear capability both independently, and by collaboration with China (Pakistan). We give below the number of nuclear explosions carried out by the quintopoly.

"So far, only six nations have conducted nuclear explosions — including India in 1974. The US, for instance, has conducted over a 1,000 tests. Such tests essentially help realise reduction in the size and weight of fission material, enabling it to be loaded onto missiles.

Number of Nuclear Explosions

US	1,054	Russia	718
France	207	UK	45
China	43	India	1

"While crude nuclear bombs usually weigh a couple of tonnes, most nuclear warheads for missiles need to be much lighter. Tests are also required to ensure both safety and reliability of the weapon system." (*India Today*, Dec 31, 1995, p.71)

In order to prevent a nuclear outbreak, it is necessary for India to convince both China and Pakistan that our country possesses a credible nuclear capability, which has been tested, tried and demonstrated. That too, deep underground in the Rajasthan desert or tunnelled into the Karakoram ranges, deep inside Ladakh.

Once this is done, there will be no need to fear any nuclear aggression either from Pakistan or from China. Let it be noted that both countries have aggressed upon India in the past. Pakistan has done it thrice. China has played the game of ouepmanship vis-a-vis India on innumerable occasions since 1954. The 1962 outbreak of border skirmishes might have been technically an over-reaction by India, but it was preceded and followed by many provocations, deliberately created by Chinese cartographic invasions and many other pin pricks. (Actually, not merely pins but powerful electrodes were being thrust into India's security net)

Without hesitation, without ambiguity, unashamedly, India must proclaim its sovereign status.

INDIA IS NOT LESS SOVEREIGN THAN THE NUCLEAR QUINTOPOLY !

NO COUNTRY IN THE WORLD IS MORE EQUAL THAN INDIA !

India is today independant not out of Anglo-American or Russian or Chinese favour ! **It is independant because NO POWER ON EARTH is today in a position to occupy any substantial part of India for any length of time !**

Tomorrow, after detaching Autonomous Kashmir from India, after Bhutanizing Nagaland as per the demand of Thuingaling Muivah, reported at five page length, in *Sunday* 16-22 June, 1996, after similar suicidal acts of disintegration, it may be that foreign powers will be in a position to Bosniaize India and Balkanize it more thoroughly than the Balkans.

Tomorrow it is entirely possible that the incompetent comprador-*naukarshahi* and *naukarani* regime of India will invite a *Yadavasthali* (an internicine war within the Yadav tribe recorded in the *Mahabharata* and the *Bhagwat Purana*)

Yes, tomorrow this can happen.

Personally, I feel that given the neo-colonialist proclivities of the OECD, NATO, EU and G7 powers, and their aggressive designs; aided and abetted by Russia and East Europe; India's integrity and independence are DOOMED ! India is too rich, too big, too thoroughly brainwashed by the West, to be allowed to remain united and independent.

It was brutally broken up in 1947 into three bits.

Muivah of Nagaland believes in the leadership of China and advocates a Bhutanization of the entire North East (Assam, Sikkim, Bhutan, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur, Mizoram, Tripura, Meghalaya, Bodoland, Gorkhaland, etc.)

Within our country the CPI-M and the CPI-ML overtly or covertly stand for Chinese leadership.

The CPI leadership stands for Russian tutelage ! And Russia with East Europe is seeking NATO and EU tutelage !

The fancy jetsset Stalinist-Communist-Progressivists are being led by the nose by the above-mentioned forces as is clear from the case of Praful Bidwai and Achin Vanaik !

Therefore, the breakup of India seems to me to be almost inevitable !

But, the "almost" is there ! We must not give up ! It is Man's will and prerogative to stand up and fight and assume command over Natural Forces ! Otherwise, what are we, standing on this speck called earth, in this vast universe ? If *mankind* can survive then India can and will survive !

INDIAN "MARXISTS-LENINISTS" MUST LAUNCH PRO-STALINIST MASS MOVEMENTS IN RUSSIA AND EAST EUROPE!

Not so long ago it used to be said, that Victorian values of prudery, morals, dress, code of conduct, etc. may have died 95 years ago in England, but lingered on in India till the end of British rule, if not still later. There are clubs in all our major cities where the Victorian dress code is still observed and our generals, judges, lawyers, and intellectuals still pride themselves for preserving the Raj ambiance ! (which is mostly Victorian !) they 'correct' English pronunciation of each other. The common phrase was "Victorianism dies hard in India" !

We must couple Victorianism with Stalinism now. Stalinism is dead as a dodo in Russia. In hundred and thousands of village and town squares from the Baltic to the Pacific, and the Black-Caspian-Aral Seas to the Arctic, statues of Stalin have been toppled and lie shattered for passers by to spit upon. **In their place thousands of memorials to the victims of Stalinism have come up.**

But like Victorianism, Stalinism dies hard in India. There are fossilized curiosities still living amongst us who continue to consider Stalin to be a Great Man and a great revolutionary. It is astounding! As the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* notes, "the number of victims of Stalin number in tens of millions." Like a *Karorepati*, Stalin was a *Karoresamhari* (killer of crores) or *Karorebhakshi* (devourer of crores). The horror that was Stalin's Russia has been fully documented by the recently opened Russian state archives. Leon Trotsky had submitted complete evidence before the Dewey Commission. John Dewey, the philosopher, had investigated the charges against Trotsky, made at the Moscow show trials in 1937. (See Verbatim Transcript 'The Case of Leon Trotsky 1937') There are innumerable confirmations now available. (See *Mankind's* assessment of Trotsky, in Vol. No. 3, *Relevance of Trotsky*, Dec. 1995, pp.: 35-41)

Even in present day Russia and Eastern Europe, where some of the old-time "communists" are regrouping, there is no one who doesn't say that Stalin committed many atrocities against the peoples of Russia and Eastern Europe. But there are diehards in India who believe in the innocence and greatness of Stalin!

We can't argue with such superstitions.

We can only suggest to them that they should form an International Brigade, on the lines of the one formed in 1936 against Franco of Spain. This brigade of Marxists-Leninists of all shades, including our *Ghadar-Gaddar-Gardhabhs*, should proceed to Russia and, with or without the help of the local people, re-erect all the statues of Stalin and pull down all the statues that have recently been dedicated to the memory of the Victims of Stalin!

After all, Stalinism will be ultimately rehabilitated or otherwise by the Russian people. Every Indian "Marxist-Leninist" dogmatist knows that no amount of Indian effort can resurrect the image of Stalin ! In the final analysis, the score with Stalinism must be settled by the Russians and, to a lesser extent by the East Europeans, which were the parties directly involved !

Hence, it is our humble suggestion that all those Naxalites and associates, including our *Ghadar-Gaddar-Gardhabhs*, should immediately proceed to Russia in droves, and launch a mass movement there to rehabilitate and finally vindicate Stalin. All the former inmates of the Gulag Archipelago and their families will greet our diehard Victorian Stalinists with open arms! Nicolae Ceausescu's unmarked grave will be re-surrected as a Taj Maha! Honecker's Trial will be reversed and he will be proclaimed a martyr to the cause of Anti-Anti-Stalinism! Wonderful and fundamental changes will be brought about in Russia. The entire Muslim nation of Chechenya under the leadership of Zelimkhan will return to Siberian Labour camps in accordance with Stalin's decree, for having collaborated with fascist Germany in the Second World War! (Automatically the civil war in Chechenya will disappear. Only the Russian occupation army will remain in the republic. All the guerillas will be relocated in Siberia!)

Many other wonderful changes will take place. We need not describe all of them. We leave them to be fantasized by our diehards !

WE REVOLUTIONARIES ARE NOT BANDITS OR ROBIN HOODS!

There is no dearth of Economic Advisors in present day India. In another place in this issue we have reproduced an extract from a recent book by Amit Bhaduri and Deepak Nayyar, which demonstrates how close these advisors are to the centres of power in Delhi, in the WB, the IMF and the WTO, and with the MNCs and TNCs.

So powerful is this lobby of Great Economists that throughout his five years, Manmohan Singh was never required to present any plan, however rotten and idiotic it may have been (assessment of the value of the plan comes later), any plan at all, for the repayment of our foreign debt now standing at more than a staggering \$ 100 billion.

Many of my friends and acquaintances amongst the rich, when confronted with the question of repayment, merely shrug and giggle in a guilty fashion! Even on the so-called left there are quite a few like our *Ghadar-Gaddar-Ghardhabhas* who advocate a moratorium on debt repayments.

Needless to say this is an utterly childish and ridiculous suggestion !

First of all, every loan agreement provides for eventualities in case of default in the servicing of the loan. Thus, declaration of moratorium by India, will immediately enlarge the debt burden. Furthermore, trade relations with all loan-givers and their friends, will come to an end. There would be seizures of property on the high seas, and accounts in foreign banks will be frozen ! This will inflict a near-fatal blow upon the country, from which we will probably never recover.

It is like saying that a man who is ill should better be killed, as a cure ! *Mankind* does not believe in such infantile advice. We revolutionary socialists and nationalists are not bandits! Neither are we Robin Hoods who want to redistribute the riches in an anarchic manner!

Then, what does *Mankind* concretely suggest?

Mankind has already suggested and now reiterates that the first step should be one of restricting our imports, together with net invisible outgo, to the level of our total annual exports. If this is done, trade deficits will stop climbing and conversion of deficits into debts will cease.

Secondly, all the repayments on the basis of forced devaluations (forced by the WB, the IMF and the Aid India Club) must be reversed, and repayments must be in terms of the exchange rates that were prevalent at the time the loans were taken. That is, in case of loan repayments, the rupee shall be revalued upwards, and these repayments will be deflated. **Or alternatively, the loans can be repaid only in terms of PPP (Purchasing Power Parity) prevailing between the two currencies.**

Thirdly, all trade henceforth between currencies must be carried on in terms of PPP equivalents. United States, and all its OECD associates, cannot be permitted to artificially force our currency down to one-sixth of its PPP dollar equivalent value, which is the situation today, as revealed by Table 30 of the *World Bank Report*, 1995.

Fourthly, all monies, properties, accounts, assets etc., held abroad by all Congress leaders and their families, as well as by all *naukarshahs* and their relations, from 1947 to the present, must be seized and liquidated against the foreign debt obligations of the country.

Just as possession of assets beyond known sources of income, by itself, raises the presumption of illegal and ill-gotten wealth on the part of the *naukarshah*, similarly any foreign account by a Congress leader and/or his stooge *naukarshah* anywhere in the world is by itself sufficient to attract confiscation. We do not wish to go into too many legal niceties.

Let the aggrieved go to the courts in India and establish that their hands are and were clean!

In the meantime it is a national Foreign Exchange Emergency! Therefore Urgent National Necessity overrides private concerns ! The National Government is entitled to seize all foreign holdings which belong to Congress leaders, big-shot *naukarshahs* and their associates, because almost all of them are irregular, corrupt and illegal acquisitions.

If we proceed along these four paths, we shall very soon be free from all foreign debt, and in fact will very soon start earning and acquiring huge foreign assets.

This is the true way of *Swadeshi*, *Swashraya*, self-reliance and self-propelled dynamic growth !

SARVA DHARMA SAMABHAV SPELLS SABOTAGE OF SECULARISM

Secularism simply means distancing and insulating the state from all religious and denominational interference. It arose in Europe where the practice of the most horrible forms of Communalism was the norm. There were many states where to be a Jew or a Muslim was a crime, where residential regions were distinguished on the basis of race and religion (as in the Russian Pale, where alone Jews could reside), where communal affiliation barred individuals from jobs (as in the Balkans, the Muslims could not hold certain jobs or practise certain crafts), where many such senseless regulations prevailed.

Even more, in England itself Roman Catholics were discriminated against in multiple ways and achieved civil equality only in 1829 ! In the Catholic States of Central Europe and Iberia, there were discriminations against the Protestants. In fact, Medieval Europe boasted of innumerable denominational discriminations amongst their own citizens.

In the European context, therefore, secularism became a bourgeois-democratic demand for equality before law of all citizens of a nation.

In India the situation has been somewhat different. Since feudalism was more powerful, it lasted here longer than in Europe. Thus all Indian units of polity from Sangha Period onwards

(C. 700 B.C. to 1860 A.D.) were entirely communal and non-secular. They openly and flagrantly discriminated amongst citizens on communal grounds !

Imperialism introduced the divide and rule policy from 1860 and used both religion and caste as the divisive levers and factors. **The Indian caste was equivalent to the Christian denominational sect in Europe**, where there were three major divisions of the Christian community, namely, Roman Catholic, Protestant and Orthodox. But in practice, there were scores of RC Orders; even more minute Creeds and Sects amongst the Protestants; and there were several Auto-Cephalous Orthodox Churches. So that almost as many "castes" or "denominational divisions" obtained in Europe and in India — probably 3000 and more,.... for less than one quarter the population of India !

Historically and traditionally the Left movement in Europe had been anti-clerical and secular !

Not so in India !

The old anarchists had been generally *Shaktas*, followers of Devis and Mother Goddesses, though *Saivas*, *Vaisnavas*, *Ganapatayas*, could also be found in their ranks, apart from devout Muslims (many of them Sufis), ardent Sikhs, etc. The later Socialists were generally atheists or agnostics and rationalists.

One segment was however recklessly opportunistic. They were the Communist-Stalinist-Progressivists who joined hands with British Imperialism and promoted communalism. They supported the Muslim League demand, evoked by imperialism, for Partition of the country in 1947, which resulted in six lakh killed and a 1.7 crore refugee movement, the greatest single event of migration known in human history.

Let us also note that upto 1947, the British Indian govt. was openly non-secular ! It had a Official Ecclesiastical Department and crores were annually budgeted and expended by GOI on Christians living permanently or temporarily in India !

Therefore, neo-colonial powers (UK / US and Europe) supported a policy of comprador appeasement by India, to stabilize and perpetuate Pakistan. This policy received its biggest check in 1971, when Pakistan was partitioned and Bangladesh was created by the joint operation of the Indian army and the Mukti Bahini. But very soon Anglo-American pressure forced the Shimla Agreement, which allowed Pakistan to retain its mischief-making capacity vis-a-vis Kashmir.

Thus Secularism in India, in the present context, means, on the one hand, appeasement of neo-colonial powers, *who want to help Pakistan survive and expand*, against all odds and despite the fissiparous movements of *Jio Sindh, Azad Baluchistan, and Azad Pakhtunistan, Mujahir Quomi Movement*, and so on.

Secularism is strangely a great Central Demand of all those who stand for separation of J.K state from India ! (Whether as "autonomous" or "independent", or "dependent on non-secular Pakistan" !)

On the other hand Secularism is a demand of all those who are opposed to the BJP, *for various electoral reasons* ! And of those in the disintegrating and declining INC who feel that after the disaster of the 1996 Elections to the 11th Lok Sabha, when the INC achieved a historic low in votes and seats (28% vote and 135-seats in a Lok Sabha of 545), it is time to get together with some opportunists in the National-Left-Third Front to revive the fortunes of the Congress.

Let us look at this aspect of the electoral equation a little more clearly.

Firstly, the BJP is the successor to the Hindu Mahasabha of pre-1947 days which had soiled its hands, in equal measure as the Communist-Stalinist, and the INC, by collaborating with Imperialism to realise the Partition of 1947.

Secondly, after the assassination of Gandhi in 1948, the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, a para-military semi-fascist Hindu extremist organization, gradually clawed its way back into popular favour, by attacking some of the features of the neo-colonial-comprador conspiracy to stabilize Pakistan !

Thirdly, the BJP also does not want a Federation of the States of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, for that would upset all the Neo-Colonial Forces and undo the Anglo-American achievement of the last half century of belittling and over-awing India, which is potentially the second greatest power on earth, along with China. **Without Pakistan, it would not be possible to curb India, that is the Supreme Anglo-American Strategy !**

Fourthly, the INC is totally exhausted, shattered and bankrupt. It has no alternative but to join hands with some reformist NF-LF-TF elements in order to survive ! Therefore, some excuse has to be found ! Let that feint be Secularism !

Fifthly, the NF-LF-TF opportunists, especially the Stalinist-Communists, want some excuse to betray the masses and compromise with the Elite Establishment. Therefore, let us make a Great Principle of Secularism !

Sixthly, the Stalinist-Communist-Progressivists have a long record of supporting British Imperialism and of bringing about the partition of India in 1947. Autonomy for Kashmir is an excellent solution for them, as it would justify their Pro-British Communalist politics of pre-1947 days, and also appease the Neo-Colonial powers of today who are pursuing a Pro-Pakistan and Contain-India Policy on a world strategic scale. This game would help them retain foreign support, especially from Russia, which is increasingly becoming a part of Neo-Colonialist EU, NATO and OECD.

But, as we have pointed out in the opening para of this note, Secularism is distancing and isolation of State from all Religions and all Denominations !

Sarva Dharma Samabhav (Equal Regard for All Religions) is the exact opposite of Secularism ! Instead of distancing from all religions, such a policy will mean embracing all religions ! It means the perpetuation and state support to all the superstitions of the world; and to all forms of *Gurugiri* and *Buwabazi*; and to all Heads of Maths and to all the Great Priests of Great Temples of Great Pilgrimage Centres of India ! Secularism means a Government of Chandraswamis, Rajneeshes, Maharshi Yogis, Balyogis, Anand Margees, etc. and their *Sarva Dharma Samabhavi* followers in politics !

The battle of Secularism is in some sense a Mock Battle :

On the one side, the INC wants to retrieve its fortunes ! Originally, the INC accepted the British-imposed partition of 1947 ! So, for the INC, it is a continuation of the politics of Partition, with a further dose of autonomy to Kashmir.

In the second place, the BJP does not want to alienate the Western neo-colonial powers too much. It merely wants that no further division of India should take place and that Kashmir be fully integrated into India ! This is a reasonable demand (which is soundly nationalist.) It has widespread popular support and which is likely to be eventually accepted by the West and by Pakistan, if India stands firm.

But the BJP, does not stand for a New Federation of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, as that will reduce its Hindu influence within the Federation, upset the West too much, and will add overmuch to India's power status (**Compradors cannot bear too much Indian greatness !**)

The NF-LF-TF is willing to appease the imperialists even more than the INC and the BJP. Under the guise of Secularism, this combination is willing to abridge Indian sovereignty over Kashmir, whether the sovereignty of Pakistan is immediately or

eventually expanded ! This is in line with the original Stalinist support to Partition ! To them, India has always been a multinational Entity. Thus it is in the fitness of things if India breaks up !

The Socialist Factions (as represented by Madhu Dandvate, George Fernandes, Mulayam Singh Yadav, Lalu Prasad Yadav, Sharad Yadav, Ram Vilas Paswan, or anyone else) are atomised and disorganised. According to them, Secularism is equal to *Sarva Dharma Samabhav*, which is actually its opposite ! But the Socialists are so woolly-headed and so disoriented, that it is habitual with them to stand things on their head !

It is not possible for revolutionary nationalists and socialists of India to accept any of the positions on Secularism and Kashmir, held by INC, BJP, ex-Stalinists or ex-Socialists !

Let Secularism be recognised as a hypocritical fraud upon the Indian People !

Let no appeasement of Neo-Colonial powers and their pro-Pakistan policies be accepted by India !

Secularism is destroyed by *Sarva Dharma Samabhav* !

Let the Stalinist-Communist-Progressivist line of Appeasement of West and Surrender to Pakistan be fully exposed and condemned !

Let Revolutionary India lead the way and establish a New Federation of Socialist States of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh !

CORRUPTION A FEUDAL SURVIVAL IN THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT

The second general elections in Bangladesh within 4 months have resulted in a resounding victory for Sheikh Hasina Wajed, daughter of Bangabandhu Mujibur Rahman, who was assassinated by the Army in 1975 after just four years of power.

The creation of Bangladesh in 1971 by the Indian Army and the guerrilla Mukti Bahini was the high-water mark of anti-imperialist struggle of the post-war period. In fact, liberation of Bangladesh, break-up of Pakistan and partial reversal of the infamous partition of 1947, was, with Vietnam Liberation in 1975, one of the two greatest events favourable to revolutionaries during the last quarter century. After 1975, everything began to go wrong and today the word "socialism" has acquired a pejorative sense amongst the direction-less middle-classes of the world !

Readers of *Mankind* are requested to read our editorial "Capitalism's Second Breath" in Vol 1, No. 3, Dec, 1995, for historic assessment of the importance of the events of 1971 and 1975.

Hasina's victory is a little ambiguous, as was the career of her father Mujibur Rahman, whose name has been frequently associated with corruption.

But the entire sub-continent is ambivalent about corruption. The super-corrupt Narsimha Rao has been re-elected though suffering the worst Congress defeat in the history of semi-independent India. Zulfikar Bhutto was also involved in absolutely corrupt deals and his daughter has returned to power despite her husband Zardari's dirty deals !

It seems to me that Feudalism as such is completely integrated with Corruption, Nepotism and *Ritshvatgiri* with a Hundred faces. Feudalism habituates a people to aristocratic abuse and to bear insults and humiliations and extreme exploitation at the hands of upper caste elites that claims privileges from birth and from supposed "high birth" !

It shows that in future the working masses of the Indian sub-continent will have to fulfill many liberal bourgeois tasks including this one of installation of a non-corrupt administration !

Hasina is particularly under pressure, as Ershad's Jatiya Party has won 31 seats, which may hold the decisive edge in a

Parliament of 300 members. Off the 299 results announced as on 22.6.96 Hasina's Awami League has won only 146 and Khaleda's BNP, 116.

Ershad won from all 5 seats that he contested whilst he himself was in jail serving a 13 1/2 year sentence, for corruption and misuse of power ! Ershad's wife, Raushan, led the party using part of Ershad's loot for the purpose, and, as in India, **money does work wonders at times and for a time !**

Hasina's majority being wafer-thin, she may make a deal with Ershad, who may now hope to come out, at least on parole, without completing his term. Other cases pending against him may also get soft-pedaled.

However, the Bangladesh Constitution is basically the same as in India and Pakistan. The *Naukarshahi* is supreme in all three countries. MPs are powerless across the sub-continent ! All that the elections accomplish in all three countries is the random selection of a few ministers who join the club of *Naukarshahs* to rob the people !

Nothing will be or can be accomplished by Hasina, as nothing could be by her father !

India and Bangladesh both lost a wonderful revolutionary opportunity in 1971, when Bangladesh could have merged with West Bengal and formed a single Greater Bengal .as a member of a New Socialist Federation of India !

Another opportunity is bound to come, perhaps in a year or two !

In the meantime, trade and commerce between W. Bengal, Bangladesh and Assam should to be developed vigorously ! All visa restrictions between the three countries should be abolished and movement of capital and labour made free !

Mulayam Singh Yadav, our Defence Minister, should be vigorously supported *in this matter*.

ARAFAT, A WILLING VICTIM OF NEO-COLONIALISM

Arafat won 1/3rd of the Nobel Prize; with the criminal armament industry salesmen, Yitzak Rabin and Shimon Perez, in 1994.

That is all he got and will ever get !

Netanyahu has won the Israeli elections and has formed his government of extreme rightists as leader of Likud. He is going back on all of Perez's promises. Jerusalem will remain the capital of Israel, further Jewish settlement will proceed apace on the West Bank, there will be no withdrawal from Hebron, Arab sovereignty in Gaza and West Bank will remain forever abridged, and Golan Heights and South Lebanon will remain under Israeli occupation.

Arafat was a willing dupe !

He had surrendered to neo-colonial powers led by US, and to racialist-fascist arms dealers in power in Israel.

He thought that he will be allowed to save face by being given some local municipal rights in Arab enclaves in Israel (Gaza + part of West Bank)

Old Palestine was at least 18,000 km of Arab lands. It is now zero, as far as full sovereignty is concerned. Even if half-freedom is counted, it will be less than 5000 km ! But freedom can never be halved ! It is there, or it is not ! And obviously for the Arabs, IT IS NOT !

Mankind, which believes in and advocates a principled ideological line and in NO COMPROMISE with hated imperialists and racialist-fascists, can have nothing more to state than that **ARAFAT MUST PROMPTLY RESIGN, RETURN HIS NOBEL AND CONFESS TO HIS CRIMES BEFORE THE ARAB PEOPLE'S TRIBUNE !**

His inverted, stuffed, puppet-figure should be placed in the centre of all Arab city squares, with the placard : THIS IS THE

FATE OF ALL ROTTERS WHO COLLABORATE WITH AMERICAN, NORWEGIAN AND ISRAELI NÉO-COLONIALISTS, PACIFISTS AND RACIALISTS !

Mankind regrets its inability to offer any CONSTRUCTIVE suggestion to the ruling elites of the world ! *Mankind* believes in the DESTRUCTION of elite politics as such !

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE ARAB PEOPLE FOR FREEDOM AND DIGNITY !

UNDERWEAR ZINDABAD !

American culture is attaining ever new peaks ! Bryan Adams, the mega star, the darling and the heartthrob of countless screaming teenagers, has reached out to make more millions with new lyrics placed on video tapes, CDs, and all kinds of magnetic and digital devices.

He was recently interviewed by CNN about the new song which he had composed. Bryan Adams being a true genius shared his creative thinking with the audience.

He said : "At first, I thought of the opening line as I WANT TO BE YOUR TAMPON !

But Adams somehow felt that even his teenyboppers, who may have just began menstruating, may find this poetic expression too much !

Therefore, the creative genius decided to change it to something a little less vulgar. He reworked the opening to

I WANT TO BE YOUR UNDERWEAR !

What a great thinker is our Bryan Adams ! He decided to spare us the terrific vulgarity of the TAMPON, and inflicted the UNDERWEAR, so considerably upon us !

Mankind readers should not think that I am being squeamish ! I have read it all and seen it all !

I have known Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (1934) and James Joyce's *Ulysses* (1914-20) and D.H. Lawrence's *Lady C's Lover*, (1928) and Radclyffe Hall's *Well of Loneliness* (1928), probably the first Lesbian Novel, or rather the first by a Lesbian author, as far as I know, in my college days and jail days ! I have even read one half of Shoba De's *Starry Nights* ! (I could not go beyond the steamy lesbian falltio between the Rekha-prototype heroine and her hair-dresser !)

I have travelled to and through about seventy countries. I have seen shivering prostitutes standing on small ledges on the edges of Paris streets, standing there to avoid the technicality of "Soliciting in Public Places". I have seen them thrusting out their wears from behind giant brilliantly lit show windows in Amsterdam, and from behind rusted bars in Bombay.

I don't mind a frank discussion about the technology of certain devices, but is this really a romantic or mature, loving or courting, statement that an American youngster makes these days to draw the attention of an attractive wench ?

I don't know what is wrong with the American people and their culture !

Obviously there is something wrong.

It is not reticence or prudery or lack of abandon, that I am advocating.

I may belong to the older generation of liberated intellectuals, but we were liberated !

But not liberated from all sense, and good taste, and civilized feelings and decency!

LONG LIVE INDO-ARAB FRIENDSHIP AND SOLIDARITY !
LET A PALESTINE - ARAB STATE BE ESTABLISHED WITH 1948 BOUNDARIES !

LET THEREAFTER JEWS BE FOUND A PERMANENT HOME IN USA OR CANADA OR AUSTRALIA OR ICELAND OR GREENLAND OR SIBERIA !

OR LET THEM BE SETTLED IN SAHARA, 100 km. AWAY FROM ANY HABITATION ! THIS PLANET IS NOT A PLAYTHING FOR IMPERIALISTS !

THE UNIPOLAR WORLD AND THE REALITY

The Americans are the most hated people on the earth !

This is the ground reality ! The Americans think of themselves as a great nation, as a matter of fact, as the greatest nation on earth.

If, at the same time, you enquire of any nation of the world, whether they would like to be exactly like Americans, there would be a shudder of horror at the suggestion.

Other nations would like to be as rich as America, but culturally never like America !

A few days ago, a powerful bomb of two and a half tons strength, exploded just outside the residential complex for American airmen stationed in Daharan, Saudi Arabia. At least 19 were killed, and many hundreds wounded. These are official figures, probably gross underestimates.

In 1975, Americans escaped from Ho Chih Minh City (Saigon) clinging to the runners of helicopters. That was a real spectacle of American valour !

More recently in 1983, they ran away from combat in Lebanon, when Arab " terrorists " struck Beirut.

A little later they exited from Somaliland, when the Africans decided to teach them a lesson.

The fact is, that there are very few places in the world, except the middle of Antarctica or Sahara or Greenland, where Americans would be allowed to stay for more than a very short while.

Saudi Arabia was considered by them to be a land where they would sojourn for prolonged periods. This illusion has been shattered. The CNN admits that the hatred for America is so intense, that it is sweeping across Arabia and the Middle East in such an invisible but palpable heat wave, that American strategists are planning an appropriate response. The Arab guerillas may have overestimated their chances.

The cowardly and precipitate retreat from Lebanon by American forces in 1983, might have made them over-optimistic about their chances.

But, the turn of the wheel of history is inevitable. Americans will not survive the hatred of the masses of the entire world. Their dreams of a unipolar world, will forever remain nothing but dreams.

Let India learn from the Saudi example, that to be friendly with Americans is a dangerous thing. It is possible for the upper castes of comprador India to sink with the hated Americans !

The world may be a Global Village, but in the Village Square, the American exploiters are likely to hang fairly soon !

HILLARY CREATES HILARITY

The Americans are surely amongst the stupidest peoples on earth. They are full of themselves, and think that they are the greatest people on earth because they possess the largest stockpile of nuclear weapons !

The American First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, is reliably reported to have been holding conversations with Mahatma Gandhi !

Also with Eleanor Roosevelt ! And miscellaneous lesser lights ! According to a startling revelation in a soon-to-be released book by one of the USA's best-known reporters, Hillary Rodham Clinton has held imaginary conversations with Mahatma Gandhi and former First Lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, as "therapeutic exercises."

Hillary apparently began undertaking such spiritual excursions after advice from her friend, psychic diva Jena Houston, co-director of the Foundation of Mind Research, according to the book, '*The Choice*' by *The Washington Post* journalist Bob Woodward.

Bob Woodward, along with fellow-reporter Carl Bernstein, had cracked the Watergate scandal that brought down Richard Nixon, and is now an assistant managing editor at the *Post*.

According to the book, the First Lady became good friends with Houston after she met her at the Camp David retreat in 1994 when the President invited several motivational experts to address an elite circle of friends.

The Clintons are known to have developed a yen for self-help gurus.

Houston suggested that Hillary address Jesus Christ, too, but the First Lady turned it down saying it would be "too personal" (Chidanand Rajghatta : *Moved By Gandhi's Spirit, Hillary Heals Herself*, — *Indian Express*, June 24 1996)

I like the touch about conversations with Jesus Christ, being considered by Hillary to be "too personal" !

On the one hand, there is a clear-cut comparison with Nancy Reagan's consultations with astrologers. The entire atmosphere in America, is one of "intellectual" dominance by psychic divas, self-help gurus and motivational experts. Jena Houston is herself a victim. She has been on LSD and other drugs "to explore her own mind." She believes that she has the characteristics of Athena, the supreme goddess, who presided over Parthenon in Greece, It will be recalled that Athena's chrysalphantine, or half-ivory half-gold, statue had been installed in Parthenon before the Persian army had sacked the ancient Greek city in the 5th century B.C. (*Indian Express*, 25.6.96)

No wonder the self-help gurus' writings are the rage in USA, now and over the years. More than half of the best sellers' lists are made up of such puerile stuff as Stephen Covey's *Seven Highly Effective Habits of Seven Successful People* and Deepak Chopra's *The Seven Spiritual Laws of Success*.

On the other hand, there is the obvious need on the part of the Clintons, who have been thoroughly exposed by the Whitewater scandal, and three of whose closest friends are right now in jail for fraud, to convince the American middle-classes that whilst they may be immoral and unethical, they are still very highly spiritual !

One does not know how to treat this episode. Is it merely farcical and ludicrous? Or is it an exercise in damage control, by self-clowning in an election year ?

I think it is a bit of both.

UNITED FRONT GOVERNMENT 1996

Exe. Edr.

CENTRISM ZINDABAD !

We had noted in our last issue, in the course of the article *Elections 1996*, that though the 11th Lok Sabha Elections were to a powerless Parliament, such general elections do constitute a sort of periodic popular referendum on the policies of the government that be ! No great political or socio-economic transformation takes place as a result of these populist exercises. These mock battles and symbolic fights leave the country exactly as it was. Nothing changes. The people are bamboozled into believing that they have "supreme power", whilst, in actuality, they have none under the present Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49. The same *naukarshahs* and *naukaranis* will continue to rule over their destinies on the morrow of the elections, as they were on the eve of the elections.

Has the common man, the poor farmer, the landless labourer, the industrial worker, the simple craftsman and the lower middle class citizen assuaged his pangs of hunger with the help of his impotent vote ?

It's just make-believe and shamocracy.

Nothing is decided by the vote because the Lok Sabha has no powers. As we have seen in the case of the Harshad Mehta Securities Scam, even unanimous decisions of parliamentary committees are not immediately and automatically implemented. All the powers are with the Executive. It is the President who summons the Parliament into session, not the Speaker. Resignation of ministers are not accepted by the PM or the concerned CM, but by the President and the Governors. Ministers are appointed by the President on the advice of the PM or by the Governor on the advice of the CMs.

These are not formalities but matters of substance !

That is why, when no party got a clear majority in the 1996 elections, we should have gone in for a second run-off elections, when the first two in each of the 543 constituencies could have stood against each other, provided he or she had not already in the first ballot secured more than 50% vote. But our Constitution does not

provide for real democratic alternatives and eventualities.

Our Constitution is a joke, a travesty and a farce !

UNITED FRONT'S MANDATORY LIES :

It has been claimed by Hardanahalli Doddagowda Deve Gowda that "the 1996 elections was a mandate in favour of a coalition" (*India Today*, 15.6.96, pp. 46) Nothing could be further from the truth !

Of the 13 parties that had come together only 2 had fought the elections together, the JD and the SP in Uttar Pradesh. In Andhra, the JD had actually entered into an alliance with Lakshmi Parvati's faction of the Telegu Desam, which faction got completely wiped out in the Parliamentary polls.

Similarly, in Tamil Nadu the so-called National Front created by JD had actually driven DMK out of the alliance, favouring Jayalalitha's AIADMK. Unfortunately, the latter ditched JD for a gun-shot wedding with the Congress just prior to the 11th Lok Sabha poll. Here again like Lakshmi Parvati, Jayalalitha came a cropper and scored exactly zero. The CPI was in alliance with DMK against the Janata Dal in Tamil Nadu, and its nominee is today about to join the Deve Gowda cabinet of small-time opportunists.

What can the people of India expect from a Prime Minister who lies at the very outset of his tenure about the national mandate being in favour of a coalition, supported by the Congress ? The very Congress which the JD and all its partners in the United Front had striven might and main to defeat at the hustings just a few weeks ago ! In their election manifestos, the current partners in electoral crime had gone so far as to state that "the Congress was unfit to rule".

So far was the mandate away from a Congress-supported coalition at the centre,

that the Congress has itself taken two further steps towards a near-at-hand betrayal. Let us consider the following two headlines in the papers :

a) *Congress Gives State Units A Free Hand* : "The Congress high command today gave a virtual *carte blanche* to the party's State units to work as strong and effective opposition". (*Ind. Express*, 15.6.96)

b) *Congress Will Fight Against Gowda in By-Poll If He Stands From Karnataka* :

"At two stock-taking and brainstorming meetings of the Karnataka Congress unit on Monday, a consensus emerged in favour of fielding a candidate against Prime Minister H. D. Deve Gowda if he contests a Lok Sabha by-election from the state." (*TOI*, 26.6.96)

Also, long dispatches have begun to appear in the papers regarding the opposition of both, the Left Front cadres in W. Bengal and of Mamta Banerjee, Youth Congress leader of Bengal to the Congress - supported United Front ministry in Delhi.

It is a blatant lie to state that the 1996 mandate was for a coalition. No 13-party coalition under the leadership of Deve Gowda was ever contemplated by anyone, least of all by the Indian people. The constituents of the 13-party coalition had fought bitterly against each other, right upto the beginning of June 1996, when Deve Gowda was asked by the President to form the next government, upon the fall of the 13-day-old BJP government of Atal Behari Vajpayee.

THE UNITED FRONT COALITION GOVERNMENT, AN OPPORTUNISTIC ALLIANCE

It is a blatant lie to state that the 1996 mandate was for a coalition. No 13-party coalition under the leadership of Deve Gowda was ever contemplated by anyone, least of all by the Indian people. The constituents of the 13-party coalition had fought bitterly against each other, right upto the beginning of June 1996, when Deve Gowda was asked by the President to form the next government, upon the fall of the 13-day-old BJP government of Atal Behari Vajpayee.

