

Antwerp - 6,000: 6,000 contracts as day labourers in the sugar plantations between 1635 and 1715.

Callao - Wall up the gates: There is bottleneck in pay. Due to the halting of corn deliveries, a famine breaks out in the mines. The workers flee to the city. But the rush is so immense that the suggestion is made to wall up the gates. *Enrique Florescano: Precios de maíz y crisis agrícolas en México, 1708-1810. Mexico City, 1969.*

Lima - 2,500: The number of idlers and vagabonds is estimated to be 2,500. "The unreasonable demand of having to make one's living through an activity is indignantly declined. They come to beg for food, and when one tells them that they are young and able to work, they reply with great casualness that they are not dressed for conquering." *Answer to Presidencia de la Audiencia de Lima, 17 March 1619.*

Havana - Why don't you look for someone yourself to serve you!: "If some kind of ragged fellow or girl is asked by a gentlemen to enter into his service, and if this person is promised food, clothing and wage, he or she will cheekily answer: Look for someone else to serve you!" *Juan Domingo Zamacola y Jáuregui: Apuntes para la historia de Arequipa, 1804.*

Fernand Braudel, op. cit., vol. 3.



Now start again with the person sitting in the slaughterhouse palace. Follow the chain of buttons.

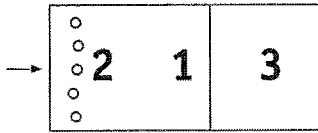
"In Langalbund, an entire region is dedicated to producing pearl buttons. [...] A caste of river boatmen harvests and sells river mussels providing the mother-of-pearl. After the shells are steeped in a corrosive fluid, they are smashed to small pieces with a hammer and made

round using a hand-held grindstone. [...] The children sew the finished buttons in dozens onto cardboard with sequins like they are sold in our haberdasheries. [...] The mussel shells are from the region but not the chemical products, the cardboard and the sequins [...]. The products are conceived all over according to foreign standards, while the workers here can hardly clothe themselves or button themselves up."

Claude Lévi-Strauss, op. cit.

You are now at the beginning of a long narrative. This narrative is called:

Continuation of: Debts are a condensation of history Second attempt to explain what the freeing of people through money can mean



2 Instructions on the taxation of land.

1 Records of the revenues from the taxation of land

Selection of Papers from the Records at the East India House Relating to the Revenue, Police and Civil and Criminal Justice, Under the Company's Governments in India. London: East India Company, 1820.

Chains 33 feet long were used to measure the fields. The lease was not determined according to the harvest but according to the quality of the soil.

धान्येष्टमं विशांशुल्कां चिंशं काशीपणावरम्
धर्मेपकरणशूद्राः कारवशिश्लिपिनस्तथा द १२०

Of cattle, of gems of gold and silver, added each year to the capital stock, a fiftieth part may be taken by the king; of grain an eighth part, a sixth, or a twelfth, according to the difference of the soil, and the labour necessary to cultivate it. *Munoo Smrita, Chap. VII, Shlok 130.*

He may take a sixth part of the clear annual increase of trees, meat, honey, clarified butter, perfumes, medical substances, liquids, flowers, roots, and fruits. *Munoo Smrita, Chap. VII, Shlok 131.*

That king, who, through weakness of intellect, rashly oppresses his people, will, together with his family, be deprived both of kingdom and life. *Munoo Smrita, Chap. VII, Shlok 111.*

That king, who gives no protection, yet takes a sixth part of the grain as his revenue, wise men have considered as a prince who draws to him the foulness of all people. *Munoo Smrita, Chap. VIII, Shlok 308.*

A Memoir on the Land Tenure and Principles of Taxation, Obtaining in the Provinces Attached to the Bengal Presidency... By a Civilian, in the East India Company's Service. Calcutta: S. Smith & Co., 1832.

3 General Annual Table (1568-1650)

Years, entries (cargo), *almojarifazgo* [customs duty], payments (of surplus funds), overall expenses.

- (1) Including arrears.
- (2) Almost all the money of the mining districts has followed the Arequipa route.
- (3) The payments of the mining district fund are made via Arequipa.
- (4) All the money of the mining districts passes through Arequipa.

- (5) Owing, notably, to a large carrying forward from one financial year to another, of the order of more than 300 million maravedis, the cargo minus the deficit comes to 1,415,989,700 maravedis.
- (6) The Arica route gets the better of Potosí (approximately), 12 million by the Arica route, 627 million by the Arequipa route, 5 millions from Cuzco.
- (7) Anomaly due to the attack by Hawkins.

