

frontier

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Beyond the Referendums

WITH EASTERN UKRAINE'S FOUR AREAS ANNEXED BY Russia through what the western critics call 'orchestrated' referendums the 9-month-old war is likely to escalate further. It's no longer a special military operation. It's a full-scale war between Russia and America-led coalition of 36 countries while Ukraine is just a proxy. For one thing despite the referendum the contentious Donbas region is yet to be totally controlled by Russia. The preponderance of Russian speaking people in Donbas republics and other adjoining territories dates back to Soviet era development. The massive industrialisation in Donbas took place during the Soviet rule. In every war real estate matters and for Russian Federation the battle for full control of Donbas is strategically crucial.

The repeated setbacks of the Russian army on the ground is mainly due to overwhelming majority of Ukrainian forces and sophisticated western and American weapons they use; in the Kharkiv region the Russians were outnumbered in the ratio of 1:8. Lack of boots finally decides the outcome of the bloody conflict. For one thing Ukraine is now using offensive arms, not defensive ones and courtesy-America. It has changed the war situation radically in recent weeks, tilting the balance towards Ukraine.

With every passing day the confrontation zone is expanding while the major powers, America and NATO to be precise, show no urgency to end the war. Instead they are doing everything possible to make the third world war a reality.

No doubt there are Russians who oppose Putin's war campaign but Putin is not isolated. Russian nationalism, rather Great Russian chauvinism, is very powerful and there lies Putin's strength. The hard fact is that Putin unlike Yeltsin, is not ruling through decrees. He is ruling by laws promulgated by a bi-cameral parliament constituted from several parties. They think Putin is doing the right thing to protect the borders of Russian Federation, now extended after the amalgamation of Donbas region. As the situation stands today the course of war is not in the hands of Ukrainian leadership, they are being dictated and briefed by the White House. Peace can return to Ukraine if America decides against war. No, the US won't allow that to happen anytime soon.

At the summit of Shanghai Cooperation Organisation Putin was asked why he has shown so much restraint in the face of Ukrainian counter-offensive. He said bluntly that Russian attacks on Ukraine's electric facilities

which followed the defeat in Kharkiv territory were just 'warning shots' and there would be more such 'impactful' actions to come. In other words massive destruction of Ukraine's civilian infrastructure is on the card. Perhaps Zelensky will have to rule a country that would require decades to re-build, again with the mercy of the West and America. At the time of writing of 461 cities and towns of Ukraine 300 were without power and yet Zelensky was demanding more advanced air-defence systems. God father America is likely to oblige because America's military-industrial complex is the real beneficiary.

Meanwhile, fresh exodus of Ukrainians has started because of relentless nuclear rhetoric from both sides. Everybody knows nuclear war is not winnable. It makes no sense to compare the nuclear parity between

Russia and America. Who owns how many tactical 'toys' kept in silos for decades matters little in this mutual annihilation game.

The impact of Russia-Ukraine war is being felt throughout the world. People in Europe and third world countries are suffering in the face of soaring inflation and rising cost of living across various sectors. In Europe the summer of discontent has been transformed into an autumn of disaffection. The people are protesting the war but no western government is ready to stop this war; they have vested interests in continuing the war. NATO is said to have chalked out a 10-year strategic plan to keep Russia bogged down in the quagmire of war.

A nation-wide strike has disrupted the French energy supply, taking a large chunk of the nuclear power production offline, as workers push for a

pay hike amid rising tensions between unions and the government over a planned pensions reforms. Britain also faces its largest rail strike. Workers abstained in disputes over pay and job security, shutting down most of the nation's railway network on October 8. In Germany farmers are demanding withdrawal of sanctions imposed on Russia; they say they won't die to help Zelensky win the war. In Italy unions are demanding a wage hike of over 8 per cent to be paid in 2023. Strikes and staff shortage have affected airlines across the continent. Indian economy badly dependent on imported oil is equally affected by the war. Without a powerful peace movement in Europe where the war is being fought there is every possibility of further escalation leading to a nuclear holocaust. The real problem lies in the fact that war is not being fought on American soil. □□□ 20-10-2022

COMMENT

Worshipping the False Queen

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT MANY of people mourn the death of Queen Elizabeth-II. The public display of death and celebration of her life exposes the false foundation of British democracy. It conceals her role in presiding over apartheid and colonialism in African, Asian, American and Caribbean nations. It is impossible to separate British colonial state and British monarchy in the history of colonialism. The British monarchy is directly benefited from the colonial rule. The brutal subjugation and exploitation of British working class is the foundation of British monarchy. The white supremacist ideology and entrenched racism that prevails today derives its historic justification from British royalty. The public display and celebration of queen's death is against the spirit of democratic ethos of the 21st century.

The Queen Elizabeth-II's life is neither inspiring nor contributes anything progressive to the public life in Britain or anywhere else. The creation of mass hysteria around queen's life with the help of mass media and state is a way to normalise the celebration of queens and kings in higher pedestals of the society. It undermines democracy and naturalises feudal values led by kings and queens. There is pouring of condolence messages after the death of Queen Elizabeth II as long serving queen. Yes, she is the longest representative of British monarchy who lived an incomparable lavishly unconcerned life of privileges with public resources. There is no comparison in history when it comes of the privileged life of Queen Elizabeth II. The British monarchy is a symbol of colonialism, slavery, exploitation and anti-democratic ethos.

The British monarchy continue to make money from land, parks, cricket grounds and streets to prisons. The British royal family owns £18.2 billion assets whereas over 26,000 households are homeless, nearly 14.5 million British people are suffering from poverty and more than 2 million adults can't afford to eat everyday with the rising of cost-of-living crisis. It is time for radical reforms for the deepening of democratic governance of resources. It is time to demand redistribution of land and other resources owned by few families in Britain for the survival of the masses.

It is time to revive the radical traditions of St Peter's Fields that reminds the power of people. The working-class people gathered peacefully in St Peter's Fields in Manchester on 16th of August 1819 to demand democratic reforms for women's rights and challenge the Anti-Corn Laws. The working-class women have not only participated but also led the move-

ment for democracy in Britain. This movement was brutally suppressed, eighteen people were killed, and more than seven hundred people were injured by the royal Yeomanry. William Fildes; a two years old boy was killed and his mother Anne Fildes, was trampled by a horse. The British monarchy led minimalist democracy has presided over the Peterloo massacre which killed women, men and children. Sarah Jones, Margaret Downes, Mary Heyes and Martha Partington were martyrs for democracy in Britain, but these heroic figures continue to be marginalised in British history. History is not about the love stories, lives and deaths of kings and queens.

History is created and shaped by the material forces, social and political commitments of working people who drive the progressive change. These working women and men are the real driving forces in history.