The people gave no mandate in favour of any coalition, especially a coalition composed of totally antagonistic forces.

The people gave no mandate in favour of any coalition, especially a coalition composed of totally antagonistic forces.

The story of a "mandate for coalition" in all probability originated from within the Congress. P. Chidambaram was amongst the first to voice this mendacious lie since

he had been one of the architects of Narasimha Rao's Liberalization policy and wanted to become the new Finance

ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE UF GOVERNMENT IN THE HAND OF A PROTAGONIST OF LIBERALISATION POLICY

We have seen above that the direction of the economic policy of the UF government has been placed in the hands of P. Chidambaram, one of the architects of the "Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation" programme launched by Narasimha Rao - Manmohan Singh government from mid-1991 onwards. This programme has brought about the re-subjugation of India to foreign domination. The WB, IMF and WTO reign supreme ! The economic transformation of India is to be carried out by MNCs, and TNCs. All technological development is to be initiated by them. There is no plan whether good or bad, whether full of holes, moth-eaten or termite-infested, there is no plan whatsoever for repayment of the current foreign debt of over \$ 100 billion. There is no proposal for the reversal of the Net Aid Outflow of Invisibles. An alarming situation obtains in relation to our transactions with the world economy, as shown in the adjoining table, *India's Transaction With The World*.

Minister and continue the policies which he had initiated in partnership with Manmohan Singh in 1991.

Chidambaram was a Commerce Minister twice in the Narasimha Rao's government and had been out of office for a few months because of his involvement in the Harshad Mehta scam.

How the leftist knights with shining armour, belonging to the CPI, CPM, RSP and Forward Bloc, can tolerate such a disreputable, degenerate Congressman as Finance Minister of the new UF government, is bound to be a mystery to all those unacquainted with the depths of treachery habitual to Stalinists / Comprador Indians.

The inside story of how the Common Minimum Programme was drafted has been leaked out by *Sunday* of 16-22 June, 1996.

"When a drafting committee was set up with Jaipal Reddy of the Janata Dal. Sitaram Yechuri of the CPI (M) and P. Chidambaram of the TMC (S. Raja of the CPI joined later), to work out a draft of the programme, the exercise very nearly didn't take off.

"Chidambaram was clear that he was not going to get involved in collective writing.

"There was an impasse. Then Chandrababu Naidu suggested a way out. He offered to get the manifestos of the coalition parties together and draft a common document. This could then be considered by the three-member committee. Everyone agreed.

"Seven versions of the draft were prepared. (*These are now with P. Chidambaram — he says it is valuable archival material.*) Then Chidambaram was asked — in view of the position held by him — to prepare one draft with specific inputs from the CPI(M) and the CPI.

"Jairam Ramesh — a former Narasimha Rao aide, consultant to the Planning Commission and expert draftsman — sat down with Chidambaram. They shared jokes about the various manifestos they had written together (94 per cent of the Congress manifesto has been prepared by Chidambaram, and 96 percent of the previous Congress manifesto was prepared by the duo.)

"Then Chidambaram began dictating. Ramesh and he wrote one draft. Then Jaipal Reddy and Chidambaram amended this one.

"Then all four on the drafting committee sat down and worked on this amended draft."

If the clear anti-Congress mandate of the 1996 elections to the 11th Lok Sabha is to be disregarded, if the historic low point of the Congress seats and votes is to be overlooked, and if the very people who drafted 96 per cent of the Congress manifesto are to be allowed to draft the CMP, then what is it except a total mockery of the entire process of democracy ?

We will have more to say about the CMP (Common Minimum Programme) in the remainder of this article.

Let us pick up the thread of the "mandate of the people". Apart from the mendacious lie about "the mandate for coalition", the second great philosophic theme which is being bruited about everywhere is that of "secularism". This is a historic lie and also a current lie.

Let us take history first.

The record of the Congress as well as of the United CPI of pre-1964 days, is one of bloody and filthy support to communalism ! Both Congressmen and Stalinists supported the Partition of India in 1947, which resulted in the death of over 6 lakh innocents and the largest migration known to human history involving 17 million people !

In other words, *sau chuhe khake, billi Haj ko chali !* (After committing 100 dastardly crimes, the cunning hypocrite is proceeding on a purificatory pilgrimage !)

If current events and attitudes are to be considered, let us recollect two chains of events :

* As every Muslim man, woman and child in this country knows, it was Rajiv Gandhi who initially facilitated the Ayodhya Revival Movement. Thereafter, Narasimha Rao connived at or encouraged the destruction of the Babri Masjid. So why are the heroes of the NF-LF-TF and UF trying to rehabilitate the Congress and absolve it of communalism ?

On the other side, let us look at recent Stalinist record. They are supporting the demand for abridgement of Indian sovereignty over Jammu and Kashmir !

On what grounds ?

The demand for autonomy or independence or Pakistani takeover of Kashmir is not a demand for the development of Kashmiri language and culture.

The official language of Kashmir is Urdu and the repositories of Kashmiri culture, the Pandits, have been ethnically cleansed out of Kashmir valley and are now refugees in Jammu and Delhi.

Both Pakistan and Pakistan-controlled Azad Kashmir governments are nonsecular. They are both religious, fundamentalist, polities.

Further, it has been established beyond a shadow of doubt that Pakistan and the ISI are waging a proxy war in Kashmir against India.

Are any three and a half talukas of India entitled to demand autonomy ?

If Kashmir is to enjoy "special status", then why not other States too ?

In other words, the demand for Kashmir autonomy in any form is a non-secular, fundamentalist and communal demand. It is a continuation by the Stalinists of the communal politics they played at British behest in the period 1942-47.

It must not be forgotten that the Communists helped the Britishers to oust the Fazlul Huq government of United Bengal in the forties.

It should not be forgotten that the Communists joined hands

INDIA'S TRANSACTIONS WITH THE WORLD

US \$ Millions

	1960-61	1970-71	1980-81	1985-86	1990-91	1992-93
1. Imports (c.i.f.)	2,323	2,435	15,862	17,298	27,915	23,237
2. Exports (f.o.b.)	1,325	1,890	8,316	9,463	18,477	18,869
3. Trade balance (2 - 1)	-998	-545	-7,546	-7,835	-9,348	-4,368
4. Invisibles						
a) Receipts	546	662	7,449	6,437	7,464	8,255
b) Payments, incl.	372	711	1,998	3,470	7,706	7,413
(i) Interest and Amortization	71	272	357	1,121	2,763	2,412
(ii) Other Payments	301	439	1,641	2,349	4,943	5,061
c) Net (a - b)	174	-49	-5,451	2,967	-242	842
5. Current account (Net) (3 - 4)	-824	-594	-2,095	-4,868	-9,680	-3,526
6. Total Surplus (+) or Deficit (-) incl. Cap. Account	-663	-1,210	-3,338	-2,606	-6,533	-4,197
7. Cumulative Trade Deficit upto the year	-5,479	-14,021	-30,355	-60,061	-87,175	-92,066 ^a
8. Total Ext. Debt upto the year	-	7,935	18,150	48,351	83,959 ^b	89,986 ^b
9. Exchange Rate Rs. to 1 US \$	-	7.279	8.968	12.235	17.943	30.649
10. Debt servicing as per WB Reports	-	521	1,025	3,714	6,382	8,170 ^c

a. Total Ext. Debt at end of Mar. 1995, \$ 99.04 billion, *Econ. Sur.* 1995-96, p. 91.

b. Including Defense Debt. *Ibid.*, p. S-71-2.

c. Cumulative Debt Service Payments as per *WB Reports 1978-1995* : \$ 78.81 bln, *Mankind*, Vol. 1, No. 2 Nov. 95, p. 98.

with the Razakars in Hyderabad, just before the State's merger with India in 1948.

There are many other communal crimes which the Communists have committed and are committing. We need not go into them now.

The demand for J&K autonomy is a non-secular, pro-Pakistani, fundamentalist, communal demand, which basically serves the interests of Anglo-American neo-colonialism and is meant to keep India weak and divided for the benefit of the world's armament industry.

It is not a question of appeasement of Muslims or appeasement of Pakistan, it is a question of appeasement and subservience to Anglo-American aims and objects within the fantastic unipolar world which the G-7 powers have placed on the International agenda.

But the bogie of secularism must be laid at rest. The simple truth is that the United Front government is a government of desperate opportunists who possess neither the electoral mandate, nor the pseudo-philosophic mandate of secularism.

THE COMMON MINIMUM PROGRAMME

We have seen above that the direction of the economic policy of the UF government has been placed in the hands of P. Chidambaram, one of the architects of the "Liberalization,

Privatization and Globalisation" programme launched by Narsimha Rao - Manmohan Singh government from mid-1991 onwards. This programme has brought about the resubjugation of India to foreign domination. The WB, IMF and WTO reign supreme ! The economic transformation of India is to be carried out by MNCs, and TNCs. All technological development is to be initiated by them. There is no plan whether good or bad, whether full of holes, moth-eaten or termite-infested, there is no plan whatsoever for repayment of the current foreign debt of over \$ 100 billion. There is no proposal for the reversal of the Net Aid Outflow of Invisibles. An alarming situation obtains in relation to our transactions with the world economy, as shown in the adjoining table, *India's Transaction With The World*.

It will be obvious that we are in dire straits. We have already paid over \$ 77 billion as debt servicing charges. (Position as at the end of 1995, *World Bank Reports*, 1978-95, summarized in Table V, *Mankind* Vol. 1, No. 2, November 1995, page 98) Though we have already repaid interest and principal to the enormous extent of \$ 77 billion, nevertheless we have currently on external debt liability of over \$ 100 billion !

Under pressure from the lenders, that is, the World Bank, the IMF and the Aid India Consortium, we have devalued our currency by twelve times since August 1947, when the exchange rate was Rs. 3.31 per dollar. The exchange rate is today around Rs. 35 to the dollar (See *ibid.*, page 96)

The devaluations have forced an artificial depression of our currency to less than 1/4th its PPP value. (*World Bank Report 1995, Table 30*)

We may summarize the position as per the *World Bank Reports* themselves (Table 30 in each case, beginning with the 1992 report)

Thus, according to *World Bank* statistics, derived from official data supplied by the *Government of India*, the truthful position is that from 1990 to 1993, the Per Capita Income of an average Indian has declined by 14.3% at the Official Rate of Exchange (OER), At Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) terms, it had gone up by 6%. And between 1990 and 1993, the exchange rate was revised from Rs 17.94 to Rs. 31.37 per dollar, that is, a decline of 57.19%.

This leads to five or six further conclusions.

1) Devaluation of Third World currencies is the preferred mode of super-exploitation of the less developed countries by the advanced Neo-Colonial nations, organized in overlapping memberships of G7, EU, NATO and OECD.

2) Whilst at OER, the Indian Per Capita Income has declined by 1/7th, in reality, at PPP terms, it has gone up by 6%. Thus, the distortion is by over 20%. (Instead of minus 14, Per Capita GDP has moved to plus 6).

3) Indian exports can never keep pace with the National Total Loss, suffered due to successive devaluations. The rupee value per dollar declined from Rs. 18 to Rs. 31, whilst exports went up from \$ 16.61 billion to merely \$ 18.54 billions; a rise of only 5%.

4) In rupee terms, our exports increased from 28,000 to 28,229 crores, and to 54,762 crores, between 1989-90 and 1992-93 (*Economic Survey*, page S-72) But in dollar terms, the exports have stagnated over the last three years. They rose from 16,995 in 1989-90 to 18,477 crores in 1990-91, and then just hovered

around that figure 18,266 crores in 1991-92, and 18,869 crores in 1992-93.

5) In the meantime, our farmers and plantation owners, small and big, have suffered because of the depression in the prices of jute, oilseeds, tea, coffee, rubber, spices, etc., at OER. Everything that we sell, even as manufactured articles, be it ready-made garments or polished diamonds or anything else, they have all become 57% cheaper for the world to buy. Simultaneously, the value of the tourist dollar has jumped up in the same proportion, by 57%, and all the financial institutions who have been allowed to make portfolio investments in Indian stock markets and all the NRI accounts held by banks, have been able to reap a tremendous bonanza, converting their few million dollars, into *arabs* of Indian rupees.

6) Additionally, the Globalization Policy has meant the importation of global prices for Indian consumers ! For instance, during the Narsimha Rao — Man Mohan Singh regime, there were two giant sugar scams. Each of them resulted in the filching by the Congress-*Naukarshah* combine, of hundreds of crores, from the mass of poor Indian consumers. That is not all ! Each time India entered the World Sugar market, the international prices sky-rocketed and India imported hundreds of thousands of tons, at enormously inflated prices; so that sugar under even the PDS, has become costlier for the Indian consumers by three to four times. In the free market, sugar is between Rs. 14 and 15 per kilo !

7) In *Mankind*, Vol 1, No. 8, May 1996, at page 65, we have tabulated the main beneficiaries of the Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization Policy of the Government of Narsimha Rao and Man Mohan Singh. We reproduce below the increase in assets of the 9 principal monopoly houses of the country between 1989-90 and 1994-95.

ASSETS OF THE COMPRADOR CAPITALIST GANG (IN RS. CRORES)

1 Sr. No.	2 Name	6 1989-90	7 1994-95	10 Increase in Assets, in percent of those that lobbied profitably for the new liberalization policy 1989 to 1995
		(Assets in Rs. Crores)		
1.	Tata	8,531	26,711	+313%
2.	Birla	8,473	20,390	+240%
3.	Reliance	3,600	11,529	+320%
4.	J. K. Singhanian	2,139	4,906	+229%
5.	Larsen & Toubro	1,682	4,785	+284%
6.	Thapar	2,177	4,439	+203%
7.	Imp. Tob/ITC/VST	742	3,849	+518%
8.	Mafatlal	1,344	1,837	+316%
9.	ACC	909	1,569	+172%

Sources : Given in *Mankind*, No. 8, May 1996, p 65.

The nine MRTS Houses, named in the above table, are merely the principal beneficiaries, for which latest data has been available. There are several more, which have benefitted from overall Congress Rule over the years; like the Modis who increased their assets by 7,363% in 25 years, from 1966 to 1989-90; like the Bajajs, who multiplied their assets by 3,924%, Hindustan Lever who benefitted by 3,663%, United Breweries of Mallya, who augmented their assets by 3,302%, TVS whose assets went up

by 2,111% and ICI who fattened itself by 1,348% in the same 25 years.

Whilst the above monopoly houses had never had it so good, the masses groaned under the fierce double exploitation of these local sharks and the bigger Multinational and Transnational Corporations like *Coca Cola*, *IBM* (both re-entered India), *Cargill*, *Pepsi* and innumerable other owners of international brand names.

Thus, did the Common Minimum Programme of the United

Front Government, as drafted by P. Chidambaram and J. Ramesh, who with M. S. Ahluwalia, and other miscellaneous rascals still in power, address itself to any of the serious problems posed in the foregoing paragraphs ?

On the contrary, the horrible Reforms Package of the Congress is being carried forward. Now the Insurance Sector is going to be opened up, which even the Congress had dared not attempt in the face of the opposition by the Public Sector Employees' Unions.

Sick PSUs, meaning those Public Sector Units which have been made sick by the pro-*Naukarshahi* and Anti-People macro-economic policies of the successive Congress Governments, are to be "restructured", and as soon as possible, "privatized by disinvestment" in favour of "Workers Co-operatives" and "Professional Groups".

Who are these professional groups ? Groups of professional stock-brokers ? Groups of IIM graduates acting as *benami* holders for MNCs and TNCs ? What exactly are these professional groups ? Doctors ? Lawyers ? Accountants ? Architects ? A mixture of all such ?

This is how Vinod Mehta's *Outlook* of June 1996 has summed up the Highlights of United Front's Minimum Programme :

1. Insurance sector to be opened up.
2. Fiscal deficit to be pegged at 4% of GDP.
3. Investment in infra-structure to be upped to 6% of GDP.
4. Restructuring and even privatisation of PSUs.
5. Revamp of FIPB.
6. Industrial growth at 12%
7. Sarkaria Commission's recommendations to be imple-

mented.

8. Affluent sections to be left out of PDS.

9. A third of government jobs to be reserved for women.

10. Agriculture reforms.

11. Disinvestment Commission to be set up.

12. Abolition of poverty, total literacy, and shelter for all by 2005.

13. Setting up of a Tariff Commission.

14. Bills on judicial reforms, freedom of information and electoral reforms.

What does this blah, blah, blah mean ?

As a part of the global economy, are we going to accept the dictates of the *Trimurti* of WB, IMF and WTO ?

Are we going to be subservient to the dictates of G7, NATO EU and OECD ? What is going to be our Official Exchange Rate (OER), in relation to its Purchasing Power Parity (PPP) ?

Will the OER be determined by Parliament, or by the officials of the Finance Ministry ? What will be the international price of the unique things that India produces; like spices, fibres, beverages, oilseeds, pharmaceuticals, dyes, gums, lac, and so on ?

Under the section Industry, the CMP reads as follows :

"The country cannot do without foreign investment. The nation needs and has the capacity to absorb at least \$ 10 billion a year as foreign direct investment.

'Suitable credit and taxation policies will be devised to ensure that the bulk of new investments, both domestic and foreign will be channelled into the core and infrastructure structures. Entry of multinational companies into low priority areas will be discouraged through suitable fiscal and other measures." (*The United Front* —

A Common Approach To Major Policy Matters And A Minimum Programme, PIB Handout, p.11)

But what is the definition of *core* and *infrastructure* sectors and *priority* areas ? Nothing has been said about their nature. This in effect means that the *naukarshahi* will define from day to day and case by case what is going to be "*core, infrastructure and priority*".

Secondly, those who have entered already are to remain. **They can expand to any extent, enter into any collaboration arrangements, spin off subsidiaries, and sell them off to new comers and so on. Therefore, any new arrangement which is merely prospective, can be retrospectively subverted !**

Thirdly, matters of state guarantees and compromised sovereignty have not been addressed. If market forces are to determine India's economic future, why are state guarantees being sought ? Let the MNCs and TNCs take whatever risks they want to take and invest millions or billions on their own responsibility relying upon the market. Why should state agencies guarantee offtake of power ? Let Enron sell as much power as it generates to the people at whatever rate the people are willing to pay. **The people should have a right to form other companies that generate and sell power to them at lower rates.**

In the matter of sovereign rights of the nation, there can be no compromise. No arbitrations can take place in London, in Washington or any place else. **All legal proceedings of whatever nature, must always take place within the Indian legal frame work and in India.** Only traitors can allow Enron proceedings to be carried on outside India.

Any Indian can file a suit in the Supreme Court invalidating the entire Enron contract or atleast that part of it which envisages

and implements a surrender of sovereignty on the part of the then Congress government at the Centre. **No government, for the time being in power, has the right to barter away chunks of Indian sovereignty.** The whole Enron agreement is vitiated by this supreme element which transgresses the fundamental nature of Indian sovereignty and which is, therefore, *ab initio ultra vires*

The truth of the matter is

that no CMP can be formulated by P.Chidambaram, Jairam Ramesh, or anyone else who has been compromised by the bankrupt Congress programme of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization, which programme itself was a euphemism for the Structural Adjustment Programmes of the IMF and WB !

What is the sense of continuing the Congress programme by a non-Congress government? Why did the people vote against the Congress in the 1996 elections to the Lok Sabha when the basic Congress programme was to be continued?

Why are we bothered about the quantum of investment, that the world bourgeoisie may or may not be willing to make in India? What does it matter whether \$ 10 billion can be absorbed by India or not? Why 10 billion, 100 billion will be invested by the world bourgeoisie, if it is profitable for them. But, what is profitable for them, may not be advantageous to the Indian masses! **Are we going to give priority to the claims of the Indian masses or to those of the World Capitalists?**

The entire CMP programme reveals that nothing is going to change in the relationship between the local Comprador-*Naukarshahi* bourgeoisie and the world bourgeoisie. Those that

COMMON MINIMUM PROGRAMME OF THE UF GOVERNMENT

The entire CMP programme reveals that nothing is going to change in the relationship between the local Comprador-*Naukarshahi* bourgeoisie and the world bourgeoisie. Those that were in power in the Narsimha Rao-Manmohan Singh Government, continue to remain in power in the UF Government. **As a matter of fact, if Congress policies of Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation are to be pursued, why is it necessary to have a UF Government to do so?**

were in power in the Narsimha Rao-Manmohan Singh Government, continue to remain in power in the UF Government. **As a matter of fact, if Congress policies of Liberalization, Privatization and Globalization are to be pursued, why is it necessary to have a UF Government to do so?**

If imports are not to be restricted to the total quantum of exports plus invisible outgo, why is it necessary to change government?

What is the sense of having a Disinvestment Commission or a Tariff Commission, when under our constitutional dispensation, all Commissions can only make recommendations, which may or may not be implemented by our Executive, or which may be modified by the Executive in any manner it likes.

Unless and until a new Constituent Assembly is seized of the matter, what is the sense of making bogus promises to the people?

The Sarkaria Commission Report is a silly document which certifies that the present constitutional arrangement as valid, and needs no major modification, in order to realize the aspirations of the masses. Just because the Congress government of the last ten years did not implement the worthless recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission, such silly recommendations do not become valid or useful!

SARKARIA COMMISSION RECOMMENDATIONS

The Sarkaria Commission was constituted by the Government of India on 9th June 1983. It was set up to review the existing relations between the Central and the State governments and recommend appropriate changes. The Commission published its report in 1987. Its main recommendations were : 1) Taxation matters should remain under the Central govt. Other matters should be placed in the Concurrent List; 2) The Governors' appointments should be in consultation with the State govt.; 3) Article 356 for imposing President's rule should be used sparingly by the Centre; 4) The All India Services should continue as the premier administrative organs to maintain the unity of the country; 5) the net proceeds of Corporation Tax may be made sharable by the State; the Union govt. should give its consent freely to the States to borrow from financial institutions for periods less than one year; 6) reasonable decentralisation in the day-to-day operations of Radio and TV.

On the whole, the Commission takes the view that the Indian Constitution has worked reasonably well in the area of Centre-State relations.

If on the whole the Indian Constitution has worked well, where was the need to appoint the Commission and seek its idiotic recommendations ?

If in taxation matters, things are to be left in the Concurrent List, where in case of every conflict the Central Law is to prevail, where is the need to have a Concurrent List at all? After all, any State Legislature is *ipso facto* entitled to pass any law which is totally invalid or which is completely superseded by Central Law!

If in taxation matters the present situation is to continue, then how are State governments to get empowered and raise resources for their own developmental plans ?

If the All India Services & the framework of *naukarshahs* & *naukaranis* is to remain, how is Corruption to be curbed and how is accountability for Project Cost and Time Overruns to be established ?

Who is to decide about the reasonableness or otherwise, of whatever decentralisation measures in relation to Radio and TV that are undertaken by the present regime of *naukarshahs* and *naukaranis* ? We have already nailed the hypocritical lies of the present Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49, which is a joke,

a travesty and a farce, we reproduce alongside the "Powerless Parliamentarians" box, which originally appeared on page 18 of Vol.1, No.9, of June'96.

Our Constitution provides for and enshrines executive irresponsibility. The peculiarity of our Colonial tradition is that:

This is the fundamental distinction between the legal system of Great Britain and that of its colony, like India:

"Now there are two provisions of Mr. Macaulay's code :

"Nothing is an offence which is done, by a person who is, or in good faith believes himself to be, commanded by law to do it."

"Now that establishes an irresponsibility, for what is done contrary to law, on what ground! Simply that the person who violates the law, in good faith believes he is acting according to law. It is monstrous. I think it does not require any comment.

"The second proposition in Mr. Macaulay's code is : **Nothing is an offence which is done by a person in the exercise, to the best of his judgement exerted in good faith, of any power given to him by law.**

"I confess I do not quite see in what is the operation of that distinct from the former exception, but it is a principle unknown to and utterly at variance with English law, it establishes an irresponsibility upon the part of all persons having powers of any kind by law, and places them in a State of irresponsibility, notwithstanding a breach of the law; and that merely on the ground of supposing that they were doing right and that there was no malice towards the persons whom they have injured.

"That is a monstrous principle".

(Drummond's Speech on the Government of India, June 7, 1858, quoted by B.D. Basu, *Rise of Christian Power in India*, 1931, p.805, and reproduced in *Mankind*, Vol.1 No.9, June 1996, page 18)

The result of this colonial principle of bureaucratic assumption of power on the grounds that the *naukarshah* or *naukarani* concerned thought that he/she had such power and acted in good faith, meaning, to his/her own satisfaction, to exercise the power that he or she assumed to possess.

IT IS A MOST MONSTROUS PRINCIPLE, the like of which only the fascist governments of Mussolini and Hitler had assumed and known !

The reason why our bureaucracy is drunk with power, is because the *naukarshah* or *naukarani* cannot be removed and cannot be punished. Thousands of cases of abuse and corruption occur everyday, involving from a few rupees to hundreds of crores. An over-elaborate system of safeguards and intricate procedures has been laid down for protection of those in service, and an indefinite number of procedural and substantial avenues of appeals and judicial reviews have been prescribed. It takes years and years to conclude the simplest case of corruption and accountability against the common citizen, the common bureaucrat defends himself entirely at State expense and simply wears down the seeker of justice by dragging on the legal case indefinitely.

That is why we maintain, that for providing the smallest real relief to the citizen, it is necessary to rewrite the Indian Constitution.

I am sure that *Mankind's* attitude and approach would appear drastic to the common man who has been brain-washed by years of Congress- *naukarshahi* propaganda, but the fact of the matter is that unless the common man presses for and obtains drastic remedial measures, there will be no qualitative change in the ground reality, in the horror that India has become, in the total anarchy and breakdown in law & order that prevails in the country.

How can any Congress-man or *naukarshah-naukarani* pretend that there is any law and order in the country, where no

sensible citizen can ever dream of sending his young daughter to a police station ?

Consider the number of firings upon the people that have taken place in the 525 districts of India from 1947 to the present. Let us consider the number of dead only. *Mankind* is morally certain that the number of dead in police firing over the last 50 years would not be less than a million, which means just 40 per year per district, each district having a population of about 20 lakhs. Let some scholar, emulating Lohia's protege, Indumati Kelkar, sit down and compile a report district, by district, from the archival material available, from the local newspapers and from the collector's office.

Consider the matter of Rapes and Custodial Deaths! **The Indian State has been fighting a veritable civil war with the Indian people**, right from the beginning, that is, from Sept. 3 1946, when the *Chirkoot* Jawahar Nehru became Vice-Chairman of the Viceroy's Executive Council. It is Nehru who carried forward in their entirety the Raj traditions of oppressive and exploitative rules, with the assistance of the Great *naukarshahs*. Girija Shankar Bajpai, V.P. Menon, H.M. Patel, and several hundred such scoundrels.

On the whole, the Sarkaria Commission's deliberations and conclusions are the exact opposite of any policy of decentralization and Panchayati Raj. The only concession that it makes is about mere *consultation* with State governments in the matter of appointment of Governors ! That apart, it wants (1) taxation matters to be placed in the Concurrent List, where the Central laws prevail; (2) retention of Article 356; (3) continuance of the steel frame of All-India Services; (4) restrictions on borrowings by states from financial institutions to just one year, and (5) decentralization of Akashvani and Doordarshan only to a "reasonable extent" as determined from time to time by the Centre.

It is our *naukarshahi* culture which makes us feel that the recommendations of the Sarkaria Commission were either relevant or sensible.

MEDIA CIRCUS !

The New Delhi based media persons are having a whale of a time.

First of all, there were the two confidence motions fully televised and watched by crores across the sub-continent.

I do not think that our Parliamentarians behaved at all badly except of course the Speaker, P.A. Sangma, who brought down the dignity of the proceedings by his constant jeering interventions.

However, Sangma was in the tradition of Congress Speakers who have right from 1947 hectored to MPs and very nearly nullified the rights of debate on all sorts of obnoxious and spurious grounds like : "national security, oath of secrecy, matter being State subject, subjudice, or defamatory in implications"

In spite of the Speaker's provocations, and constant goadings, I believe our Parliamentarians did very well in restraining themselves.

In our comprador culture, there is a great deal of weight attached to hypocritical forms and manners, and none at all to matters of substance and true morality. That is why, the Speakers of the Lok Sabha are getting away with sheer murder ! Let us

hope that very soon these odd characters, invariably from the Congress party, will be swept into the dustbin of history.

As a matter of fact the public interest aroused by two Parliamentary confidence votes suggests that Doordarshan should have a permanent Parliamentary Channel televising from both the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha, apart from the Question Hour, all the important debates relating to the budget as well as to all other motions of substance. It would be very good education for our people and it will restrain our *naukarshahs*.

Apart from the debates on the two votes of confidence, the rise and fall of the 13-day BJP ministry and the ushering in of a multi-party coalition has spread jubilation among media circles. All the journalists will be very happy as they have multiple sources from which they can get all sorts of juicy tit-bits and leakages. Secondly, they can brow-beat and blackmail not only the Congress elements, now reduced to 135 and split into atleast 6 factions (Rao, Pawar, Friends of Congress (T), Friends of Tamil Maanil Congress, Friends of Madhav Rao Scindia's MPVP, and

Miscellaneous Riff-raff piloted by Rajesh Pilot and Gang), but also BJP and Allies who have just fallen from power, but who hope to come back to power with a clear majority in the not distant future.

However, these gossipy stories which pass for high level journalism in our country are really of no consequence whatsoever. What does it matter whether X has been nominated by this man, or Y has been kept out by that man ?

First of all, all ministers have insignificant power as compared to the *naukarshahs* and *naukaranis*, unless they

enter into corrupt and criminal partnerships. All of them are nominees of various provincial warlords, like Chandrababu Naidu, M. Karunanidhi, G.K. Moopanar, Prafulla Mohanta, etc.

Secondly, they are at the mercy of the Congress party, which fears an immediate election, but in 2 or 3 years time, after the *naukarshahs* have embroiled the inexperienced and divided UF ministers in shameful compromises and shady deals, it will be time for the Congress party to pull the rug from under the UF government.

Finally, our Dominion Status Constitution of 1946-49, is heavily tilted in favour of the Executive, therefore no minister has any real power to give a new direction to the Indian economy or polity.

Therefore, the media persons who are regaling us with all sorts of inconsequential trivialities and who will make money hand over fist in these "turbulent times", blackmailing and cadging in every way and in every direction, these members of the so-called Fourth Estate, are without principles and direction ! They are clueless themselves and cannot provide any useful orientation to the intelligent and the concerned.

VOLATILITY OF POLITICAL FORMATIONS

It is difficult to compile even simple statistics in India. There are so many splinter groups, especially in Kerala, but also elsewhere, and there are so many shifting alliances that it is difficult to give a complete statistical picture from day to day.

The BSP of Kanshiram has now allied himself with the

THE SARKARIA COMMISSION

On the whole, the Sarkaria Commission's deliberations and conclusions are the exact opposite of any policy of decentralization and Panchayati Raj. The only concession that it makes is about mere *consultation* with State governments in the matter of appointment of Governors ! That apart, it wants (1) taxation matters to be placed in the Concurrent List, where the Central laws prevail; (2) retention of Article 356; (3) continuance of the steel frame of All-India Services; (4) restrictions on borrowings by states from financial institutions to just one year, and (5) decentralization of Akashvani and Doordarshan only to a "reasonable extent" as determined from time to time by the Centre. •

Congress for the coming U.P. Assembly elections, which have to take place by Sept. 1996.

Kanshiram was himself elected to the Lok Sabha from Punjab, but six of his parties eleven MPs were elected from UP and just a little while ago he had been allied with the BJP to form his party's first government in the country under the leadership of Mayavati. Prior to that he had been allied with Mulayam Singh's Samajvadi party. In the recent double confidence vote in the Lok Sabha, Kanshiram's BSP declared itself against both the BJP and the UF.

Similarly, the Samata Party, of Nitesh Kumar & George Fernandes, was a part of Janata Dal in Bihar, till they broke away a year ago and began to call themselves the Samata Party. They lost so badly in 1995 Assembly Elections in Bihar, that Nitesh Kumar actually contemplated suicide. Out of such desperation, they made an electoral alliance with BJP, which was not respected by the BJP in Harayana where the BJP alliance was with Bansilal's HVP.

Madhavrao Scindia's MPVP of two MPs and Bangarappa's KCP with just one MP, are also highly volatile and labile political forces. We give herein below in tabular form the main political affiliations and fronts of the 11th Lok Sabha. Opinions may differ amongst political observers with regards to the exact affiliation of some of the smaller parties that we have listed under the UF or in the last coloum of "Volatile Forces".

Rightist Forces In Opposition	United Front, An Opportunistic Alliance, Of Which			Volatile Forces
	Rightists	Centrists	Leftists	
163 BJP	* 139 INC	45 JD [●]	* 33 CPI (M)	11 BSP
15 SS	* 2 IUML	20 TMC [●]	17 (SP) [●]	6 IND
8 Samata	* 1 JMM	17 DMK [●]	12 CPI [●]	
8 SAD		16 TDP [●]	* 5 RSP	
3 HVP		5 AGP [●]	* 3 FB	
		4 INC (T) ⁺		
		2 MPVC		
		1 MGP ⁺		
		* 1 KEC (Mani)		
		* 1 KCP (Bngp.)		
		* 1 ASD		
		* 1 UDGP		
		* 1 SDF		
		* 1 MIM		
197	142	116	68	17
	326 (Total 540)			

* Supporting the Deve Gowda ministry from outside.

● MC - Cabinet Minister

+ Minister of State

Memo Item : Deve Gowda himself, and 2 others (Ramoowalia, Cabinet rank and Alagh, Minister of State) are yet to be elected to the Lok Sabha. Ministry, as of 6.7.96 has been reshuffled twice already in 35 days.

REGIONAL FACTORS

A number of analyses have appeared about the caste-wise, community-wise and region-wise break up of the UF ministry. All these analyses are puerile and futile. A man may hail from a particular caste or community, and serve the interest of any other

section of the population (See elaborate pie chart and bar charts on pp 61 of *India Today*, June 30, 1996)

For instance, Sikander Bakht has been a loyal member of the BJP for a long time and even became a Foreign Minister of the party for 13 days.

There used to be a Mondal representing the Muslim League in the old days.

There are innumerable OBCs who work hand in glove with the upper castes, as Kanshi Ram has demonstrated in his pre-election alliance with the upper caste Jats of the Shiromani Akali Dal in Punjab, and by his latest alliance with the Congress for the forthcoming UP Assembly polls. He also fielded upper caste candidates in the 1996 polls.

Ideology is the crucial criteria.

Possibly it is the total absence of ideological confrontations in the Indian political scene which induces political pundits and journalists to make much of communal, caste and regional differentiation.

Let us take the example of the pre-eminent dynastic family of India.

One of Jawahar's ancestors was a *chaprasi* in the irrigation department in old pre-British and Maratha/Pendhari India. This is how probably his surname Nehru is derived (from *nahar* or canal attendant). But this attendant must have hailed from a high-caste Kashmiri Pandit family. This high-born little man had a son who became a country pleader in a mofussil court. This was Motilal's father. Motilal became a junior with an eminent Muslim lawyer Amir Ali, and by dint of perseverance and ability, became prosperous, shifting his residence from the fringes of the red light district to Anand Bhawan in Allahabad. Motilal became so rich, that he was able to educate his son Jawahar in England from secondary school itself. (Primary was by imported private masters at home). This son was a briefless barrister and even contemplated becoming a full-time paid worker of the Congress Party (See Nehru's *Autobiography* for his account of how Motilal, who had given up legal practice under Gandhi's exhortations, and had become relatively indigent, persuaded Jawahar to give up the idea.) Jawahar married a Kaul and by that time both the Nehrus and the Kauls had become enmeshed with the British Indian bureaucracy, several Nehrus and Kauls being ICS officers and army men.

Whilst Jawahar married a proper Pandit, his sister married a Maharashtrian Brahmin, and another sister married a Gujrati Jain textile magnate.

Jawahar had only one daughter who married a Parsi. Indira had two sons, one of whom married a Sikh, and the other an Italian. So genealogically to which caste, community and region does the Nehru family belong? They are rooted as Kashmiri Pandit Brahmins, later settled successively in Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. They have affiliations with Muslims, Parsis, Jains and Sikhs.

