

Tio and other gods that protect the miners against accidents. Cerro Rico, Potosí.

BUTTERFLIES

Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar: Big mobilisations are precise moments in time, in which for some reason and with a certain amount of previous effort by small groups a general idea jells and people want to do things and they do them. And when they cease to want to, they quit. And so the idea is to study why they wanted to, how they may want to again and why they ceased to want to at a certain moment. But neither can you live in a state of shock. People can't cope with living that way. Time is divided in two, from time immemorial: the time of the everyday and the time of public rejoicing, of play and of art. And struggles are powerful, they're really similar in respect to public rejoicings.

Boris: My grandfather was a miner. My father worked in a company that's been sold off. [...] Now he works as a chauffeur and earns very little [...]. I work all day. [...] I don't study because my money won't stretch to it. [...] I think that as long as the multinationals continue [...] the tendency to exploit the working class and poor people will continue. God would want them to go. There's an ongoing struggle against that. [...] The problem is the Constituent Assembly. You've got to be careful about the traps the politicians set us. [...] Now we're beginning with assemblies to discuss these problems, to see how one can elect people and that they don't condemn for that.

Roberto Salazar: The march kept on getting bigger and we all grabbed each other's hands. It was massive. Massive. They were all there, town councillors, the head of the mayor's office, there were gringos, it was very clear, quite clear, snow white. We were marching, I was with them. When we were already reaching Obrajes, the ones from above began arriving, and they arrived making a lot of noise. It changed the atmosphere. Because there were two marches, one that was ascending and another that was descending. Some chewing coca, dirty, on foot. I took it on myself to say, "it's gonna collapse, it's gonna collapse", and then they said to me, "yeh, yeh, it's gonna collapse, because if not, fssst" (he makes a gesture with his hand as if he were cutting his throat). Everyone was coming down and we were looking at each other. We applauded, they applauded. But us, what were we? We were afraid. *Colectivo Situaciones: Mal de altura, op. cit.*

The production of the Third World Four phases of enrichment



Printed cotton fabric, 18th century. Crafts Museum, New Delhi.

Shares of World GDP

		(Percent	E)		
	1700	1820	1890	1952	
China	23.1	32.4	13.2	5.2	
India	22.6	15.7	11.0	3.8	
Europe	23.3	26.6	40.3	29.7	

Source: Angus Maddison, Chinese Economic Performance in the Long Run, Paris 1998, p. 40.

Shares of World Manufacturing Output, 1750–1900

(Percent)

1750	1800	1830	1860	1880	1900
23.1	28.0	34.1	53.6	62.0	63.0
1.9	4.3	9.5	19.9	22.9	18.5
76.8	71.2	63.3	39.2	23.3	13.4
32.8	33.3	29.8	19.7	12.5	6.2
24.5	19.7	17.6	8.6	2.8	1.7
	23.1 1.9 76.8 32.8	23.1 28.0 1.9 4.3 76.8 71.2 32.8 33.3	23.1 28.0 34.1 1.9 4.3 9.5 76.8 71.2 63.3 32.8 33.3 29.8	23.1 28.0 34.1 53.6 1.9 4.3 9.5 19.9 76.8 71.2 63.3 39.2 32.8 33.3 29.8 19.7	23.1 28.0 34.1 53.6 62.0 1.9 4.3 9.5 19.9 22.9 76.8 71.2 63.3 39.2 23.3 32.8 33.3 29.8 19.7 12.5

Source: Derived from B. R. Tomlinson, "Economics: The Periphery," in Andrew Porter (ed.), The Oxford History of the British Empire: The Nineteenth Century, Oxford 1990, p. 69

Shares of the World GDP.

Shares of World Manufacturing Output. Mike Davis, op. cit.



4. Secure cash crops

The opening of the Suez Canal led to a drastic reduction of transport costs. India's foreign trade increased eightfold between 1840 and 1886. Monocultures were planted: indigo, opium, cotton, wheat, rice. They replaced the cultivation of foodstuffs for one's own consumption.