It is time to stop the public display of her death and immortalise the history of monarchy and its exploitative systems. It is time to celebrate the real queens like Sarah Jones, Margaret Downes, Mary Heyes and Martha Partington, whose radical lives symbolise courage, commitment, dedication and inspiration for the deepening of democracy in Britain. □□□

[Contributed]

NOTE

It is a Shame

Bharat Dogra writes:

IT IS A MATTER OF DISGRACE that the Government of India announced 11th September, 2022 as the day of mourning for the demise of Queen Elizabeth-II. Queen Elizabeth-II has never publicly acknowledged, apologised or compensated the victims of her royal family's action. Queen Victoria assumed the title of Empress of India in 1877, and by 1920 the empire was 13.71 million square miles. The British monarch's global significance and power stemmed directly from the enslavement of people of colour. Over roughly 200 years, the East India Company and the British Raj siphoned out at least \$45 trillion by colonial exploitation and plundering that caused innumerable sufferings of Indians, like the Bengal famine that led to deaths of millions. Britain's rise for 200 years was financed by its depredations in India. In fact Britain's industrial revolution was actually premised upon the de-industrialisation of India. Between 1765-1938, Britain stole \$44.60 trillion from India &

majority of the treasures were from Punjab and Bengal. In the Lahore Treasury of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Lord Dalhousie ran out of paper when listing out the items. The queen never acknowledged her country's brutal legacy. Even when she came on the 50th anniversary of India's Independence in 1997, she refused to apologise for atrocities and massacres inflicted by the colonial British Raj. For them the Jallianwala Bagh massacre was a forgotten chapter..

Moreover, The Royal family never acknowledged the British monarchy's slave trade, despite directly contributing, supporting and profiting from the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The British monarchy was central to the establishment, expansion, and maintenance of the British Empire and the transatlantic slave trade. The declaration of the English empire was first made by Henry VIII in 1532. Elizabeth I granted a royal charter which was an instrument of incorporation to Sir John Hawkins, widely considered one of the first English

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traders to profit from the slave trade. She also granted a charter to the British East India Company in 1600. After Elizabeth's death, Charles II formed the Royal African Company in 1660 which extracted goods such as gold and ivory from the Gold Coast, and transported over 3,000 Africans to Barbados. The worthy British Victorian families that made their money out of the slave economy, one fifth of the elites of the wealthy class in Britain in 19th century owed their money to transporting 3 million Africans across the waters. And in fact in 1833 when slavery was abolished and what happened was a compensation of 20 million pounds was paid not as reparations to those who had lost their lives or who had suffered or been oppressed by slavery but to those who had lost their property. Longest serving British Monarch Late Queen Elizabeth – II never uttered a single word of apology for these monstrous crimes committed by her

family and empire. Slave trade and colonial plunder made her the world's wealthiest queen. Her net worth was estimated to be \$427 million. 1333 diamonds were encrusted on the crown she wore for her coronation in 1953 which also had 169 pearls.

The jewels stuck on her crown were stolen from India (Kohinoor) and Africa.

It is a shame that Government of India decided to observe a one day State Mourning for the death of an impenitent inheritor of a plun-

derer and mass murderer family. Oppressed people worldwide will remember her for shamelessly living off the wealth her family reaped from the profits of slavery, on the backs of "her subjects" across the British Empire. □□□

MUSTO'S COLUMN

When Marx translated Capital into French

Marcello Musto

IN FEBRUARY 1867, AFTER more than two decades of Herculean work, Marx was finally able to give his friend Friedrich Engels the long-awaited news that the first part of his critique of political economy was finished. Thereafter, Marx travelled from London to Hamburg to deliver the manuscript of Volume I ("The Process of Production of Capital") of his magnum opus and, in agreement with his editor Otto Meissner, it was decided that Capital would appear in three parts. Brimming with satisfaction, Marx wrote that the publication of his book was, 'without question, the most terrible missile that has yet been hurled at the heads of the bourgeoisie'.

Despite the long labour of composition before 1867, the structure of Capital would be considerably expanded over the coming years, and Volume I too continued to absorb significant energies on Marx's part, even after its publication. One of the most evident examples of this commitment was the French translation of Capital published in 44 installments between 1872 and 1875. This volume was not a mere translation, but a version 'completely revised by the author' in which Marx also deepened the section on the process of capital accumulation, and better developed his ideas about the distinction between 'concentration' and 'centralisation' of capital.

After some interruptions due to his poor health, and after a period of intense political activity for the International Working Men's Association, Marx turned to work on a new edition of Capital, Volume I, at the beginning of the 1870s. Dissatisfied with the way in which he had expounded the theory of value, he spent December 1871 and January 1872 rewriting what he had published in 1867. The print of *Das Kapital* that included the changes made by Marx came out in 1872. This year had fundamental importance for the dissemination of Capital, since it also saw the appearance of the Russian and French translations. Entrusted to Joseph Roy, who had previously translated some texts of the German philosopher Ludwig Feuerbach, it appeared in batches with the publisher Maurice Lachâtre. The first one was published 150 years ago, on September 17.

Marx agreed that it would be good to bring out a 'cheap popular edition'. 'I applaud your idea of publishing the translation [...] in periodic installments', he wrote. 'In this form the book will be more accessible to the working class and for me that consideration outweighs any other', he argued with his publisher. Aware, however, that there was a 'reverse side' of the coin, he anticipated that the 'method of analysis' he had used would 'make for somewhat arduous reading in

the early chapters', and that readers might 'be put off' when they were 'unable to press straight on in the first place'. He did not feel he could do anything about this 'disadvantage', 'other than alert and forewarn readers concerned with the truth. There is no royal road to learning and the only ones with any chance of reaching its sunlit peaks are those who do not fear exhaustion as they climb the steep upward paths'.

In the end, Marx had to spend much more time on the translation than he had initially planned for the proof correction. As he wrote to the Russian economist Nikolai Danielson, Roy had 'often translated too literally' and forced him to 'rewrite whole passages in French, to make them more palatable to the French public'. Earlier that month, his daughter Jenny had told family friend Ludwig Kugelmann that her father was 'obliged to make numberless corrections', rewriting 'not only whole sentences but entire pages'. Subsequently, Engels wrote in similar vein to Kugelmann that the French translation had proved a 'real slog' for Marx and that he had 'more or less had to rewrite the whole thing from the beginning'.

In revising the translation, moreover, Marx decided to introduce some additions and modifications. In the postscript to *Le Capital*, he did not hesitate to attach to it 'a scientific value independent of the original' and stated that the new version 'should be consulted even by readers familiar with German'. The most interesting point, especially for its political value, concerns the histori-

cal tendency of capitalist production. If in the previous edition of Capital Marx had written that 'the country that is more developed industrially only shows, to those less developed, the image of its own future', in the French version the words in italics were substituted with 'to those that follow it up the industrial ladder'. This clarification limited the tendency of capitalist development only to Western countries that were already industrialized.

He was now fully aware that the schema of linear progression through the 'Asiatic, ancient, feudal and modern bourgeois modes of production', which he had drawn in the Preface to A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, in 1859, was inadequate for an understanding of the movement of history, and that it was indeed advisable to steer clear of any philosophy of history. He did not see historical development in terms of unshakeable linear progress towards a predefined end. The more pronounced multilinear conception that Marx developed in his final years led him to look even more attentively at the historical specificities and unevenness of political and economic development in different countries and social contexts. This approach certainly increased the difficulties he faced in the already bumpy course of completing the second and third volumes of Capital. In the last decade of his life, Marx undertook thorough investigations of societies outside Europe and expressed himself unambiguously against the ravages of colonialism. It is a mistake to suggest otherwise. Marx criticized thinkers who, while highlighting the destructive consequences of colonialism, used categories peculiar to the European context in their analysis of peripheral areas of the globe. He warned a number of times against those who failed to observe the nec-

essary distinctions between phenomena, and especially after his theoretical advances in the 1870s he was highly wary of transferring interpretive categories across completely different historical or geographical fields. All this is clearer thanks to *Le Capital*.