There is no way of identifying them except ideologically. They have all grown up and flourished as typical comprador bourgeois affiliates. Canal attendant, country pleader recognized by mofussil courts, provincial lawyer, civil servants, army officers, Parsi and Jain merchants, and so on. They had it good under imperialist rule, and continued to prosper under comprador rule, of which they themselves formed the core elements.

As with the Nehru-Kauls, so with all the members of the comprador class in India. Almost every rich and middle class family has affiliations across communal, regional and even national boundaries. Much fewer members of the elite cross the high caste to low caste barrier. But that also happens, especially when the lower castes are themselves upwardly mobile. The Marathas, the

Mahars, the Yadavs, the Reddys, the Vokkaligas, the Dalit Christians, the Muslim Sayyads and Sheikhs and innumerable other OBCs and Scheduled Castes have made the caste barriers, mere osmotic zones ! Not completely, but in an increasingly large measure. Genealogy and regional birth are no longer indicators of ideological positions.

CONTENTIOUS ISSUES

The wiseacres and the pundits amongst our corps of elite journalists based in Delhi, are constantly bringing up and sinking contentious issues. Consider the kind of tables which they present. Take for example, the table worked out on page 38, *India Today*, June 15, 1996 :

Issues of Contention

	Left	UF Govt	Cong.
Economic Issues			
1. Limited access for MNCs	✓	✓	x
2. MNCs in banking and Insurance	x	x	?
3. Tough stand in WTO/GATT	✓	✓	x
4. PSU disinvestment	x	?	✓
5. Expanding PDS	✓	✓	x
6. Extending land reforms	✓	?	x
7. Tariffs on consumer imports	Raise	Raise	Lower
Social Issues			
1. Reservations in private sector	x	✓	x
2. Over 50 per cent reservations in jobs and education	x	✓	x
Political Issues			
1. Kashmir solution	Autonomy before poll	Dialogue before poll	Assembly poll before autonomy talks
2. Financial devolution to states	✓	✓	?
3. Amending Art, 356 to stop misuse	✓	✓	x
4. Reviving inter-state council	✓	✓	?
Administrative Issues			
1. Replacing governors	✓	?	x
2. Transferring key officials	✓	?	x
3. Actively prosecuting top political leaders	✓	?	x
Foreign Affairs			
1. Ending 'pro US tilt'	✓	?	x

✓ Yes x No ? May be

(Source : *India Today*, June 15, 1996, pp 38)

What is the meaning of this elaborate presentation ? Does it make any sense ? To mark a square as "x" "may be" is either a confession of intellectual bankruptcy by the great man who made up the table, or it is a hypocritical camouflage which protects the

Congress party or some other vested interest and is mere propaganda.

Consider number 2 amongst economic Issues - MNCs In Banking and Insurance. Already the Common Minimum Programme of the UF Government has opened up the insurance sector. Banking had previously been opened by the Congress. Therefore the placement of "?" in the last vertical column is a lie as far as banking is concerned ! Further, Chidambaram had argued that, in order to secure high levels of foreign investments of upto \$ 10 billion annually, India has to open up the insurance sector to foreign companies and giant pension funds. Thus, it is a falsehood to state that the Left and the UF Govt are opposed to MNCs in the banking and insurance sectors ! That is, unless *India Today* wants to maintain the silly position that the UF Government and the Left Front is opposed to its own CMP !

Let us next consider the question of PSU disinvestment, for which *India Today* has placed a "?" under the column UF government. But the CMP has clearly provided for a Disinvestment Commission ! So what is the "may be" about it ?

Next let us consider under Political Issues, the first one of Kashmir. All the three alternatives (autonomy before poll, dialogue before poll, poll before autonomy talks) are completely besides the point and provide NO SOLUTION AT ALL.

Whether you have a poll before autonomy, or a dialogue before a poll, the Kashmir Assembly is itself a bogus thing. A majority of its population is living in Jammu and it is not allowed to elect a majority of Assembly members, which is the privilege of the Muslim minority living in Kashmir valley that has been ethnically cleansed.

Therefore, the J&K Constitution has to be altered before a fair and free Assembly poll can be held there.

This also raises the question of Special Status for Kashmir, whether as it existed before 1953 or as it obtains today. In any event, the Special Status is an anomaly in the Indian Constitution, which must be corrected and all the states of the Indian Union must be placed at par.

The essence of the matter is that the proxy war being fought by Pakistan in Kashmir, has to be brought to an end and urgent measures should be taken to liberate Azad Kashmir from Pakistani clutches.

In the matter of Financial Devolution to States under the column for Congress, a "?" has been placed. This is not only nonsense but mischevious hypocrisy. The Congress position regarding devolution of financial powers to the state has been unambiguous. The Congress has never accepted any idea of devolution at all, and even the wretched Sarkaria Commission of 1987 has not suggested any devolution of powers ! At the most it has recommended more liberal allocations ! But not powers !! Similarly, why should the Congress position be ambiguous regarding Revival of Inter-State Council ? In fact and in practice the Congress has not revived it, therefore what is the "maybe" about it ?

Similarly, in the matter of "Administrative Issues : (3) Actively Prosecuting Top Political Leaders", in a matter of hours after taking office, Deve Gowda allowed the CBI to appeal against the Delhi High Court *diktat* to amend the FIR in the matter of bribery of JMM MPs, to include Narsimha Rao in the chargesheet. Deve Gowda did this in order to accommodate his friend Narasimha Rao, the ex-PM. The Supreme Court threw out the CBI appeal and a new FIR had to be filed by the agency mentioning Narsimha Rao in the new chargesheet. So why has a "?" been placed in the UF column against item 3 ? The UF Govt does not want to prosecute political leaders, who are upholding the UF Govt itself. There is no ambiguity or "maybe" about it. They do not want to chop down the

very branch on which they are sitting.

What is the use of wasting reams and reams of paper, expensive art paper that takes coloured inks at that, in printing endless interviews by the new PM and his team members ?

NOTHING IS GOING TO CHANGE. THE PARLIAMENT IS POWERLESS. THE PEOPLE'S REFERENDUM HAS ALREADY BEEN SUBVERTED AND BETRAYED. A DESPICABLE OPPORTUNIST ALLIANCE CALLED UNITED FRONT HAS MANOUEVERED ITSELF INTO POWER, WHICH WILL RESPECT CONTINUITY OF GOVT. COMMITMENTS AND WILL IN ESSENCE CONTINUE THE ECONOMIC POLICIES OF THE PRECEDING CONGRESS GOVT. IN FACT, NOT H.D. DEVE GOWDA BUT P. CHIDAMBARAM IS THE SYMBOL OF U.F. GOVERNMENT AND ITS HIDEOUS, SCARRED, COMPROMISED VISAGE !

CONCLUSION

The 1996 mandate of the people was emphatically one of REMOVAL OF CONGRESS FROM POWER !

It is a travesty of democracy to form in the post election period, a United Front Government with Congress Party support and with P. Chidambaram as Finance Minister !

CHIDAMBARAM WAS AN ARCHITECT OF THE LIBERALISATION POLICY OF LAST FIVE YEARS WHICH THE PEOPLE VOTED AGAINST.

IT IS A BETRAYAL OF THE PEOPLE TO REINTRODUCE THE LIBERALISATION POLICY AS THE COMMON MINIMUM PROGRAMME !

CHIDAMBARAM MUST BE FORCED OUT OF POWER !

LET THE CONGRESS CO-OPERATE IN THE PASSAGE OF NECESSARY CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT IN ORGANISING A RUN-OFF ELECTION, WHERE A CANDIDATE WHO HAS NOT SECURED A CLEAR MAJORITY! IN ALL SUCH CONSTITUENCIES, LET THE TWO HIGHEST VOTE-CATCHERS RUN AGAINST EACH OTHER IN A SECOND ROUND!

THIS IS THE ONLY DEMOCRATIC WAY OUT OF THE PRESENT IMPASSE OF A HUNG PARLIAMENT!

The BJP is bound to fall in line if the UF can persuade or brow-beat the Congress into an acceptance of this small change in the Representation of People Act. Perhaps such a change will require no consitutional amendment.

This could become the normal electoral process in the country. A Runoff Second Poll would automatically follow, everytime the first poll has not resulted in a winning candidate with over 50% of the votes.

This will automatically result in a reduction of political parties and a drastic cut in the line-up of "dummy candidates" No one with a prospect of standing fourth or below will think off contesting, especially if the security deposit is simultaneously raised to Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 10,000.

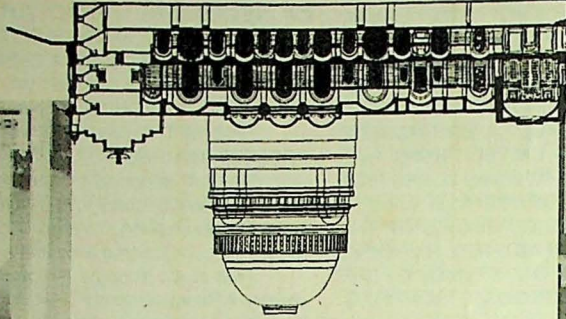
The menace of the hung Parliament will disappear completely. Between the First Poll and Second.Runoff Poll, necessary coalitions will emerge with clear cut common programmes and the people will be able to decide. The present constitutional provisions of "first past the post" suit the candidates of the comprador Congress and the wretched *naukarshahs*, who thrive in an atmosphere of uncertainty and ambiguity.

MR. NEHRU'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION IN INDIA.

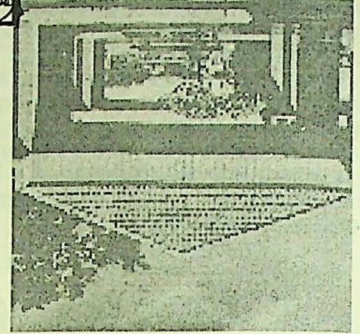
Allahabad Dec. 25 : Prime Minister Nehru declared here today that universities in India had become the forum and fighting grounds for party politics and said that if such things were to continue, it was better that the universities remained closed. Mr. Nehru said that after 14 or 15 years of age there should be a selection and only intelligent students should be allowed to go to the universities.

Mr. Nehru said that while people in other countries were taking a keen interest in India's march to progress and prosperity considerable sections of Indian youth had not yet understood what was happening in the country — *Indian Express*, Dec. 26, 1959.

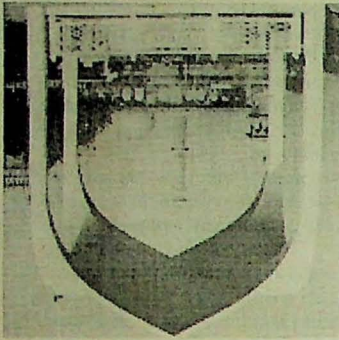
Vicregal Palace or Rashtrapati Bhavan, Delhi



Gandhi Ashram Ahmedabad



Azad Memorial Delhi



ULTA-ZAMANA OR DISJOINTED TIMES

NEO-COLONIALISM, THE
SUCKING DRY OF THE
THIRD WORLD

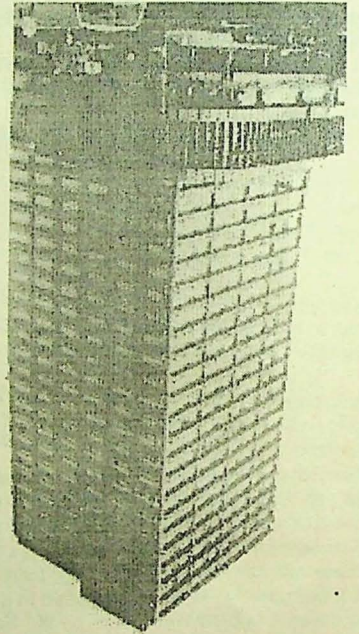
Enron : The Struggle Against
Neo-Colonial Encroachment On
India

Dr. Sulabha Brahme
Dr. Sharayu Mhatre

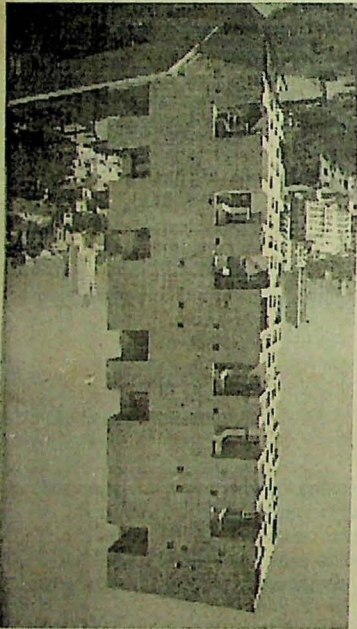
Neo-Colonialism In The Arts

Dr. Vinayak Purohit

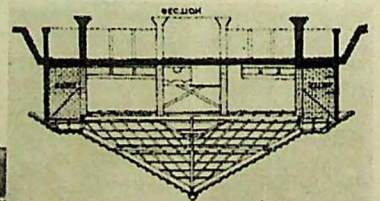
Express Towers Bombay



Kanchan Jungtha Apts. Bombay



Mother and Child Centre, W.Bengal



Secretariat Chandigarh



ENRON : THE STRUGGLE AGAINST NEO-COLONIAL ENCROACHMENT ON INDIA

Dr. Sulabha Brahme
Dr. Sharayu Mhatre

The Dabhol project by the American multinational Enron is being erected at Anjanvel in Ratnagiri district in the Konkan region of Maharashtra state. 650 hectares of land from five villages in the area have been acquired for this project. A thermal electricity generation plant with a capacity of 2015 megawatts is planned in two stages; with a total investment of Rs. 9200 crores. Dabhol Power Company (DPC) is going to execute this project. Three American multinationals are collaborating in DPC, viz. Enron Corporation (80%) of capital investment Bechtel Enterprises Inc. (10%) and General Electric Corporation (10%).

The DPC and the Maharashtra State Electricity Board (MSEB) are the two parties to the Power Purchase Agreement (PPA) which is of 20 years duration. This agreement was a confidential document till the Congress lost in the State assembly elections in 1995.

Under this agreement the MSEB is required to purchase 90% of generated electricity from the DPC. The actual production is to start from 1997. There is provision for enhancing the power tariff to accommodate increases in the exchange rate of the dollar as well as inflation. The MSEB is required to pay for the power purchased from the DPC within a fortnight. The State government has guaranteed to pay the DPC if the MSEB fails to pay. Further, there is a counter-guarantee by the Central Government in case the State

government is unable to pay. Any arbitration in case of a dispute

GROWTH OF INDIGENOUS ELECTRIC POWER GENERATION AFTER 1947

After 1947, the Indian government gave investment in electrical power generation a high priority in the five year plans. Central Electricity Authority to prepare a national policy and development plan for the power sector was created. Eighteen electricity boards at the states level and thirteen electricity departments were set up. These were followed up by a National Thermal Power Corporation in 1974, a National Hydel Power Corporation in 1975 and the Nuclear Power Corporation in 1987. To manufacture indigenous machinery needed for power generation a public sector undertaking, Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd. (BHEL) was established. BHEL successfully reduced our dependence on imports in this area. By 1975, 86 percent of the equipment needed for new power generation in the fifth plan period (1975-80) was provided by BHEL.

All these measures enabled India to make a big leap in the area of electricity generation. Our installed power generating capacity was only 2500 megawatts in 1947. It reached 77000 megawatts in 1993-94. This jump in electrical power generation was the basis of a relatively self-reliant growth of Indian economy. Out of our current power generating capacity, 66.5 per cent is with the State Electricity Boards, 29.6 per cent is with the Central Undertakings and only 3.9 percent is in the hands of the private sector. 70 percent of our electricity generation is thermal and 26.6 percent is hydro-electric. This power infrastructure has made possible supply of electricity to our industrial, irrigational and domestic sectors at affordable rates.

between the DPC and the Indian parties will not be under the jurisdiction of any

Indian court, but will take place in London.

The New Economic Policy of globalisation, privatisation and liberalisation adopted by the Indian government under pressure from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation has made possible the entry of Enron Corporation in India. This policy opens the Indian market to the multinationals, foreign capital and technology.

If we look at the situation in respect of electric power generation over the last fifty years, it will become clear that the present propaganda which seeks to make our national power generating infrastructure appear inadequate, is misleading.

After 1947, the Indian government gave investment in electrical power generation a high priority in the five year plans. Central Electricity Authority to prepare a national policy and development plan for the power sector was created.

Eighteen electricity boards at the states level and thirteen electricity departments were set up. These were followed up by a National Thermal Power Corporation in 1974, a National Hydel Power Corporation in 1975 and the Nuclear Power Corporation in 1987. To manufacture indigenous machinery needed for power generation a public sector undertaking, Bharat Heavy Electricals Ltd. (BHEL) was established. BHEL successfully reduced our dependence on imports in this area. By 1975, 86 percent of the equipment needed for new power generation in the fifth plan period (1975-80) was provided by BHEL.

All these measures enabled India to make a big leap in the area of electricity generation. Our installed power generating capacity was only 2500 megawatts in 1947. It reached 77000 megawatts in 1993-94. This jump in electrical power generation was the basis of a relatively self-reliant growth of Indian economy. Out of our current power generating capacity, 66.5 per cent is with the State Electricity Boards, 29.6 per cent is with the Central Undertakings and only 3.9 percent is in the hands of the private sector. 70 percent of our electricity generation is thermal and 26.6 percent is hydro-electric. This power infrastructure has made possible

supply of electricity to our industrial, irrigational and domestic sectors at affordable rates.

In 1974, the international prices of petrol and diesel increased four times. As a consequence, the demand in Euro-America of power-generating equipment went down from 76,000 megawatt capacity in 1974 to 15,000 megawatt in 1983. This, in turn, led the multinationals (MNCs) turn to third world markets for selling their equipment. The American government and these MNCs offered "concessional rates of interest" if India imported this equipment.

The technology and the equipment that these companies wished to dispose of began to be forced upon India. The Indian government capitulated under this pressure. The development of our national power generating capacity began to be neglected.

From 1981, the International Monetary Fund forced India to increase imports and the devaluation of the Indian rupee meant escalation in the capital cost of imported electric power generating equipment. This cost was 74 lakhs per megawatt capacity in 1975-79 and rose to 332 lakhs in 1990-95.

The New Economic Policy adopted by the Indian government in 1991 has meant a neglect of indigenous development under Five Year Plans. Instead of making a more efficient use of available electric power, encouraging domestic sources and machinery to produce power more economically and minimising imports, the

Indian government began to adopt policies which favoured foreign companies. In order to justify these measures favouring the foreign companies to the detriment of national self-reliance, a misleading propaganda began projecting a severe power shortage if the entry of the MNCs was not encouraged.

THE NEW POWER POLICY AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The new power policy was announced on Oct. 22, 1991 permitting private companies to erect electric power generating plants. The state electricity boards and these companies were to enter into Power Purchase Agreements (PPA). Foreign companies were offered additional incentives as shown in Table 1. These agreements began to come into effect after negotiations with the then Central government without calling for seal tenders. Huge profits without any accompanying risks and guaranteed sale of power generated, were built into these agreements. The Indian government has made no effort to study the long-term consequences of these agreements which are of 20 years duration. Five state electricity board — Maharashtra, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa and Tamil nadu — have entered into agreements with foreign companies and many more are being negotiated. The following table shows the comparative figures of seven such projects.

Table 1 : Seven Projects in collaboration with Multinational Companies

Company	State	Fast Track Capacity (Megawatts)	Fuel	Capital Cost (Rs. crores)	Est. Capital cost of Indian Alternative (Rs. crores)	Foreign Exchange Outflow in 20 Years Period of Agreement (Rs. crores)
S. T. Power	Tamil Nadu	250	Coal	1127	782	6242
Hinduja	Andhra Pradesh	2 x 500	Coal	5817	3130	24970
Enron	Maharashtra	2015	Imported Liquified Gas	9053	6246	31199 - Phase I 59255 - Phase II
Spectrum	Andhra Pradesh	208	Gas	748	634	5073
Cogenfrix	Karnataka	2 x 500	Coal	5088	3130	24970
G. V. K.	Andhra Pradesh	235	Gas	859	716	5732
A. E. S.	Orissa	2 x 210	Coal	2026	1314	10478

* Estimated forex outflow at 1995 rupee dollar exchange rate

Source : *Current Power Policies : A Critique*, National Working Group on Power Sector, New Delhi, 1994

Table 2 : India's National Loss Due to Seven MNC Collaborations

	Andhra Pradesh	Maharashtra	Karnataka	Orissa	Tamil Nadu
Current Tariff (94-95) (Paise / kilowatt hour)	123	174	113	111	125
Rate under MNC Project	306	311	296	314	296
Consequent Loss to Electricity Boards (1994-95, Rs. Crores)	1461.21	616.13	940.15	416.06	222.67
Total Units Sold by Electricity Boards (Crore units) (94-95)	2492.8	3947.2	1641.5	1086.0	2592.8
Units to be supplied by the MNCs (crores) (94-95)	799.4	450.7	514.0	205.3	130.1

* For Enron, the loss shown covers only the first phase. It will increase after the second phase.

Source : same as above

The foreign companies inflated their capital costs because they did not have to submit competitive tenders and their profits were guaranteed. Table 2 shows that on an average these MNC-collaboration projects costs are one and a half times the indigenous ones. If equipment provided by BHEL is used, the project cost would go down by 25 to 40 per cent. The higher capital cost would make the electricity generated by them more than double the current Indian rate. The 5000 megawatts generated by them will mean that the state electricity boards suffer a loss of Rs. 6000 crores which will be passed on as increased power tariff to consumers. This will adversely affect small consumers in agriculture and small industries, and the self-employed as well as the poorer sections of the population. Lakhs of houses will be plunged in darkness and industrial and agricultural commodities will become more expensive. This will accelerate the inflationary cycle and a burden of nearly Rs. 1 lakh, 68 thousand crores of foreign exchange will be imposed on India due to the imports of machinery, fuel, technical expertise by the MNCs. In order to meet the scarcity of foreign exchange, India will have to export essential commodities like rice, sugar, cotton and minerals at throw away prices and which will cause further price rise within the country.

Against all these heavy losses to the national economy, our power generating capacity will increase by only 6.5 per cent.

Because of the lack of demand for its equipment, an indigenous public sector enterprise like BHEL will become unviable.

Once the MNCs establish their stranglehold over our electric power generation system, in order to enhance their profits, they will try to increase power tariffs to match 'international' levels. This will take electric power out of the reach of a majority of consumers, farmers and entrepreneurs. That is why the Indian people must launch a concerted and sustained struggle against Enron and the other MNCs and subject their projects in India to a very close scrutiny.

Globalisation means conquering the Indian market, increasing the power tariffs and liquidating indigenous companies like BHEL.

Scarcity of capital is advanced as a justification for this policy of globalisation. But as we shall see this is a misleading claim.

The Indian government wants the state electricity boards to spend Rs. 6000 crores per year to buy 5000 megawatts power from these foreign companies. How are the state governments and the state electricity boards going to raise this money? Where will the foreign exchange resources to meet this liability, come from?

It will be a much lesser burden to raise resources nationally by levying 15/20 percent surcharge on the existing power tariff.

Our present problems in the field of power generation and distribution can be solved by a more efficient management of the state electricity boards which will prevent wastage and pilferage of electricity. The invitation to foreign companies will not only not

solve the current problems but will cause serious harm to our national economy. If the state electricity boards are given half the concessions being given to the MNCs, we can raise enough capital resources nationally. Use of indigenous fuel and machinery and a more efficient operation of the public sector enterprises will mean a self-reliant development. But for this, every Indian must insist on an open debate, right of information and transparency in negotiating projects.

AN ALTERNATIVE POWER POLICY : AN OUTLINE

An alternative power policy must carefully examine whether increasing production is the only way to make electricity available for our growing needs. Secondly, is it necessary to depend on only coal and gas as the fuels for generating more electricity? Many experts and researchers have demonstrated that it is possible to augment the supply of electricity economically and without adding to environmental pollution through improvement in end-use efficiency.

When the international prices of petroleum products registered a steep rise in 1974, the developed countries began to save electricity by using more efficient

equipment. They encouraged R&D in the use of renewable sources of electric power generation, e.g. solar and wind power. In America, Japan and many countries of Europe, it is mandatory to place before the government committees and the consumers, the alternatives used to save electricity and how they were enforced before determining the power tariff.

Profs. Michael Porter and Pankaj Ghemavat of the Harvard Business School have made a study of the power sector in India. They have come to the conclusion that India already has an adequate power generating capacity. Out of this only one third is being used at present and the rest is not being utilized for various reasons. The developed countries have managed to stay ahead in economic development by adopting more efficient ways of using available electricity.

India has a power generating capacity of 75,000 megawatts out of which only 25,000 megawatts is brought into use at present. India must see that the existing power generating plants work more efficiently. Investment in new power projects would be a waste of valuable foreign exchange resource.

Use of Electricity in the Agricultural Sector : Power tariff is charged on the horse-power of the irrigation pump sets instead of charging it by the meter. This leads to an enormous waste of electric power and a loss in the revenue of the electricity board. In

ENRON, BECHTEL AND GENERAL ELECTRIC - HISTORY OF FRAUD, CORRUPTION AND POLITICAL MACHINATIONS

In 1992, Enron had to pay a fine of 20,000 dollars for not disclosing fully the money it had given to the election funds in U.S.A.

In 1985, two former managers of the General Electric Corporation were imprisoned for giving bribes in Puerto Rico to get a power generation project contract. In 1985, a manager of General Electric had to pay a fine of \$ 8 lakhs for defrauding the American Defence Department. In the same year, they were forced to refund \$ 16 crore and 80 lakh for making excessive profits in a contract with the American Air Force. Thus this company is more or less continuously embroiled in cases of fraud, corruption and excessive profiteering.

The political manoeuvres of the Bechtel Company are well-documented in a book entitled : *Friends in High Places : The Bechtel Story- The Most Secret Corporation and How It Engineered the World*. The Bechtel founder's son befriended a Saudi Arabian prince to get a huge pipeline contract. The head of the American Atomic Energy Commission was a former employee of Bechtel who used his political connections to win contracts for executing nuclear projects. The same man became the head of the CIA and Bechtel made it a regular business of supplying information from all over the world to the CIA and use the CIA-supplied facts to get contracts in different countries.

Given this background of corrupt and political manoeuvres within their own country, one can only imagine the activities of these corporations in a third world country like India- From : " Enron : The Power To Do It All ", *Indranet*. Vol-3, Nos. 2-4, 1994

1991-92, 840 crore kilowatt hours or 24.3 per cent electricity, was used for agriculture but the share of this sector in the total power tariff collected was only 3 per cent. Agriculturists using irrigation pumps throughout the year and those who use them only for one season pay the same power tariff. There is scope for a more efficient use of power in this sector by charging for use of electrical power by the meter.

Domestic Consumption : Use of neon tubes and fluorescent lamps must be propagated by the state electricity board. A compact fluorescent light saves consumption of electricity by 75 percent as compared to a bulb.

Industrial Consumption : A more efficient working of the motors, compressors and transformers in industries and use of capacitors would make possible a 20 percent saving of electricity in this sector.

There is a wastage of 15 percent in transmission and distribution of electricity. It is possible to reduce these losses through a variety of efficiency improvement measures. By energy audit, pilferage in the distribution of energy can be checked.

About 2000 megawatt electricity can be saved if a five year programme for streamlining the utilization of electricity in agriculture, domestic and industrial sectors is implemented. The active involvement of the consumers in all these sectors must be ensured in this programme. These improvements are possible with less than 25 per cent of the expenditure on the Enron project.

Generation of Additional

Electricity : India has ample coal resources. There is scope for more thermal electric generation centres using coal. In Maharashtra, the sugar and other industries have the capacity to produce 1000 megawatt electricity as a co-generation using steam which is a by-product. This co-generation is possible with a very small investment and a few improvements.

To meet the peak time demand for electricity (usually between 6 p.m. to 10 p.m.), the hydro-electric source is the most suitable as it can be switched on and off as and when needed. India has the resources to generate 90,000 megawatts of hydro-electric power. Of this, only 21 per cent is being harnessed at present.

The creation of decentralised small Hydro electric power generating projects which do not displace large populations is another alternative for which there is a great scope in the Konkan region.

The crucial factors in any decision to start new power generation projects have to be minimisation of cost, preference for equipment, technology and fuel available within the country, least possible foreign exchange expenditure, safety and control of environmental pollution.

It is now widely accepted that the sun, wind and water are permanent sources of electrical power generation. But their availability depends on the time and the season. With technological advance, it is possible to combine these permanent natural sources with the use of coal, oil and biogas. It is necessary to initiate further research & development work in the use of these sources with active involvement of the people. If the resources being diverted

for the greater profits of foreign companies like Enron are used for alternative planning of indigenous resources, we can bring about self-reliant, permanent and people-oriented development.

Maharashtra has installed capacity of 10,682 megawatts with the planned increase in this capacity from M.S.E.B, the Centre and private projects (excluding Enron). The installed capacity is expected to be 16,347 megawatts by the year 2002. . If used in an efficient and planned manner, this will be enough to meet the needs of the state.

ENRON : NEO-COLONIAL ONSLAUGHT ON INDIA

As a follow-up of the Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation programme pro-claimed by the Congress government led by P.V. Narsimha Rao in July 1991, the 1948 Act relating to electric power supply was amended to favour the entry of foreign companies in this area. 52 sites were identified as suitable for new power generating projects. In May-June 1992, an Indian delegation travelled to many European countries and to America inviting foreign companies to start electric power generating plants in India. A high level committee of bureaucrats was appointed to see that these foreign collaboration projects were completed speedily and no obstacles were placed in their way.

The present site chosen for the Enron project was not one of the 52 sites selected for the new projects. But the Enron delegation which reached Delhi on 15th June 1992 signed an Memorandum of Understanding with Maharashtra

State Electricity Board on 20th June, 1994 to produce 2000 megawatts of electricity after a two-day tour of Maharashtra State. The liquefied gas for this project was to be imported from the Middle East.

This agreement which was signed in such a hurry raises some important questions

1) Why did Enron not accept any one of the nine power projects under the jurisdiction of the Central government which had planned to use gas as fuel ?

2) When gas imports were not within the central government's policy, how did the State and MSEB agree to a project using gas as fuel ?

3) What will be the impact of annual gas imported worth Rs. 700-800 crores for the next 25 to 30 years on our national economy ?

4) About 20 other foreign companies were negotiating with the Indian government at the same time as Enron. Were any inquiries made with them ?

5) When MSEB is producing electricity at Rs. 1.20 per units, why did it agree to buy electricity at Rs. 2.40 from Enron ? Will the farmers have to buy power at higher rates ?

The state government evaded these questions put to it during the July 1994 assembly session and declared that the agreement with Enron was confidential.

The Dabhol Power Company has violated the provisions of the 1948 Electricity (Supply) Act governing generation of electric power by not giving complete information about the project in the published notification. It also did not have to wait for the stipulated

IMPACT OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY ON ELECTRIC POWER GENERATION IN INDIA

As a follow-up of the Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation programme proclaimed by the Congress government led by P.V. Narsimha Rao in July 1991, the 1948 Act relating to electric power supply was amended to favour the entry of foreign companies in this area. 52 sites were identified as suitable for new power generating projects. In May-June 1992, an Indian delegation travelled to many European countries and to America inviting foreign companies to start electric power generating plants in India. A high level committee of bureaucrats was appointed to see that these foreign collaboration projects were completed speedily and no obstacles were placed in their way.

period of 60 days to get the consent of the Central Electricity Authority. Any disputes arising out of this agreement will not be subject to the jurisdiction of any Indian court but will be arbitrated in London.

The MSEB is the best functioning electricity board in the country. It is providing low-cost electricity at a small profit to the entire state. The demand for electricity is fluctuating. Between 10 p.m. to 6 a.m., there is least demand for electric power. Between 6 a.m. to 6 p.m. most of the power plants have to work to meet the demand. The peak time demand between 6 to 10 p.m. is met by working all the thermal plants and drawing on the hydel power.

The MSEB cannot utilise its full capacity except during the peak demand period. But it will have to buy electricity from the Dabhol Power Company (DPC) on a 24-hour basis throughout the year. The MSEB will have to use this expensive electricity supplied by the DPC and shut down its thermal power plants during night. This will mean huge losses for the MSEB.

The Enron deal is part of the New Economic Policy which India has accepted (the so-called Dunkel Draft) under pressure from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organisation. Under this agreement, underdeveloped countries are being forced to open their economies to foreign companies, and end the protection given to national industries and agriculture and discontinue all subsidies.

In order to facilitate these new economic policies, suitable changes were made in our laws governing power generation and distribution. As a result of these changes, the profitable power generating activity will be in the hands of the multinationals.

THE AGITATION AGAINST ENRON

The people of Konkan region have launched struggles against the development of harmful chemical industries in the region. These industries have displaced large number of local farmers by acquiring their lands. The capital intensive industries ruin agriculture and fisheries.

The agitation against the copper-smelting Sterlite factory near Ratnagiri and the anti-Enron agitation called for a joint demonstration on 27th April 1994. The state government was alarmed because any mobilisation against the Enron project would have exposed the serious lapses on the part of the State government in entering into this deal.

An Anti-Enron Conference was organised on 5th June 1994 in which workers from MSEB, State government, banks, insurance, state transport as well as local agriculturists, fishermen and traders who were part of the Konkan Sangharsha Samiti, participated. Anti-Enron Committees were formed in all areas affected by the project and conferences, posters campaigns and exhibitions, distribution of leaflets giving information about the Enron deal, were undertaken to launch a co-ordinated struggle in urban centres like Bombay, Pune and Kolhapur, and the local population in Guhagar taluka of Ratnagiri district was deeply stirred. There was enthusiastic response to these campaigns.

Between 28th October and 10th November 1994, men and women from Katalwadi village actively resisted the official efforts to take possession of their lands. They were arrested and all meetings and demonstrations were banned in the area. But the struggle continued. In January 1995, *dhamas* were organised outside Maharashtra Assembly in Bombay and outside the collector's office in smaller centres. Between 11th to 18th January 1995, a week long poster exhibition to highlight the struggle against Enron was organised.

On March 6th 1995, the Enron Virodhi Sangharsh Samiti (The Committee for Struggle Against Enron) organised a public meeting at Guhagar, to demand the expulsion of Enron.

In the assembly elections, the people of Konkan registered their protest by voting against the Sharad Pawar-led Congress government in the state. The ruling Congress party suffered one of its worst electoral defeats in Maharashtra.

The Shiv Sena-BJP coalition which came to power after the elections had made the expulsion of Enron an important plank of its election manifesto. The deputy Chief Minister Gopinath Munde had given this assurance at one of the anti-Enron rallies that he addressed before the elections. But within a short period of coming to power, this coalition had completely reversed its earlier position and re-negotiated the deal with Enron.

But the people of Konkan who are directly affected by the Enron project are committed to a continuation of their struggle. They have the support of other sections of the working people who are affected by the New Economic Policy. They have been successful in driving out the acid-rain-spewing Sterlite project from the area and are confident that they can banish Enron.

From March 1995, the work at the Enron site was resumed with great speed. Local agriculture, horticulture and forests were bulldozed and the emerald plains of Anjanvel began to look like a desolate desert of red dust. There was a renewed wave of anger amongst the local population affected by this project. They organised demonstrations at Katalwadi from 24th April to 1st May 1995, demanding expulsion of Enron. In spite of the ban imposed by the State Government on all meetings and dissemination of literature and information! On 12th and 13th May, about 500 project affected people forced the 2000 labourers at Enron site to stop work. 400 protestors were arrested and jailed for 15 days. The company sought to start the work again under government protection. But the threat of renewed agitation has led to a stoppage of activity from August 8, 1995. The Deputy Chief Minister, Gopinath Munde, attempted to hold a meeting at Guhagar but was firmly repulsed by the villagers.

The next step would be to link these struggles against the foreign multinationals into a country-wide, coordinated attack on the policy of Globalisation, Privatisation and Liberalisation which will spell disaster for the working masses of India. Every citizen of India who is concerned about the long-term, self-reliant, future development of the country must join and sustain this fight against this neo-colonial aggression.

In six villages near Guhagar, for the Hindustan Oman Petroleum Company, the state government is forcibly trying to acquire, 2000 acres of land. The struggle against this takeover is being organised. In January-February 1996, there were big demonstrations against this project to stop the land acquisition. The state government has reacted by imposing a ban on meetings and arresting the leaders of the agitating local population. The agitation against Enron and the Hindustan Oman Petroleum Company are getting forged into a common struggle against the aggression of foreign multinationals. Activists from other parts of India who are involved in resistance to similar projects in their own regions are also participating in the fight against Enron and other multinationals in the Konkan region.