YEAR	AREAS CULTIVATED WITH INDUSTRIAL PLANTS	AREA CULTIVATED WITH FOODSTUFFS
1893-1919	43% increase	7% increase
1911-1915	54% increase	12.4% increase
1935-1940	1.6 M acres	decrease of 1.5 M acres

IMPORTS

Year	Cotton twist and yarn	Cotton goods	Silk goods	Woollen goods	Machin- ery	
<u></u>	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
1859-60	2.0	9.6	0.2	0.4	0.9	
1864-65	2.2	11.0	0.4	0.9	0.6	
1869-70	2.7	13.5	0.5	0.6	0,6	
1874-75	3.2	16.3	0.7	0.6	1.2*	
1879-80	2.7	16.9	0.8	0.9	0.6	

* Includes metals and manufactures for which separate figures for the year are not available.

EXPORTS

	(1)	(2)	/alue in Ci (3)	ores of (4)	Rupees* (5)	*) (6)	(7)	(8)
Year	Raw Cotton	Indi- go	Rice, wheat and other grains	Hides and skins	Raw jute	Opium	Seeds	Tea
1959-60	5.6	2.0	3,6	0.44	0.62*	9.0	1.5	0,13
1864-65	37.5	1.9	6.0	0.73	1.4*	9.9	1.9	0.3
1869-70	19.0	3.2	3.2	1.7	2.0	11.7	2.3	1.0
1874-75	15.3	2.6	5.5	2.7	2.7	12.0	3.3	2.0
1879-80	11.1	2.9	9.9	3.7	4.3	14.3	4,8	3.0

* Includes manufactures also.

* Statistical Tables of British India. The Value in the original tables for the period before 1878 is given in £ stering. It has been converted into rupees at the rate of $\pounds 1 = Rs$. 10.

Balmokand Bathia: Famines in India: A Study in Some Aspects of the Economic History of India 1860-1945. London: Asia Publishing House, 1967 (printed in India).



2% tariff on wool products from Manchester; 70 to 80% tariff on Indian textiles and metal goods. The depopulation of the cities, the flight of craftsmen to the countryside. *Balmokand Bathia, ibid.*

2. Land taxation

Land charges in the province of Bengal

1764: £817,000.

First year under the administration of the East India Company: £2,341,000. 1793: Land tributes of the final tax assessment: £3,400,000.

Government Revenue.—The gross revenue of the Governmer of India has been as follows during the last five years :

		£		\$
1896-7		 62,622,000	-	313,110,000
1897-8		 64,257,000	-	321,285,000
1898-9		 67,567,000	-	337,835,000
1899-1900)	 68,637,000	-	343,185,000
1900-1		 75,166,000	=	375,830,000

Francis W. Hirst (ed.), op. cit.



DISTRICT OF POONA, INDIA

VILLAGE	RAISING OF LAND CHARGES
Waiwand	The lessees must borrow to pay the charges.
Pimpalgon	They must even borrow in good years.
Deulgaon	They borrow in some cases.
Kanagaon	Harvests are rarely ripe when the tax must be paid; lessees must
	therefore borrow.
Nandgaon	In case of little rain, they borrow and pledge the not yet harvested
	millet as security.
Dhond	They borrow and pledge the standing grain.
Girim	They borrow on account or sell the standing grain when they no longer
	have a credit.
Sonwari	They must borrow to pay the charges when they can't pay them from
	their savings or by selling livestock.
Wadhana	They pay the first rate by borrowing on the standing grain. If there is
	a crop failure they take up a mortgage or sell the land.
Morgaon	Ditto.
Ambi	Ditto.
Tardoli	They pay the first rate by borrowing on the standing grain. If there is
	no harvest they borrow on interest.
Kusigaon	Ditto.