In a letter of 1878, in which Marx weighed the positive and negative sides of the French edition, he wrote to Danielson that it contained 'many important changes and additions', but that he had 'also sometimes been obliged - principally in the first chapter - to simplify the matter'. Engels was of this opinion and did not include all the changes made by Marx in the fourth German edition of Capital that he published in 1890, seven years after Marx's death. Marx was unable to complete a final revision of Capital, Volume I, that included the improvements and additions he intended to improve his book. In fact, neither the French edition of 1872-75, nor the third German edition—that came out in 1881—, can be considered the definitive version that Marx would have liked it to be.

Marx through Le Capital

Le Capital had considerable importance for the diffusion of Marx's work around the world. It was used for the translation of many extracts into various languages—the first in the English language, for example. More generally, *Le Capital* represented the first gateway to Marx's work for readers in various countries. The first Italian translation—published between 1882 and 1884—was made directly from the French edition, as was the translation that appeared in Greece, in 1927. In the case of Spanish, *Le Capital* made it possible to bring out some partial editions and two complete translations: one in Madrid, in 1967, and one in Buenos Aires, in 1973. Since French was more widely known than German, it was thanks

to this version that Marx's critique of political economy was able to reach many countries in Hispanic America more rapidly. Much the same was true for Portuguese-speaking countries. In Portugal itself, Capital circulated only through the small number of copies available in French, until an abridged version appeared in Portuguese shortly before the fall of the Salazar dictatorship. In general, political activists and researchers in both Portugal and Brazil found it easier to approach Marx's work via the French translation than in the original. The few copies that found their way into Portuguese-speaking African countries were also in that language.

Colonialism also partly shaped the mechanisms whereby Capital became available in the Arab world. While in Egypt and Iraq it was English that featured most in the spread of European culture, the French edition played a more prominent role elsewhere, especially in Algeria, which in the 1960s was a significant center for facilitating the circulation of Marxist ideas in "non-aligned" countries. The significance of *Le Capital* stretched also to Asia, as demon-

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strated by the fact that the first Vietnamese translation of Volume I, published between 1959 and 1960, was conducted on the French edition.

Thus, as well as being often consulted by translators around the world and checked against the 1890 edition published by Engels, which became the standard version of *Das Kapital*, the French translation has served as the basis for complete translations of *Capital* into eight languages. One hundred and fifty years since its first

publication, it continues to be a source of stimulating debate among scholars and activists interested in Marx's critique of capitalism.

In a letter to his longtime comrade Friedrich Adolph Sorge, Marx himself remarked that with *Le Capital* he had 'consumed so much of [his] time that [he would] not again collaborate in any way on a translation'. That is exactly what happened. The toil and trouble that he put into producing the best possible

French version were remarkable indeed. But we can say they were well rewarded. *Le Capital* has had a significant circulation, and the additions and changes made by Marx, during the revision of its translation, contributed to the anti-colonial and universal dimension of *Capital* that is becoming widely recognized nowadays thanks to some of the newest and most insightful contributions in Marx studies.

□□□

COLONIAL HANGOVER

Pleading Reparations from British?

Vidya Bhushan Rawat

QUEEN ELIZABETH II, THE longest serving monarch of the British Empire died on September 8th at the age of 96, and since then the crazy 24×7 channels, including BBC and CNN, have been minutely reporting every event related to her death.

The Queen ruled for over 70 years, and hence one can understand the feeling of loss to a nation which ruled a large part of the world till the middle of the last century. India too declared a one-day national mourning on September 11th.

The question as to why the United Kingdom, despite being a robust democracy, is still hanging on to monarchy has been widely discussed. The question becomes more important for Commonwealth countries like Canada, Australia and New Zealand, where the anti-monarchy sentiments are growing. One also needs to ask: why are the British royals so popular with the American public, who revolted against them so many years ago?

India was ruled by the British Empire from 1858 till 1947. Prior to that, the East India Company controlled India's large parts. After Independence, India maintained good

relations with Britain, and a big Indian Diaspora, which now lives in UK, is hugely successful and politically influential.

Views in India on the British Empire are divided. The Hindutva elite and their followers, from available facts, have 'celebrated' the British, who allegedly freed India from the Mughal rule. To them, the British were the liberators of the Hindus. A big section of the Ambedkarites too feels that the British opened the door of Dalit 'liberation' through education.

Recently, a Fox TV anchor was widely criticised when he 'counted' the greatness of the British Empire in his show. Tucker Carlson said, "The British Empire was not perfect, but it was far more humane than any other ever. It's gone now, barely even remembered. Queen Elizabeth II was the last living link to a truly Great Britain. Today on social media, the usual ghouls celebrated her death..."

He continued, "When the U S government withdrew from Afghanistan after 20 years, we left behind airstrips, shipping containers and guns. When the British pulled out of India, they left behind an entire civilization, a language, a legal system, schools,

churches and public buildings, all of which are still in use today. Here's the train station the English built in Bombay, for example. There's nothing like that in Washington, DC right now, much less in Kabul or Baghdad."

He added "Today, India is far more powerful than the UK, the nation that once ruled it and yet, after 75 years of independence, has that country produced a single building as beautiful as the Bombay train station that the British colonialists built? No, sadly, it has not. Not one."

Many share Tucker's views. But to suggest that India did not have the kind of structure like VT Railway Station of Mumbai only reflects Victorian arrogance. The British ruled in India for such a long period that it was impossible for them to rule without involving local people in their administration.

There is no doubt that they created a vast railway network, so that the expensive timber from the Himalayas could be transported to the Kolkata port comfortably. As they needed an effective and loyal bureaucracy which could interact with them, they promoted English language and brought in some reforms.

No doubt, the British had a better attitude towards casteism and untouchability. Indeed, the upper caste elite would not have allowed the Dalits to come up to their level politically, socially and economically but

for the British policy. Also, during the British rule, India became the biggest English-speaking country in the world, which helped the Indian community to become a powerful group in Diaspora.

Yet, the fact is, the British did not come to India to liberate the oppressed but to reap its economic power. India's foreign Minister S Jaishankar reportedly said that the British loot in India was close to \$45 trillion as per today's estimates. To quote, "India had two centuries of humiliation by the West in its predatory form it came to India in the mid-18th century. An economic study tried to estimate how much British took out of India, it ended up at a number of \$45 trillion in today's value".

Eminent economist Prof Utsa Patnaik calculated this figure of \$45 trillion loot from India. In an interview she said, "Between 1765 and 1938, the drain amounted to £9.2 trillion (equal to \$45 trillion), taking India's export surplus earnings as the measure, and compounding it at a 5% rate of interest. Indians were never credited with their own gold and forex earnings. Instead, the local producers here were 'paid' the rupee equivalent out of the budget — something you'd never find in any independent country."

She added, "The 'drain' varied between 26-36% of the central government budget. It would obviously have made an enormous difference if India's huge international earnings had been retained within the country. India would have been far more developed, with much better health and social welfare indicators. There was virtually no increase in per capita income between 1900 and 1946, even though India registered the second largest export surplus earnings in the world for three decades before 1929".