[Dr. Sulabha Brahme is an economist and a convenor of the ENRON Virodhi Sangharsh Samiti.

Dr. Sharayu Mhatre is the Assistant Editor of Mankind.

For further information and support to Anti-Enron Movement, kindly contact Dr. Sulabha Brahme, Convenor, Enron Virodhi Sangharsha Samiti, Law College Road, Pune 411 004].

NEO-COLONIALISM IN THE ARTS

Vinayak Purohit

A little thought will convince the reader that neo-colonialism has taken five principal forms in the modern world of art.

1. The theft of concepts, ideas, themes, forms, designs and compositions from the Third World without acknowledgement or permission or licence or gratitude. Just simple arrogant racist theft and plunder.

2. The loot of objects of art themselves, in order to display imperial power and wealth. The British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, the various ethnological collections in Vienna, Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam, Madrid, Lisbon, etc. These grand displays of imperial power were all designed to entice the local European populations into believing that their country enjoyed world power status, and that they should themselves serve loyally their own mighty ruling classes.

It may also be emphasized that this loot of Colonial Art has not ceased with the recent political liberation of Latin American peoples from 1815-35 onwards, of Asian peoples from 1940s, and of Sub-Saharan African peoples from the 1960s. Only the outward form of the loot has changed. It now takes the form of clandestine theft, antique smuggling and auction house sales. Often comprador rulers from the developing countries are invited to sanctify the imperial loot. In 1987, Rajiv Gandhi was easily persuaded to open a new Jawaharlal Nehru wing of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, to display 7000 objects of Classical Indian Art, inclusive of recent acquisitions from the subcontinent via the the smuggling route. There is no end to imperial chicanery, especially by the Anglo-American hypocritical elite.

Even when the theft is discovered it takes years and years for the art object to be restored, as was exemplified by the case

of the Natraja stolen by the Norton Simon Foundation of California, U.S.A.

Let me add that I have personally visited the Somnathpur, Halebid and Belviti trio of Hoysala temples, three times in the last 55 years (1952, 1973 and 1994). Each time more and more elements were missing from the magnificently carved friezes encrusting the temples (so much so that these temples may be considered as "heaps of sculptures", rather than architectural edifices).

As for the guards of the Archaeological Survey of India, the question is the same age old one "who will guard the guards and prevent them from accepting bribes" ?

I have even photographic evidence of some of the thefts, for instance, in the mid-1950s, the *Illustrated Weekly of India* (Times Group publication from Bombay) published some of my Somnathpur photographs. Let the ASI send their staff photographer to take comparative shots like those that I have from the 1973 and 1994 repeat visits. The missing pieces can

MODERN WESTERN ART IS THE LOOTED WEALTH OF FORMER COLONIES

Modern Western Art represents the looted wealth of the former colonies, the appropriated art styles of the conquered people of the Third World, without any acknowledgement, without any sense of shame or guilt, without any feeling of gratitude, just as though it was the European or American artists' right to take up any idea, theme or concept from the cultures of Pre-Columbian America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia or Oceania and to distort, adopt and misappropriate the same in any way that the "imperial racial genius" pleased.

be easily identified !

3. The racist and finance capitalist arrogance is observed and transmuted into works of literature and art, by their own countrymen. For instance, Rudyard Kipling received a Nobel Prize in 1907, for

idiotically simple poetry and prose, now called "Children's Literature," written in the service of the British Empire.

In the same way, Ruskin Bond writes from the imperialist view point a novella entirely worthless, about the 1857-60 events, trivializing them by focussing upon some young Pathan's yen for a white girl which is made into a comprador film by Shashi Kapoor ("Junoon") ! When this flop film was attacked by film critics for trivialization of history and projection of a pro-British viewpoint, the Bollywood masala film was defended on the grounds that Ruskin Bond has become a naturalized Indian citizen and as such deserves our sympathetic understanding. But can a hyena change its stripes, just because it is roaming about in Mussoorie and not Manchester ?

Similarly, Laurie Baker's mud houses which please the affluent Indian middle-classes, who have gone fancy rustic and exotic folksy, are not really related to the Indian environment, meteorological or cultural. Baker's mud houses are simply absurd, involve heavy maintenance costs, and merely con the gullible. It is not so easy to become indigenized. And supposing the difficult task is accomplished, still how does it improve matters ? From the obverse of an alien neo-colonialist, you merely flip to the reverse compradorist ! What's the difference ?

4. The creation of Macaulayan horrors of brain-washed rootless hybrids, who speak the language of imperialism, in relation to their own countrymen. Take the case of the Parsi *dalal*, Firdaus Kanga, who writes in the *London Times*, that the BBC representative Mark Tully's book *No Full Stops in India*, is "shameful," and that British imperialism did not deindustrialise, ruralise, and pauperise India, but actually conferred several priceless boons upon us !

5. But, the fifth mode of expression of neo-colonialism is the most wonderful. It directly and brutally exploits the native artists and appropriates their work shamelessly. Stephen Cox, who did not know how to handle Indian granite, appropriates the work of Ganapati Sthapati and his colleagues, of Mahabalipuram, and sells them in Europe, after affixing his own signature upon them, and even dares to exhibit them in India, as his own work, in a grand gesture of nonchalance and effrontery. (See report on Cox's exhibition. *The Indian Decade*, at Jamali - Kamali Park near Qutub Minar, Delhi. reported in *Times of India*, 28.4.96)

In short, Modern Western Art represents the looted wealth of the former colonies, the appropriated art styles of the conquered people of the Third World, without any acknowledgement, without any sense of shame or guilt, without any feeling of gratitude, just as though it was the European or American artists' right to take up any idea, theme or concept from the cultures of Pre-Columbian America, Sub-Saharan Africa, Asia or Oceania and to distort, adopt and misappropriate the same in any way that the "imperial racial genius" pleased.

The case of derivation of *Impressionism* from the packing material used for imports from the Orient, in mid-19th century, is too well-known to need much elaboration. The Japanese *Ukiyo-e* artists were well-known for their landscapes in bold startling colours and for their fleeting glimpses of the floating world of geishas in Tokyo. Artists like Whistler and Degas became collectors of these Japanese prints and thereby *Impressionism* was launched.

The bold colour contrasts of the *Fauves*, of the later *Nabis* and members of the *Bleu Reiter* School, are proximately derived from the masters of the *Ukiyo-e*, Hiroshige (1797-1858); *Hokusai* (1760-1849) and several others! For instance, the four Utagawas (Kunisada 1786-1864, Kuniyoshi 1797-1861, Toyohiro, Hiroshige's teacher, 1774-1829, and Toyokumi 1769-1825); Hishikawa 1618-94; Horonobu 1795-70; Okumura (1686-1764/68); etc.

At the same time as the Paris artists were discovering the Japanese masters of *Ukiyo-e*, and revolutionising their own art, in London the great British Empire Exhibition of 1851 was revolutionising European art through the conduit of Indian sculpture and dancing. Within another decade the Archaeological Survey of India came into being (1862).

At the same time, enormous quantities of marvellous Chinese porcelain and pottery began to arrive in Europe. In fact, the Japanese prints, which were used as packing materials, very often came with Chinese porcelain, and with Coromandel Screens, and such other exotic and artistic products of the East.

Between 1600 and 1765, and then again from 1765 to 1860, trade between India and Europe underwent a double transformation.

In the first period, imports from India had to be severely restricted, since there was nothing that Europe could send in return, which would be acceptable to India. Indian manufactures were so superior in quality and so low in price, that England, the leading trading power, had to impose a protective tariff against Indian goods, ranging from 70 to 400 percent, *ad valorem*. (See R.C. Dutt, *Economic History of India*, Vol. 1, *Early British Rule*, 1901, pp. 45-46)

As George Forster noted in his *Travels*, nothing was acceptable to Indians in exchange, except gold and silver, which flowed into India in immense quantities. (In fact, Europe could not find the treasure to trade with India, till it had looted the Latin Americans and genocidally disposed them off, in the 16th century.

Spanish and Portuguese treasure fleets returning from the Caribbean were in turn preyed upon by the Dutch, the English and the French, who thus, acquired the cash with which to pay for Indian and Indo-Chinese imports.) The loss of bullion was so heavy and unrelenting, that it raised a hurricane of protests against the EICo. in England.

All in all, between 1600 and 1765, the Indian trade of all the East India Companies, the Dutch, the English and the French, had to be very carefully, if not severely restricted.

Once the tables had been turned politically in India, and the Diwani or revenue collection rights of the Subahs of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Northern Sircars had been acquired in 1765, and the surplus from land revenue could be applied to purchase of Indian goods to be exported out (called "investments"), goods began to flow out in a torrent in the form of unrequited exports to Europe.

The flow of art products from India grew by leaps and bounds. (Here, by exports from India, we also mean goods of Chinese and Indonesian origin, which by a triangulation of trade became available to Europe.)

At the same time, between mid-18th and mid-19th centuries, the first Industrial Revolution became established in Britain. This in turn made imports of certain common articles of commerce, like textiles, dyes, chemicals, explosives, etc. unnecessary. European goods now undercut Indian manufactures.

So that, more and more Oriental imports were imitated by European manufacturers (e.g. Paisley shawls), and only purely luxury items of consumption remained to be increasingly imported.

By the middle of the 19th century, a consolidation of political conquests was taking place all over Asia, particularly, in India. Thus, a new factor entered into international trade. This new factor, was that of display of imperial arrogance and wealth through the looted Indian art treasures, and to ostentatious display of this loot to overawe the culturally and backward but militarily victorious home populations, and to demoralise potential trading rivals, with the might of the British Empire.

Thus, the British Empire Exhibition of 1851 and the Archaeological Survey of India of 1862 were made to subserve needs of Imperial Propaganda. These had an exact parallel in the Universal Expositions of Paris. Both these series of exhibitions vied with each other in proclaiming the wealth of each Empire. The numbers of enslaved populations, the pomp of their colonial masters and the quick fortunes made by the white adventurers in the colonies, all these became matters of national pride and international rivalry.

All the great arts of the East arrived in the flood-tide in Europe, particularly from 1860 onwards. Japanese prints; Chinese porcelain; Coromandel Screens; T'ang dynasty and *Ukiyo-e*, landscapes; Indian stone sculptures, bronzes, miniature paintings, gems and jewellery, carpets and metalwork; Oriental ivory and sandalwood carvings, jade and leatherwork, hundreds upon thousands of magnificent and rare examples of craftsmanship and

USE OF ART OBJECTS FROM COLONIES FOR IMPERIAL PROPAGANDA

The British Empire Exhibition of 1851 and the Archaeological Survey of India of 1862 were made to subserve needs of Imperial Propaganda. These had an exact parallel in the Universal Expositions of Paris. Both these series of exhibitions vied with each other in proclaiming the wealth of each Empire. The numbers of enslaved populations, the pomp of their colonial masters and the quick fortunes made by the white adventurers in the colonies, all these became matters of national pride and international rivalry.

All the great arts of the East arrived in the flood-tide in Europe, particularly from 1860 onwards. Japanese prints; Chinese porcelain; Coromandel Screens; T'ang dynasty and *Ukiyo-e*, landscapes; Indian stone sculptures, bronzes, miniature paintings, gems and jewellery, carpets and metalwork; Oriental ivory and sandalwood carvings, jade and leatherwork, hundreds upon thousands of magnificent and rare examples of craftsmanship and dexterity were loaded in thousands of ships bound for Europe.

dexterity were loaded in thousands of ships bound for Europe.

Originally, there were stupid philistines like James Mill and John Ruskin of England, who thought that there was no art in Asia, Africa and the Americas. But this cut no ice with Continental artists and intellectuals, who had immediately perceived that these were greater works of art, than those that they were used to seeing in their own academic salons. Therefore, the more sensitive amongst the European artistic fraternity immediately embraced the superior works of non-European art.

All the art styles of Renaissance, Mannerism, Baroque, Neo-Classicism and Romanticism were thrown into the cauldron, were partly discarded, partly modified, overwhelmingly copied and aped. This was what happened to European art in mid-19th century!

We have to re-write the History of European Art from the anti-imperialist point of view, from the viewpoint of the Third World !

STEPHEN COX AS A SHAMELESS NEO-COLONIALIST PREDATOR

Stephen Cox is a classic example of an imperialist horror. His method is simple, crude and cruelly exploitative. He sends drawings from abroad. Indian master sculptors execute the work, since Cox, at first, could not handle Indian granite at all. Even after two or three years, he was unable to master it. After receiving the "unfinished" work from India, Cox merely gives one or two finishing touches, including his own chiselled signature and palms off the work to European buyers at an enormous profit.

The astounding art banditry by Stephen Cox has been described in meticulous detail by Mark Tully in the second chapter, "The New Colonialism" of his book *No Full Stops in India*, 1991.

We have space for only a few excerpts :

"I came across a remarkable example of cultural imperialism through cultural exchange. It was the catalogue of the sculptures by the English artist Stephen Cox exhibited at the Delhi Triennale in 1986. Cox had spent some months in Mahabalipuram working with Indian temple sculptors.

"Cox had gone to Mahabalipuram to learn about the culture of its sculptors and had then allowed that culture to influence his work. In Mahabalipuram, however, that was not the accepted view of what had actually happened. Ganapathi Stapati was the principal of the College of Architecture and Sculpture, and it was to him that Cox had turned for guidance. Stapati comes from a long line of *shilpis*, who are both architects and sculptors. His father was the first principal of the college in Mahabalipuram, and Stapati succeeded him. He had recently retired and was living in a small house on the main street of Mahabalipuram.

"I asked Stapati how much Stephen Cox had learnt of this ancient culture, and was somewhat taken aback when the mild-mannered sculptor replied, **'He never learnt anything from me.** I used to talk to him about spiritual things and sculpture, but he would say to me, 'When I am with you I experience what you mean; as soon as I leave the room I lose it. What can I do? That is my culture.' It is my opinion that he did zero here."

"What do you think of the work he did while he was in

Mahabalipuram?

"He still has people working for him here. **He is very commercial. He hasn't understood my craftsmen, my people.** We are real creative artists. He is doing mechanical work; he is not moved; he is not aroused.

"Stephen Cox never made the attempt to learn,' Stapati replied. 'He never questioned or asked my people. There are people who have learnt Carnatic music — they study for years. In that way sculptors could learn too. The British Council should send me one boy of fifteen or sixteen and leave him with me for six years. I will make him a master sculptor. **Stephen Cox could not even work in our granite.** He needed two or three years' continuous work to master it. He couldn't do that, so we gave him people to work for him. **He could only put some finishing touches to the work.**

"There were pictures in the Triennial catalogue of five sculptures representing the Indian concept of *tanmatras*, or the five senses. They were oval plaques of granite: one had nothing but a nose carved on it, another just had two eyes, a third a mouth, two ears protruded from a fourth, and a fifth plaque had just three lines - the marking of a devotee of the god Shiva. The ovals symbolize one of the Hindu creation legends.

"I (Mark Tully) went to see V. Arunachalam, the young Indian sculptor who had worked with Stephen Cox and was indeed still working for him.

"He showed me with considerable pride photos of the statues he had carved for Stephen Cox. There were also several larger sculptures lying outside the palm-thatched hut which was the studio. He pointed to one and said, 'You see that one like a large peanut - that is the son of Shiva. It will go in a set of the holy family - Shiva, his wife and family. You may not understand it, but I have come to like it.'

"Another flat piece of granite had one breast carved on it. Arunachalam went on. 'This will be *Ardhanareshwara* that is, the traditional Hindu figure which is half Shiva and half Parvati, his wife.'

"But do you understand the way Stephen Cox handles these Indian themes?"

"Arunachalam said, 'As I see it, he is doing mixed Indian and European art. **He uses the titles from Indian themes. I once asked him what a sculpture he was working on meant. He said, 'I don't know. I just do it.'** In traditional art you

have to know what you are doing.

"Arunachalam had shipped three containers full of sculptures to Stephen Cox in the previous year. 'Stephen sends me the drawings and I carve them. He puts the finishing touches to them,' he explained.

"I asked him about Stapati's allegation that Cox couldn't carve granite. He replied, 'I don't think it's necessary to do rough work.'

"I said to Cox, 'You object to my describing your studio in Mahabalipuram as an example of modern colonialism, but it seems to me you are doing exactly what the colonialists did : you are using cheap labour and raw material, finishing it yourself and selling it at a large profit.

"I wouldn't say it was colonialism," Cox replied, 'I'd say it's

COMPRADOR COMPLICITY IN IMPERIAL LOOT

The Indian comprador class is so cowardly, that it has not even raised the demand for the return of the looted art treasures from Britain.

As for the India Office Library, Britain has played Pakistan against India, and not one document, manuscript, painting, coin, artwork or book, out of the thousands held at ransom, by the arrogant white scoundrels ruling in London, has been returned to India for the last half century. (or to Pakistan !)

Thousands of works of art weighing tons have been smuggled out of India over the last many decades, and are continuously being drained out of the country, even today.

sound economics. I came here with a brief to carve for three months, but having been able to set up a system of working, it seemed a terrible waste to let it go.' Then he laughed and said, 'Actually it's not that sound economics. It costs me a lot to come here and a lot to ship the work, and I also pay my workers more and look after them better than others do in Mahabalipuram.'" (Mark Tully, *No Full Stops in India*, 1991, pp. 58-60 and 62-65)

This extraordinarily brash and vulgar Englishman is holding right now an exhibition titled *An Indian Decade*, at Jamali Kamali Garden near the Qutub Minar, Delhi. Enormously large sculptures have been put up in the show, some 20 meters long and 15 wide. Another is a Shivalingam made up of a thousand *lingams* and several hundreds of pestles. All the rough work being done by the Indians and the finishing touches being applied by the neo-colonialists (For an serio-comic description of this art show see 'Art Is A Surrogate For Religion', *Times of India*, 28.4.96.)

COMPRADOR COMPLICITY IN IMPERIAL LOOT

The Indian comprador class is so cowardly, that it has not even raised the demand for the return of the looted art treasures from Britain.

As for the India Office Library, Britain has played Pakistan against India, and not one document, manuscript, painting, coin, artwork or book, out of the thousands held at ransom, by the arrogant white scoundrels ruling in London, has been returned to India for the last half century. (or to Pakistan !)

Thousands of works of art weighing tons have been smuggled out of India over the last many decades, and are continuously being drained out of the country, even today.

I had a strange personal experience, in this connection.' About five years ago, a degenerate lumpen comprador gang headed by an NRI and a local ad agency money-bag had attempted to take over the Asiatic Society of Bombay, hawk its treasures abroad and turn the society into an elite club for dining, wining and dancing. The Society's premises in one wing of the Town Hall had a very fine wooden flooring, and some of the rich *dalals* and brokers living in South Bombay were very anxious to seize the intellectual properties of the Society, for lending to the upstart *nouveau riche* and their heirs a background of respectability.

Despite appearances to the contrary, I succeeded in my aim. **The art treasures in the possession of the Society, could not be taken out of India. The degeneration of a research society into a social club was prevented.**

Above all, I had robbed the Comprador gang of the joy and pleasure of swindling the Society with éclat ! Somehow things had not gone as these marauders had planned ! Suddenly the Trustees of the Asiatic Society began to make very sharp enquiries. Then some of the big business houses decided to become cool and withhold their donations. This placed the adhoc Resources Mobilization Committee, which had earlier virtually taken over the Society, in an embarrassing position. The RMC, led by an ad agency owner who had been cashiered by the Indian Navy some years ago, had to confess that it had spent 2 or 3

lakhs to collect total donations of just a few lakhs ! Something like 4 or 5 lakhs ! The net difference between expenses and collections had been very small ! (I don't have the Annual Reports of the Society with me, and I am therefore relying only on my recollections of the events of five years ago !)

The ad agency tycoon had been so brash & vulgar, that he

had begun to arouse suspicions of a very serious nature. (He was possibly planning to encash his holdings in India and become an emigre. Perhaps he intended to take with him a part of the Asiatic Society's collection to seek donations from NRIs abroad !)

The President of the Asiatic Society was an NRI who claimed that he was a professor of History in California. He had been placed in this elevated position by the former nepotistically-appointed ex-vice chancellor of the Bombay University, one Shashikant Karnik, whose fun and frolics with an Arab CIA agent, we have

noted earlier in the columns of this journal.

Due to the uproar created by me and my colleagues, some of whom were then members of the Managing Committee of the Society, the thieves fell out. The NRI President wound up the RMC. I do not know whether the RMC handed over to the Society any Net Balance, before disappearing into the limbo.

At a Press Conference, held in this connection, I had demanded the return some of the most important art treasures looted by the British imperialists. I had specifically asked for the return of :

1. **The Sultanganj Buddha** - A more than life-size copper statue of Buddha, belonging to the early 5th century A.D., which had been stolen by British railway engineers, from Sultanganj, Bihar, and carried away originally to the Birmingham Industrial Museum in England. This is a colossal metal sculpture, that is not only a masterpiece of world art, but is also a great technological triumph of Indian metallurgy, that could not be rivalled by Europe, till recently, that is some 1500 years after India.

2. **The Amravati Friezes** of the 2nd century A.D. stolen by the officers of the Archaeological Survey of India and lodged in the British Museum.

3. The many masterpieces of Indian art scattered in private and public collections in Great Britain especially, those in the palaces belonging to British Royalty.

4. **The Kohinoor Diamond**, which has been made a part of the British regalia.

5. **The swords of Shivaji and Tipu Sultan.**

At the press conference, I had given the examples of other ex-colonies, which had been scenes of colonial plunder, but who had at least displayed the courage to demand the restoration of the loot. I had given the example of Nigeria, which had demanded the return of the Benin bronzes; of Egypt and Turkey, who had sought to reclaim many masterpieces; and of Greece, whose Culture Minister the famous filmstar Melina Mercouri (*Never on Sunday*), raised the issue at the UNESCO and gathered considerable backing for her demand for the return of the Elgin Marbles.

My demand created a stir and several Bombay journals reported and commented upon it. However, it is sad to record that my plea evoked no response from the members of the Asiatic

COMPRADOR COMPLICITY IN IMPERIAL LOOT

The Indian comprador class is so cowardly, that it has not even raised the demand for the return of the looted art treasures from Britain.

As for the India Office Library, Britain has played Pakistan against India, and not one document, manuscript, painting, coin, artwork or book, out of the thousands held at ransom, by the arrogant white scoundrels ruling in London, has been returned to India for the last half century. (or to Pakistan !)

Thousands of works of art weighing tons have been smuggled out of India over the last many decades, and are continuously being drained out of the country, even today.

Society. There were many rich Parsi, Sindhi and Christian ladies, who conveyed to me that "the art objects are better preserved in the Museums of England, where very advanced restoration techniques were available, where the Galleries were fully air-conditioned, that it was a global village now and India should not be parochial in outlook; that after all London was just a few hours by jet flight from Bombay."

But, who can afford these jet flights? What about the poor students of art in India, who are forever deprived of their heritage? How are our children to be inspired by the glories of India's art, gathering dust in foreign lands, thousands of miles away? All my appeals fell on deaf comprador ears!

I drew attention to the ploy by imperialism to open a special wing of the Victoria and Albert Museum, to be called Nehru Gallery and inaugurated by Rajiv Gandhi to house 7,000 priceless thefts from India! (The stealing is still going on. As revealed by *Rare Mughal, Rajasthani Works to be Auctioned, Indian Express*, 8.4.96.)

The compradors of Bombay didn't want to do anything to catch the imperialist thief, who was carrying out daylight robbery in India. Mark Tully has written, "*But the raj could not have survived if we British had not been convinced of our own superiority, and so few Britons could not have ruled so vast a country if they had not also created an Indian elite who shared their conviction that British culture was inherently superior to their own.*" (Mark Tully, *No Full Stops in India*, 1991, p.57)

Readers of *Mankind* will easily understand that neo-colonialists are not our immediate enemies. It is the Indian elite which is comprador that stands in the way, foremost: and whose powers must be broken.

A further funny footnote may be appended. Currently, on display at the Pushkin Museum in Moscow are the breath-taking gold necklaces, ear-rings, goblets and tiaras of Troy removed by the triumphant Soviet army from Berlin in 1945. The Berlin curators do not know what to do. For originally, Schliemann had stolen the goods from Turkey. How can the first thief demand restoration from the second, without stirring up a hornet's nest in Turkey? (*Berlin Mourns Loss of Trojan Treasures, Indian Express*, 23.4.96)

I suppose the only practical solution is for the loan-giver Helmut Kohl, Chancellor of Germany, to pressurise the billion-mark debtor Yeltsin, the President of Russia, to share some part of the loot with Germany!

Our Indian compradors will hail such an agreement as a great achievement of international understanding!

REWRITING OF WESTERN ART HISTORY IS AN URGENT, IMPORTANT REVOLUTIONARY TASK

We give in tabular form at the end of the section, the major art works produced by named avant-garde 'geniuses of the West' and their respective immediate sources in the South and the East. In most cases, the correspondence is so close that the shamelessness of the artistic loot is simply astounding! The artists, writers and other intellectuals belonging to the metropolitan centres obviously picked up their ethos from the racialist, militarist and finance-capitalist cliques that were in power in their respective countries.

This is not to suggest that the artist themselves ruled the

colonies as direct agents and civil servants of the Western powers. Though even this happened quite often. For instance, George Orwell was a police officer in Burma belonging to the Imperial Police Service. Rudyard Kipling was the son of a government-run art school employee in Bombay and later served as an employee of British-owned newspapers and periodicals published in India. Henri Rousseau Douainer, was a Custom Officer in the French Imperial Service and had lived in West Africa for many years before coming out with his astounding naive fantasies and startling the avant-garde circles in Paris. As Mario Praz records in his *The Romantic Agony* (1930), Rousseau's friends in Paris were simply overwhelmed by the quality of his output, for Rousseau was not only a fool but possibly a moron. The explanation is simple: the man simply copied his basic designs from some colonial publication and had no idea of the impact that such a borrowing could create.

Similarly, in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* brought out from Lahore in the last decades of the last century by the Government Art School, innumerable exotic Indian-Oriental motifs and designs were produced which became the basis for numerous British industries and art and craft trends like Paisley shawls, Manchester-Liverpool textiles, Wedgewood pottery, Sheffield metal ware and enamel ware and so on.

The attitude of the artistic and intellectual community in the

imperialist metropolitan centres was one of robbery, greed and appropriation. Whatever belonged to the colonies was theirs by right. They owned the colonies, even if they were miserable little artists, scurrying about on the margins of slums in London, Paris, Amsterdam, Madrid and such other centres of newly civilized urban life.

The brazenness of the artistic loot is particularly noticeable in the case of the art output of the conquered areas of Pre-Columbian America, Sub-Saharan Africa and Islamic, Buddhist and Hindu Asia, as against those portions of these continents which had not been totally subjugated. For instance, from India, Indonesia and Indo-China, anything that fell into European hands was simply appropriated without any sourcing or acknowledgement. But if the centre of origin lay in China (not completely occupied, though subordinated to a multiplicity of imperial masters), or in Japan (not conquered at all and only marginally subordinated; and the one non-European power that was allowed to conquer Taiwan and Korea in 1895-1910), then some token acknowledgement was made. The Japanese Ukiyo-e artists were given the credit, left-handed, occasional, for bringing about the Impressionist revolution in the European arts. Similarly, the Chinoiserie rage of the late Baroque and Rococo periods was reluctantly admitted.

But not so with regard with Indian, Indonesian and Indo-Chinese arts! They were swallowed up and digested without any compunction. Did the Greeks ever give any credit to the slaves who produced the paintings or the sculptures or the architecture of the civilization that we now identify as Greek? Therefore, where is the question of acknowledging a debt to any Indian colonial artifact-maker from whom an idea, an inspiration, a concept, a design or a composition had been borrowed? Greek or Indian slaves were not humans! They were merely possessions!

This is the barrier that really exists between the robust self-

ATTITUDE OF THE ARTISTS IN THE IMPERIAL METROPOLITAN CENTRES

The attitude of the artistic and intellectual community in the imperialist metropolitan centres was one of robbery, greed and appropriation. Whatever belonged to the colonies was theirs by right. They owned the colonies, even if they were miserable little artists, scurrying about on the margins of slums in London, Paris, Amsterdam, Madrid and such other centres of newly civilized urban life.

respecting artists and writers of India (and of other Third World countries) and most of the intellectual pseudo-giants of the West. Their assumption that they know better, that they are more civilized, that they have an inherent right to be superior to and to hold in contempt Indian and Third World intellectuals and artists, is a terrible travesty of historical truth and has created the current ideological petty-bourgeois web of myths around the notions of White Race, Blonde Colour, Christian Religion, etc.

Actually, a re-evaluation of Western Contributions to World History is necessary before the Third World remakes World History. Man cannot begin to change his world until his perception of the world has already begun to change.

This is the principle of revolutionary praxis that the socialists and nationalists of India must grasp and absorb.

Hitherto, the Westerners have written histories of Indian, Asian, African and Pre-Columbian American art because they have enjoyed the economic, military and political power to re-organise the cultural life of these developing countries.

Now we must rewrite the Art History of the West in order to challenge its international might and destroy its world dominance.

It is not a question of tit for tat. If we also succumb to the same neo-colonialist myths, now reversed and inverted, we would be merely committing the typical Western error!

We must redress the balance of World History because :

- a) We form the bulk of humanity;
- b) If World History is necessarily to be homo-centered, its future unfolding shall be determined by us;
- c) Europe which etymologically means "the region of darkness", and Asia, which etymologically means "the region of light and brightness", must find their true etymologically correct levels in the times to come, when all traces of neo-colonialism in life and culture will be wiped out, when all wars between humans promoted by capitalist industry have ceased, when Permanent Peace and World Government have been finally realized and when humanity has at last achieved self-realization and self-movement as a specie.

Thus a rewriting of Western Art History is necessary and inevitable. We cannot defeat the West in the field, at the barricades, whilst we retain notions of their eternal and everlasting superiority in thought, art and culture.

If the West is superior in thought, art and culture, then all initiative to bring about a better world shall remain in their hands!

We of the Third World can only remake the World in our image, provided we tear into tatters the Western mask of cultural and artistic superiority.

IT IS OUR REVOLUTIONARY TASK TO REDEFINE WESTERN VALUES AND TO REWRITE THE CULTURAL AND ART HISTORY OF THE WEST.

Let us clearly understand the background to the rise of the

abstract and surrealist schools of painting in Europe in the early part of this century. Sir John Woodroffe had brought out his completely trashy but voluminous works on Indian Tantra philosophy and art, at the end of the last century.

Prior to that, from 1786 itself, William Jones had revolutionised the linguistic sciences of the world by rediscovering the Sanskrit sources of Indo-Aryan languages. Since then innumerable works had appeared in English, French and German, not to speak of other European languages, wherein India had been

sourced as the fountain-head of science, philosophy, religion, mythology, linguistics, poetics and aesthetics.

These deeper and broader cultural currents reached the visual artists of the West in a devious and strange way by the end of the 19th Century.

"Helena Hahn married Blavatsky, a Russian military officer and provincial governor in c. 1848, but left him after several months to begin a series of international travels. For 20 years she visited Istanbul, Cairo, Paris, New Orleans, Tokyo and Calcutta, and claimed to have spent seven years in Tibet studying under Hindu Mahatmas (devout sages). Claiming she had been enlightened by revelations from certain esoteric Eastern cults, she began a Theosophical movement in Russia in 1858. After further travels, she went to

New York in 1873 and collaborated with Col. H. S. Olcott and others to form groups interested in occult phenomena. This organisation culminated in the founding in 1875 of the initial 16 member Theosophical Society.

"In 1877 Mme Blavatsky produced her principal work, the two-volume *Isis Unveiled* which soon became the textbook for Theosophists. This expression of fundamental theosophy strove to fuse Vedantic (Hindu) thought and Egyptian serpent worship, which she attributed to her Tibetan masters, with alchemy and 19th century Science. *Isis Unveiled* was criticized however, for plagiarising works in Olcott's library." (*Ency. Brit.* 1983 edn. Micro, Vol. II pp. 77).

For Indian readers, it may be particularly instructive and interesting to note two other ramifications, which we need not go into in this article.

a) Balvatsky drew retired Home Secretary A.O. Hume, founder - secretary, at Viceroy Dufferin's instigation, of the Indian National Congress for the first 22 years of the INC's existence, into the Theosophical Society, and he in turn drew Annie Besant into both the Theosophical Society, 1889-91, and INC circles. This had other consequences in politics and comprador fashionable society, which we shall go into at some other time.

b) The Theosophical Society of Adyar, Madras, attracted Madame Sophia Wadia and her husband B.P. Wadia. Sophia Wadia became the founder of the Neo-colonialist - Comprador literary organisation the PEN, whose current secretary is Nissim Ezekiel, a Jewish Indo-Anglian poet, an early adherent of the anti-communist, CIA-financed, literary movement of the Cold War era called the Congress for Cultural Freedom! B.P. Wadia was very

RE-EVALUATION OF WESTERN ART

A re-evaluation of Western Contributions to World History is necessary before the Third World remakes World History. Man cannot begin to change his world until his perception of the world has already begun to change.

This is the principle of revolutionary praxis that the socialists and nationalists of India must grasp and absorb.

Hitherto, the Westerners have written histories of Indian, Asian, African and Pre-Columbian American art because they have enjoyed the economic, military and political power to re-organise the cultural life of these developing countries.

Now we must rewrite the Art History of the West in order to challenge its international might and destroy its world dominance.

It is not a question of tit for tat. If we also succumb to the same neo-colonialist myths, now reversed and inverted, we would be merely committing the typical Western error!

active in the Home Rule movement started by Annie Besant during the First World War and also a trade unionist in Madras late in the 19th century.

Let us return to the climate amongst intellectual circles in Europe. Wassily Kandinsky became an adherent of Theosophy, and so did Piet Mondrian and several other followers of the *Bleu Rieter*, Metaphysical, Surrealist and Dadaist Schools.

Kandinsky was the first acknowledged abstract painter of the modern era. His Theosophical and Tibetan Masters connections may have led him to Sir John Woodroffe's writings and to Tibetan *Thangka* paintings of *Mandalas* and *Yantras*.

Similarly, we may note that Indian and Balinese dancing, presented at several Universal Expositions in Paris profoundly influenced Rodin, whose sculptures form one of the foundation stones of the Modern Art movement of Europe.

Constantin Brancusi, also a Theosophist, met the Holkar Raja of Indore in Paris and actually worked in India for some years. I am told that some of Brancusi's works are lying about neglected in and around the Holkar palace in Indore. (I tried to find out the

exact particulars from the Holkar family in Bombay, and whilst they admitted that Brancusi had worked in Indore, I couldn't get further details).

Anyway, in many different ways Oriental and Primitive Art concepts and objects reached Europe. Let us note, in parenthesis, that in the ethnological collections in European museums till the 1920s, no distinction was made between the Primitive - Tribal Art of HFFG societies (mainly Africa and Oceania) and the Elitist - Classical Art of mature feudal societies of the Indian sub-continent and Southeast Asia.

Even today, the art of Elitist Classical Sub-Saharan African type (e.g. of Ibe and Benin) is not separated from the rest of Primitive Art of Africa.

Let us conclude and quickly go over to the table of sources of Imperialist Acquisitions of Art Concepts, Designs and Composition.

We have space for the detailed notice of just one book. It's a valuable and important book but many more can be traced and quoted.