*Export and taxation of, and income from, the silver of the Vice Kingdom of Peru in maravedis.
Pierre Chaunu; Huguette Chaunu, op. cit.*

At the beginning of this narration you see two balances. Around 200 years lie between them. The currencies in which the balances are calculated are maravedis on the one side and pagodas on the other. Maravedis are made of copper and pagodas of gold. The maravedis measure the silver bars before they are minted to coins. The peasants must pay their lease in gold. There are also legal reasons for the amount of lease. It is not derived from the harvest but from the colour of the earth and the frequency of stones in it.

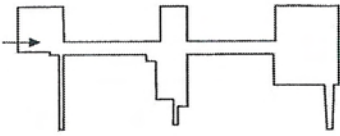
There is no reason for the proportionality between the silver coming from the mines and the treasure of the mountain. But there are laws stipulating the amount of labour that should be used to extract the silver. The legality of these laws is derived from an assumption made by both the officials of the Spanish King and the trade assistants of the East India Company. It is the assumption of the universal similarity of exercising power. The forced labour in the mines is said to be a continuation of the Inca's division of labour, the taxes of the peasants a continuation of the lease paid to the Mogul aristocracy. The conquering and exploitation of countries turns history into a subject that is in motion – a god, then, who constantly mirrors himself in the world. He smiles at himself.

Initially, the East India Company introduces itself to the Great Mogul as follows: "The most humble nothingness, John Russell, leaser of said Company, asks for permission to kneel down on the ground" (K.M. Panikkar: *Asia and Western Dominance. A Survey of the Vasco da Gama Epoch of Asian History, 1498-1945*). This is followed by various phases of trade and wars with other companies to gain the monopoly, until the Company is subjected to the controls of the English Parliament and now grasps itself as an organ of national interests.

You can object that this assumption of the exercise of power quite deliberately ignores the specific conventions of the respective rulers. You can say that this ignorance amounts to a blindness which came about in the heat of one's own enrichment and caused widespread starvation in the Indian provinces and mass deaths due to exhaustion in Potosí.

You can also raise objections as such against this power as such. But where would that lead? Other than to the place between the panes of a window separating light from the night, back and forth between the progress of the light bulb and unyielding timelessness. One stares at the power as if nothing else existed – just as blind and totally unaware of the possibilities and of the life taking place in this power, in its caves and crevices, where it can be beyond power and far away from it.

It is important to recognise that such blindness involves another, more gruesome dimension. The story between these two balances is about the development of this dimension.



Potosí: Drawings of the Cerro Rico, the mine entrances and screens, two portals of the San Lorenzo and San Ignacio churches, the Casa de Moneda.

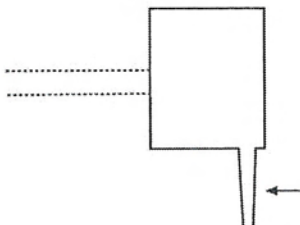
The first mine, "La Descubridora", was founded in 1546. Between 1549 and 1555, 250 tones of silver were extracted annually. At the time, this was two-thirds of the silver in the entire world, more than 1,500 tones. Another sum is the 16,000 million kilos of silver that were unloaded in Spanish ports between 1503 and 1660.

In 1610 Potosí has as many inhabitants as London and Paris. There were 36 casinos, horseshoes were made of silver, and the paths of the processions in honour of the Virgin Mary were paved with silver bars. One must also know that Potosí lies 4,000 m above sea level. There was a new method to separate the silver from the less valuable metals using mercury, which brought about these exports and this wealth in the first place, and which caused the loss of hair and teeth as well as irresistible trembling before dying. Imagine a huge amount, a gathering, a mob, a ganging up of people, bald and without teeth, trembling in this magnificent city. The King's officials write complaints: by 1660 the surrounding provinces have lost 80% of their tribute payers. Due to the smoke of the melting furnaces, grass no longer grows within a radius of 6 miles.

If you travel to Potosí now, you can hire a guide who will show you the mines, all the way down to the sixth level. You will go to the market with him and purchase alcohol, dynamite, fuses, and coca leaves. You will give some of this as a present to the workers, whose mine you enter. You will sacrifice the other part inside the mine to a god who prevents you from being killed during the tour.

You will see children working in the mines like adult men. Their number is estimated to be 6,500 and their wage after 10 hours in the gallery is estimated to be \$4. They are expected to die at the age of 38.

But that is not all
 it is, moreover, nothing
 in this single presence,
 the friends, the neighbours in the settlement,
 the festivities with balloons and trumpets,
 the prolonged weightlessness in the absence of the boom,
 during which stones along the road are painted blue
 and posters appear
 stating that one possesses rights.