It is also a fact that the British

never apologised for the Jalianwallahbagh massacre of April 13th, 1919 in which officially 379 people were killed, but the unofficial count is said to be around 1,500 deaths. The hanging of Bhagat Singh and other freedom fighters as well as brutalities inflicted on the people of India remain a dark chapter in the history of the British Raj.

There are many other chapters of brutalities and exploitation of India by the British. India cannot ignore or forget the Bengal famine in 1943 and how Prime Minister Winston Churchill was responsible for 3 million deaths in Bengal. The Monarchy cannot ignore the fact that it did nothing to protect Indians. It never had any regrets. In fact, Churchill blamed Indians for 'breeding like rabbits' and denied India 1 million tonnes of wheat requested by the then Viceroy to tackle the Bengal famine.

In fact, the crisis of Asia today is actually the 'gift' of the British Raj to its former colonies. Whether it is the border dispute between India, Pakistan and China, or Tibet or Jammu and Kashmir, the role in keeping these issues deliberately on the boil was a British strategy to keep playing the role of a 'mediator'. Thanks to the British legacy, the mistrust around these issues is so deep that it can bring the world on the brink of disaster any time in future.

Even then, one of the biggest ironies of the British Raj is that most of India's mainstream political leaders actually got their 'education' in the prestigious colleges and universities of England. The fact is, Britain was a superpower not just because of its military might, but because, during the Raj, it progressed in industrialisation, literature, liberalism and sports.

The British might have come to India as 'explorers' or 'invaders', yet they not only documented the best and worst practices but provided the

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country a huge infrastructure, too. As a country Britain might have colonised so many countries and people, but as a society and a governance structure, it built credible and knowledgeable institutions, respected freedom of expression and individual choice. It is a fact that slavery in India was not invented by the British but was already being used by the local chieftains, and the British 'learned' the trick and magnified it.

British had a better attitude towards casteism and untouchability. Upper caste elite would not have ever allowed Dalits to come up to their level, What could be a bigger irony than that most of the Indian political and social movement leaders, dissenters and publishers, who were unable to get along well within the country, found space to breathe and enjoyed in the United Kingdom? People from former colonies who now reside in UK enjoy the life and opportunities provided by that country. Not without reason, their anti-colonial feelings have evaporated in the air.

It is also ironical that, except for India, where Jawaharlal Nehru was a hugely popular leader and respected by masses, one who built institutions and was a thorough

democrat, in most other nations, where the British and other colonialists ruled, the anti-colonial heroes became despots. Except India, where autonomous institutions were built and flourished, in other countries which got rid of colonialism, autonomous governance structures failed to emerge.

The Dalits and Adivasis of India today legitimately ask the question to the Brahminical elite whether they ever thought of apologising to the communities for the historical wrongs done to them, snatching their right to education, and the right to own land and property.

Today, Indians are divided more than ever before, and one cannot blame the British when those who rule the nation create a false sense of nationalism. Caste discrimination and untouchability was not the creation of the British. Even after 70 years, the society is unable to remove it, which shows the real face of parties' political commitment.

A feudal and caste ridden society cannot create a powerful democracy unless people become socially democratic, as Baba Saheb Ambedkar said. Shashi Tharoor's reparation demand from the British would have sounded ideologically

correct if he had also spoken about the dirty caste system and whether the Brahminical elite in India would do the same vis-a-vis the Dalits and other underprivileged sections.

There is no doubt that monarchy is the real face of dynasty, and it is at odds with modern democratic principles. Yet, unfortunately, it is often used in India for the Gandhi family. Can there be a bigger irony that the person and the family which are being blamed as dynasts actually are walking on the streets to win over the hearts of the people, facing the onslaught of the ruling elite, which continues to use the term dynasts for just one family?

One could use the word dynasts for Rajas and Maharajas, who had ruled small principalities across India. What is forgotten is, Rahul Gandhi and other Gandhis are not in power in the real sense since 1989 after Rajiv Gandhi lost his elections. In fact, Rahul Gandhi does not have the same privilege as that Prince Charles who became the King without any questions being raised. The Gandhis are out of power for so long, and can return to power only if people want it through a democratic process. □□□

[Courtesy: Counterview]

DEVELOPMENT DELUSION

How to Create Employment for Many

Sunil Ray

THE NEXT WAVE OF RESISTANCE movement against un employment is no longer in its embryonic stage. The violent opposition against "Agnipath" is pointer to a massive upheaval of the unemployed youths of the country. However, it may be wrong, if such uprising, though short-lived, against the central government is being brushed aside as it lasted only for a few days. Although agitation against it

goes on as splinter force here and there, but then the nation must be waiting for its fusion into a long-drawn battle.

This battle, as is not directed against the current ruling dispensation alone. It is against the system—the economic system, that all ruling dispensations nurture irrespective of which political party rules the nation. While 'Jobless Growth' of the previous political regime haunts everyone

even today, it is never considered as a serious development issue by government sponsored economists and of course mainstream market economists (the neo-liberals) in general to debate on. To them, it is pain that lasts for some time and the society has to bear with it only to have a permanent solution. This is what was also told by the protagonists of neo-liberalism during the onset of liberalisation and globalisation of the economy. 30 years later results are there for all to see. Today the same protagonists continue to echo the same voice with no regard to what all scientific studies observe. The studies

observe, to express it simply, economic growth creates employment opportunities less than proportionately and, many a time it is too less to count. For instance, impact on total employment over the last decade for every one percentage point increase in GDP has been just 0.1% (Azim Premji University).

What does it imply? Accumulation of stock of unemployed people over time. If CMIE's April 2022 report is to be believed, its data on job showed 50% unemployment for male in the 15-19 age group, and 38.7% for the 20-24 cohorts. Unemployment was as high as 76% for 15-19 cohorts in Bihar, the epicentre of protest against the introduction of 'Agnipath' in the recent past. There may be several other estimates that show much worse than what CMIE shows. Even if methodological differences between different sources are admitted no source has ever underestimated magnitude of the unemployment problem which is rising at a frightening scale. And, on the top of all, if there is a disguised unemployed person in agriculture which is dominated by the small and marginal farmers in terms of land holdings, it is simply impossible for one to imagine how precarious unemployment problem that the country is grappling with is.

It is simply excess supply of labour over demand that exerts downward pressure on wage/ gross receipt of the labour. As the latter declines, more labour is absorbed. It means more employment of the unemployed. Hence, labour market finally clears the stock of unemployed persons by employing more in response to the declining wage rate. Even if one assumes employment increases at low wage rate in practice, the irony is that it is not sufficient enough to pull up the labour from the subsistence/ need-based economy to demand-based economy. This in-

cludes all categories of low paid wage earners in India such as those working in the unorganised sector, workers under government sponsored (non-market) wage employment programme such as NEREGA, etc. Besides, no one knows about the duration of jobs at such low wages and the extent to which other privileges that have monetary implications are compromised. Whatever be the gross payment received by the employed person under such condition, ability to increase command over goods and services fails to rise above survival level. In other words, it fails to raise the effective demand that leads to expand the home market that, in turn, creates potential for employment opportunities. The worst is when the gross receipt in real terms declines as a result of inflation.