Table 1 : Sources of Imperialist Acquisitions of Art Concepts, Designs and Compositions

Name of Artist or Group and Style (with period)	Art work	Date	Source	Page No. of "Primitivism in 20th Century Art"
Gauguin (1847-1903)	a) <i>Self-Portrait</i>	1889	Moche, Peru	p 186
	b) <i>We Hail Thee Mary</i>	1891	Ajivika-monk relief, Borobudur, Java	p 187
	c) <i>Wood Cylinder with Christ on the Cross</i>	1891-92	Easter Island (wood figures) and Marquesas Island (club)	p. 196-98
	d) <i>There is the Marae</i>	1892	Marquesas Island	p. 193
	e) <i>Tehmana Has Many Parents</i>	1893	Easter Island (Inscribed tablet)	p 188-89
	f) <i>Two Figures Flanking a Statue (from Ancien Culte Mahorie)</i>	1892-93	Marquesas Island (Stone figure)	p. 199
Matisse (1869-1954)	a) <i>Still Life With African Sculpture</i>	1906-7	Vili, People's Republic of Congo	p 214
	b) <i>La Vie</i>	1906	Baule, Ivory Coast (wood figures)	p. 222-23
	c) <i>Standing Nude</i>	1906	Baule, Ivory Coast (wood figures)	p. 222-23
	d) <i>Portrait of Madame Matisse</i>	1913	Shira-Punu Gabonese mask	p. 230
	e) <i>Seated Woman</i>	1915	Fang, Gabon (sculpture)	p 231
	f) <i>Jeannette V</i>	1916	Bambara, Mali and Bangwa, Cameroon	p. 228-29
	g) <i>Oceania, the Sky</i>	1946	Namau, Papua New Guinea (mask)	p 234-35
	h) <i>The Knife Thrower</i>	1947	Zande; Zaire, (throwing knife)	p. 232
	i) <i>Composition Green Background</i>	1947	Asmat, Irian Jaya (Shield)	p. 233
Brancusi (1876-1957)	a) <i>The First Step</i>	1913	Bambara, Mali (wood figure)	p. 348-49
	b) <i>Little French Girl</i>	1914-18	Bijogo, Guinea-Bissau (doll)	p. 350-51
	c) <i>Madame L.R.</i>	1914-18	Hongwe, Gabon	p. 352-53

Name of Artist or Group and Style (with period)	Art work	Date	Source	Page No. of "Primitivism in 20th Century Art"
	d) <i>Princess X</i>	1916	Papua New Guinea (stone pestle)	p. 254
	e) <i>Chimera</i>	1918	Baule, Ivory Coast	p. 360
	f) <i>The Cock</i>	1924	Bambara, Mali	p. 359
	g) <i>King of Kings</i>	late 1930s	Lega, Zaire and Mambila, Cameroon	p. 360-61, 366
Paul Klee (1879-1940)	a) <i>Idols</i>	1913	Kota, Gabon	p. 498-99
	b) <i>Pastorale</i>	1927	Bambara, Mali	p. 496-97
	c) <i>Animal Catching / Ascent</i>	1930	Kingdom of Karagwe, Bukoba, Tanzania	p. 489
	d) <i>Picture Album</i>	1937	Luba, Zaire and Northern Province, Papua New Guinea	p. 490-91
Jacob Epstein (1880-1959)	a) <i>Sunflower</i>	c. 1912-13	Fang, Gabon	p. 430
	b) <i>The Rock Drill</i>	1913-14	Baba, Guinea	p. 416, 429
	c) <i>Birth</i>	1913	East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea	p. 432
	d) <i>Doves</i>	c. 1913	Yam-Tutu Island, Torres Strait, Papua New Guinea	p. 435
	e) <i>Study For Man And Woman</i>	1913-15	Madagascar Grave Post	p. 441
Picasso (1881-1970)	a) <i>Head</i>	1907	Iberian, Cerro de Los Santos, Mbole, Zaire Kota, Gabon	p. 249, 251, p. 270, 302, p. 303
	b) <i>Les Demoiselles d' Avignon</i>	1907	a) Malekula, Vanuatu, b) Etoumbi Region, People's Republic of the Congo c) Pende, Zaire	p. 256, 263, 264
	c) <i>Standing Nude</i>	1907	Bambara, Mali	p. 280
	d) <i>Doll</i>	1907	Marquesas Islands	p. 287
	e) <i>Woman's Head</i>	1908	Fang, Gabon	p. 290-91
	f) <i>Head of A Man</i>	1908	Boa, Zaire	p. 296-97
	g) <i>Head of A Woman</i>	1931-32	Baga, Guinea	p. 248
	h) <i>Bust of A Woman</i>	1960	Baga, Guinea	p. 326-27
Fernand Leger (1881-1955)	a) <i>Creation Of The World</i>	1922-23	Senufo, Ivory Coast Chokwe, Angola	p. 479
	b) <i>Creation Of The World</i>	c. 1922	Bambara Mali Baule, Ivory Coast	p. 480-81
Modigliani (1884-1920)	a) <i>Head</i>	1911	Masks Of The Fang, Gabon Marka, Mali Guro, Ivory Coast	p. 418-19, p. 420, 430
	b) <i>Head</i>	1915	Masks Of The Fang, Gabon Marka, Mali Guro, Ivory Coast	p. 418-19, p. 420, 430
	c) <i>Standing Nude</i>	1911-12	Influenced by Egyptian Art	p. 422
Henri Gaudier Brzeska (1891-1915)	a) <i>Caritas</i>	1914	Afo, Nigeria	p. 445
	b) <i>Doorknocker</i>	1914	Maori, New Zealand	p. 446
	c) <i>Hieratic Head Of Ezra Pound</i>	1914	Easter Island	p. 448
Jacques Lipchitz (1891-1973)	a) <i>Detachable Figure</i>	1915	Kambe, Kenya	p. 426
	b) <i>Figure</i>	1926-30	Grebo, Ivory Coast	p. 428-29
Henry Moore (1898-1986)	a) <i>Standing Woman</i>	1923	Mumuye, Nigeria	p. 597
	b) <i>Page 103 From Number 3 Notebook</i>	1922-24	Nootka, Vancouver Island Jukun, Nigeria	p. 598
	c) <i>Page 120 From Number 3 Notebook</i>	1922-24	Ubangi Central African Republic	p. 599
	d) <i>Page 90 From Number 3 Notebook</i>	1922-24	Hawaiian Islands	p. 601
	e) <i>Upright Motive : Maquette No. 11</i>	1955	Eskimo, Alaska	p. 603

Name of Artist or Group and Style (with period)	Art work	Date	Source	Page No. of "Primitivism in 20th Century Art"
	f) <i>Bird Basket</i>	1939	New Ireland	p. 606
	g) <i>Three Points</i>	1939-40	Alamblak, Karawari River East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea	p. 607
	h) <i>Maquette For King And Queen</i>	1952	Igbo, Nigeria	p. 609
	i) <i>Reclining Figure</i>	1951	Chac Raingod Mayan, Mexico	[<i>Ency. Brit.</i> Micro II, 1983 ed. p. 703]
Alberto Giacometti (1901-1966)	a) <i>Invisible Object</i>	1934	Bougainville, Solomon Islands Kopar, East Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea	p. 502, 504, p. 505
	b) <i>Spoon Woman</i>	1926-27	Dan, Ivory Coast or Liberia	p. 508-509
	c) <i>No More Play</i>	1913	Gio, Liberia	p. 513
	d) <i>Cage</i>	1931	Malangan, New Ireland	p. 516-17
	e) <i>Head Landscape</i>	1930-31	Noumea, New Caledonia	p. 519
	f) <i>Project For A Passageway</i>	1930-31	Gouffe, Cameroon	p. 519
	g) <i>Tribal Sculptures</i>	c. 1929	Nukuoro, Caroline Islands, Marquesas Islands	p. 520
	h) <i>Disagreeable Object</i>	1931	Easter Island	p. 522
Fauvism (1898-1908)				
Maurice de Vlaminck	<i>Bathers</i>	1908	Mask, Fang Gabon	p. 213
Andre Derain	<i>Crouching Man</i>	1907	African Sculpture In Corner Of Studio	p. 225
(Also see Matisse in this Table)				
German Expressionism (1900 to 1930s)				
Ernst Ludwig Kirchner	a) <i>Exotic Scene</i>	1910	Palau Islands, Caroline Islands	p. 373
	b) <i>Benin Bronze Sculpture</i>	1911	Court of Benin, Nigeria	p. 375
Franz Mare	<i>Donkey Frieze</i>	1911	Bangwa, Cameroon Old Kingdom, Egypt	p. 376
Heinrich Campendonk	<i>The Tiger</i>	1916	Court of Benin, Nigeria	p. 377
Emil Nolde	a) <i>Still Life Of Masks</i>	1911	Mundurucu, Brazil	p. 379
	b) <i>Trophy Head</i>	1911	Mundurucu, Brazil	p. 379
	c) <i>Bongo Mask</i>	1911-12	Bongo, Sudan	p. 383
	d) <i>Still Life With South Seas Sculpture</i>	1915	Uli Figure, New Ireland	p. 392
Erich Heckel	<i>Still Life With Mask</i>	1912	East Africa	p. 388
Alexey Jawlensky	<i>Love</i>	1925	Nomoi Islands, Caroline Islands	p. 329
Karl Schmidt-Kottluff	a) <i>Still Life With Negro Sculpture</i>	1913	Grasslands, Cameroon	p. 391
	b) <i>Three Kings</i>	1917	Fang, Gabon	p. 395
	c) <i>Blue-Red Head (Fear)</i>	1917	Fang, Gabon	p. 396
	d) <i>Head</i>	1917	Luba, Zaire	p. 396
	e) <i>Apostle</i>	1918	Teke, People's Republic of Congo	p. 397
Max Pechstein	a) <i>Moon</i>	1919	Ngombe, Zaire	p. 399
	b) <i>Sculpture</i>	1919	Luba, Zaire	p. 398

Name of Artist or Group and Style (with period)	Art work	Date	Source	Page No. of "Primitivism in 20th Century Art"
Italian Painting (1900- To The Present)				
Carlo Carra	a) <i>Portrait of Russolo</i>	1913	Mask Fang. Gabon	p. 406
	b) <i>Head Of A Young Girl</i>	1911	Mask Fang. Gabon	p. 408
	c) <i>Head Of A Girl</i>	1914	Baule Mask, Ivory Coast	p. 408
	d) <i>Portrait Of Remy de Gourmont</i>	1916	Teke. People's Republic of Congo	p. 410
	e) <i>Composition With Female Figure</i>	1915	Lega, Zaire	p. 411
	f) <i>The Violinist</i>	1914-15	Lega, Zaire	p. 413
American Art . (1900				
Max Weber	<i>Congo Statuette or African Sculpture</i>	1910	Yaka, Zaire	p. 454
Arthur Dove	<i>Indian Spring</i>	1923	American Indian	p. 457
Marsden Hartley	a) <i>Indian Pottery Or Tar And Idol</i>	1912	Acoma Indian	p. 456-57
	b) <i>Indian Fantasy</i>	1914	Sio Hemis Kachina Hopi. Arizona	p. 459
August Macke	<i>Mounted Red-Indians</i>	1911	American Indian	p. 457
Man Ray	<i>Totem</i>	1914	Zuni, New Mexico	p. 462
Marius de Zayas	<i>Alfred Stieglitz</i>	c. 1912	Pukapuka, Cook Islands	p. 464
Alexander Calder	a) <i>African Head</i>	1928	Lega, Zaire Fang. Gabon	p. 454, 439, 411, 466
	b) <i>Female Figure</i>	1929	Yaka, Zaire	p. 466, 454
Dada And Surrealism (1916-22)				
Max Ernst	a) <i>Elephant Of The Celebes</i>	1921	Konkombwa, Ghana or Togo	p. 552
	b) <i>La Belle Jardiniere</i>	1923	Marquesas Island	p. 553
	c) <i>After Us, Motherhood</i>	1927	Easter Island	p. 556-57
	d) <i>Collage From Une Semaine de bonte</i>	1934	Easter Island	p. 561
	e) <i>Lunar Asparagus</i>	1935	New Caledonia	p. 564
	f) <i>Woman Of Tours</i>	1960	Asante, Ghana	p. 567
	g) <i>Spirit Of The Bastille</i>	1960	Alaska Indian & British Columbia	p. 573
Victor Brauner	a) <i>Force Of Concentration Of M.K.</i>	1934	Rurutu, Austral Islands	p. 581
	b) <i>Prelude To A Civilization</i>	1954	North Dakota	p. 584
Joan Miro	a) <i>Painting</i>	1933	Taghtania, Algeria	p. 580
	b) <i>Man And Woman</i>	1935	Aborigine Australia	p. 586
Abstract Expressionism (1910 To The Present)				
Mark Tobey	a) <i>Eskimo Indiom</i>	1946	Eskimo, Alaska	p. 620-21
	b) <i>Drums, Indians And The Word of God</i>	1944	British Columbia	p. 629
David Smith	<i>Royal Incubator</i>	1949	Eskimo, Alaska	p. 624
Isamu Noguchi	<i>Contoured Playground</i>	1941	American Indian, Ohio	p. 626

Name of Artist or Group and Style (with period)	Art work	Date	Source	Page No. of "Primitivism in 20th Century Art"
Jeau Dubuffet	The Reveler	1964	Wapo Creek, Gulf Province Papua New Guinea	p. 638-39
Jackson Pollock	Birth	1939-40	Eskimo, Hooper Bay, Alaska	p. 642
Contemporary Explorations (Later 1960s to the Present)				
Robert Smithson	a) Spiral Jetty	1970	Nazca, Pompa Ingenio, Peru	p. 663
	b) Circle	1973	Nazca, Pompa Ingenio, Peru	p. 684-85
Richard Long	Walking A Line In Peru	1972	Nazca, Pompa Ingenio, Peru	p. 668
Walter de Maria	Mile Long Drawing	1968	Nazca, Pompa Ingenio, Peru	p. 669
Source : "Primitivism" In 20th Century Art ed. William Rubin, 1984				

THE THEFT OF INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS BY IMPERIALISM

A new world order has been foisted upon us over the last five years. Under a policy termed, by the bankrupt and now thankfully electorally defeated Rao - Singh Congress Government of 1991 -95, as " Liberalisation, Privatisation and Globalisation," that is nothing but the Structural Adjustment Programme of the WB and IMF, a new Neo-colonial Patents Regime surrounds us on all sides. Patents now involve endless and enormous royalty payments not only for processes but also for products. Mere import will be accepted as " home production". Our seeds and plants and living strains of genetic material will require acceptance of Patent Rights and the inevitable outgo of royalties.

China is also being pressurised and crucified for alleged violations of Intellectual Property Rights. Apparently China is copying billions of dollars worth of electronic hardware and software.

In the days gone by hundred's of technologies from the Third World were pirated and stolen without compunction and royalty payments. The small pox vaccine was borrowed from India and no Indian received any compensation. Hundreds of spinning, weaving, dying and printing techniques were stolen from India, but the British Textile Companies did not pay a cent for them. Thousands of herbs and plants were taken away from Indian and Asiatic Pharmacopoeias and used as life saving and useful drugs, medicines and cosmetics, but nothing was paid to the people of India. The whole science of explosives and rocketry was borrowed without so much as " by your leave ", from the Chinese and the armament experts working for Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan, but no acknowledgement was ever made.

In fact, every single Western technology of today, in the fields of mathematics, metallurgy, chemistry, distillation, pharmacy, aromatics, textiles, cosmetics, horticulture, etc., has been entirely derived from India as a matter of right of plunder.

The same is the situation in the arts.

Originally there were outstanding philistines and imperially-blinded eminences like John Ruskin and James Mill who claimed that India lacked fine art as such. This was lucky for India since Indian art treasures were not heavily looted or at least the process of loot had been a slow one. (James Mill's *History of British India* 3 vols, 1817. John Ruskin's *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, 1849)

However unfortunately for India thousands and lakhs of civil and military officers of the Indian colonial service returned home on leave, or upon retirement, laden with millions of tons of artifacts

and artworks, textiles and garments, ivories, jades, metalwork, wood carvings, leatherwork, jewellery, furniture and furnishings; weapons, utensils and implements, pottery and ceramics and thousands of articles of daily and festive use. Whether India had fine art or not, as defined by Ruskin and Mill, as far as the ordinary recruit to the colonial service was concerned, in those days, India had the best calico, the best muslin, the best dyes, the best garments, the best shawls, the best weaving, the best carving, the best casting, the best gems, the best filigree, the best repousse, the best intaglio, the best saddlery, the best swords, the best cannons, the best saltpetre, the best iron, the best rockets, the best fireworks, the best of anything and everything. They were so much superior to anything made in Britain that enormous protective duties were imposed upon import of Indian manufactures all through the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries. Even that was not enough. The use of finer textiles from India, its very use was prohibited and if found by custom officials in any warehouse or residence, were seized.

Just as the hordes of NRIs periodically visit India laden with foreign goods, in recent years; in the same way a hundred or hundred and fifty years ago, Englishmen used to return from India, transporting shiploads of Indian goods back home.

Around 1860, the tables were turned. Now British industry had performed a revolution and the shoddier types of goods were available at lower prices in England than in India. Nevertheless in the matter of luxury articles, Indian products remained far far superior. (See Testimony by John Wilkes, about the superiority of Indian shawls in R.C. Dutt's *Economic History of India*.)

And with the acquisition of economic strength there was a surge of self-confidence among the English. The old tactic of hateful propaganda against Indians and things Indian was abandoned. It had served its purpose of underpinning the First Industrial Revolution (1750/60 to 1850/60)

The Archaeological Survey of India was launched in 1862. Indian antiquities were excavated, placed under the microscope and meticulously analysed. More than 20 volumes were brought out by Alexander Cunningham and Indian art of all ages, especially pre-Hindu and post-Hindu (i.e. particularly of the Buddhist and Muslim periods) were held up in high esteem and applauded as works of great geniuses. No longer was Indian art to be decried or degraded. It was to be elevated and reverentially admired.

Also it was useful to boast of the value and variety of Indian loot. It was useful to overawe European rivals by bringing the collection of colonial banditry under one roof in the British museum

and in the so-called grand Empire Exhibitions.

The glories of Indian art were also to be utilized to convince the average Englishman that he was a superior human being and that he could lord over such skilled subjects.

Unfortunately for India, the more and better-known the art objects became under the searchlight of archaeology, the more sustained and sweeping became the thefts of antiquities from India.

In the initial stages from about 1860 to 1920's, Indian classical art was not distinguished generally or very sharply from Primitive or Third World tribal art. Everything was mixed up and Indian, Persian, Javanese, Japanese, Chinese and Korean arts were intermingled with the arts of Africa and Oceania.

The nationalist movements had commenced at the end of the 19th century and especially the beginning of the 20th. The Young Turk, the Young Iran and Young China movements had been launched from about 1900 to 1910. In India the triumvirate of Lal Bal and Pal had taken over the leadership of the Boycott, Swadeshi and Anti-Partition movement of 1905 [Bal stood for Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920); Pal for Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932); and Lal for Lal Rajpat Rai (1865-1928)]

In a matter of four decades, following the Anti-Partition Boycott and Swadeshi movement of Lal - Bal - Pal, and the organization of the Anarchist movement by Aurobindo Ghosh, V. D. Savarkar, and the *Jugantar* and *Anushilan* Underground Committees, the British Imperialists retreated from India. The thieving and looting of Indian art treasures continued but under the pressure of the Nationalist Movement, the depredations were made in a more circumspect manner. For instance, an Anglo-Indian, Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy was allowed to collect a large number of artifacts from archaeological sites spread out all over the country for an exhibition to coincide with an Annual Session of the INC. At the end of the session, Coomaraswamy was allowed to remove his fabulous collection from India, and sell it to the Boston Museum of Art, where it now lodges under the name, *The Ross Collection of Indian Art*

At about the same time, Coomaraswamy was also allowed to remove a large number of artifacts belonging to the Saraswati period of Indian history (c. 3000-1250 B.C.) and sell the collection to the Brooklyn Museum of Art.

All the time, the India Office Library continued to add to its magnificent collection many more items of exceptional value. The British Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum were equally active. It would require forensic investigations extending over many years, to trace all the items looted from the sub-continent.

And, as we have repeatedly stated, the loot has not ended. It is still continuing !

ARTISTS AND LITERATEURS AS IMPERIALIST AGENTS

One more point needs to be made.

It must not be assumed, that the ethos of imperialism was merely absorbed by the intellectual communities in the metropolitan centres, in a passive way, from the militarist, racialist and finance capitalist ruling circles.

In many different ways, the artists and literary "giants" of the 19th and 20th centuries, had themselves stoked the fire of racialism, jingoism and similar evil ideologies.

We have already given the example of Rudyard Kipling, who did not merely receive his wretched racialist and jingoistic notions from others. He actively propounded them himself. Through one of his aunts, Kipling was related to Alfred Baldwin, whose son

Stanley became British PM. Kipling was given a house by Cecil Rhodes, the most despicable and racist business tycoon, that the world has known (Rhodes was the founder of the gold and diamond monopolies of South Africa, and the donor of a prestigious scholarship at Oxford)

There are many "little" incidents of political intervention by famous personalities of those days. For instance, the British signed with Portugal, the Convention of Sintra, in 1808. Under this convention, the defeated French forces were allowed to leave Portugal, with their arms, baggage and much of the booty they had collected in previous battles. Poetic protests were made by William Wordsworth in his tract on the *Convention of Cintra* and by Lord Byron in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, for the leniency shown to the French !

Byron was also directly involved in the Anti-Turk Campaign, which purported to be a romantic-heroic affair in support of the Greek War of Independence (The Greeks actually enjoyed considerable power as Phenariots in the Ottoman Empire, 1453-1919).

The tragic and comic criminal complicity in Hitler's crimes, by the avant garde poet Ezra Pound, and the popular novelist P. G. Wodehouse are very well known. In order to save Pound, it became necessary to pronounce him insane and the poor man ended his days in an asylum. I do not know what happened to Wodehouse, but I believe he was socially ostracized and hounded out of England.

Tennyson was a well recognised imperialist and jingoist. In fact, all the Poet Laureates of England have been unabashed imperialist ideologues. (see table)

Poet Laureate has been defined by the *Merriam Webster's Encyclopaedia Of Literature* as a poet appointed for life by an English sovereign as a member of the royal household and expected to compose poems for court and national occasions." (p. 892)

In other words, the poet laureate was a paid servant of the royal household, jingoist, nationalist, imperialist, sycophantic poetester churning out poetry at command. He was part-feudal, part-bourgeois counterpart of the medieval bards, court-jewels, *bhats-charans* and *prashastikars* attached to feudo-bourgeois dynasties. To call a man a poet laureate is a travesty of the term poesy which obviously and necessarily implies "full freedom of imaginative expression"

We do not have words enough to express the contempt that we feel for the wretched courtiers listed in our table.

Albert Speer the architect, was made the Nazi Supreme during Hitler's last years.

Picasso collaborated with the Nazi generals during the German occupation of France. Many more cases of the heinousness of conduct on the part of Western intellectuals can be cited.

We shall return to this topic on a suitable occasion in the future.

CONCLUSION

There is not the slightest doubt that Modern Art in the West is nothing but Imperialist Art, looted from art and craft centres of the Orient, and from the Primitive Art of HFFG societies.

Revolutionary critics from the Third World have to rewrite the history of Western Art, before they can remake the world, a world free from war and want, a new world where man has ceased to exploit man !

Table Of English Poet Laureates : 1616-1995

Poet	Tenure	Poet	Tenure
1. Ben Johnson	1616-37	11. Henry James Pye	1790-1813
2. Sir William Davenant	1638-68	12. Robert Southey	1813-43
3. John Dryden	1668-89	13. William Wordsworth	1843-50
4. Thomas Shadwell	1689-89	14. Alfred, Lord Tennyson	1850-92
5. Nahum Tate	1692-1715	15. Alfred Austin	1896-1913
6. Nicholas Rowe	1715-18	16. Robert Bridges	1913-30
7. Laurence Eusden	1718-30	17. John Masefield	1930-67
8. Colley Cibber	1730-57	18. C. Day - Lewis	1968-72
9. William Whitehead	1757-85	19. Sir John Betjeman	1972-84
10. Thomas Warton	1785-90	20. Ted Hughes	1984-95 *

Source : Merriam - Webster's Encyclopaedia Of Literature, 1995

* Ongoing as of 1995

MANKIND

Fdr. Edr. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia

Retail Price Per Copy : Rs. 25
 Annual Subscription for
 10 Numbers : Rs. 200
 Students' Concessional Rate : Rs. 150
 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

DISPLACED PEOPLE AND REHABILITATION - A HUMAN RIGHTS PROBLEM :

Dr. M. R. P. Reddy

1500 dams built after Independence have often been described as modern temples. Volumes of Project Reports have been published, but very few pages have been devoted to rehabilitation of displaced people, or oustees, officially described as project affected persons. Forty percent of displaced Persons are Tribals and Scheduled Castes. In its Reports on the Rehabilitation of displaced Tribals, the working group on the Development and Welfare of Scheduled Tribals, during the eighth five year plan (1990-1995) out of 16.94 lakh persons displaced by 110 projects studied by them, about 8.14 lakhs are tribals. According to one estimate Rs. 15,206 crores had been invested in large irrigation projects upto the sixth five year plan. According to the reports of the Public Accounts Committee (1982-83) of 205 major projects since Independence, only 29 had been completed till 1979-80. The Minister of Water Resources in his statement in the Lok Sabha on 21 st March, 1990 said that 15 large dams failed, and 11 failed within five years of completion.

Several agitations have been launched by displaced persons who lost their lands and houses and human rights. **The project affected people, nearly twenty millions, were compelled to leave their hearths and homes.** Socio-economic surveys conducted by non-governmental organizations have brought to light the notoriously apathetic and negligent attitude of the State Governments to the miserable plight of the displaced persons. The trauma of displacement has followed the footsteps of the oustees even before the actual evacuation. What happened in the case of the Nagarjunasagar oustees is well-known. Finally the

peasants were forcibly evacuated by the army.

The ruling establishment has not formulated a National Law for rehabilitation of displaced people during the last fifty years. The resettlement of displaced persons is governed by adhoc rules of the State Government. The oustees of Nagarjunasagar were resettled according to a government order, two memos and a Statute Amendment to Land Acquisition Act 1894.

Compensation for land was awarded to only those peasants who had pattas or legally valid documents. Many were left out to fend for themselves as they could not submit documents to prove their ownership even though they had been cultivating the lands for generations. Such hapless oustees had neither political influence, nor legal aid to claim their legitimate right to livelihood. Rich peasants who had political influences could settle down in gainfull employment or business, but the vast majority are forced to join the legions of migrant labour flocking to urban slums in search of work in the cities. 'The history of rehabilitation and resettlement is repeated with such instances of displaced people being forced to join the ranks of migrant wage labour, often falling, into bondage, crime or penury (E.G. Thukral, ed.,) *Big Dams and Displaced People : Introduction*, p.19, 1992).

According to *Chamber's Dictionary*, rehabilitation means "to reinstate, to restore to former privileges, rights, rank etc. Since displacement is a painful process, there is a high risk of chronic impoverishment, the result of landlessness, joblessness, homelessness, marginalisation and social disarticulation. Hence, the demand ought

to be for appropriate resettlement. The outmoded Act of 1894 does not contain any provision for alternate land of a comparable quality or in the command area. Article 21 of the Constitution guarantees the right to life and personal liberty. The Supreme Court has held that the right to live is not merely confined to physical existence, but includes within its ambit the right to live with human dignity (1978 SC 597). In another case the Supreme Court further held that the right to work is a part of the right to live (*Olga Tellis Vs Bombay Municipal Corporation*, 1985 3 SC 545,) cited in Thukral P. 158). There is pressing need for a National Law of rehabilitation of displaced persons. The Supreme Court has reiterated recently that rehabilitation plans should be implemented six months before the evacuation of villages likely to be submerged. But in November 1995 the oustees of Kandaluru reservoir (Teluguganga) had to leave their habitations abruptly as the water gushed into their houses, compelling them to flee for their life, even before they had time to gather their belongings. The oustees of Kandaluru, 6000 families from 24 villages of Rapur Mandalam, Nellore District, Andhra Pradesh, are faced with the problem of resettlement according to *Telugu Daily Vartha*, of 3rd, 4th and 5th March, 1996. The plight of the oustees here have been brought to the notice of the National Human Rights Commission and the Supreme Court by this writer in a registered letter. But so far neither the State Government nor the concerned authorities seem to have been activated to undertake the systematic rehabilitation of the oustees, as per the promise made in the Government Order dated 1.12.1988 (G.O. MS. No. 324).

As Vasudha Dagamwar has observed, Money Compensation is totally unsatisfactory, it disappeared in a trice and made beggars of men. What they wanted was "Irrigated land for land, land for the landless, land for major sons, land which satisfied fuel, fodder and timber needs, land which allowed continuation of the same lifestyle, land in command area, house in keeping with old life style, transport, subsidies, grants, loans." (Thukral, Opp. cit. P. 189).

Shri M. P. R. Reddy is an old Socialist, currently focussing his agitational intervention on the rehabilitation problems faced by the oustees of dams.

ORNISH'S PROGRAMME FOR HEALTH - 2

Dr. Sharayu Mhatre

The first part of Ornish's Programme for Health which appeared in Mankind, Vol. 1, No. 9, June 1996, summarised the factors which caused high blood pressure, heart ailments and related problems. The popular conventional approach to the treatment of these problems by allopaths was also outlined. The shortcomings of this approach led Dr. Dean Ornish to experiment with alternative methods of tackling heart and related ailments, with a remarkable degree of success. The Ornish programme relies heavily on the naturopathic healing techniques which are known and in use in India for many centuries.

We continue our summary of the Ornish Programme for Health describing the techniques to reduce the stress of modern urban life.

In the mid-seventies, researchers in various parts of the world began to prove how effective stress management techniques and a low fat vegetarian diet could be in the treatment of high blood pressure, diabetes and heart ailments. Studies in many parts of the world were proving that meditation can lower blood pressure, decrease the frequency of irregular heart rhythms, reduce cholesterol levels, and so on.

Almost all of these techniques derive from yoga. It is a testimony to the power of these techniques that entire careers have been built around different aspects of yoga, sometimes even renamed after the person who rediscovered that practice. For example, in the 1930s, Dr. Edmund Jacobson, a Harvard physiologist rediscovered the benefits of deep relaxation which is a yoga technique. He renamed it "Jacobson Progressive Relaxation" and documented its benefits during the next forty years.

Herbert Benson, a cardiologist of the Harvard Medical School has spent the past two decades conducting pioneering research on the beneficial effects of

meditation. He found that regular elicitation of what he calls the relaxation response (in contrast to the fight-or-flight response) can lower blood pressure, decrease premature heartbeats, inhibit gastric acid secretion, and produce other beneficial effects.

Lamaze breathing techniques, which have proved to be powerful aids to millions of women in childbirth are based on the same meditation principles. Athletes of all types have found that slow, gentle stretching helps to reduce the risk of injuries, and many are finding that meditation and visualisation can improve athletic performance.

Modern medical techniques, such as drugs and surgery, can be very helpful in a crisis, but the stress management techniques derived from yoga address the more fundamental issues that predispose us to illness.

(Editorial note: While recognising the important contribution of stress management techniques derived from yoga, we have to be a little cautious about the influence of religious irrationalism and mumbo-jumbo which some practitioners of yoga meditational techniques transmit as a part of their total programme. These obscurantist elements which are sometimes imparted as a total yoga package should be treated by the discerning participant with skepticism even as he/she accepts the positive contribution of yoga-derived stress management techniques in dealing with chronic health problem.)

A recurrent theme in Ornish's book is that isolation can lead to stress and, ultimately, to illness, whereas intimacy can be healing.

Awareness is the first step in healing. Increasing our awareness extends our control over what is happening inside our body. As a result, we can notice the effects of stress and make changes before they become full-blown illness such as heart disease.

RELAXATION AND LETHARGY

Relaxation and lethargy are often confused, but they are really quite different.

Professional athletes make their living from knowing how to increase their performance. They know that when they are relaxed they are working at peak efficiency and performing their best. Among world-class athletes, say, in the Olympics, there is not much difference in the physical abilities of the various contenders. At that level, the major differences are mental.

According to tennis champion Boris Becker, the difference between the highest seeded and the lowest player is minimal. About 95 per cent of the winning, is decided in the head. Athletes describe tensing up as "choking", which gives a vivid picture of how tension is an obstacle to performance.

Athletes are also beginning to find that increasing flexibility can substantially improve their performance.

One's body and mind function most efficiently and effectively when one is relaxed.

There are two basic ways of dealing with stress. One way is to avoid it, but that is not always possible. The other way to manage stress is to change how you react to a situation. The stress management techniques listed by Ornish have helped his patients to react to potentially stressful situations in ways that are more healthful and productive. They increase one's capacity to deal with stress.

All the techniques described below are restorative. They are useful during the transitional period when a person suffering from high blood pressure, heart or other ailments is adapting to the changes in his/her lifestyle. Eventually, when the patient has learnt to maintain a relaxed state even in the midst of his busy schedule, eat a healthful diet and avoid disturbing his health with stimulants, smoking, etc; he/she need not spend very much time doing the stress management practices listed below:

1. *The Stretching Exercises* are a series of gentle positions designed to loosen the body. They are performed slowly and gently, with grace and control, as a type of meditation rather than as a form of calisthenics.

The mind effects the body. And conversely it is also true that the body affects the mind.

During times of chronic stress, the muscles may become chronically stressed. After some time, this may lead to neck pain, a sore back, or discomfort in shoulders. Learning to stretch and lengthen muscles that are chronically contracted helps to rebalance both the body and the mind. The

point is not to see how far you can stretch, but rather just to stretch as far as feels comfortable for you.

Although stretching can be done at any time, it is a good idea to develop a routine. Even five minutes a day is better than nothing.

Neck, shoulder and back are the three places where the body tends to hold chronic tension. Ornish describes simple rotational stretching movements involving the head, the shoulders and the back which help to relax these parts. All these exercises are part of a standard yoga course.

2. *Breathing Techniques* : Breath is a bridge between the body and the mind. Changes in the body or in the mind affect our breathing. Conversely, changes in the breathing affect the body and the mind.

Besides connecting the body and the mind, breathing is also a bridge between the sympathetic and parasympathetic systems. The breathing techniques which Ornish describes are also a part of any standard course of yoga and when regularly practised, they produce a profound, calming effect on the body and the mind.

In modern medical practice, only the pathology of breathing is studied, i.e. what happens when something goes wrong with the lungs or respiratory system. But in the tradition of yoga, thousands of years have been spent studying the more subtle effects of the breath on the mind and body, and how these can be enhanced for greater power, health and inner peace.

Chronic stress can restrict one's range of breathing. The difference in the chest circumference after inhaling and exhaling is called the range of breathing. In the case of people who are able to exercise and go about their daily activities without respiratory distress, this range of breathing has been found to be 10 per cent. In the case of athletes it is 15 per cent. In contrast, people with heart disease have 2 to 5 percent range of breathing, significantly lower than the general population. So heart patients, who need more oxygen than the average person, unfortunately receive less.

Stretching and breathing techniques can help people to improve both their range of breathing and their range of motion.

Abdominal breathing is one of the simplest yet most powerful stress management techniques. The diaphragm is a large muscle located between the chest and the abdomen. When contracted, this large muscle is forced downwards, causing a partial vacuum that forces air into the lungs. Diaphragmatic breathing increases the suction pressure in the chest, thereby improving venous return of blood to your heart.

To practise abdominal breathing, sit comfortably with the back straight. If possible, always breathe through the nose, which filters and warms the air. Place the right hand on the chest and the left hand on the abdomen. This will help you to be aware of your abdominal muscles as you breathe. Concentrate on contracting your diaphragm and breathing from deep down within your abdomen. As you begin to inhale, your left hand should begin to rise, but your right hand should move very little.

Now exhale as much air as you can, while contracting your abdominal muscles. Once again, your left hand should move in as you exhale but your right hand should move very little.

This way of breathing through the abdomen may feel unnatural at first, but will become gradually automatic if it is practised on a regular basis. When you are able to do this, you will feel less stressed and more balanced. Eventually, breathing from the chest will feel unnatural — because it is.

3. *Directed Visualisation* : The mind may think in words, but the body responds to images as though they were really happening right now.

The mind talks to the body by using such mental images.

This dialogue is going on all the time—sometimes in healing ways, sometimes in harmful ways — although much of the time we may not be consciously aware of it. Likewise, the conscious and unconscious mind communicate with each other by using imagery.

Visualisation or imagery can be done using any of our senses, but it seems to be most effective when several of them are combined e.g. sight, sound, touch, smell and taste.

Many professional athletes find visualisation to be a powerful tool to enhance their performance. A new field, sports psychology, is emerging, to study and teach visualisation and other mind/body techniques to professional and world class athletes.

Visualisation can provide measurable changes in the body. Psychologist Richard Suinn recorded muscle activity while a skier visualised himself racing downhill. He found that these recordings were similar to those made when someone was actually skiing downhill.

Visualisation can be done using any and all of your senses. Some people visualise detailed scenes in colour, whereas others imagine only the rough outline in black and white.

Research on visualisation has shown that a mental image of blood flow to your hands can actually cause blood flow to increase to your hands. Other studies have demonstrated that visualisation can decrease blood flow to your heart if you imagine terrible things happening. Other evidence suggests that visualisation may reduce the number and severity of irregular heart beats. Ornish calls this *directed* visualisation, i.e., using images that may influence directly what is happening in the body.