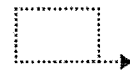
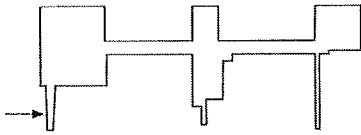


The silver is shipped to Europe, where the ships are already attacked in the harbour of Callao by the lust for money, because this silver is not a resource but a potential form "with which one can do what one wants in the world. One can even bring souls to paradise with it", as Columbus wrote to the Catholic King after another blood bath (*Colección de viajes*, vol. 1).

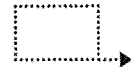
It is brought to London via various financial centres to fund the business of the East India Company.

In India, it is exchanged for golden pagodas that wind up at the Bank of England. During this age, everything is converted. A magic formula for changing skeletons.

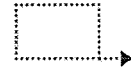
But the irrigation canals are destroyed, the harvests are spoilt, seeds are absolutely unaffordable, the dogs are as fat as sheep from the sumptuous meal of cadavers, and the land is converted into a jungle inhabited only by wild animals.



The silver trade routes. Casa de Moneda, Potosí.



All of Europe participated in the exploitation of silver. Number and origin of ships coming into Cadiz, 1784.
Fernand Braudel, *op. cit.*, vol. 3.



Hexagon of high finance,
Fernand Braudel, *op. cit.*, vol. 2.

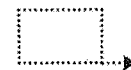
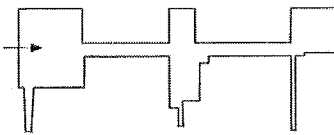


The development of prices and wages in Spain (1500-1650).
Jaume Vicens Vives: *Manual de historia económica de España*. Barcelona: Teide, 1959.

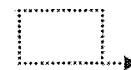
Stock exchanges: Bruges 1409; Antwerp 1460; Lyons 1462; Toulouse 1469; Amsterdam 1530; London 1554.

Declarations of bankruptcy by the Spanish King: 1557, 1560, 1576, 1596, 1606, 1627.

Silver from America, the trade with glass beads and shotguns, humans, sugar and rum, the seizure of India after the Battle of Plassey. This sequence of enrichment waves creates a national economy and an industry whose interests it represents. These periods are accompanied by a Parliament that in its debates learns how to permanently adapt social ethics to economic gains.



The financial centre of London, 1748.
Fernand Braudel: *op. cit.*, vol. 3.



Superfluous people.
Walter Ballhause; Johannes R. Becher: *Überflüssige Menschen. Fotografien und Gedichte aus der Zeit der grossen Krise*. Leipzig: Reclam, 1981.

The government of business persons

Act 1: An infamous derangement of eternity

First Jobber: South Seas for 7/8. Who buys?

Second Jobber: Bill on the rice in Calcutta. 1942 to 1943. January 6; November 11, February 24, May 30, July 35, August 38, October 40.

Lion: Nothing but sellers and buyers and buyers and sellers, like the pendulum of a clock. The market economy is organised the same way everywhere, it's rational, makes no mistakes, it's a robot, a principle.

Jackal: But yesterday there was a pure buyer directly next to us! He went into the shop, employed all means, and bought a certain commodity – a cheap commodity that satisfies one's needs, chicken wings or a chocolate bar, the profit margin of which is 2 cents at the most – he did so until a gap, a hole, a nothing was created in the shelves that couldn't be filled again until closing time.



East India Company mass-production factory of opium in Bengal.
www.filmbank.org



Anonymous Chinese depiction of the 2nd Opium War, 1856-1858.
www.learner.org/channel/courses/worldhistory

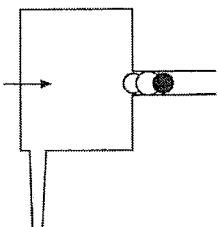
"From the beginning of the nineteenth century the East India Company had relied on opium exports from Bengal to Canton [...] to finance the growing deficits generated by the expensive military operations. By forcibly enlarging the Chinese demand for narcotic and, thus the taxes collected on its export, the two Opium wars and the punitive Treaty of Tianjin revolutionized the revenue base of British India."

Mike Davis: *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World*. London; New York: Verso, 2001.

Poppy (Opium)

Districts	Acres	Per Acre	Total Quantity
		Lbs.	Lbs.
7. Umballa	3,620	18	65,160
8. Ludhiana	69	..	..
9. Simla	244	3	732
10. Jullundar	578	..	..
11. Hoshiarpur	163	..	..
12. Kangra	1,539	3	4,617
13. Amritsar	877	19	16,663
14. Gurdaspur	278	..	..
15. Sialkot	140	..	..
16. Lahore	770	5	3,850
17. Gujranwala	147	10	1,470
18. Ferozepore	263	..	..
19. Rawalpindi	53	15	795
20. Jhelum	81	14	1,134
21. Gujrat	336	15	5,040
22. Shahpur	2,182	10	21,820
23. Mooltan	25	6	150
24. Jhang	27	10	270
25. Montgomery	94	9	846
26. Mazaffargarh	40	11	440
27. D. I. Khan	23	8	184
28. D. G. Khan	535	20	10,700
29. Bannu	15	..	..
30. Peshawar	67	3	201
31. Hazara	182	9	1,638
	12,348	Average 12.51	135,710 for 10,842 acres Add 18,840 for 1,506 acres
		154,550 for 12,348 acres	154,550 for 12,348 acres { (for which no crop per acre is gi- ven at 12.51 average.)