Hence, the therapeutic cure of Keynesian benevolence to raise effective demand of those working under state-sponsored wage employment programme is an illusion. Not to talk about those who are working in the unorganised sector earning too less to count in this regard. Is there any other solution from the neo-liberals than this one that can extricate around 70 percent of Indians from the trap of subsistence living? If yes, is it deliverable within the fiscal limit? And for how long? Besides, one is curious to know how many of the unemployed could be employed even at low payment against the backdrop of continuous stockpiling of educated unemployed, leave alone uneducated unemployed. It is an employment crisis to be understood as the crisis of neo-liberalism itself.

Firstly, no solution is in sight within the same box. Secondly, if at all it exists, it is mystical market solution about which nobody knows how and where to dig it up in practice. But its greatest virtue is its

enormous ability to create smoke-screen to hide the truth.

What is this bitter truth? It is the economic system which is structurally constrained to meet employment needs of the millions for a decent wage, a system that works primarily to the advantage of the corporate capital, a system that has been creating income inequality since economic reforms in 1991. For instance, capital's profit share in the net value addition in the organised manufacturing sector increased during the last 30 years or so while that of labour's wage share declined. And, a system that works to the disadvantage of the unorganised sector but survives on it as the largest employer of low paid workers. Notwithstanding its enormous contribution to generation of livelihood to millions, its vulnerability to disaster is shocking. Covid-19 crisis was a case in point in that it exposed how deeply flawed the economic structure is. In other words, the structural bias against the low paid workers was so outrageous and inhuman that it defied systemic resilience to any acceptable degree when one-third of the Indians (around 45 crore of labour working in the unorganised sector) were forced to go back to their homes at the cost of their job and livelihood after the outbreak of the pandemic.

The irony is that in many academic debates and discussions that took place after the outbreak of the pandemic attempts were made consistently by the neo-liberals to attribute unemployment crisis in India to pandemic. The latter, as it were, was solely responsible for this crisis to occur. Otherwise, everything was hunky-dory with the economy before the onset of the pandemic and its economy was performing quite well to turn itself to one of the fastest growing economies of the world. It is a great cover-up of a 'failed state'

given by the neo-liberals who leave everything to the market as a clearing agent to determine.

The failure can be traced in the government's approach towards macro management of the economy rooted in the monstrous derivative market. Since the government approach is more pro-business to fulfil the corporate interest than being pro-market social outcomes are different. The stockpiling of unemployed is one such glaring examples of this social outcome. It is needless to mention that entire management exercise for the economy, for example annual budget preparation etc, undertaken by the government is primarily aimed at stabilising the macroeconomic parameters. Employment creation (barring a few state-sponsored employment programme namely NAREGA) is assumed to be the natural outcome of the logic of 'derivative' of macro-economic stabilisation efforts. No matter where the derivatives finally lead to and why millions lose.

The moment of truth is that the local economy that has a strategic significance for employment creation in a country like India is deprecated. No compensatory principle works against the forces that continuously push the same to development limbo. The local economy needs structural transformation at the decentralised level in order to harness its potential for employment creation.

The same market will now be shared by goods and services produced by the enterprises with small capital base. Its obvious implication is that such a pattern of growth at the micro-level around agriculture will restrain big/corporate capital to monopolise and concentrate wealth at their hands. The distributional implication is considerably large particularly when development potential is harnessed to generate activities by small capital as is conceived here and create new employment opportunities. In addition to job creation, local economy will have environmental benefits since the small projects are energy efficient, non-polluting and community oriented. Besides, investment in green technologies that decouples growth from material needs will open up new avenues hitherto untapped for employment creation at the local level.

Land reforms and the lost development agenda at the decentralised level must be brought back. One must not ignore the telling experience of some south Asian countries a few decades ago that shows how they created massive employment opportunities through structural transformation at the decentralised level being brought about by land reforms. The logic of expansion of the home market with the rise of wage employment above subsistence level is built into the construction of niche structure and land reforms. Once

both are in place, they will tend to maximise both forward and backward linkages with the agriculture. Reforming market structure with the introduction of minimum support price for all agricultural goods and elimination of exploitative intermediary system may reinforce the process of reconstruction.

The only way to stop losing potential for employment creation is to lift the veils of development delusion. No alternative seems to exist than to overhaul the economic structure at the local level. The most desirable social outcome of economic management that the country is looking forward is income distribution. The movement steered by the unemployed youths against 'Agni path' epitomises their violent reaction against the state for not being able to fulfil the objective. While one may have reservation against violence in any form, a massive democratic movement is likely to unfold sooner or later as an expression of their solidarity and turn it into a solidarity movement. It is this movement, as the recent history of the movements around the world teaches, that can demystify development delusion and script an alternative development trajectory. □□□

[Prof Sunil Ray is Former Director, A N Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna and adviser to Centre for Development Communication and Studies, Jaipur and Impact and Policy Research Institute, New Delhi. Email: sunilray41@gmail.com]

A TRIBUTE

Ramkrishna Bhattacharya

(10-12-1947—02-10-2022)

Amitava Bhattacharyya

PROFESSOR RAMKRISHNA Bhattacharya (RKB) passed away in a New Kolkata Hospital on 02.10.2022. He was one of the Indian stalwarts belonging to Classical Marxist School who pre-

ferred to call him an unrepentant Marxist-Leninist. He made many pioneering and path-breaking contributions to different fields of studies. He was an erudite with a purpose; all his acquiring of knowledge, their

analysis and deliverance of his opinions and conclusions were dedicated to the sole aim of spreading Marxist ideas and strengthening the fight for revolutionary socialism.

Though a college and university English Literature professor RKB spent more than three decades in meticulous and intensive research on the materialist philosophies of ancient India, especially on the Carvaka/Lokayata school. Like pre-

Socratic philosophers of ancient Greece in this country also no written main text or commentary of the Carvaka/Lokayata has been found till date. So RKB took the mammoth task of reconstructing the philosophy of Carvaka/Lokayata from the writings of other ancient philosophical sects as it was done by the Western scholars to reconstruct the philosophies of pre-Socratic times. In this regard Dakshina Ranjan Shastri, Mamoru Namai and Debiprasad Chattopadhyaya were his predecessors but by his erudition and analytical vis-a-vis rational way of thinking RKB actually started a new era in the studies of materialism in ancient India. He was very successful in reconstructing some main tenets of Carvaka/Lokayata philosophy by finding out unexplored ancient and medieval sources mentioning philosophical traits of Carvaka/Lokayata while eliminating many references which were considered as pure Carvaka/Lokayata sayings by his predecessors. He also refuted many of the false accusations made to defame Carvaka-s by their opponent idealist philosophers. He even showed with examples and information collected from ancient Brahminical, Buddhist and Jain sources both from North and South India that how ancient idealist philosophers like Sayana-Madhava had distorted the Carvaka shloka/s to prove them hedonists. His profound knowledge of Sanskrit, Pali, and Prakrit helped him a lot in successfully finding out information on Carvaka-s from ancient and medieval Indian philosophical and other sources, like books of polity, drama etc. This path-breaking research on Indian materialism brought international fame for him as an eminent Indologist from all over the world.