Imagery can also be used in a more *receptive* mode, i.e. to help us to become more consciously aware of previously hidden information that can have a powerful influence on our health and well-being. Receptive visualisation is based on the idea that you know more about yourself than you may be aware of.

Many people, especially those with heart disease, have experienced great hurt at sometime in their lives. As we grow older, we try to protect ourselves from emotional pain. To protect ourselves from pain, we figuratively protect the heart by building walls (emotional defences) around it. But this is a double-edged sword, *for the same wall that protects us can also isolate us*. This isolation, in turn, can lead to chronic stress and, in some cases, physical heart disease.

At one stage in our development, these walls may have been protective, even necessary for our emotional survival. But *what begins as protective can itself become destructive if the walls always remain up*.

Your body responds to what is happening in your mind as though it were real, because what is happening in your mind is real at least as far as your body is concerned.

Fear of being hurt or rejected often causes us to create inner walls around the heart that can keep it isolated and in darkness. It becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy and a vicious cycle. *If the world is dangerous, and if the expression of feelings is dangerous, then it may seem easier not to feel at all*.

It would be unwise to walk around in the world defenceless and open all the time. You want to have walls and emotional defences when you need them. But you pay a big price for having the walls up all the time. *When you put a wall around your heart, when you wall off the ability to feel pain, you also shut down the ability to feel pleasure*. And when the walls become so well fortified that they are always up, then you feel chronically isolated and alone.

In order for us to risk letting down these fortress walls and lowering the drawbridge, then we need to see that there is a reason for doing it. When we understand that these walls can create pain and illness, then that pain, whether physical, emotional or spiritual,

can be a catalyst for allowing the healing process to begin.

If we learn to recognise and even to have a dialogue with both the barriers we have erected around our heart that is hiding inside, we can begin to reintegrate ourselves. This leads not only to greater intimacy between us and other people, but also a more fundamental kind of intimacy with the various aspects of ourselves that we may have walled off or disowned.

In summary, stretching, deep relaxation, breathing and visualisation techniques are powerful tools not only for "stress management" but also for helping us to learn to open our hearts to our feelings and to inner peace.

Next, Dean Ornish takes up the process of healing our isolation from others. He describes three powerful techniques that can help us to feel more connected to others and to transcend our sense of separateness :

1. Communication skills
2. Altruism & compassion
3. Group support

COMMUNICATION SKILLS

We can learn to talk to each other in ways that allow another person to hear us better. When we feel heard, then we feel more connected. And feeling connected is an important part of the healing process because it reduces the feelings of isolation that lead to stress and illness.

Knowing how to listen is as important a communication skill as knowing how to express feelings. *Empathy* means listening with compassion — trying to experience and understand what the other person is feeling. *Sympathy* means feeling sorry for someone, a usually well-intentioned gesture that often creates more distance between two people. Listening is very often more supportive a response than giving someone advice.

Ornish comments on the neglect of communication skills in most medical schools. The average physician spends less than sixty seconds listening to a patient before interrupting him or her. Even the words that doctors use to assess behavioural changes reveal the power struggle that often occurs between physicians and patients. Doctors refer to a patient's "compliance" with their prescribed medicine or lifestyle recommendations, as though the patient is surrendering his will and freedom to the doctor.

Instead of getting into a power struggle with their patients, doctors should just provide them with information so they know what their options are and they can make informed choices. With this approach, people are much more likely to make meaningful changes and to maintain them, because they feel free to make their own choices and to live their own life.

ALTRUISM AND COMPASSION

Altruism and compassion are also potent tools for helping to heal our isolation from others and to empower ourselves.

Ornish describes a study done by scientists at the University of Michigan over a period of twelve years. They interviewed 2,754 people in 1967 and then followed them for the next nine to twelve years. They found that men who did no voluntary work were two and a half times as likely to die during the study as men who did voluntary work at least once a week. These results were independent of age, gender, or health status when they first entered the study. Thus, acting "selflessly" is the most "selfish" way to behave, since it maintains our sense of inner peace and joy.

Pain and suffering whether in the form of physical illness like heart disease or emotional diseases like severe depression. or spiritual pain like hatred, can be catalysts for helping to transform us in ways that be profoundly healing. The goal is not simply to reverse the anatomical blockages. None of us is going to live forever. The real issue is how we can feel more free and more joyful.

GROUP SUPPORT

Social support from our surrounding is a way of healing our isolation from others. Either create a support group, or join an existing one that allows you to let down your walls. Make a point of getting involved in a group activity that you choose and that feels comfortable for you.

A direct experience of being a part of something larger than ourselves can profoundly transform our lives as it makes us realise that we are not isolated and we are never alone.

Stress is caused not only by our environment, our job, our home life and so on, but also by how we react to these. Between our environment and our reactions to it, are our perceptions. *Our perceptions determine how we react to a situation and whether or not that reaction is going to be harmful to us.*

The crucial thing to realise is that we are not isolated and to try to establish links with people and with ideas and causes.

Ornish next describes meditation as a process of increasing one's awareness and control over one's mind. The first step of every approach to meditation is paying attention.

Since meditation helps to keep us more in the present, it becomes easier to make new choices and be less influenced by our habits of the past. Thus changes in lifestyle such as diet can be more easily accepted.

To sum up, the mind, the body and the spirit are all intimately interconnected. Because of this, coronary heart disease occurs on emotional and spiritual levels as well as physical ones. Ornish's programme is designed to address all these levels.

(We will continue this summary of the Ornish Health Programme in our next issue describing its dietary components.)

ADDA AT NUKKAD

Letter from Election Commission and Reply

Nirvachan Sadan,
Ashoka Road,
New Delhi 110 001

26.4.1996

Sub : General Elections to Lok Sabha, 1996 - Supply of information - regarding

Sir,

With reference to your letter dated 29th March, 1996 addressed to the Chief Election Commissioner of India, on the above subject, I am directed to state that it is not possible to supply elector figures - Parliamentary Constituency-wise at this time. However, a statement showing the elector figures of all States and Union Territories with break up of Men and Women, is forwarded herewith for your information.

Yours faithfully,

(S. K. Kaura)
Under Secretary

T. N. Seshan
Chief Election Commissioner

12.6.96

Dear Sir,

Sub : Information Statewise on Electorates for 543 constituencies of the 1996 elections to the 11th Lok Sabha

I am in receipt of your letter no. 458/ State 2293/6/96 dated April 26, 1996, along with the single page irrelevant enclosure.

I understand your reluctance to supply the data, which was made available under your authority by NICNET for commercial exploitation to Doordarshan, who in turn made it available to private enterprise. (Prannoy Roy, Vinod Dua of NDTV, et al.).

We also know about the decisions of the Delimitation Commission, and the immunity from interference granted by the Supreme Court, which itself may be *ultra vires* of your constitutional obligation to ensure free and fair elections.

As a matter of fact, you are bound to supply the data fairly soon. You are merely trying to delay discovery, which is a sinister motive in itself.

Prannoy Roy and such other commercial adventurers may find it inconvenient to question the Establishment, but the real facts have been exposed by *Mankind* in the following manner :

1. In *Mankind*, Vol. 1, No. 8, May 1996, *India's Place in the Sun* : 8, pp. 60-63, we have shown that in the 1991 elections the differentials between constituencies were as per xerox attached.

2. In *Mankind*, Vol. 1, No. 7, April 1996, *India's Place in the Sun* : 7, pp. 60-63, we have given the differentials as they prevailed in 1991 (All-India); and as they prevailed in 1991 and 1996 (Parliamentary and Assembly constituencies of Bombay city). Xerox of this is also attached.

3. The smallest Bombay City Assembly constituency in 1996 was Mumbadevi 93, 642 and the largest was Malad 5, 02, 903; or a ratio of 1:5.37. Thus, the Mumbadevi voter had more than five times the weightage of the Malad voter, ensuring that the election when held would be *entirely unfair*.

Similarly, for the 1996 11th Lok Sabha poll, which has already taken place, the smallest electorate was in South

Bombay, numbering 6,93,767 and the largest was in North Bombay with 21, 76, 241; or a ratio of 1:3.14. That is, again, the voter in South Bombay enjoyed more than three times the weightage of the voter in North Bombay, emphasizing the fact that the Parliamentary elections which just took place were *absolutely unfair*.

4. *Mankind* has collected data not withstanding your non-cooperation, for 200 constituencies, distributed as follows :

Group A :

Maharashtra : data found for 25 out of 48
Gujarat : data found for 10 out of 20
Punjab : data found for 12 out of 13
Orissa : data found for 14 out of 21
Andhra : data found for 41 out of 42
Pradesh
Karnataka : data found for 25 out of 28
Tamil Nadu : data found for 39 out of 39
Kerala : data found for 20 out of 20

The differential within the 186 seats of Group A falls within the range of 7.56 lakhs in Warangal (A.P.) to 21.76 lakhs of Mumbai-N, Maharashtra, a ratio of 1:2.88. That is, for the 1996 elections to the Lok Sabha, out of some 537 seats, we have found out the data for 200 constituencies and within this sample the differential is nearly three times between the lowest and the highest. Thus the Warangal voter has three times the weightage of the North Mumbai voter.

What is even more amazing, and this is obviously not covered by the Supreme Court *Immunity from Interference Grant*, are the intra-state differentials, prevailing within the 15 major states. These may be tabulated as follows :

State	Lowest electorate 1996 (in Lakhs)	Highest electorate (in Lakhs)	Ratio 1996	Ratio 1991
Maharashtra	Mumbai -SC 7.98	Mumbai-N 21.76	1:2.73	1:2.32
Gujrat	Amreli 8.08	Surat 18.91	1:2.34	1:1.91
Punjab	Tarntaran 10.01	Ludhiana 13.35	1:1.33	1:1.26
Orissa	Mayurbhanj 9.35	Bhubaneshwar 12.08	1:1.29	1:1.23
Andhra Pradesh	Warangal 7.56	Secunderabad 16.91	1:2.24	1:1.60
Karnataka	Udupi 9.93	Kanakpura 17.26	1:1.74	1:1.50
Tamil Nadu	Mayiladuturai 9.51	Madras-N 15.53	1:1.63	1:1.56
Kerala	Adoor 9.37	Mancheri 11.52	1:1.23	1:1.22

Group B :

In addition, the electorate size of 14 other constituencies in Bihar, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Goa, Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Meghalaya and Tripura states, plus Union Territories of Chandigarh, Andaman and Nicobar Islands and Pondichery have been found.

As far the differential within the 14 seats of Group B, the constituency with the lowest electorate was Andaman and Nicobar with 2.11 lakh voters, and the highest was Salumber in Rajasthan with 10.87 lakh voters, i.e., a ratio of 1:5.15. In other words, for the Group B sample of just 14 constituencies, we have an unequal distribution of five times.

(These 14 constituencies are as follows : Bhagalpur (Bihar); Salumber (Rajasthan); Hamirpur and Shimla (Himachal Pradesh); Marmagao and Panaji (Goa), Arunachal West and East (Arunachal Pradesh); Sikkim; Shillong (Meghalaya); Tripura West; Chandigarh; Andaman and Nicobar; and Pondichery.)

5. As was established in *Mankind* Nos. 7 and No. 8, the 1989, 1991 and 1996 polls show a progressive worsening of the differentials, even within the boundaries of each major state of the Indian Union (i.e., states which send 10 or more members of Parliament) *THE VOTES ARE BECOMING MORE AND MORE UNEQUAL AND UNFAIR.*

However much you may try to hide the facts and however hard you may try to delay discovery, all your frantic attempts at prevarication are bound to prove futile and criminally motivated.

One copy of *Mankind* is regularly being sent to the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India. It is upto him to take cognizance of my attacks on the Election Commission for *organising unfree, unequal and unfair elections.*

As soon as you can, please ensure that I receive full data, State-wise, for as near as possible of the 543 constituencies which elected members to the 11th Lok Sabha.

Yours faithfully,

Exe. Edr.

Letter from Peter Manuel and Reply

Peter Manuel
329 Moore Ave.
Leonia NJ 07605 USA

May 1, 1996

Dear Vinayak - ji

Please forgive the long lapse in my

correspondence. I have been receiving "Mankind" and reading it with interest. As usual, I find it stimulating and provocative. In terms of the latter, I must take issue with your interpretation of the Indonesian invasion of East Timor. You seem to regard the invasion, and the subsequent massacre of some 150,000 Timorese, to be of little importance. Perhaps in global perspectives, it may not be the most crucial issue in world politics, but it should be of some importance at least to us Americans, whose tax dollars have funded the ongoing massacre, via military aid to Suharto. Noam Chomsky has been the only public figure to attempt to bring this disgraceful exercise in proxy American imperialism to the attention of the American public, most of whom could not find Indonesia on a map and continue to be blissfully ignorant of the nature of our foreign policy. What is your evidence for asserting that Chomsky only cares about the Timorese because they are Christian? (He himself is Jewish, if that means anything.) And why should the Timorese be obliged to "disappear from history, unless they submerge themselves in the larger national identity of Indonesian freedom movement"? First of all, they are not Indonesians and never have been, except in the sense of being currently conquered by Suharto. Further, what more progressive action could they possibly undertake beyond actively resisting being subjected to Indonesia's right-wing military dictatorship? If the FRETILIN government was not a revolutionary Marxist one, it was progressive enough to be branded as Marxist by the US government and mainstream media. I entirely agree that the profusion of obscure, factional, ethnic "liberation movements" worldwide may have nothing to do with progressive struggles for liberation, class solidarity, and anti-imperialism. But there may be more at stake in the Timorese case than petty regional identity politics.

Best wishes,

Peter Manuel

16-5-96

Dear Peter,

At last I have your letter of 1.5.96. Not long enough! Not detailed! Too hurried and marginal!

Okay, East Timor! Let's see what you have to say amounts to!

You give the game away when you write:

"...But it (East Timor) should be of some importance at least to us Americans,

whose tax dollars have funded the ongoing massacre, via military aid to Suharto".

Do you think that you Americans will be able to wash away your guilt of creating the Suharto horror, by tokenism? By supporting the so-called East Timor dissent?

You can never achieve this! Never! In a hundred years! In a thousand!

Instead you should seriously analyse how America found Suharto to be such a cuddly creature in 1965.

Each person who surrenders to the Establishment does it in his own, almost unique way. Perhaps East Timor provided Noam Chomsky with the excuse to claw his way back to ruling class culture. Afterall, once you have decided to overcome your sense of self-respect and moral outrage, some excuse or another will always be found!

I suggest that you try not to defend the indefensible.

What is Timor in Indonesia? What is East Timor? What happened to the Amboinese whom I met in Amsterdam in the mid-sixties? Where are those Amboinese now?

You perhaps do not know that we in India were very much involved with the Indonesian freedom struggle. I was personally a participant in the Indonesian liberation struggle 1945-49. We staged demos in Bombay against the use of Indian troops to re-establish the Dutch in Indonesia. The sailors and officers of two Indonesian ships in Bombay harbour joined us in the streets of Bombay, at and near Opera House, to protest against the trial of the INA trio (Shahnawaz Khan, Dhillon and Sehgal) in end-1945! Biju Patnaik, an amateur pilot, ferried Indonesian national leaders across the islands on several occasions.

What is Noam's interest in Indonesia, in Timor, and in East Timor? Has he a history of participation in peoples' liberation movements of the world, of Asia, and of Indonesia?

Out of the blue, he decides to jump into the fray, without any background, without any credentials, and without rhyme or reason? To assuage his guilt about the monster Suharto?

Please take hold of yourself; Do not be stampeded into reactionary machinations by big names (Noam!), by guilt (Suharto was "right" in 1965 when he massacred many more alleged "Communists", than double the total population of East Timor!)

Now, enough about East Timor.

I draw your attention to :

1. An Opening Statement 1 to 8.

wherein I have discussed.

a) Forward to a People Friendly Economic Policy, to a New C.A., to a Fourth Force!

b) Colonial History.

c) Capitalism's Second Breath (This is almost the most important editorial by me.)

d) Per capita income of Landless Labourers.

e) IRA, Sinn Fein and Partition of Ireland in 1921, and of India in 1947.

f) London *Economist* accepts, *Mankind's* Methodological contribution to Comparative National Statistics.

g) Rabin, Hezbollah, Hamas, Palestine.

h) Kashmir and the Bogus Stalinist Secularists.

i) Challenge to Manmohan Singh, etc.

2. *Ulti Khopdi* and *Ulta Zamana*, 4 + 8 = 12 aspects. (Some 24 articles)

3. *India's Place in the Sun* 1 to 8
4. Indian History - 9 chapters from my forthcoming book, now expanded to "25 Essays in Indian History"

5. Comprador Science and Technology.

Let us have your comments on some of these (or rather on all) at the earliest! With warm personal regards.

Yours Sincerely,

Exe. Edr

AMBOINA : A TOMBSTONE IN THE DUTCH IMPERIALIST CEMETERY

Amboina : An island in the Moluccas province of the Indonesian Archipelago, area 314 Sq. miles, pop. (1957) 72,679.

As the Portuguese have acted in East Timor, so had the Dutch in Amboina. As imperialist sponsors of fissiparous anti-national "movements"!

The Amboinese are of the Melanesian racial type. "A large number of Amboinese, educated in Christian Schools, served in the Dutch administration and army, and identified themselves with the colonial power. After independence, their social and economic position became precarious. . . . The Amboinese seceded in April 1950, a few months after December 1949, when Indonesia declared independence, and the Amboinese proclaimed an independent South Moluccas Republic. The movement was suppressed by military action, but guerrilla warfare continued, and a government-in-exile carried on, complaining to the United Nations. In the meantime, many Amboinese found refuge in the Netherlands. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1973, Vol. 1, p. 720.)

Such imperialism - sponsored "popular" movements are neither popular nor lasting. They are like the bubbles that rise and burst upon reaching the surface.

Nobody knows or cares about the petitions still being filed before the U.N. Decolonisation Committee by the Amboinese for preservation of their petty group privileges for all time.

Dutch support was available for a few years, but in 1957, there was a large-scale expulsion of the Dutch, for their nefarious subversive activities, from Indonesia. Since then, nothing has been heard of about "the great Amboinese Human Rights Movement!"

East Timorese are being accommodated in the Portuguese Embassy in Jakarta, from where they are launching periodical "great demonstrations" against the Indonesian rulers!

Mankind believes that such social props of the bygone heinous imperialist system are to be found in every colony, as for instance in India, where pockets of Portuguese influence may still be found in Goa; or of French influence in Pondicherry; or of British influence in Nepal (Gorkha Regiments), or Christian Missionary — Raj Outposts in North-East India.

We should not take these relics of the past at all seriously. Such pinpricks must be absorbed by the National Liberation Movements of the Third World, and should be firmly brushed aside. As we say in India, "dogs may keep barking, but the elephant marches on!"

EAST TIMOR : A NEO-COLONIAL DIVERSIONARY TACTIC

Timor is an island within the vast Indonesian archipelago, which consists of over thirteen thousand islands, with a total land area of 1,907,568 km² and a population in 1991 of 181.30 millions (Its population in 1971 was 119.21 mlns.)

The island of Timor is divided into two parts : West Timor with an area of 15,810 km² (0.83% of Indonesia) West Timor became a part of free Indonesia in 1949 itself.

East Timor had a land area of 14,925 km² (0.78% of the land area of Indonesia). East Timor was under Portuguese occupation and the Portuguese refused to quit till they were forcibly kicked out, in 1974, when East Timor was merged into Indonesia.

Thus, it will be seen that East Timor is an insignificant part of Indonesia being less than one percent of its area.

As far as population goes, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gives an estimate for 1970 of some six lakhs (Even if an increase of the same range is assumed for it as for the rest of Indonesia, the total will be less than one half per cent of Indonesia One CIA ruffian has just appeared on CNN, under the name of Jose Ramos - Horta, who has claimed that the East Timorese number about seven lakhs. This man of almost pure Portugese extraction alleged that about one third of the people of East Timor had been massacred by the Indonesian army.

The world has had very extensive experience of the brutality and bigotry of the Portuguese empire in Brazil, in Angola and Mozambique in Africa, and in Goa, Daman and Diu in India. The Portuguese were among the cruellest colonial rulers that the world has known. Furthermore, they were the meanest, since Portugal itself lacked the resources to build a modern economy in the metropolis.

This white adventurer, Jose Ramos-Horta, did not advance any reason for the alleged wrongful behaviour of the Indonesians. Under Indonesian rule, the East Timorese had the same rights as any other people of Indonesia. No proof was advanced by Ramos-Horta as to why the Papuans of East Timor should be singled out for exercise of special repressive measures, when their brother Papuans of Irian-Jaya, across the straits, were not being dealt with any severity.

Even if the highly exaggerated and unproven claims of Ramos-Horta are partly true, let us examine the background. The Americans, at the height of the Cold War in 1965, staged a military coup in 1965 led by their stooge and agent Suharto, who overthrew Sukarno, a non-aligned leader, and massacred an estimated one million communists and their sympathizers (estimate by *Encyclopaedia Britannica*)

Mankind does not know if Noam Chomsky and his friends ever protested against the barbaric activities of Suharto and his army generals from 1965 to the present. Anyway the current excitement about the demands of the East Timorese, who did not participate in the national liberation struggle against either the Dutch (upto 1949) or against the Portuguese (upto 1974), have suddenly discovered, under American inspiration, that they are a nation.

The whole thing is farcical and absurd. It does not deserve serious attention.

Letter from M. Sunny and Reply

Jikad-e' - Aashiqui
4A, Pocket C
Siddharth Extension
New Delhi - 110 014

Dear Sir/Madam,

I was stimulating reading your magazine, which we came across while visiting Pune. One belongs to the generation which was born after Lohia died. The need for the development of a radical political, social, cultural and spiritual philosophy having Indian roots was always the need - the left took the radical but rootless path while the religious ones took the distorted illusion of rootedness. History is only as important as one can use it for a better present or future. So an indigenous debate on "where do we go from here?" is important.

We have to prioritise our national needs and then seek development of the equitable and sustainable kind. How does one get back the debt of billions which the ex-imperialists owe us? How do we solve the hierarchy in our culture? We should take the money in as investment? For they owe it to us, after taking away the cream for 3 centuries. But what we want is what we have to decide. China is economically strong because of its strong confucian pragmatism - who is stopping us from re-nationalisation again in the future. What is stopping us from using our mind to use whatever resources we can lay our hands on from the West like Robin Hood, for we cannot fight direct wars. We need to do it by sending immigrants and taking aid and taking investment. But let us define our vision of a decentralised, equitable society, and what material goods we need for it and how to prioritise the usage of natural resources according to our needs.

Let us spend more time on thinking of ways in the future rather than spending all our energy in giving "galis" to other schools or "maths". We Indians are obsessed with giving complaints, it is a defeatist, escapist way. Let's play our politics with confidence not like a naive novice who proclaims simplistic ideals and can do nothing about them.

It's like playing chess with all our moves shown. We will always lose. We have forgotten the element of "play" with the right intention.

I am enclosing a cheque for an annual subscription. Please send copies after the April 96 number - i.e. Vol. 1. No. 8
Yours

Sunny M

P.S. Friends of ours run a shop called the "People Tree" — It sells message T-shirts, crafts, and all kinds of literature from UGO's movement, Other India Publishing. It is in Connaught place and would be a good place for selling copies if it interests you can send a sample copy to

Rahul Ram
C/o People Tree
8, Regal Building, Sansad Marg
Connaught Place
New Delhi - 110 001

Dear Shri M. Sunny,

The politics of revolutionary nationalism and socialism is not a game to be played by clever people, like *shatranj* or *pachisi*. It has to be engaged in with blood in the mouth, because the hobnailed jackboot has already been applied to our nether parts— (Possibly you are aware that "bursting of the spleen" was found to be the standard medical explanation for murderous assaults by Britons upon Indians in the early years of the century, as discovered by Curzon after a prolonged and meticulous enquiry. (see HCIP, Vol. 10, Part 2, pp. 367.)

Revolutions are made by the masses, not by arm-chair progressivists who wish to avoid *gaalis* and who think that running away from street fights is not "cowardly; defeatist and escapist".

Our comprador world is truly Hegelian. Engaging in street fights appears to our jet set lefties as defeatist and escapist!

First of all, the masses have to be aroused. The fancy progressivists may have nothing to lose. But it's a life and death matter for the masses. They can lose everything, including their lives, if things go wrong at the barricades. They have to trust those who are dragging them to the barricades.

At the same time, the people can sacrifice everything, including their lives, provided they are sure that the fight is for justice and truth; and that the fight is to a finish!

Only they are interested in forgetting the past, who have many dirty deeds to hide. Why should we be barred by self-denial from a deep and searching analysis of imperialist crimes? *Mankind* does not voice the demands, the aspirations, the guilts and the hopes of the *dalals*, brokers, commission agents, banians, pimps, *naukershahs* and title-holders who had shared in imperialist crimes. *Mankind's* hands are clean and it has nothing to hide!

And *Mankind* does not seek an

eventual compromise and surrender, after a mock battle in suave language!

Secondly, the enemy has to be demoralized. He must know that his crimes have been found out! That there is no escape for him! He will have to make every restitution!

Ironically the loans and debts and gold bullion repudiated and seized by Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik government of 1919-24 is right now being re-admitted by Yeltsin, and long historic accounts are being settled right in front of our eyes!

The British imperialists in India may have swallowed the Investments of 1765-1860; the Home Charges, the Interest Payments on Guaranteed Indian Debt held in London and the Sterling Balances of 5 Bln US \$ of the Second World War; but do not forget that the accounts of history are always settled on a very long term basis.

India is a sovereign country, whether the neo-colonialists like it or not. The reason why it is sovereign is that no outside power is in a position to physically invade and occupy India for any length of time. All their investments in India are hostage to history. Tomorrow's government of Socialist India is fully capable of repudiating or reaffirming or partially reaffirming and partially modifying, anything and everything which has been swallowed up and salted away in Swiss bank accounts by the comprador criminals who have been ruling over India.

But the transactions of the future Revolutionary Federation of the Socialist States of India will be transparent, above board, ethical and truthful.

We know the injustices and the horrible crimes that have been committed in India and against Indians. We have a full and complete list of these Imperialist and Neo-Colonialist crimes. Nothing has been lost sight of. The indictment is thorough, meticulous and over-whelming. The Indictment is a challenge thrown at the Bar of History. There is no escape! Just as the village landlord and usurer will be made to pay for their past crimes against the village people in the village square, so will the Indian people openly, bravely and without "forgetting and forgiveness", make the neo-colonialists, and their local agents, both official and non-official, pay for their misdeeds, EVERY ONE OF THEM!

We are revolutionaries, not bandits. We are not going to seize any property in an unjust and immoral manner. Our morality is of a higher order than that of the comprador and Westernised bourgeois.

We are not coffee-house creatures, who will cleverly out-manoeuvre our enemies, even if that were possible.

We call upon the Indian people to get passionately involved in righting historic wrongs! We are the people ! We have crores of eyes and crores of arms! Nothing is beyond our scrutiny! Nothing is beyond our reach! We want to do nothing secretly! We demand and we shall receive justice!

Yunan, Misr Roma, Sab Mit Gayen Jahanse,

Phir Bhi Magar Hai Baki.

Who am I to forget and forgive? It is the people who will act and we shall aspire to be merely instruments in the hands of history. If the people decide that the exploiters shall be made to pay for every rape, every murder, every insult, every sorrow and every pain that they, the people have suffered for ages, that each and every infamy by the exploiters will be answered for, will be settled, will be adjudicated, to this or that extent, SO BE IT!

Mankind has nothing to hide! It bares its chest to receive and record wounds! But it bears witness, and calls upon all history and all humanity to bear witness to each and every crime of the ruling classes.

MANKIND WANTS THE MASSES TO BE PASSIONATELY INVOLVED WITH HISTORIC JUSTICE !

**WE SHALL NOT FORGET!
HISTORY WILL EXTRACT COMPLETE AND TOTAL RETRIBUTION!
NO COMPRADOR AND NO NEO-COLONIALIST WILL ESCAPE!
HISTORY SHALL JUDGE!
LET THE RULING CLASS EXULT AND DO IT'S WORST !
WE SHALL OVERCOME !
ARISE, YE WRETCHED OF THE EARTH. . . . !**

**LONG LIVE THE INDIAN REVOLUTION !
LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION !
INQUILAB ZINBADAD !**

Exe. Edr

Letter from U. K. Sengottaian & Poem

U. K. Sengottaian
44, Kovalan Street,
E. B. Colony,
Erode 638 001

18.5.96

I have received 5 copies of *Mankind* Vol 1, No. 8. Herewith I am sending the paper cuttings showing particulars regarding Lok Sabha and Assembly election results as far as Tamilnadu is concerned.

I will soon send my reactions to your letter of 2.4.96. I have to organise my views

and send the same to you.

The elections are over. A new govt. is yet to be stabilised. I don't know whose quotation is the following "*khadi is good but honesty is better.*" It can be modified as follows according to the situation : "*Khadi is good but gadi (power) is better.*" There is no issue based politics. Every body is for self or is self-centered. Can we call it as Issue-based politics? "*Dictatorship by the secretariat*" is the new maxim.

A negative wave has swept Jayalalitha out of power. Her govt. was a corrupt non-government.

Lesser evil is voted to power. Mr. Karunanidhi was the trend-setter as far as corruption is concerned. Both this time people got no choice but to select him. Vote determines our fate. Legislators have become legislooters.

With regards.

Yours

U. K. Sengottaian

POETIC INJUSTICE

**DROPS ARE PURIFIED WHEN
OCEAN IS POLLUTED.**

**TREES ARE PLANTED WHEN
FOREST IS DESTROYED.**

**CANDIDATES ARE ELECTED
WHEN DEMOCRACY IS DEFEATED.**

**INDIVIDUALS ARE SERMONED
WHEN SOCIETY IS DEBASED.**

**SECONDS ARE SAVED WHEN
GENERATION IS SPOILED.**

U. K. Sengottaian

Letter from Ravela Somayya

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

14.5.96

Dear Dr. Vinayakji,

Namaste. Thank you for your letter of 6th May, I have also received your earlier letter asking me to send newspaper

clippings of election results. I have already posted two packets of our local newspapers. I am sure you must have received them by now.

Regarding *India Today's India Decides Elections 1952-1995*, the following are the omissions. D. Sanjivaiah was the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh from January, 1960 to March, 1962. Again N. Sanjiva Reddy was the Chief Minister second time from March, 1962 to February, 1964. M. Chenna Reddy was the Chief Minister second time from 1989 December to 1990 December. So Janardhan Reddy was the Chief Minister from 1990 December to 1992 is correct as published in *India Decides*.

Regarding the President's rule in January, 1973 after P.V. Narasimha Rao became the Chief Minister, in 1971 Indira Gandhi changed the leadership by making P.V. the Chief Minister in order to solve the problem of Telangana agitation. But in 1972 there was an agitation for a separate Andhra. This time Indira Gandhi imposed President's Rule to solve the Andhra agitation of 1973.

The main reason for imposing the President's Rule in January, 1973, was to suppress the Andhra Agitation. Yesterday I have received copies of *Mankind* May issue. I thank you for publishing some of the material I have sent.

May I give you the address of Pattabhi.

T. Pattabhi Ram Reddy,
23 (Old 58) Saint Marks Road,
BANGALORE - 560 001.

I request you to send Pattabhi a copy of *Mankind* from May issue onwards. I will write to Pattabhi to send you the subscriptions.

I am glad to inform you that an informal meeting of Karnataka P.U.C.L. at Bangalore of some friends of the late C.G. K. Reddy has decided to establish a Memorial Trust to conduct Memorial Lectures to further the ideals of Secularism, Socialism, Human Rights and Committed Journalism. A Memorial lecture by Prof. U.R. Ananta Murthy was planned. It was also decided to publish brief biographies of Socialist Thinkers, an anthology of the writings of C.G.K. Reddy and to bring out a special issue of SHUDRA.

Following will be approached to be the Members of the C.G.K. Reddy Memorial Trust; M.S. Apparao, Veerendra Kumar, Badri Vishal Pittie, U.R. Ananthamurthy, G.N. Reddy, Ramesh Bandagadde, Amulya Reddy, C. Manmohan Reddy, C. Ram Manohar Reddy and Ms. Nandana Reddy.

The above information was

published in the May Issue of PUCL BULLETIN.

Keshav Rao Jadhav has already sent you *Olympus* copies alongwith a letter to you.

Thanking you,
Yours Sincerely,

Ravela Somayya

**Letter from Mahabaleswar Katrahalli
and Reply**

Mahabaleswar Katrahalli
C.88 First Ward,
Harapanahalli 583 131

20.5.96

Dear Sir,

I am greatly pleased to receive 3 issues of the beloved journal *'Mankind'* sent by you. I would introduce it to my friends and try to get some sub-scriptions also, in addition to mine. These issues will

certainly help me in pursuing my understanding of life around me with a different outlook, which till today suffered to some extent for lack of such journals on Dr. Lohia's vision. Herewith I am sending two poems in translation to *Mankind* for publication although they have been published elsewhere. I hope you publish them in forthcoming issues of *'Mankind'*.

Also, please intimate my desire to collect original drawings of Sri. Devilal Potdar & let me know whether they are available.

Thanking you,
Yours faithfully

Mahabaleshwar Katrahalli

Dear M. Katrahalli,

It was very nice to receive your letter of 20th May.

About the originals of Devilal

Patidar's drawings, how many and which do you want? We have published so far *The Chappal* in M/K. 4/5, *The Container* in no. 6, *The Grinding Stone* in No. 7, and *The Lalten* no. 8, the latest.

What is your offer? You can frame them singly or as a group, with or without my humble captions.

By the way, these captions have been much admired including by the artist himself. They are not just captions. They are critical appraisals of the art works and place them in the social context. So what is your best offer for the four lovely original drawings, which I have preserved very carefully?

Why don't you write a poem on these four drawings? Obviously you have liked them ! Link them up in some way. Or if you prefer, four short poems!

With warm fraternal regards.

Exe. Edr.

FROM THE ARCHIVES OF OLD MANKIND

THE PREVENTIVE DETENTION ACT

Mridula Sarabhai

Since 1946, I and some other colleagues have been engaged in activities that are vital for national unity, stability and security. Those were the days when under the cloak of communal bickerings all sorts of disruptive elements – resisters to India becoming a free and united country – were trying to exploit popular emotions. They adopted cold-war technique to generate hatred and violence and break up the spirit of communal unity that the national movement had built up under Gandhiji's leadership. India's stability and integrity were in danger. Our success in isolating the people from these exploiters then resulted in making ourselves the targets of these powerful vested interests though they did not succeed. As time passed and the vigilance of popular progressive parties relaxed these elements got their chance. Again they took to the cold-war technique of defamation to shake confidence in our bonafides of loyalty to the country.

From 9th August 1953 my stand on Kashmir's internal politics and my activities as a national and emotional integration worker and as a journalist were made a scapegoat to intensify their basic resentment to my role in the above field. On 9th August 1953 the new coup-stagers of Kashmir, some of whom were popularly known as the disrupting forces and vested interests of the State, became their spearhead campaigners.

The developments that took shape since that day and specially during the summer recess of Lok Sabha in 1958 leading to my detention, on 6th August 1958, make an unbelievable story for any one who has no personal experience. To me it was an astounding but revealing and terribly painful experience. Helplessly I watched the conspiracy tightening round me and those who were my colleagues and guests.

Fabricated "data" were created to bring pressure on some in the Union Government to detain me under the Preventive Detention Acts and for under the following atrocious reason :

"... With a view to preventing her from acting in any manner prejudicial to the relation of India with foreign powers and to the security of India..."

In this way they ensured that no one dared to raise a voice of doubt and protest against my detention. Individuals who were associated with me were persecuted and harassed. In giving wide publicity to my detention they also coupled 'the story of search' and gave the impression that "my detention was justifiable because during the search incriminating material was found."

On 12th June 1958 the search of my residence, my printer and publisher's residence, some of my colleagues' residences, offices of my father's business concerns in Delhi and their officers' residences took place under orders of Special Magistrate Shri N. K. Hak of Kashmir Conspiracy Case. Later appeals for return of documents were filed in the same court and in the Kashmir High Court. As a result of this, in January 1959 the courts ordered restoration of all seized documents and literature to me, actual possession of which was given to me a few months later. This news was given to the press but was blacked out. Instead while giving news of my release on 2nd August 1959, the general trend adopted by the press is indicated by one such news-item which states : "... Before her arrest the police had raided her house and seized some documents." The press statement issued after my release on 3rd August has been blacked out by a section of the press.