Dadabhai Naoroji: *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India*, 1901.



In England, the influx of silver enables the re-minting of all silver coins in circulation to 12 ounces standard. 12 ounces amount to 12 ounces and nothing more. After the flood of silver, the treasurer orders an additional 7 million pounds to be melted down. The exchange rate of the guinea is 22 shillings from now until eternity. Silver becomes trade capital, gold is retained. Twenty years after the price increase in Europe, the influx of American silver triggers a price increase in India. The rupee is constantly re-melted to new silver alloys.

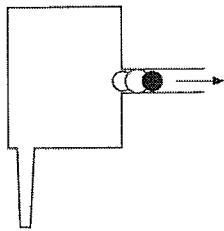
Recently the Government of India, driven to despair by the fact that all its small economies, as well as the proceeds of additional taxation and the amounts drawn from the provincial exchequers, threatened to be completely absorbed by the fall in the exchange, appointed Mr. O'Connor to inquire into the effects of this fall in the value of silver upon India and Indian producers. Necessarily, he reports that this fall is most injurious to India in every way, seeing that, in consequence of the fall in silver, not only, as has been so often repeated, is India obliged to remit to this country many millions more tons of agricultural produce in order to make up the amount of the drain for home payments in gold, but the agriculturists, in their ordinary dealings, are receiving a depreciated currency for their own produce, though this currency passes at the old level in India itself. Mr. O'Connor therefore enforces the arguments of Sir Auckland Colvin, the present Finance Minister, as to the great injury which India is suffering from this depreciation.

The only wonder is that sane men could be found to argue that India could by any possibility be benefited by the fall in silver. To begin with, all the enormous amount of that metal now in India is

of less value relatively to all other commodities than it was in the markets of the world; and, sooner or later, this disparity must make itself felt. In addition, how can it be reasonably argued that the ryots gain by giving more of their produce for a less monetary return, if we stop at the first process of their disposal of their crop? As so often happens in these days of middle-class economy and superficial discussion, men's minds are completely confused by the merest absurdities. It is said, for example, that anything which tends to encourage exports is beneficial to India, because trade is thereby improved. Is it then beneficial to starving ryots that wheat or rice, which would feed them, should, to the amount of millions of tons, be shipped off to this country, because otherwise they could not make their payments or meet their assessments? Manifestly not. Yet that such increased export is beneficial is the silly sort of argument which the Government of India has been obliged to answer through Mr. O'Connor.

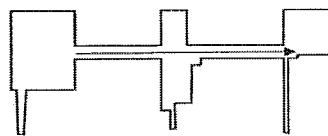
Beyond all question the fall in silver is most harmful to India and its people at this time, and the plainest common-sense would recognise that at once, if the old ideas did not obscure the fact that additional food is being sent out of the country for nothing. The danger now is, in regard to India, that this silver depreciation, which, though serious, is, after all, by no means the most serious difficulty at the present time, may blind people to the real causes of Indian poverty.

Henry M. Hyndman: *The Bankruptcy of India: An Enquiry into the Administration of India Under the Crown; Including a Chapter on the Silver Question.* London: Sonnenschein & Co., 1886.

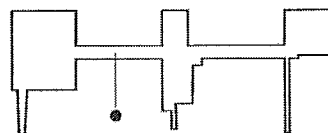


Openings for Capital.—Fluctuations in exchange long hindered the free investment of capital in India; but now that the rupee is fairly established at the rate of 15 rupees to the pound sterling, India has become entitled to the serious attention of capitalists who desire sound industrial investments and not mere speculative business. The cotton and jute manufactures, already conducted on a large scale, offer scope for still further development. Sugar and tobacco are produced in large quantities, but both require the application of the latest scientific processes of cultivation and manufacture.

Francis W. Hirst (ed.): *Harper's International Commerce Series.* London; New York, 1902.



Georg Agricola: *Vom Bergwerk 12 Bücher...* Basel: J. Froben, 1557.



The organic intellectual was a centaur. He connected horsepower with nice words. He was an ideologist, he was an engineer and made the machines and their dogsbodies obey. He has now become a general intellect. Without even lifting a finger, he is to be able to convert commodities into ghosts and ghosts into commodities, but that's not true. It's a trick so that we forget time and the life attached to it.