As a believer in classical Marxist school RKB always believed that Marxism is a world-view, a method of

thinking; it was neither a system nor a restricted philosophy. So he opined that there is every scope on working and constructing a Marxist theory in the fields on which Marx or Engels did not say much. He engaged himself in the stupendous work of creating an outline of Marxist aesthetics in Bengali in the line of Lucas etc. He advocated for dual parameter of historic sense and aesthetic quality as stated by Engels for judging a literary piece. His mastery over many ancient and modern Western languages abetted him to make his endeavour in this field a success.

RKB played an important role in explicating the history of nineteenth century Bengal Renaissance and early twentieth century liberation movement of Bengal in a way which is not at par with the prevailing paradigms. He was an authority regarding writings and historical contributions of Rammohun Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Akshya Kumar Dutta, Bankimchandra Chattopadhyaya, Peary Chand Mitra, Rabindranath Tagore, Aurobinda Ghosh, Brahmabandhab Upadhyaya, Bhupendranath Dutta and published a vast amount of literature on them. He was also a specialist in Partition or Swadeshi movement of Bengal (1905-1908) and the author of an invaluable book on that movement.

Keen interest in classical Indian and Western literature tempted RKB to interpret them in the light of Marxist way of thinking. He was as familiar with the Poetics of Aristotle as the New Theatrical theory of Bertolt Brecht. From Homer to Mahabharata, from Sophocles to Kalidasa he traced out the reflection of society in those literatures along with their literary credentials. He also made important contributions on the literature of Shakespeare, Keats, Auden, Bibhutibhushan Bandyopadhyaya, Bibhutibhushan Mukhopadhyaya, Sukumar Roy, Leela Majumder and

last but not the least, the great Shibram Chakraborty.

He was a prominent historian of science also. His great work on the Sulbasutra-s, "The origin of geometry in ancient India" was highly commended internationally. He also made memorable contributions on scientists like Aryabhata, Copernicus, Galileo, Samrad Jagannatha and others. His writings on Indian numerals and observatories drew attentions of many readers.

After the collapse of Soviet Union and Socialist bloc in the last decade of twentieth century numerous short Bengali writings of RKB in popular form stood as the lighthouse for the many socialist and progressive circles in Bengal. His writings inspired generations of left party workers and individuals to go forth with the flag of human emancipation. His Bengali books on Materialism, Dialectics and Marxism with comprehensive format and lucid language got many readers.

He was an eminent left student leader of Bengal in late sixties and early seventies of the last century entrusted with the post of the president of BPSF affiliated with CPI. After the early seventies he was not officially attached to any party but

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always used to declare that “I am with the Communist Party in historical sense.”

He preached the tangible optimism throughout his life and denounced the naive optimism. He did not engage himself in quest of any Ultimate truth or etc. but always took the Lenin’s word, “the concrete analysis of the concrete situation” as his motto. He always remained very harsh on reactionary forces and on infantile disorder of left politics with

his outstanding skill of polemics. He never compromised as an author, never became a part of any establishment. Big publishing and media houses were almost untouchable to him. He was never ready to coordinate with the enemy camp. All his Bengali writings, scholarly or popular, were published in Little Magazines. He has proved that legendary scholarly works on philosophy, literature, history of science can be successfully done in Bengali little

magazines. He was one of the icons of the Little Magazine movement of Bengal.

Author of 30 books both in English and Bengali, writer of more than 200 scholarly essays in esteemed international journals and numerous articles in popular form RKB left an intellectual treasure box for future researchers and a very powerful theoretical arsenal for the left party workers and individuals.

□□□

REVIEW ARTICLE

‘The Blood Never Dried’

Chaman Lal

EARNEST JONES, THE BRITISH Socialist poet said in his long poem ‘The Revolt of Hindostan’ that ‘On its colonies the sun never sets, but the blood never dries’

John Newsinger, a British historian with left orientation gave the title of his 2006 published book-‘The Blood Never Dried: A People’s History of British Empire’. Its second and updated edition came out in year 2013, in which the writer added new material. The book is dedicated to writers’ old comrades from Leicester- Chris Lynn, Mal Deakin, Andy Wynne, Jim Tolton, John Peach and the late Ken Orrill. The book has been described by one of most important English poet and thinker John Berger as ‘Superb’ on its title of first edition.

The book covers the history of British colonial oppression and exploitation in different regions of the world, as the British had colonised nearly a hundred countries in Asia, Africa and some other regions in the world, it was the biggest coloniser in human history and is still holding many colonies under its rule, like Falklands in Argentina. The author’s main focus is not on many countries, but on the major freedom struggles and British colonial cruelties to crush

those anti colonial resistance movements. Indian resistance figures twice in the book, first as The Great Indian Rebellion, 1857-58 and then as Quit India movement. In between in another chapter it refers to Jallianwala Bagh like massacres. The first chapter of the book begins with ‘The Jamaican Rebellion and the overthrow of slavery’.

There are chapters on Ireland, The Irish famine, Opium Wars, Egypt, The Suez Canal, Palestine Question, Mau Mau Movement in Kenya, Malaya and Far East. Finally British colonial empire gives up before American empire, as the neo colonial regime of American empire begins. In 2013 edition of the book a chapter on Iraq invasion by USA takes readers to the reality of merging of colonial and neo-colonial systems of oppression and exploitation of world’s largest population, the fruits of this exploitation are enjoyed by a miniscule number of colonial and neo colonial rulers and their patronised corporates of the world, which perhaps has grown much worse during the continuing pandemic of Covid-19!

In the introduction to first edition of the book the author underlines the fact that ‘a close look at British imperial rule reveals episodes as bru-

tal and shameful as in the history of any empire, indeed the British colonial regime suppressed the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya in the 1950’s! We in India remember the brutalities committed in Jallianwala Bagh in Amritsar on 13th April 1919 and few months around, but if one compares it with the British suppression of Mau Mau rebellion, three decades later in Kenya, the Jallianwala Bagh brutalities look much lesser than what the British did three decades later, despite so many international organisations like UNO, Human Rights organisations, coming up after World War II. Author Newsinger while referring to another author N Ferguson book Empire: How Britain Made the Modern World, published in 2003, an apologist of British imperialism, in whose book- The Mau Mau revolt does not find even a mention, but in Newsinger’s words-‘The Mau Mau revolt of the 1950’s was put down with terrible brutality, the routine use of torture, the summary executions, internment on a massive scale and the hanging of over 1000 prisoners.’

Newsinger not only narrates the history of oppression and brutalities of British colonialism, he goes to the roots of exploitation. ‘Imperialism has two dimensions; firstly, the competition between the great imperial powers, competition that in the 20th century produced two world wars and the Cold war. This competition is the driving force of modern imperial-

ism, and it has wreaked terrible damage on the world, consuming millions of lives.'

Probably one can understand the present conditions of Ukraine war and the resulting Cold war from Newsinger interpretation of imperial competition. In his introduction the author refers to few films on repression on South African people, but also underlines the role of radicals and socialists in Britain who supported the resistance movements in colonies. He underlines that the British anti-imperialists stand in the tradition of poet Earnest Jones and another fierce critic of the empire, radical socialist William Morris. In this context author does not spare the so-called progressive party of Britain Labour party, which was no different from Tories and conservatives in defending the colonial empire. John Newsinger is unsparing of New Labour party with the rise of Tony Blair, in playing a subordinate to US imperialism. The author has the humility to say that his study is not the history of British colonial empire, but it just focuses on particular episodes, but these episodes expose the real and brutal face of old colonialism and neo imperialism.