Thus they threw all in doubt about my bonafides and role. But worst was the impression that they created that now in India also, if one dares go against the ruling party of Jammu and Kashmir State, he must be prepared to be dubbed as a "traitor" to the country and be detained under an Act which is bereft of justice on merits.

Actual working of the Act :

Basically I am not against the Preventive Detention measures which

may under exceptional conditions be necessary for the socio-economic progress of a country. Yet my objections to the present Act are as follows.

(a) Bunching together the detentions for socio-economic reasons, with that for political ones in the same act, is undesirable. There should be two separate acts with different rules, so that the political detainee is not made to suffer the same type of vigilance and surveillance of the people as the authorities may claim to be necessary for the other categories. Even in their case the basic objections are stated in (b) apply;

(b) The Act does not provide for impartial examination of the victim's case on merits. The latter cannot get justice in case of malafide use of this act by the executive for ulterior reasons or under cold-war conditions.

(c) The Act debars judicial protection to the victim.

(d) Greater checks should be provided against the tendency of detaining authorities lightly using section 3 (1) (a) (i) of the Act ' which results in dubbing the victim as a traitor or for high treason. If the detainee happens to be of the minority community then casual use of this section for detaining him has proved ruinous to his whole career and status in the country. This has been a common experience in Kashmir and in Delhi.

(e) Within the Act it should be strictly ensured that the rules etc. made for the Central Act are uniform in all States and in no case its character can be changed or modified through administrative or executive orders.

(f) Communications from detainees to the Courts, to the State and Union authorities, to the Members of the Parliament and to the Parliament itself, and to their lawyers in legal matters should not be piloted through District or State authorities. Nor should they or the Jail Superintendent be authorised to hold back such a document on grounds of expression "couched in disrespectful or discourteous language" (Rule 44 of Delhi Detenuees Rules of 1950). This power has been grossly misused by the authorities in some States and in the present age the authorities should shed off their sensitiveness on grounds of language, etc.

(g) Safeguards should be provided in the Act against the tendency of the executive to prevent the detainee from seeking judicial protection against tortures, mental or physical, and subjecting to detainee to unlimited solitary confinement or life of seclusion.

I had an idea that such misuse was

only unique to Jammu and Kashmir, but last year when under the Central Preventive Detention Act, the Editor of *Payam-e-Mashriq* of Delhi, Faroodi Saheb, some others in Delhi, and Mr. Ishaq Ilmi, Editor, *Siyasat-e-Jadid*, Kanpur, were subjected to torturous interrogation, I changed my view. Yet I could not trace the root cause then.

This became clear after my detention and study of the *Detention (Revised) Rules of Delhi State 1950*, dated 25th March 1950, as published in Delhi Administration Notification No. F. 11 (19) / 50 P & P and recently revised. I could now trace the causes of the real trouble.

I-Rules. Usually the wording of all warrants issued to detain a person clearly give an idea that the action has been taken after completion of investigation. But rules are contradictory. Even after detention the detenu and all those who might continue to befriend him, including family members, are liable to be continuously subjected to investigation and interrogation and be at the mercy of the police through ineffective judicial protection against it. Amongst these rules 8 A, 11, 12, 19 under the heading "Police Interviews," 23 to 25 and 37 (xii and xiv) are most dangerous.² They give an opportunity to the police to concoct evidence even after the person is detained. This has happened in some cases.

Then again, rules are silent about the relationship of the Advisory Board with the detenu. So it is clear that after detention the detenu is not under them – thus not at all under judicial superintendence but completely under the police, acting as the agents of the executive. The jail authorities also have no special say in the matters connected with detenues.

In this, rules Nos. 11 and 12, remind me of the old days when, as political detenues, we used to go to the length of 'satyagraha' against giving finger-prints and photos and subjection to humiliating searches.

Then the rules for seeking legal consultation – now modified at least in Delhi –, the need to send all documents for one's case through the detaining authority, etc., are such that the detenu is the loser, specially when the detention is due to dispute between the detenu and the rulers, as in my case³ and of those in Kashmir.

II - Advisory Board : A general impression prevails that there is "just" scope for judicial investigation by the Advisory Board. Even though others had bitter experience of this and I had been told that "it is better to adopt a non-cooperative attitude towards it than be condemned in its name when you know that rightly or wrongly the authorities are bent upon detaining you," yet I ignored this warning.

At grave personal risk, I decided to go through the drill as I wanted to have first-hand experience of it. I could afford to take this risk because of my confidence in the masses and their goodwill and the names of the Advisory Board personnel gave hopes of possibility of independent approach by them specially when my case was quite different from any other that had ever appeared before them. So I thought. But I was mistaken.

Ambiguity of the role, powers, procedure, duties and responsibilities of the Advisory Board does injustice to those who are members of the Advisory Board and really makes it a very dangerous instrument in the hands of the executive. It deserves to be dealt with in the same way as we used to look upon the judiciary during the foreign rule. But this extreme reaction should not be allowed to govern one's own actions until all other efforts to get things put right fail. The Government and Parliament – even the Supreme Court and Law Commission – can look into its defects, omissions etc. The glaring discrepancies are :

(a) While articles 22 (4) (a) of the India Constitution envisages only one Advisory Board, section 8 in the Act states : "The Central Government and each State Government shall,

whenever necessary, constitute one or more Advisory Boards for the purpose of this Act." This can be misused and the executive can appoint Advisory Boards according to individual cases of detained persons. In such an event can the Board create confidence ?

(b) The Act has not been brought up to date in the light of various rulings of the various courts. There are rulings in which **even grounds need not be given**, which are being fully used in Kashmir. In the light of this, should there be no safeguard to protect the interests of the individual victim ?

(c) What is one to expect from the Advisory Board ? The Supreme Court has ruled that all tribunals and special judicial boards who have judicial powers or duties to perform are under its superintendence. If I am not mistaken, this is the ruling in one of the cases under Recovery of Abducted Persons Act. Is it so with the Advisory Board under the Preventive Detention Act ? The manner in which the Advisory Board papers are considered confidential even from the Supreme Court, also creates doubts.

(d) Section 10 of the Act. The procedure of the Advisory Board only empowers it to deal with the material placed before it by the detaining authorities, and it has to sift facts on this basis. In doing so it has to work under heavy odds when the detaining authorities take cover under section 7 (2) and refuse to disclose facts under the pretext that it is "against public interest."

In my case also they did the same thing. So on the 20th September when the Advisory Board gave me an opportunity to appear before them, with their permission I filed an independent, separate application as a complainant, seeking protection. But this was not given.

It is said that the Preventive Detention Act will come up for consideration and extension before the winter session of the Parliament this year. If it is so, I do hope that the members of Parliament and the authorities concerned will be good enough to consider the questions raised above and also the following :

(i) If the main purpose of having a Central Act is to maintain uniformity then it is essential that the power to frame rules should vest in the Centre alone subject to the approval by the Parliament.

(ii) In order to give the Advisory Board the status and authority of a judicial tribunal, under the superintendence of the Supreme Court, it may be necessary to amend the Constitution. If so, it should be done.

(iii) Also Section 13 (2) of the Act stating that – "The revocation or expiry of a detention order shall not bar the making of a fresh detention order under section 3 against the same person in any case where fresh facts have arisen after the date of revocation or expiry on which the Central Government or a State Government or an officer, as the case may be, is satisfied that such an order should be made," has been grossly misused in many a State and therefore needs to be looked into.

But in case the Act does not come up for consideration this year, then also it needs to be attended to as soon as possible. It does not debar the Parliament and the authorities to get this Act thoroughly investigated into by the Law Commission in the light of court rulings, the experiences of administrators and victims, and bringing in a new enactment to replace the present one.

In justifying such enactments, the tendency of their advocates is to compare them with English laws. But should they not make a comparative enquiry on the following points ? a) What is the relationship of the Advisory Board with the highest judiciary of the country ? b) When are such laws unusually used ? c) Have the victims no avenues to secure redress against wrong use of the laws ? d) Are they used for collective politics in peaceful times ? e) Have the highest judiciary's greater powers and traditions been adopted by the Supreme Court of India ? If not,

then is it fair to have a similar Preventive Detention Act minus all this ?

Indian politics have now entered a stage when political, ideological and programmatic differences between politicians belonging to separate parties or within the party itself – between those in Government and outside in the field – are bound to be sharp, and there is every possibility of misuse of this law against political opponents : in fact it is happening, as illustrated above. The extraordinary powers it gives to the executive are in gross

violation of the spirit of the Indian Constitution. Hence the urgency to attend to this law and its allied orders, rulers, etc.

(Mridula Sarabhai was an invitee of the Congress Working Committee in the war years, and played an important part in rescuing abducted women and children from Pakistan in post - 1947 period. She was a close friend of Jawaharlal Nehru and Sheikh Abdulla. Even so, she fell victim to PDA Such is the political reality of Comprador India !)

References

1. Section 3 (1) a (i) reads as below :

Power to make orders detaining certain persons — (1) The Central Government or the State Government may –

(a) if satisfied with respect to any person that with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to –
(i) the defence of India, the relations of India with foreign powers, or the security of India, etc.

2. The rules mentioned read :

8-A : A detainee may operate his bank accounts by issuing cheques in favour of person or persons approved by the authority who passed the order of his detention and by delivering such cheques at any interviews permitted under these rules after *inspection thereof by the officer, in whose presence such interview takes place.* (Emphasis mine.) This has to be read with rule 19.

11. Every detainee and his cell or ward shall be searched not less than once a week, and oftener if the Superintendent of the Jail considers it necessary.... Special precautions shall be taken to make the searches thorough....

12. The Superintendent of Police or any Police Officer authorised by him in this behalf may take photographs and register finger prints of detainee in jail.

19. All interviews shall take place in the presence of an officer not below the rank of sub-inspector deputed for the purpose by the Inspector General of Police, Delhi, and such officer may stop the interview if the conversation turns on any undesirable subject and may also report the matter

to the Superintendent Jail, who may inflict any of the punishments enumerated in rule (punishments include confinement in cells, reduction of diet, cancellation of the privilege of wearing one's own clothes, of letter-writing, etc.)

21. Police interviews – Subject to instructions of the Chief Commissioner, Delhi, the Inspector General of Police, Delhi, may by general or special orders, authorise any police officer either singly or with another police officer and accompanied or unaccompanied by subordinate police officers to interview any detainee.

24. The Police officers so authorised shall be allowed to interview detainees in their cells or wards on their making a written requisition to this effect at the time of the interview.....

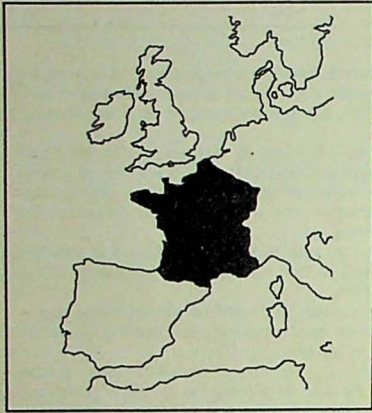
25. The Police officer so authorised shall be allowed to interview a detainee in the ordinary interview room without a jail officer being present on making a written requisition to this effect.

37. (Any detainee who) (xii) omits or refuses to report, as soon as it comes to his knowledge, the occurrence of any fire, any plot or conspiracy, any escape, attempt or preparation to escape and any attack or preparation for attack upon any officer of the jail, or (xiv) : omits or refuses to help any officer of the jail in the case of an attempted escape on the part of any of his fellow prisoner, shall be deemed to have committed a jail offence.

3. Here I would like to mention that in my own case the physical treatment and care has been good and of understanding. I was not subjected to many an objectionable rule for which I am grateful to the concerned authorities.

A WORLD OF PERMANENT REVOLUTIONS

FRANCE, 1871 THE PARIS COMMUNE



It took the Prussian armies a scant six weeks in the summer of 1870 to crush the armies of France and topple the empire of Napoleon III. On 19th September, General von Moltke completed his encirclement of Paris and laid siege to the city, but it was 1 March 1871 before the German triumph was complete, and the victors marched ceremonially through the streets of the French capital. The defence had not been a military success so much as a triumph for the idea of the 'people in arms.' Parisians believed that the starvation, the German bombardment and the spirit of popular unity had created a new social and political order. An officer who experienced the siege described this new atmosphere: 'When you know Paris, she is not a town, she is an animated being, a natural person, who has her moments of fury, madness, stupidity, enthusiasm.' The product of this highly charged atmosphere was the Commune of 1871, which ruled Paris from 19 March 1871 to its bloody end in the last days of May 1871. The Commune became a landmark in the history of revolutions, the seizure of power by the people in a great European city. Like the fall of the Bastille, it became a symbol for future revolutionaries, more and more revered as it receded into history.

As an image of defiance, it is seductive. The people in arms did establish a counter-state, a revolution of, admittedly, brief duration. During the white terror over 20,000 were shot in the relentless 'cleansing' carried out by the national

government. The hundreds who were killed by the Commune dwindle into insignificance. All became martyrs for future generations of the left.

The events in Paris pioneered the idea of urban revolution in a way which no previous rising had done. The ultimate failure of the Commune was put down to technical flaws in its conduct. The Communards did not appreciate the effects which the rebuilding of Paris had on the techniques of street fighting. It was no longer the city of 1848. The new boulevards were too wide to be blocked by barricades, too easily outflanked by attacks launched along parallel streets. Only in the working-class districts to the east and the unreconstructed enclaves around Montmartre were the old tactics still effective. Nor did the military leaders of the Commune manage to enforce the central direction of the defence of the city. Street fighters were happy defending their own quarter, but felt distinctly uneasy on the barricades in the west end of the city. In a crisis, they tended to abandon their positions and return home. Because of this unfamiliarity with the terrain over which they fought, they were often at a disadvantage when faced by troops working with the street map. For the Communards, western Paris was enemy country.

Some of the inadequacies of the Communards were military and technical, others were political. Paris was isolated from the provinces, not only by the effects of the siege, but by a difference in attitudes. Parisians looked down on provincials, who were in turn horrified by the insane radicalism of the capital. There was no political programme, no notion as to how revolutionary Paris would inspire the nation to follow suit. It was fuelled by memories of the past, of 1789 and 1848. Families which had been persecuted under the revived monarchy had 'come out' in 1848, and they did so again in 1871. The insurrection in the streets provided its own logic, quite separate from any analysis of the real world around. As the troops of the Versailles government were pouring into the city, the chairman of the Commune, Adolphe Assi, roused the people of Paris thus: 'Enough of militarism! No more General Staffs with badges of rank and gold braid at every

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 three issues of Mankind we had given a descriptive account of the American Revolution : 1765-75; the French Revolution : 1789-95; the Irish Uprising : 1798; (in No. 7, April 1996); the Spanish Guerilla War : 1808-14; the Latin-American War of Independence : 1808-30; the Greek War of Liberation : 1821-27; the European Revolution and Counter Revolution : 1848-49 and the Italian War of Independence : 1860, (in No. 8, May 1996); The Overthrow of the Manchus in China : 1850-1911; the Dying Flicker of Feudalism in India; 1857-60; The Earthquake of Change in Japan; 1865-80; A Century of Revolution in Mexico : 1810-1920; Ibn Saud and the Sword of Islam in Arabia : 1900-35 (in No. 9, June 1996). We continue with France, The Paris Commune, 1871; and Russia, The Dress Rehearsal, 1905; Revolution and Civil War, 1917-21.

seam! Make way for the people, for the fighters with bare arms. The hour of revolutionary warfare has struck!" The Commune spurned professionalism in the art of war, believing that the left imbibed the skills of street warfare at the breast. The Commune lost because of its amateurism, and paid the price.

The lesson of the Commune is that cities are soft targets for a revolution. In the first hours of the revolution, when the troops of the national government attempted to neutralize the National Guard in Paris, by removing their artillery, they were defeated by the people pouring in their thousands into the streets. The revolutionaries did not seize power by force of arms, but by walking into the buildings abandoned in panic by the forces of order. Although there was more violence in both 1789 and 1848, the process was identical: the authorities lost their nerve. But while it is easy to take control, it is hard to galvanize a city sufficiently to resist a further coup. Paris, a large city by the standards of the time, was impossible to defend except by conventional military means. The Prussians had never put it to the test, being content with a little shelling and starvation. The only alternative was a scorched earth policy, a defence building by building, destroying what could not be held. It was not a strategy which the Communards contemplated.

The Commune ended with what was known as 'the bloody week.' The armies of the national government based at Versailles entered the city through an undefended point near the Point du Jour on Sunday 21 May. Over the next seven days, the army fought its way forward, sometimes advancing rapidly as they did in the south, sometimes meeting a strongpoint as they did around the Place Vendome and the Hotel de Ville. What they feared most was that the Commune would destroy the city rather than yield it. When a few buildings were set on fire along the Rue Royale to clear them of Versailles army snipers, it was thought that the Communards intended to fire the whole city. Wild rumours began to circulate of *petroleuses*, women armed with the fire bombs sent to burn Paris to the ground. There was no evidence that such a plan ever existed, but many women were shot out of hand by the army in their panic. Nor did they stop with the *petroleuses*. Communards caught with arms, or with gunpowder marks on their clothes, were summarily executed. One chimney sweep on his

way home blackened with soot met the same fate, despite his protested innocence. As the week wore on, the army's bloodlust rose, and by the time the soldiers reached the final redoubt, around Pere Lachaise, the Buttes Chaumont, and the Belleville suburb, they were determined to destroy working-class resistance for ever. Execution squads were set up at convenient points, and prisoners were 'processed' with only the semblance of a trial. The disposal of the bodies became a terrible problem. The smoke from the bodies burnt in Buttes Chaumont, hung over Paris, impregnating clothing with a sickly smell. Elsewhere mass graves were dug. Even after all this effort by the army, overwhelmed by the efficiency of their repression, the city of Paris had to dispose of 17,000 bodies. Nor were the executions in Paris the end of the reprisals. Many thousands were taken for trial and sentence to Versailles, more than 40,000 by some counts. In the words of Marshal MacMahon, the liberator of Paris: 'Today the struggle is ended; order, work and security will be reborn.'

Urban uprisings are easy to start, but they are hard to win. The lessons of the Commune obsessed Lenin, not only because he knew his history better than many revolutionaries, but because he also had the evidence of the suppression of the Moscow Revolution in 1905. Yet modern revolutions cannot succeed unless they are capable of taking over the cities. The increasing complexity of urban society makes it vulnerable to insurrection, but also impervious to total control. Even at the height of the Commune, the middle classes pursued the normal course of their lives, albeit a little fearfully. On the day before the army attacked, an English resident Edward Child recorded in his diary that he was at.....church at 11..... breakfasted au Cafe du Helderafterwards strolled to the Champs ElyseesLovely day." In the Commune, the old traditions and elements of the new were mixed. From this crucible emerged a formula which proved successful in October 1917 in Russia - and nowhere else since that date.

RUSSIA, 1905 THE DRESS REHEARSAL



The New Year and the feast of the Epiphany were always a time of friendship and goodwill in Russia when children were over-indulged, and a general air of cheerful optimism prevailed. The New Year of 1905 was no exception. It was true that the

country was at war with Japan and was not doing well, but the war was far distant at the end of the Trans-Siberian railway and although the Russian bear was slow to rouse, no one really doubted that the armies would triumph in the end. The war had been accompanied by considerable social discontent, and 1904 had seen political assassinations, demonstrations and strikes; and a general sense of disquiet. But even these negative factors had begun to diminish after an Imperial edict on 12 December made minor but significant concessions, giving the impression that the Czar and the government would become less intransigent. Thus it was barely credible news that on Sunday 9 January, a large but peaceful procession in St Petersburg which was making a well-advertised march to present an appeal to the Tsar had been received by volleys of well-aimed rifle fire from crack regiments of the garrison or troops specially brought in for the occasion.

This had happened not once but in places all over the capital. It could not possibly have been an accident, and the death toll, according to official figures, of more than a hundred and almost three hundred wounded, was raised to some 4600 by other reports.' The consequence of this sour new year was to be an army and a navy dissolving into mutiny, and a Russian empire with its towns and cities in open rebellion, and much of the countryside in the grip of a vast peasant uprising.

The 'revolution' of 1905 was not one but many movements of protest which formed temporary alliances against the common Czarist enemy. Yet the government did not perceive this fragmentation, which was a profound weakness in the revolutionary movement. They saw only the collage of the social base in the midst of the war, and disaffection springing up like rampant weeds. Their sense of paralysis is not surprising since the situation was unique in Russian history; but the cause of autocracy was unlucky in having Nicholas II as the man to face the crisis. His father Alexander III would have reacted, in the manner of Ivan the Terrible, with exemplary severity. This was in fact Nicholas' own

inclination, for he was determined to retain his autocratic rights intact. The orders which had led to Bloody Sunday sprang directly from this determination. But he was also shamed by the consequences of his decision. 'God, how sad and grim,' he had recorded in his diary on Sunday night. So he decided to attempt both concession and coercion at the same time. To his opponents this tremulous dithering merely signalled that autocracy had faltered, it was time to strike a further blow.

The Czar and the government believed it was all a conspiracy, in which simple but good-hearted Russians were misled by 'ill-intentioned leaders,' as Nicholas asserted in his manifesto to the people of 18 February. But the eruption was largely spontaneous, born of a deep anger at the autocratic system. Cities all over Russia came out in protest as they received the news of Bloody Sunday. More organised action followed almost immediately as workers left their factories *en masse*. Moscow was first on the day after the massacre, followed by Warsaw, Kharkov, Vilna, Kovno and Helsingfors on 11 January. The news was spread along the telegraph system, which the government was able to control through censorship. But it could not control the trains running all over Russia from Moscow and St. Petersburg. Railwaymen passed the news from station to station. On 12 January the wave of strikes hit Riga, Kiev, Voronezh, Mogilev, and Libau. By the seventeenth it had reached Batum, and by the next day Tiflis, and with it much of Caucasia was in turmoil. By the end of January almost half a million workers were on strike, plus many students and members of the 'intelligentsia', i.e. the

educated elite of the country. The protest was particularly strong in those marginal areas of the empire which were Russian only by right of possession. The minorities were active in the moves against the central government, but here, as with the conventional political parties, it was the people who were in advance of their leaders. The sudden crisis took everyone by surprise. The active revolutionaries in exile abroad had no real notion of what was going on in Russia, although Trotsky of the Social Democratic party and a few others re-entered Russia illegally to play their part. For the most part the leadership sat back and fantasized. Lenin, the thirty-five year-old leader of the Bolshevik faction of the Social Democrats (SD), began to take an active interest in the arts of street fighting. The Socialist Revolutionary party, who were stronger on the ground in Russia, particularly among the peasants,

had already developed an organization to carry out political assassinations, but they too were bemused by the new situation. The revolutionaries encouraged strikes, printed pamphlets, agitated and exhorted the workers to insurrection, but without any sense of what should be done to convert popular feeling into

popular revolution. Everyone had come out against the autocracy, even quite conventional and right-wing parties, and this was not the material from which a socialist revolution could be fashioned.

The most dangerous threat to the government came from the dominant role of the All Russian Union of Railway Employees and Workers. The centre of the railway network was the Moscow group of stations and railway yards, and these were dominated by the Menshevik wing of the Social Democratic party. The key line in Siberia, which was the lifeline to the troops fighting the Japanese, had many union branches dominated by the Bolshevik wing of the SDs. Between them, the two wings of the SDs could enforce paralysis throughout Russia, so long as they could carry the union membership with them. But because their membership was small and dispersed through the towns and cities of Russia, the socialists were reliant on support from a broad spectrum of opinion. They thus created events and demonstrations around which opposition could rally. May Day, the traditional worker's holiday, was made an occasion for widespread protest strikes and marches carried through to 2 May. By such means as these they were able to reinforce the sense of purpose which had quickly ebbed in the masses. The strikers of January had mostly returned to work by April, but over 200,000 again came out in response to the May Day appeal. The support for action was there, but it was difficult to sustain for long periods. However, one factor which served to harden antagonism

MOSCOW 1905

On 7 December 1905 a general strike began in Moscow which paralyzed the economic life of the city as well as halting communications by rail through much of Russia. The authorities were largely inactive, despite their fear that the revolution would spread to the troops of the garrison. One detachment – the 2nd Rostov Grenadiers – had already mutinied. On the following day the governor of the city, F. V. Durnasov, ordered the police and a core of loyal troops to arrest the ringleaders. This provoked the strikers to take militant action and barricades were thrown up all over the city, but the insurrection had no real chance of success. The population as a whole was largely indifferent, and while the revolutionaries dominated the areas around the centre they could make no impression on the central area dominated by the Kremlin and other major buildings. However, the governor did not have the resources to attack the revolutionaries: on 12 December, he telegraphed for reinforcements: 'The situation continues to be serious: a network of barricades is constricting the city ever more tightly: there are clearly not enough troops for counteraction. It is absolutely essential to send a brigade of infantry from St. Petersburg. The revolutionaries had not succeeded in blocking the railway, or in taking control of all the stations, and on 15 December the Semeonovsky Guards, together with artillery and supporting infantry, arrived at the Nicholas Station and moved to attack the revolutionary stronghold. They shelled the Presnya district in the west mercilessly, and executed many of the prisoners they took. On 19 December the strike and the revolution collapsed. It had been a virtual re-run of the Paris Commune, with the revolutionary forces failing to take basic military precautions, and then collapsing in the face of a superior and professional armed force. Over a thousand died in the course of the fighting and many thousands were exiled to Siberia. It revealed once again that the city could easily become a killing ground for revolutionary ambitions,

was the growing number of clashes between troops and strikers, which resulted in many deaths and injuries. Nor were the troops themselves immune. In June the flagship of the Black Sea fleet, the battleship *Potemkin* came out in mutiny in Odessa. In the space of twenty-four hours on 15/16 Jun 1905, Odessa erupted into revolution. Over 2000 were killed within a few days. More sinister still, the rural areas which had been relatively quiet now began to grow increasingly turbulent. By the late autumn, it seemed that the worst fears of the landlords and nobility might be realized with a peasant war in the countryside. Concessions by the government failed to have little more than a temporary effect.

In October another and even more effective strike movement was organized, and by 16 October the entire railway system was at a standstill. More cities were involved than ever before. On 17

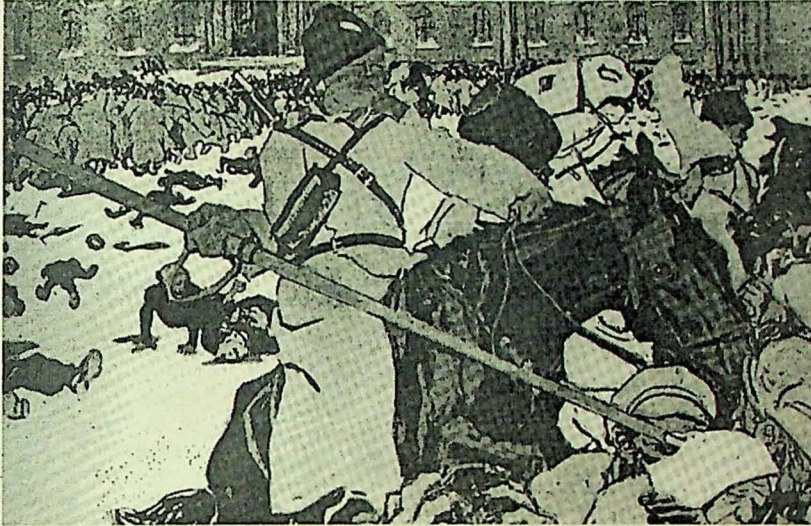
October, the Czar made what he believed was the ultimate concession. He agreed to an elected *Duma* (parliament), and to a limit being set on his autocracy. At that point, he thought, his back was to the wall.

But the sacrifice of autocracy had not been in vain. The decree succeeded in convincing the disaffected establishment - the intelligentsia, the dissident bureaucrats, what passed for a middle class - that their future lay with the forces of order rather than disorder. The fragile alliance began to crumble. The parties of the left, having at last come to see the potential for a radical revolution, became more and more violent in their proclamations and behaviour, causing panic among the faint-hearted. On 2 December the *soviet* (worker's council) in St Petersburg declared that the Czarist government was 'openly at war with its own people,' and proposed retaliation through a general strike. The strongest challenge came from Moscow, which came out in open armed revolt.

It was a confrontation which the government was at last prepared to face. In the interval since the issue of the Czar's October manifesto the government had been acting to suppress the disturbances at their most vulnerable, but potentially most damaging, points and strong military forces had been sent to 'pacify' the countryside. The provinces of Saratov, Penza, Tambov, Kursk, Voronezh and Chernigov were the first to suffer. Village by village the army, usually the Cossack regiments, demanded the surrender of known troublemakers. In any village where the rebels were not surrendered, exemplary punishment was borne by the whole community. It was the classically effective technique of quelling rural unrest: hang the ringleaders, flog the rank and file, terrorize the innocent. The next to feel the lash of the *nagaika* (the Cossack whip) or even the forbidden *knout* were the minority regions of the Baltic and Poland. In the Baltic provinces more than two thousand were executed and there were countless fines and floggings. The suppression of the more distant areas of the rebellion came after the conquest of the revolution in St Petersburg and Moscow. The greatest resistance was found among the troops in Siberia, where the mutineers were caught between punitive expeditions sent one from the east and one from the west. When the mutiny in Chita finally collapsed towards the end of January 1906, the government brought troops back from the east to occupy and purge the dissident provinces of the west.

In the end, it was the methods of Ivan the Terrible, or at least Peter the Great, which provided the key to the situation. Despite the mutinies and the surly resentment in the army, the Czar possessed sufficient loyal troops to overcome any internal

enemy foolish enough to confront him. Until December 1905, the revolution was not a revolution but a mass protest; Nicholas could not accept more Bloody Sundays on a national scale. Moreover, there were doubts whether the troops would obey. But in December, it was clear that the government was going to be faced by both rural and urban insurrection. The troops had been blooded in suppressing the peasants, and these successes began to restore the government's confidence. But the key to success was the government's capacity to move its loyal regiments by rail to overwhelm any nodule of opposition. The railway strike began to break down early in December, and many railwaymen, the elite of Russian workers, had no interest in violent insurrection. With the support of some railway workers and officials, plus the aid of its own railway battalions, the government was able to reinforce the garrison in Moscow, while the revolutionaries there received a pitiful degree of



The Cossacks attack the people of St. Petersburg after a march led by Father Gapon. This was the catalyst of the 1905 Revolution

practical support from revolutionaries elsewhere.

Order was restored, the guilty were punished, and most of the old system was reimposed. However, the constitutional concessions could not simply be abandoned, and in February 1906, a new set of Fundamental Laws was issued. In these it was stated that 'To the Emperor of All the Russias belongs the supreme autocratic power.' not as before 'the supreme and unlimited autocratic power.' The *Duma* existed, as did the State Council, and those who wished to be able to see a new dawn breaking. Such confidence was illusory. It was summed up neatly in the Almanach de Gotha, which before 1906 classed Russia as an 'absolute monarchy' and after as 'a constitutional monarchy ruled by an autocrat' The change was formal and fictitious. What was not fictitious was the concerted effort made by Peter Stolypin to remedy some of the grossest inequities in rural life, and to encourage the process of modernization generally. Between the 1905 Revolution and the First World War, great economic advances were made, and by the time that Nicolas celebrated the 500th anniversary of Romanov rule in 1913, he could congratulate himself that not only had he preserved his autocratic inheritance, but that Russia seemed more tranquil and prosperous than it had done within living memory. 1905 became a bad dream.

The revolutionaries, however, did not or could not forget it. It revealed the strength and resilience of the Czarist system, provided it could still call upon armed force to support it. A few regiments had sufficed to take back Moscow from the insurgents, while the total number of arms possessed by the revolutionaries in St Petersburg was about 6000, and many of those were only pistols and revolvers. A worker's militia stood no chance against

trained troops. Lenin drew from the experience of 1905 and concluded, citing Marx, that 'insurrection is an art,' and that the revolution was lost if it did not possess the initiative 'The principal rule of this art is that an audacious and determined *offensive* must be waged.....We have not sufficiently mastered this art, nor taught it to the masses, this rule of attacking, come what may. But this passionate insurrectionism, which his enemies were quick to label 'Blanquism' after the French fanatic, carried equal dangers, as became clear in 1917. No one had any real idea what was to be done.

In 1905 the autocracy had lost its nerve and the great army of bureaucrats was rendered powerless by this indecision. There was no policy to carry out, only a series of tentative gestures; and

RUSSIA, 1917-21 THE REVOLUTION AND CIVIL WAR

At the end of his novel *Dead Souls*, published in 1842, Nikolai Gogol presents an image of Russia wholly unlike the torpid, sullen Russia of his own day. 'And you, Russia - aren't you racing headlong like the fastest *troika* imaginable? The road smokes under you, bridges rattle and everything falls behind....And where do you fly to, Russia? Answer me!... She does not answer. The carriage bells break into an enchanted tinkling, the air is torn to shreds and turns into wind; everything on earth flashes past, and casting worried sidelong glances, other nations and countries step out of her way.'

By 1914, Mother Russia was fulfilling Gogol's vision. The country surged ahead in a fury of industrialization which amazed her competitors. Foreign experts were brought to install plants and develop new industries, while Russia began to copy the products of the West; enlarged industrial regions around Moscow, north to Ivanovo and Yaroslavl in the Urals, around the capital St Petersburg, and in a great sweep south of Kharkov to the lands of the Dnieper and Don rivers, began to transform the country. The new urban working class was at most a generation old, and the majority were only a few years off the land. The bond and contact between city and countryside was unusually close.

One factor which had encouraged an even greater flight from the land were the reforms initiated by Peter Stolypin. By 1913 the rural population was a little in excess of 103 million, and of that figure almost three million were a new class of peasant proprietors, smallholders created by the Stolypin policies. Where the new holdings were created by enclosing and consolidating land formally held communally, it meant that the land tended

to support fewer people, although the new proprietors were better off than before.

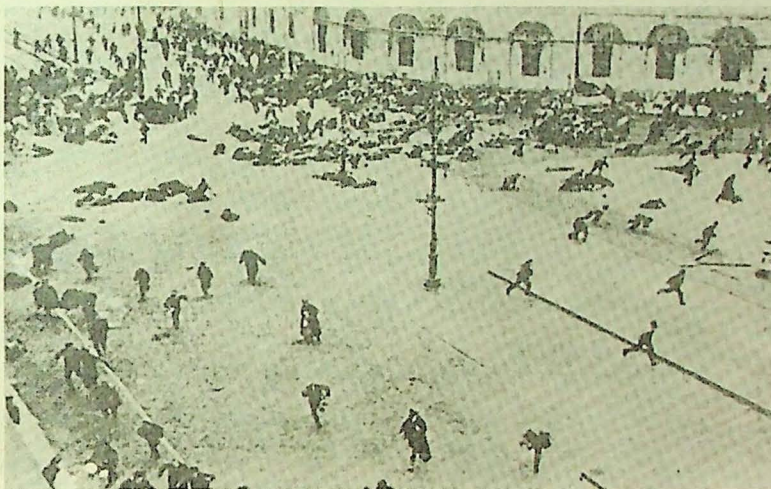
Once in the towns, the former peasants formed a rootless and unstable element. They were prominent in the wave of strikes which rose from a low figure in the immediate aftermath of the 1905 Revolution to more than a million days lost by 1914. For many Russian workers and peasants, life was in a state of ferment before the outbreak of war in 1914, and both society and the governmental system were under strain. The pressures generated by war blew the system apart. In many ways it made Russia more modern and economically efficient than ever before. Productivity rose prodigiously, and Russian industry responded to the demands of a war economy. What suffered was the elaborate system of control and manipulation which allowed central authority to function. Before the war Russia had been the most over-governed country in the world, more bureaucratized and tightly controlled than at any previous stage in her history. The transformation of the country into an adjunct of the military system created chaos. Railway transport was requisitioned for military needs, so food could not be sent to the cities in sufficient quantities. Shells and ammunition were produced in profusion, but supplied in the wrong calibre or stockpiled in the wrong place. The countryside was drained of men, not only the millions drafted into the army (and slaughtered on the eastern front), but those who had surged into the cities, many of them into the capital whose name was changed from the German St. Petersburg to the Russian Petrograd in a mood of patriotic elation. Inflation rose as the government resorted to any expedient to raise money to finance the war. The govern-

ment's main effort to exercise control was directed at food prices, and enforcing the peasants to accept artificially low prices for their grain and livestock. The consequence was a passive refusal by the peasants to sell, despite all the pressure which the rural authorities could bring to bear, except to the increasingly flourishing black market. By 1917, the cities were on the point of starvation, while the armies, badly led and the victims of logistical chaos, were on the point of mutiny. The Czar, who had taken up the active role of Commander-in-Chief in 1915, remained at the General Staff Headquarters at Mogilev, largely insulated from the accelerating collapse of the system. The ministers who remained in the capital, existed in limbo, often unable to issue orders on their own account or afterwards finding that they had been countermanded by the military authorities. Uncertainty and disillusion were the norm, and the feeling grew everywhere that the autocracy had failed Russia both on the battlefield and in the wasting paralysis of the home front.