In 2013 updated edition, like in first edition, Newsinger challenges another apologist of colonial empires. Here he challenges John Darwin, Oxford University's Professor of history, whose book-Unfinished Empire: The Global Expansion of Britain, published in 2012, he scrutinised critically like earlier book of N Ferguson. He questions Darwin that how casually he has referred to the catastrophe of Bengal Famine of 1943 in his book of 400+ pages? Darwin just gives a passing reference on page 346 that 'the Bengal famine of 1943 may have killed two million people!' Author here favourably refers to Madhusree Mukherjee's book-Churchills' Secret War' which powerfully exposes the British colonial re-

gime during the famine, which as per Mukherjee had killed 3.5 to five million people, while Churchill used to say 'Indians are used to hunger.'

This edition has taken into account British role in Iraq and Afghanistan and also updated Mau Mau movement's brutalities. Author has referred to previously hidden 294 boxes of 1500 files of Mau Mau movement, which was under legal scrutiny, whose judgement came later than 2013 edition of the book was published. British colonial regime had to pay huge compensation of 19.9 million pounds to descendants of 5000 Kenyan victims as compensation to Mau Mau brutalities committed in 1950. Whereas in Jallianwala Bagh massacres Britishers got absolved by paying few lakh rupees to victims, to many victims as low as just five hundred rupees.

A new chapter is added to Iraq and Afghanistan as Afterwards to 2013 edition. The first chapter on Jamaica takes us back to the days of slavery, where in Antigua, the Caribbean Island, where less than 3000 whites were holding more than 24000 blacks as slaves and first conspiracy to rebel was discovered in 1736. British Empire in the Caribbean was built on the production of sugar on plantations, worked by black slaves brought from Africa, later Indians went there as semi slaves, after the abolition of slavery as system. In Jamaica, five lakh slaves were taken from Africa between 1700 and 1774. During 180 years of slavery in Jamaica, hardly any decade went without revolt against slavery. In neighbouring Trinidad, Barbados and Guyana, situation was no different, there were markets where slaves were brought in chains and sold like cattle. After the killings of thousands and revolts slavery finally was ended in 1834. The author has given details of resistance and took it until 1867 reform act was implemented.

The second chapter title is The

As Timir Basu is still seriously ill, he is not in a position to communicate with contributors and subscribers. Please bear with us.

—Fr.

Irish Famine, but it is saga or Irish revolutionary resistance to British Empire, which had inspired Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries in India as well. The story begins with 1798 full scale rebellion against British rule over Ireland. The Irish famine or Great Hunger happened during 1830-40, when the staple food of Ireland's potato crop was destroyed up to 40%. The effects of famine continued till 1850. But the story of Irish struggle for freedom, conflict between Catholics and Protestants is also woven in the story of famine. The struggle of Irish Republican Army (IRA), which had impacted Indian revolutionaries is described till 1916 Easter rising. Later Ireland is split in two parts. One part is now independent Republic of Ireland, whereas Northern Ireland continues to be uneasy part of United Kingdom and IRA or Sinn Fein getting into power in 2022 elections for the first time.

Third chapter Opium Wars deal with wars with China due to opium trade. British traders were earning from opium smuggling which China was trying to control. First opium war took place in 1840's with Manchu empire of China. Britain despite a smaller country had won the war, but the conflict continued. Taiping rebellion in 1853, fall of Nanjing regime, in all three opium wars took place between China and Britain. Britain succeeded in occupying Hong Kong during these wars, which it kept colonised till 1997 agreement of quitting it, but still keeps interfering even after 25 years of decolonising it. As per author, Britain influence was over by 1930, but it kept. Hong Kong Island occupied till 1997.

India comes into picture in next chapter with the apt title of-The Great Indian Rebellion 1857-58. The chapter begins with a quote from Michael Edwardes 'the English threw aside the mask of civilization and engaged in a war on such ferocity that a reasonable parallel can be seen in our times with the Nazi occupation of Europe'

A very strong statement by a historian of repute, though author Newsinger does not completely agree with this, yet finds comparison to be true in some respects at least in the methods adopted by Nazi occupants of Europe and British colonialists. As he quotes a memoir of one Thomas Lowe in his book 'Central India during the Rebellion of 1857 and 58'. Newsinger narrates the bloody wars of aggression by Britishers since 19th century, referring to 1824-26 invasion of Burma, 1839-42 disastrous invasion of Afghanistan, 1843 occupation of Sindh, 1844 occupation of Gwalior, 1844-45 first Anglo-Sikh war, followed by two more wars to conquest Punjab in 1849. Under the policy of 'lapse', ruling feudal dyeing without direct progeny, Dalhousie annexed five states--Satara, Nagpur, Jhansi, Tanjore and lastly Awadh in 1856. Dalhousie proudly proclaimed that British queen had added fifty lakh people and 12 lakh pounds to the empire. During East India company by 1818 collected 22 lakh pounds from land taxes surpassing earnings from trade, which was its basic purpose. The author quotes from Karl Marx's 1853 article on India, that Britain achieved its one purpose of destroying India. The tortures of British Empire during 1857-58 figure in British Parliament, but were hidden by historians of the raj. While colonialists were defending all atrocities on Indians, Karl Marx underlined that 'Mussulmans and Hindus renouncing their mutual antipathies, have combined against their common masters', he further noted that 'revolt was part of general disaf-

fection against English supremacy on the part of great Asiatic nations'. (Quoted from First war of Independence by Marx)

Newsinger also mentions that how V D Savarkar's book The Indian war of Independence 1857 was published in 1909 and banned quickly in India but it appeared on Indian bookstalls wrapped in cover labelled as 'Random Papers of Pickwick Club'! (The author has given the source of this information from a 1931 book by Mac Munn). This book was secretly printed and distributed by Indian revolutionaries also. The author narrates the details of the great rebellion, but in England, it is remembered more as Cawnpore massacres. At Sati Chaura ghat in Kanpur large number of Britishers including women were massacred by Indian sepoys, this has given rise to many different narrations. Bhairav Prasad Gupt, a Hindi novelist wrote a huge novel titled Sati Maiya Ka Chaura. Rudrangshu Mukherjee in 'Specter of Violence' has tried to contextualize this massacre at Bibighar. But compared to what Britishers did to Indians during 1857-58, it looks as minor but violent reaction to colonial atrocities. As it happened at Chauri Chaura in 1922 during Mahatma Gandhi called Satyagraha, due to police atrocities on peaceful people. The exact number of killings during 1857-58 are never known, but these runs into lakhs as no official records have been made. Newsinger had given large details of British cruelties including 282 sepoys choked to death at Ajnala in Punjab by the orders of Deputy Commissioner Cooper, the remains of which were found during last decade. The Britishers were generally against Indian resistance as large number of pro-British accounts were written during and after the revolt. But there was support for Indian resistance too, as poet Earnest Jones wrote the epical poem-The Revolt of Hindostan, from which the title of this book is taken.

Some unknown or lesser known

facts about the great rebellion mentioned by Newsinger, include even Charles Dickens the beloved writer of most of liberal and aesthetes of realism, defended British cruelties on Indians by saying that-'to exterminate the race upon whom the stain of the late cruelties rested...to blot it out of mankind and raze it off the face of the earth,'. (Page 89 of 2013 edition) On the other hand Marx daughter Jenny supported Earnest Jones by siding with the revolt of Indians. The whole chapter of the book needs to be read carefully to see the real face of colonial mindset.

There is a chapter on invasion of Egypt in 1882 and the glorious struggle of Egyptians for Egypt for Egyptians.

India comes to be mentioned in the book in another full chapter Quit India, but before that in the chapter-The Post war Crisis-1916-26, along with Irish Struggle and Egyptian revolt, there is narration with reference to Jallianwala Bagh massacre and General Dyer's crimes in the sub chapter-Holding India by the sword. Before referring to Jallianwala Bagh, the working-class textile workers struggle in Ahmadabad and Bombay are mentioned and after Jallianwala, the noncooperation movement led by Gandhi also finds mention.

Very few books refer to The Palestinians' sufferings due to imperial designs, but Newsinger brings to fore the whole issue of Palestine with perspective on Zionism and imperialism in one full chapter of the book.

In chapter Quit India, the author focuses upon Gandhi's non-cooperation movement, besides referring to Sholapur workers strike and other developments during long freedom struggle of India. This chapter makes reference to Simon Commission, Lala Lajpat Rai, Congress Socialist Party (CSP), CPI, before moving towards launching of Quit India. It narrates in detail the various incidents during Quit India and the glorious resistance by Indian people. This chapter also

underlines the greatest disaster befalling India in the form of Bengal famine of 1943 and Churchill's racist response to it. The chapter completes the story of Indian independence going through the Indian National Army led by Netaji Subhash Bose and Royal Indian Navy revolt of 1946, which finally forced Britain to really Quit India on 15th August 1947.

Later chapters include the Suez Canal crisis and British defeat and the crushing the Mau Mau movement in Kenya most brutally in great detail. There is mention of Southern Rhodesia, Indonesian killings of communists, Vietnamese war, Britain joining American imperialist camp, new

labour under Tony Blair, who joined US imperialists in attacking Iraq. Before concluding the book, a chapter is added as Afterwards to second edition describing the hypocrisy and lies of so-called weapons of mass destruction (WMD), to attack Iraq and execute publically its elected President Saddam Hussain.

This is one of the books, which every nationalist or patriot of any country should read to understand the role of colonial and imperialist oppression and exploitation of the world people, unfortunately, which continues unabated even today. The world seems to be moving towards more imperialist wars with fascist

tendencies again emerging in many countries including India. How to save world from falling into barbaric trap of fascist destruction, when there is no sight of its only alternative--- socialism in sight as Rosa Luxemburg visualised? Is world doomed towards going through the barbarism or something miraculous could happen? There is a weak ray of light from Latin American countries and bleak hope in farmers' movement in India. How to strengthen these hopeful signs to save humanity is the biggest challenge before humanity and question for philosophers! □□□

[Newsinger John, The Blood Never Dried: A People's History of the British Empire, 2013/2006, Bookmarks Publications, London, Pages 304]

LETTERS

Crime Report

The latest data published by the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) captures some anomalies and interesting trends. Every year there is an increase in atrocities against Dalits and Adivasis. The Crime in India Report 2021 data has revealed that:

Atrocities/Crimes against Scheduled Castes have increased by 1.2% in 2021 (50900) over 2020 (50,291 cases). Uttar Pradesh (13,146 cases) reported the highest number of cases of atrocities against Scheduled Castes (SCs) accounting for 25.82% followed by Rajasthan with 14.7% (7524) and Madhya Pradesh with 14.1% (7214) during 2021. The next two states in the list are Bihar accounting for 11.4% (5842) and Odisha 4.5% (2327). The above top five states reported 70.8% of cases of atrocities against Scheduled Castes. The recent incidents of atrocities against Scheduled Castes in Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana reflect the harsh realities of caste based violence against SCs and STs.

Atrocities/Crimes against Scheduled Tribes have increased by 6.4% in 2021 (8,802 cases) over 2020 (8,272 cases). Cases of Rape against Schedule Tribe women stood at 15% (1324 cases) of the total cases reported. Cases of Rape, Attempt to rape, Assault on women to outrage her modesty, and kidnapping cumulatively stood at 26.8% (2364

cases). Cases of Murder, Attempt to murder and Grievous hurt were reported as 967, 916 and 1286 respectively against Scheduled Caste. Similarly for Scheduled Tribes, Cases of Murder, Attempt to murder and Grievous hurt were reported as 199,148 and 114 respectively.

Even after the amendments came in force in year 2016, which generated a hope to the Dalit and Adivasi victims in accessing speedy justice, the implementation of the amended SCs and STs (PoA) Amended Act 2015 remains a challenge.

Mr Rahul Singh
General Secretary
National Dalit Movement for
Justice (NDMJ)-NCD

Living with Nothing

Neelakka Modem and her family, along with 700 others, were forced to abandon their homes in Somanpalli village in Gadchiroli district after heavy rains in July triggered massive floods. They have been camping along a national highway ever since.

"The authorities came in the middle of the night and asked us to move to safety. We left with nothing but the clothes we were wearing," Ms Modem, 70, recalled.

The state government has provided food and water, but living by the highway carries risks—speeding vehicles, wild animals, including deadly snakes,

are common in this region which is home to dense tropical forests.

Back in the village, Ms Modem's son Madhukar, a farm labourer, is trying to salvage whatever he can from their destroyed house. But Ms Modem wonders if they will ever go back.

"We can't live there anymore - the place is inhabitable. The government should rehabilitate us elsewhere," she said.

Heavy rainfall is common during the monsoon in Gadchiroli district, which is surrounded by forests. Here, the Godavari river, the second longest in India, along with its tributaries, forms a flood-prone zone between June and September. During those months, it often overflows and enters the villages.

But residents say the flooding has become worse in recent years.

Torrential rains this year between 11 July and 19 July left a trail of devastation- at least 34 of the 52 towns and villages along the riverbank in Gadchiroli were submerged for days, while three of them, including Somanpalli, were almost wiped out as water levels rose to their highest point in 35 years.

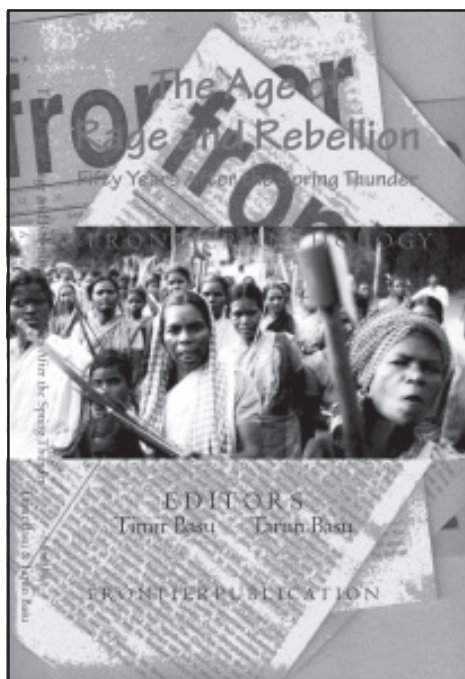
The rains have stopped now, but people are yet to return home or start rebuilding their lives.

Janhavee Moole, Maharashtra

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