In January 1917, after months of industrial unrest, agitators in the working class area of Vyborg roused the workers to 'prepare for a general assault' because 'events were moving with incredible speed. The final collapse of the system came through mass action by every section of society: when it came to the crunch, virtually no one was prepared to sacrifice themselves for the Romanovs. By mid-February 1917, Petrograd had barely ten days supply of grain. Moscow and the industrial cities of Vladimir province suffered in the same way. Faced with the threat of starvation, the people rioted; towards the end of the month, mass demonstrations were organized by the political parties and the trade unions. On 24 February, the police opened fire and many civilians were killed or injured. On the following day, when the bridges across the river were blocked by police, they crossed the Neva on the ice. Mass meetings were held, and at one, when a mounted

policeman aimed his rifle at the speaker, a Cossack trooper spurred his horse forward and sabred the policeman to the ground. If the Cossacks were no longer to be trusted, what reliance could be placed on the loyalty of the rest of the huge Petrograd garrison? But on 26 February, the soldiers were brought out against the demonstrators and more than forty civilians were killed in Znamensky Square. Afterwards soldiers of the Pavlovsky, Preobrazhensky and Volynsky regiments declared that they would refuse further orders to fire on the workers. Officers who came to bring them to order were shot, and on the following morning, the soldiers surged into the streets from their barracks and joined the processions of demonstrators streaming into the city for the fourth day running.

Many joined in the great milling crowd, which pressed towards the Winter Palace. The troops in the arsenal had broken open the weapon racks and handed 40,000 rifles into the eager hands of the people. Small pockets of resistance were quickly overcome by the overwhelming force of soldiers and armed workers. Soon, the Comte de Chamberlain observed, as he later wrote home to France, "The Pavlovsky regiment marched from its quarters, with its band playing. I watched the battalions pass in close order, led by their non-commissioned officers. Instinctively I followed them. To my surprise, they marched towards the Winter Palace, went in, saluted by the sentries, and invaded and occupied it. I waited for a few moments and saw the Imperial flag come slowly down, drawn by invisible hands. Soon after . . . I saw a red flag floating over the palace." The people had risen, like a repeat of 1905. They demanded, as their banners proclaimed day by day along the Nevsky Prospekt, 'Bread', 'Peace', and 'Down with Autocracy'. In the rising of the 27 February over 66,000 troops had disobeyed their officers, and the remaining two thirds of the garrison could not be relied on. But the revolutionaries, or at least the more alert of them, saw their peril. Rumours grew that a huge army was on its way to take back the city by storm, and the pressing need was to consolidate the rising. An immediate response was to form a soviet which, as in 1905, could co-ordinate the actions of the workers. The Duma, which had defied an Imperial order not to hold its sitting, tried to take the leading role. From the steps of the Taurida, Kerensky told a milling crowd who demanded 'instructions', 'directives': 'Arrest the ministers, seize the post office, the telegraphs, the telephones. Occupy the railway stations, the government offices.' It was good advice. The soviet established later in the evening of 27 February, of which Kerensky and some other Duma deputies were members, set up a workers' militia, and launched a revolutionary daily newspaper, *Izvestia*. By dawn



Petrograd, 1917. The first attempt by the Bolsheviks to take power was defeated in July. Here people scatter with the approach of armoured cars firing their machine guns. In October, the Bolsheviks made no mistake.

on 1 March 1917, the revolution had triumphed in Petrograd.

Power now lay in the streets, controlled, if at all through the soviet. But legitimate authority, in so far as it lay anywhere, resided in the Duma, the only popularly elected body. While the Duma rallied to form a 'provisional government', the soviet struggled to preserve and push forward the revolution. The soviets spread almost spontaneously across Russia as the news of the events in Petrograd became known, workers and soldiers in each locality seeking to take over power. The political complexion of the soviets varied from place to place, for all the left-wing parties were striving to achieve dominance. The strongest group was the Socialist Revolutionaries, followed by the Menshevik wing of the Social Democrats. Much weaker was the Bolshevik wing of the Social Democrats, especially since they had virtually no influence within the army. The Bolsheviks had not made the revolution: no one had, except the angry masses of Petrograd. At best the Bolsheviks had pushed and exhorted where they could. Within three days of

the triumph of the revolution in Petrograd, the respectable elements in the Duma were seeking to restore calm and order. They dispatched a deputation to Pskov to demand the Czar's abdication. There Nicholas met the delegation and told them he had decided to abdicate in favour of his brother. They were struck by his calm, and his apparent indifference. His brother Michael decided to renounce the throne as well. When this joint abdication was

announced to the people of the capital, there was wild rejoicing. In the crowd an officer named Mstislavsky, who had sided with the revolution remarked to a friend: 'Now it is finished.' An unseen woman answered him: 'You are wrong, little father. Not enough blood has flowed.'

Very late on the night of 3 April 1917, a small group of Bolshevik leaders arrived from exile at the Finland Station in Petrograd. Completely ignoring a welcoming speech - 'We believe that the main task of revolutionary democracy consists now of defending our revolution against all attempts against it, internal and external' - Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, better known as Lenin, spoke to the crowd beyond the official delegation. His words set the tone for his future actions. He called the soldiers and workers, the vanguard of the world proletarian army, and promised a new epoch of world socialist revolution. From the moment he returned, Lenin worked for the overthrow of the cautious and tentative arrangements created in March. He had to struggle not merely against the Russian establishment as embodied in the Provisional Government, but against the revolutionary institutions and parties themselves. The soviet, the Mensheviks, the Socialist Revolutionaries, and most of his own Bolshevik party leaders

believed that unity in the face of the external and internal enemies was the only course to follow. He recognized that the principal need was to extend the tiny Bolshevik base among the soldiers, and to consolidate their organization in factories and among the workers. Lenin's technique, to call ceaselessly for radical socialist revolution, found an audience, and one which he could not control. On 3-4 July, the radicals among the soldiers, and in particular the ultra-radical sailors from the Kronstadt naval base took to the streets demanding 'all power to the soviet'. The soldiers had no intention of following the orders they had received to join the offensive launched against the German armies on 18 June, and determined to throw out the government instead. Lenin was taking a few days' rest in Finland, and in his absence the Bolshevik leadership interpreted the rising as the revolution he had demanded. But the soviet, far from accepting power from the hands of the radicals, allowed the remaining troops of the garrison into the streets to suppress them. The Bolsheviks' Military Committee had helped to plan the rising, and the party as a whole was held responsible for it. Lenin's 'insurrectionism' brought the party to the verge of catastrophe as all its enemies united against it. Lenin was accused of having received money from the Germans, and Bolshevik became a synonym for traitor.

PETROGRAD 1917

The takeover in Petrograd was a creeping occupation of the strategic points of the city rather than a lightning coup as the timetable makes clear.

October 24 before dawn

Rumours circulate that provisional government is massing troops to take over Petrograd. Cadets occupy *Trud* printing press, which produces radical newspapers.

9.00 a.m. : Detachment of Litovsky Regiment and Sixth Engineers both strongly revolutionary retake *Trud* on orders of the Military Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd soviet. **Trotsky heads the MRC.** Bolshevik Central Committee is in permanent session in Smolny Institute, headquarters of *soviet*.

noon Troops loyal to Provisional Government : women's Shock Battalion and cadets - reinforce garrison in the Winter Palace, seat of the government. During the afternoon, Kerensky tries and fails to rally support.

2.30 pm Cadets attempt to occupy Liteiny Bridge, driven off by armed workers. Soldiers occupy smaller Grenadersky and Samsonovsky bridges linking the Vyborg and Petrograd side for the MRC. Cadets succeed in beating Red Guards at Nikolaevsky bridge. Palace Bridge held by Shock Battalion and cadets for the government.

4.00 pm Cycle troops withdraw from the Winter Palace.

5.00 pm The MRC takes over the Central Telegraph Office. Cadets fail to retake it at 8.00 pm.

9.00 pm MRC takes over the Petrograd Telegraph Office.

9.00 pm Ismailovsky Guards take over Baltic Station to prevent reinforcements for Provisional Government arriving from Gulf of Finland Troitsky Bridge occupied by soldiers.

Late evening Lenin arrives at Smolny after perilous journey from the Vyborg side.

October 25 midnight

Sailors take over Cruiser *Aurora* in Petrograd docks, and move up the river Neva.

2.00 pm Sixth Engineers occupy Nikolaevsky Station. MRC takes over Petrograd electric station and cuts power to the Winter Palace. Take-over of main post office.

3.30 am Cruiser *Aurora* moves up to Nikolaevsky Bridge and sailors take it from cadets.

6.00 am Sailors occupy State Bank, while soldiers guarding it remain neutral.

7.00 am Keksgolmsky Regiment occupies main telephone exchange. Cuts all lines to provisional government and the military command.

8.00 am MRC takes command at Warsaw Station the last of the main termini. Kerensky, having failed to win over the Cossacks by a last appeal; prepares to leave the capital.

noon Bolsheviks imprisoned in the Crosses Prison are released.

2.00 pm Ships arrive from Kronstadt to support the rising, carrying a large detachment of armed sailors. Approaches to the Winter Palace are sealed off. Emergency session of the Petrograd soviet begins at Smolny.

6.15 pm *Garrison* begins to desert the Winter Palace. Artillery cadets leave.

8.00 pm 200 Cossacks leave the Winter Palace for their barracks.

9.40 pm *Aurora* fires a blank shell, many more leave the palace.

11.00 pm Shelling of the palace begins.

October 26, 2.00 am.

Revolutionary troops enter the Winter Palace, by now almost entirely deserted. The remaining ministers are arrested.

5.00 am The marathon session of the soviet ends with a large majority in favour of Lenin's manifesto declaring the end of the provisional government. Those opposing him, the Mensheviks etc, have already left in disgust.

While the purges following the failure of the July rising damaged the Bolsheviks' cells everywhere, they were less effective in the provinces and at points distant from the capital. The failure of the vaunted June offensive, soon lent weight to the Bolshevik argument, that peace, without penalty or annexation, was the only solution, while continued war only threatened the revolution. A number of Bolshevik strongpoints were established, and the party's stock rose immeasurably after the attempted counter-revolution of General Kornilov (26-30 August) implicated many of the 'class enemies' whom they had attacked so remorselessly. The Bolsheviks were also able to make more progress among the peasants by adopting policies, in many cases identical with those of the Socialist Revolutionaries, which chimed in with peasant wishes. Above all this meant the demand for nationalization of the land, although the Bolsheviks harped on the nationalization of the large estates rather than the total nationalization to which Lenin was committed. But the land was being transferred, in action after action as the peasants occupied the land, quite outside the control of anything the authorities in Petrograd might determine.

The Bolsheviks survived the July debacle, and recovered during August, but they remained extremely wary of Lenin's calls for a new insurrection. At a meeting on 15 September he was turned down flat. The

strength of Lenin's position lay in his consistency, advocating what was visionary rubbish in April but by October seemed increasingly plausible. By the autumn the compromises and political structures created by the February revolution were visibly failing. The provisional government was not winning the war to which it had committed itself. The food crisis had not been resolved as it had promised. The peasants had received no satisfaction for their demands, only a bleat of disquiet when they took what they wanted for themselves. The provisional government had failed, as the Bolsheviks had always said it would, and they were the only major group uncompromised by its failure. They offered a radical solution to the problems of Russia.

The only group which could make a revolution were those with arms, and Bolshevik efforts were concentrated on the soldiers and the workers' militias, the Red Guards. Many of the detachments which had come into being in the spring had fallen away in membership and training, and the Bolsheviks took good care to enlarge and revive the organization with their own people. Once again the Kornilov episode was the catalyst, and during September and October the Red Guards' numbers grew in factories throughout the capital and the other cities. Their quality was variable, as was their standard of equipment: in the Vyborg district of Petrograd, only one man in three had a rifle. Although their role in the seizure of power in the capital was secondary to that of the soldiers, in the mining and industrial districts of the southern Urals the factory 'combat squads' insurrection depended on the attitude of the army and more exactly, the large detachments in and around Petrograd.

The progress made by the Bolsheviks within the army was remarkable. On the south-western and Romanian fronts, there had been seventy-four Bolshevik groups in July. By November 1917 there were 280. In Petrograd, radical ideas were very strong among the soldiers, but couched in terms of loyalty to the soviet. Many Bolsheviks feared any insurrection would be a repetition of the July catastrophe unless the rising came about with the support of the soviet. The dangers posed by counter-revolutionary generals and by attempts to transfer radical troops out of the city, forced the soviet Executive Committee to create a Military Revolutionary Committee to control military matters. Through this ostensibly non-party group, the Bolsheviks were able to prepare a rising which would be executed in the name of the soviet, rather than merely the Bolsheviks acting alone. It would provide legitimacy in the eyes of the non-Bolshevized regiments, on whose acquiescence any rising would depend. If the bulk of the garrison remained friendly or neutral, then a rising in the capital could succeed. From mid-October, frantic efforts were made to win over the regiments. A garrison conference was established to sound out opinions among the units, and to win them over to the notion of radical action, if it became necessary. At the 21 October meeting of the garrison conference, after a stirring speech by Leon Trotsky, of the Military Revolutionary Committee and the architect of the insurrection, 'the representative of the 14th Don Cossack Regiment caused a sensation when he declared that his regiment would not only not support any counter-revolutionary moves, irrespective of whence they came, but would fight the counter-revolution with all its strength: ...' On 23 October, the last major obstacle, the crucial garrison of the Peter and Paul fortress whose guns dominated the capital, fell in line behind the Committee; their support also gave the radicals control over all the arms in the arsenal.

Through all this careful planning and propaganda, Lenin was proclaiming his litany of insurrection now, without more work, more planning, more consolidation within the army and the factories. Had it not been for his immense powers of persuasion, it is unlikely that the terrifying leap in the dark would have been

taken. But, equally, had he had his way in September or early October, the result would almost certainly have been another dismal failure. The revolution which began early on 24 October succeeded because no one attempted to stop it. The sole armed resistance came from officers, military cadets, some bicycle troops, and a woman's battalion. The plan called for the seizure of the bridges, capture of the railway stations and the telegraph and telephone offices, while the ships from Kronstadt joined the cruiser Aurora which was refitting in Petrograd dockyard, and moved to dominate the administrative heart of the city. Once the plan had succeeded - and the control of the bridges was crucial, for the river was not iced over as in February - the outlook for the resistance on behalf of the Provisional Government in the area of the Winter Palace was dismal. 'What will happen to the palace if the Aurora opens fire?' asked one anxious cabinet member. 'It will be turned into a heap of ruins,' was the laconic reply of Admiral Verderevsky, who was in a position to know. At the Council of Soviets in the Smolny Institute, where Lenin had arrived in heavy disguise after a dangerous trip across the city, the radicals needed a quick kill, before the forces of constitutional order, the Duma and the supporters of the provisional government could rally. The Mensheviks were outraged at the turn of events. At 2.00 am in the early morning of 26 October the Winter Palace was occupied, and the remaining members of the provisional government were arrested. The Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets, representing workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the nation fell in behind Lenin and the Bolsheviks. The seizure of the instruments of power was complete. But could they now hold them? There were rumours of avenging armies of counter-revolutionaries advancing on the capital, while on 29 October military cadets seized various buildings in Petrograd, attempting a counter-coup. None of the regiments joined them; the pact of neutrality held and the cadets were quickly suppressed. But beyond the city lay real armies dedicated to the destruction of the revolution, and the events of 1917 were prolonged into years of civil war.

The revolution of October 1917 was followed by four years of civil war more savage and bitter than almost any other civil conflict within modern history. The new Bolshevik regime was faced by all those forces from whom it had taken control of Russia in October. In terms of military expertise, and certainly with the intervention of the Allied forces against the revolution from the summer of 1918, in terms of equipment, the White armies seemed to have the advantage. But they were a ragbag of assorted interests united only by their hatred of the Reds. The White armies attacked the Reds from all points of the compass, but the Reds held the core of Russia, the central ground. The inner lines of communication were to prove vital as Trotsky created his Red Army from a motley collection of Red Guards, former soldiers, peasants and conscripts. The main problem was food, for the Whites dominated the areas which had formerly supplied the urban areas of Russia with much of their grain. The scanty rations which had helped to provoke the October rising in Petrograd were abundance compared with what was available in the summer of 1918. Frequently there was no bread at all. The answer of the Bolsheviks was to press much harder on the peasants to disgorge the grain they had hoarded or were feeding to their livestock. In the poor and relatively unproductive agricultural areas within the control of the new government the peasants were pressed hard. On occasions their resentment expressed itself in revolt, as in Tambov province, where almost unspeakable atrocities were inflicted by peasants on Reds unfortunate enough to be captured by them. The Red armies responded in kind as they did everywhere.

The consequence of the civil war was massive loss of life

and devastation, and the final expulsion of the White armies, leaving Trotsky and the Bolsheviks in undisputed control of a prostrate country. They tidied up the remnants, like the revolutionary anarchists of Nestor Makhno who had been occasional allies in the region south of Kharkov, and slapped down the hotheads, like the revolutionary sailors at Kronstadt. The national minorities, whom they had encouraged to think and behave independently, were once more brought under the dominion of central authority. For a time Lenin thought exclusively in terms of a worldwide revolution springing from a Russian core. By November 1920, a new tone was creeping in: 'It has transpired that neither one side nor the other, neither the Soviet Russian Republic nor the whole remaining capitalist world, has won a victory or succumbed to defeat, and at the same time it has transpired that, although our predictions have not been fulfilled simply, quickly and directly, they have been fulfilled to the extent that they have given us the main thing, and the main thing was to secure the possibility of the existence of proletarian government and the Soviet republic even in the event of the delay of the socialist revolution in the entire world.' The stage was set for 'socialism in one country', with world revolution to be achieved by other means. The civil war brought even Lenin down to what was possible.

The dissolution of Czarism and the rebuilding of Russia in a new image was not accomplished by steady progress, but in a series of flurries and retreats. The destruction of the army as a means of enforcing the will of government, was an act of fundamental importance. The army was not united, and the front soldiers often despised the 'slackers' in garrison to the rear as much as they did the ostensible enemy. But front and rear were united in their rejection of the old blind and unquestioning obedience - an attitude legitimized by the first decree issued by the Petrograde soviet. Order Number One, issued on 1 March 1917, established soviets in military units as among the workers, and denounced the structure of absolute obedience which had previously bound the army to its officers. From 1 March in Petrograd, and soon afterwards in the front and elsewhere in the country, officers could only issue orders with the consent of their soldiers. From that point, the army was an unknown quantity, the instrument of whichever group could manipulate it. After Order Number One groups of officers began to plan what became first the Kornilov putsch, and then the White movement. From that point also began the steady Bolshevization of the army units, which was to be the key to the success of the October rising in Petrograd and in the seizure of power throughout Russia.

continued from page 66

NOTES

1. J.N. Farguhar "An Outline of the Religious Literature of India" 1920. pp 346-7 For a bibliography see Lbid p 383.
2. P. Chenchiah and M.B. Rao "A History of Telugu Literature" p. 99. See C.E. Gover "Folk Songs of Southern India" 1827 p 265-268
3. Gover, *opcit* pp 288-9
4. Gover, *opcit* p 289
5. Chenchiah Rao *opcit* p 99
6. A. A. Macdonell "India's Past" pp 214-5
7. Gover *opcit* p 275; See also V.A. Smith "The Oxford History of India" 2nd Edition 1923 pp 40-1.
8. Gover, *opcit* pp 269-270
9. Modern Benares-a place of pilgrimage.
10. Places of pilgrimage.
11. Gover, *opcit* pp 271-2.
12. Benaras, considered to be a holy place.
13. Gover, *opcit* pp 273-4.
14. This is a reference to images of bulls in India, generally worshipped by followers of Siva.
15. This is also reference to images of bulls in India, generally worshipped by followers of Siva.
16. Gover, *opcit* pp 276-7.
17. Reference to hoarding of money.
18. Gover, *opcit* pp 286-289.
19. Sudras, 4th caste.
20. The second birth of the Brahmin does not take place until the 13th year, when the Sacred thread is first placed on his shoulders. Upto that period he is one-born, that is, a Sudra. Vemana frequently refers to this fact and taunts the Brahmins with having Sudras themselves.
21. It is imperative on the twice-born to carry on their foreheads the mark of their God. The vaishnavas wear tri-dent, a centre prong of which is continued just on to the bridge of the nose. The Saiva mark is a colored spot just above the nose. In addition to this the Saiva devotee should make three horizontal parallel lines with sandal-wood ash, extending from one temple to the other. A zealous worshipper of either Vishnu or Siva will carry the marks on his breast, arms and back. Nowadays all the four caste people wear these marks.
22. Till the ceremony of the putting on of the thread, the postulant is not a Brahman. He is not a member of any other caste and is, therefore, an outcaste.
23. He cannot take his thread with him - his new birth has failed him, for the dead are ceremonially unclean. If, therefore, he is not born a Brahmin and cannot continue holy at death, what good is Brahminship at all?
24. This trenchant verse refers to the Yajna Sacrifice. At this ceremony a goat is roasted and every Brahmin who assists in the rite is obliged to eat of the flesh.

(From the book *Studies in Hindu Materialism*, 1994. Shri. T. Ravi Chand of the Dr. K.B. Krishna Memorial Committee, is the publisher of this book. A few editorial changes have been made relating to Telugu language and speakers)

VEMANA — A MATERIALIST (fl.c. 1400 A.D.)

Dr. K. B. Krishna

A. DATE AND AUTHORSHIP

Some say that Vemana was a Prince belonging to the family of the Vema Reddis who ruled in the Krishna, Guntur and Nellore districts for a century.¹ Others say that he was an Advaitic mystic, a Sannyasi (saint) who has renounced the world.² Still others maintain that he could not have been a Sannyasi but a Jain³. Whatever he might be, he could not have been a Sannyasi as his poem on Brahmins attests⁴. His birth place is equally uncertain. Claims have been made for Kondavidu, in the ceded districts, and Katarupalli, a village where his tomb exists. Nor can we fix his date even approximately. Various suggestions have been made, but none on convincing grounds. It is probable that he lived in the beginning of the fifteenth century A.D. He is the greatest moral teacher of the Andhras⁵.

His works are written in Andhra. The language called "Andhra Bhasa" by Sanskrit writers is Telugu. It is spoken by 67 millions. It is the chief language in Eastern India, extending from Madras northwards to near Orissa. It is also spoken in the eastern part of the State of Hyderabad (Telegana) and in the extreme south of the present Vidharba (Maharashtra) reaching southwards into Madhya Pradesh. It has an extensive literature written in a script of its own⁶. Vemana even to day is very popular with the Andhras.

B. MATERIALIST THOUGHT

Vemana was a popular poet. He attacked the orthodoxy of the day in a style intelligible to the masses. His "Sataka", a book of gnomic verses contains an attack on the caste system.

"If we look through all the earth,
Men, we see, have equal birth;
Made in one great brotherhood,
Equal in the sight of God.

Food or caste or place of birth

cannot after human worth.

Why let caste be so supreme?

'Tis but folly's passing stream.....

Empty is a caste - dispute

All the castes have but one root.

Who on earth can 'eer decide

Whom to praise and whom deride?

Why should we the Pariah

(untouch-able) screen,

When his flesh and blood were born

Like to ours? What caste is He

Who doth dwell in all we see"⁶

In his poem on "observance of Ritual"⁸ he ridicules many Brahmanic ideas.

"To pray and serve yet not be pure.... can never turn to good. Our sins grown ever from our deeds. It is better to see our needs than look to works for grace. A sinful man cannot obtain the things that Kasi⁹ gives. Though hypocrites should meditate they never attain the holy state. Sanctity is not where holy steams unite. God looks not on our race or dress. What fools the pilgrims are who think that God may not be found at home. With eager mind, they see Sathu, Prayaghi, Kasi, Madura and Kanchi.¹⁰ What can all these do? It is naught but walking far. To feed the hungry and the poor is nobler deed than sacrifice. Some mortify their flesh and take the name of saints; yet cannot cleanse their hearts.... The sacrifice, fools lift up, is never perfect; brings no profit."

In this poem Vemana attacks the inefficacy of prayers that are unaccompanied by right conduct, the futility of pilgrimages, the distinctions of race and dress and the emptiness of ceremonial sacrifices.

In his poem on "Ritual not Religion"¹¹ he attacks orthodoxy still further.

"Benares¹² will not make a pig as great as an elephant. A vile sinner will not be made into a saint by reading Vedas. Happiness is not outside. It is within you.

"To live in the forest, to stand perfectly

still in deep meditation, to chant in a loud monotone the name of the deity, and to take every opportunity of ceremonial bathing - are the marks of an orthodox saint. The poet writes that some animals can excel these external characteristics. The crane stands still. The ass brays. The frog bathes often. What is the difference between saints and these animals? It does not require a saint for these exercises. He says :

"You smear your face and arms with ash.

Hang silver idols round your neck.

All this may help to smell your cash

But in the coming world will wreck."

Here vemana attacks the Brahmanic emphasis upon external ceremonies unaccompanied by "internal conduct." Reading of the Vedas, Sastras, and smearing of the body with ashes - these do not make a saint.

In his poem on "Idolatry"¹³ he ridicules the worship of stones;

"Why bow and fall before the idol one? The stone will not be changed. But know That God dwells in the soul. Why then adore a stone?

He ridicules fasting and those who take voluntarily to poverty. He attacks "bull-worshippers". He says :

"The living useful bull¹⁴ you starve and beat - But when it is carved in stone¹⁵ you it adore how gross such sinful folly is', Abhor So clear a cheat."

He also ridicules the idea of gifts to these stone-idols.

"Why pile your gifts in temples made of stone? Can gods who, in and out, are rock alone Ever taste a part?

In his poem on "Death"¹⁶ he attacks the idea of transmigration.

"Before the spirit goes, it is right -

To use all means to keep alight

The vital flame. But when away,

What use to try its flight to May?

"For naked every man was born,

And naked must he die....

"If iron break it needs repair,

"The smith can weld again as fair.

But if the spirit break and fail,

Who then can it restore or heal?

"However long we live or learn,

However great the fame we earn,

We live at best but one short day -

With all our skill we turn to clay."

"The brutish man counts as his own

The wealth of all his house. Alone

He buries it¹⁷ Yet when he dies,

Not even a piece with him lies.

Not one can help us when we die.

Our body, like an earthen bowl

will surely die

While health is good they live in lust;
When death draws near to penance
trust."

In this way, he ridicules the idea of transmigration of souls.
Yet he believes in soul. He thinks that the soul goes to the divine
after the death of the body. That is all

His poem on "Brahmins"¹⁸ is more interesting.

"They who were Sudras¹⁹ born,
And yet revile their kin;
Who call themselves twice-born
And think it makes safe;
whose hearts love darling sin;
The lowest Sudras are²⁰.

Upon his brazen brow²¹
He bears a sacred mark
He has a wolfish mouth
A demon's shameless heart;
And yet he dares to say
He knows the only God.

He has an outcaste's heart²²
And yet the outcaste scorn.
Shall he become twice-born,
Renewed in life and caste,
while no good thought exists
Within his sinful minds?"

"The greatest sin of all
is want of sterling truth
But lie upon a lie
Is always in his mouth;
What rogues some Brahmin are -
They call themselves twice-born."

They say, the lords of earth,
'How pure we are, how learned
In all the Sastras (Sciences) teach.'
They scorn us simple men
But yet the poorest poor
Are better than such brags.

The Brahmin thinks that when
He takes the sacred thread
His Sudraship is over.
How strangely he forgets
That when he comes to due
His Brahmanship is over²³.

And then he takes²⁴ the dress
Of Somayaji state
And why? He has killed a goat,
Then cooked and ate it up,
He has the Brahman's name,
But where is the good result.

They paint themselves with ash,
But this takes not away
The smell of drafts of wine.
With strings around their neck
Convert such sinful men,
And render them twice-born?

If he should even forget
That he is flesh and blood,
And he so basely proud
That he is called twice-born,
Will he fear seize death and hell?
Will they forsake their prey?

You foul your skin with ash;
What good will that do you?
Your thoughts should soar above :
Be set on God alone.
An ass can roll in mud
As well as any priest.

"Baldhead and matted locks.
Strange dress and mantras (spells) loud.
Outlandish cramps and pains
And all the ashy filth.
Ah! Bah! No man is good
Who is not pure in heart.

He leaves his house and wife
With iron bends his loins
Prefers bad food to good.
And bitter drink to sweet.
Will living like a beast
Secure him endless bliss?

Vemana has the same breezy style of Krishna Misra and
Carvakas in his denunciation of the Brahmins of his day. Every
aspect of Brahmin pretensions is exposed in this poem.

C. CONCLUSIONS

It is very unfortunate that we have not enough historical
data which enables us to evaluate Vemana and his work. The
story of this part of India at this time is little known. We have no
accounts of the ideological currents of the day. Consequently we
are at a loss to know in what relation Vemana stands to the
contemporary thinkers of the day. The social composition of the
writer also is unknown. Whoever he may be, his protests against
the contradictions of the day throw light on the new current of
thought at that time. This kind of protest was not new. This was
done over and over again in almost the same language by previous
thinkers. What is new is that this protest was made at this time in
this part of India.

Vemana also differs from most of the previous thinkers in
another respect. The Carvakas, and the "Materialist" in Probodha-
chandrodaya stress 'Sensualist' ideas in their attack on the
orthodoxy of their days. Vemana did not resort either to materi-
alism 'or 'sensualism' but to pure utility. He attacked the evils of
the day purely from a utilitarian point of view. His protest is of
the same nature as that of the Buddhists, temperate and dignified.

Vemana is more of a reformer. He did not deny God. He did
not deny the Soul. All that he denied was the inefficacy of prayers,
of pilgrimages, of sacrifices, of external ceremonies, of idolatry
and other profitable devices of the Brahmins. By such denial he
undermined the economic foundation of Brahmanism.

It is very difficult to say how far Vemana influenced the people
of his day to his line of thinking. He did not leave a movement like
Buddha. His protest is at the most an individual protest. It has left
no marked influence in spite of his popularity. His lone voice was
drowned in the sea of orthodoxy.

continued on page 64

INDIA'S PLACE IN THE SUN - 10

Mankind Statistical Research Bureau

ECONOMIC GROWTH & SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION

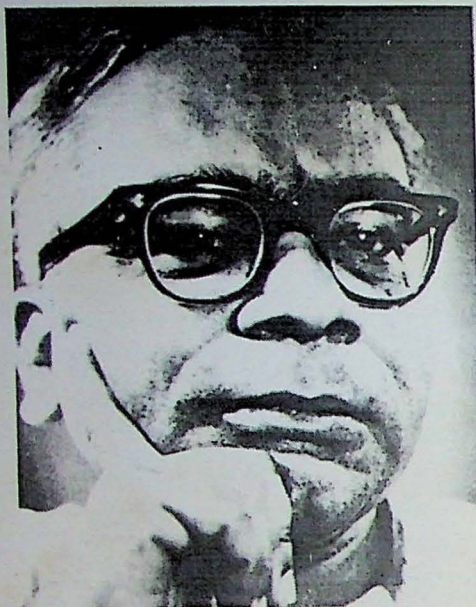
Wage Rates in the Global Hiring Hall Hourly Compensation Costs for Production Workers in Manufacturing

Country Blocs	Index (US = 100)	Productions Workers Hourly Rate :
Europe	86	\$ 14.44
Asian NIEs	31	\$ 5.15
Mature industrialised Countries		
Japan	114	\$ 19.20
UK	76	\$ 12.82
Australia	73	\$ 12.25
New Zealand	48	\$ 8.01
Canada	97	\$ 16.36
USA	100	\$ 16.79
Germany	152	\$ 25.56
Sweden	107	\$ 17.91
Newly Industrialised Countries		
Singapore	32	\$ 5.38
Taiwan	31	\$ 5.23
HongKong	26	\$ 4.31
Korea	32	\$ 5.37
Mexico	16	\$ 2.65
Developing Countries		
Bangladesh *	01.49	\$ 0.25
Indonesia	02.32	\$ 0.39
China **	less than 05.96	Various rates below \$ 1
India	less than 05.96	Various rates below \$ 1
Philippines	03.39	\$ 0.57
Thailand **	04.13	\$ 0.69

Source : Dr. Peter Botsman, Paper for the 9th International Metalworkers' Federation Regional Conference, Sydney, Australia
US Department of Labour, Bureau of Labour Statistics, May 25, 1994.

Rothstein, Richard, 1994, p. 56 for Bangladesh garment workers.

Various union sources. Wage rate not representative and are irregular across industries. See *The Metal Worker*, Jan., 1995, p. 8. These statistics should not be considered precise measures of comparative compensation costs as they are partly estimated. Nevertheless they provide a much better basis for comparing employer labor costs than the average earnings statistics published by most countries. Total compensation includes pay for time worked, pay for time not worked and other direct pay, and employer expenditures for legally required insurance programmes and contractual and private benefit plans. Compensation is converted to US dollars at commercial market rate.



Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia
b. 23. 3. 1910 - d. 12. 10. 1967

- 1932** - Ph.D. in Economics, Berlin University Thesis on Salt Tax & Satyagraha in German.
- Oct. 1934** - Bombay - Establishment of the Socialist Party. Lohia on its national executive edited *Congress Socialist* from Calcutta.
- 1936** - Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Indian National Congress.
- 1938** - Resigned as Secretary of the Foreign Affairs Committee.
- Aug. 1942-May 1944** - Led underground struggle against the British, Congress Radio broadcasts, published pamphlets, attacks on govt. establishments.
- June 1946 & Sept. 1946** - Arrested in Goa, twice for challenging Portuguese Rule. Tortured and brought to the border and expelled to "India".
- May 1949** - Arrested for supporting the Nepali agitation against the Ranas.
- 1949** - Patna, President of Hind Kisan Panchayat.
- 1956** - President of the newly formed Socialist Party at Hyderabad. Editor of *Mankind* - Led from 1956 to death, innumerable struggles against Indian dalals of Anglo - American imperialism.
- 1963** - Elected to Lok Sabha. Made his famous maiden speech, spread over 3 1/2 hours, bringing out data on the abysmal level of income of the average Indian. His attack on Jawahar for spending 25,000 times more on himself rattled and unnerved the Prime Minister.
- 1967** - Died prematurely on 12. 10. 67 as a result of hospital negligence at former Willingdon Hospital, now renamed Dr. R. M. Lohia Hospital, New Delhi.

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

Vinod Payyada,
Gen. Secy. Samajwadi
Janaparishad,
Thodannur P.O.,
Vadakara Via.
Kozhikkode Dist.
Kerala 673 108

Central News Agency Pvt.
Ltd.

23/96 Connaught Circus,
Post Box 374, New Delhi
110 001

In Bhopal

Devilal Patidar,
20, Civil Lines,
Shimla Hills,
Bhopal 462 002. (M.P.)

In Calcutta

Oxford Subscription Agency,
68, Shakespeare Sarani,
(2nd Floor)
Calcutta 700 017.

In Pune

Manneys Book Store
7, Clover Centre,
Moledina Road,
Pune 411 001.
Phone : 651683

In Guwahati

Oxford Publishing Agency,
Mahabharat Karyalaya,
College Hostel Road,
Panbazar, Guwahati 781 001

Popular Book Store
75 Deccan Gymkhana,
Pune 411 004.
Phone : 331737

In Hyderabad

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

In Orissa

Kishen Pattnayak
c/o Post Master,
CRPF Compound,
Bhuvaneshwar 751 011
Phone 403398.

In Bombay

George Gomez,
2nd Floor, 22 Newland Street,
Bombay 400 010.
Phone : 3731258

Lingaraj
Samata Bhavan,
P.O. / Dist. Bargarh,
Orissa 768 028

In Erode

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

In Chandigarh

EBS News Agency
1701, Sector 22-B,
Chandigarh 160 022.

In Goa

The Other India Book Store
Above Mapusa Clinic
Mapusa
Goa

In Kerala

M. Rasheed,
Mohammed Abdul
Rahiman Nagar,
P.O. Chalappuram,
Kozhikkode Dist.
Kerala 673002