Romesh Chunder Dutt: Famines and Land Assessments in India. London: Kegan Paul, 1900. Balmokand Bathia, op. cit. Hari Shanker Srivastava: The History of Indian Famines and the Development of Famine Policy 1858-1918. Agra: Sri Ram Mehra & Co., 1968. Dadabhai Naoroji, op. cit. A.P. Mc Donnell: Report on the Food-Grain Supply and Statistical Review of the Relief Operations in the Distressed Districts of Behar and Bengal During The Famine of 1873-74. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1876. John Hector: Land and Railways in India. London; Edinburgh, 1872. Mike Davis, op. cit. Raiani Palme Dutt: India Today. London: Victor Gollancz, 1940.

YEARS	CASES OF DEATH FROM STARVATION
1800-1825	1.000.000
1825-1850	400.000
1850-1875	5.000.000
1875-1900	15.000.000

Rajani Palme Dutt, op. cit.

1. In the case of forced trade relations, what meaning do the concepts of supply and demand have?



i∴......i...▶ Jean Louis Girardet: One-eyed beggar with a wooden leg, c. 1725. Baroque pearl, gold, enamel and ivory. Gewölbe, Dresden.



Samuel Bourne: View of the canal, Kashmir. Prize-winning photograph 1865. Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery Archive, Smithsonian Institute, Washington..

Anonymous: Dr. Jennsen writes the history of the Lozi, 1928-1930. Frobenius Institut, Frankfurt.

In the summer of 1853, Marx wrote three articles:

10 June: "British Rule in India."

24 June: "The East India Company, its History and the Results of its Activities."

22 July: "The Future Results of British Rule in India."

On 10 June, he reports on the famine in Poona, the collapse of the spinning mills and the ruin of the Indian cotton industry. He describes the trade flows of the East India Company and the international connections of exploitation, citing a report of the British House of Commons on Indian issues: "Although the villages were repeatedly plagued by war, famine or epidemics, the same names, the same families, the same borders, the same interests have been passed on for generations. The population was not contested by the collapse and division of empires. They don't care to which power the village is given to or to which ruler."

But he despises this indifference towards the forms of government, which for us could be an enchantment. He is in love with the telegraph poles, the power of steam and the railway tracks. On 22 July he writes that all these measures "neither bring the majority of the population freedom nor do they improve its social position very much, for both depend not only on the development of the productive forces but also on the people taking possession of themselves. In any case, the bourgeoisie will create the material preconditions for both."

"The Gujarati is a soft man, unused to privation, accustomed to earn his good food easily. In the hot weather he seldom worked at all and no time did he form the habit of continuous labour [...]. They lived by watching cattle and crops, by sitting in the fields to weed, by picking up cotton, grain and fruit, and [...] by pilfering."

Report on the Famine in the Bombay Presidency, quoted in Mike Davis, op. cit.



Charles IV silver coins, 1789. Casa de Moneda, Potosí.

That was the story of mining silver, its minting to coins and the creation of the dependency of survival on money. But this coin is not a subject. Not everything is its fault. There are no tigers, hyenas or jackals in London, either, that pull black or white ropes through the world. There are also no puppets under the compulsion to obey orders that can act only in this way and in no other. There is a bag made of dark-blue velvet over our heads - over the eyes, the ears, all the way to the throat, so that we can endure ourselves in London, where we are as mortal and available as those we execute on a daily basis. There are devils and moths.





"During the 1876-1878 famine, dry-plate photography had required professional skill with a cumbersome tripod-mounted field camera. The advent of the cheap, handheld Kodak no. 1 camera in 1888, however, turned virtually every missionary in India into a documentary photographer."

Mike Davis, op. cit..



Sunspots, 13 September 1867.

Kart Bruns: Atlas der Astronomie. Leipzig, 1872.

In the second half of the 19th century, many scientists debated the theory that famines resulted from the rotation of sunspots. In 1875 the economist William S. Jevons published his essay "Commercial Crisis and Sunspots", in which he discerned a coincidence of sunspots, famines and economic cycles: "A wave of increased solar radiations favourably affects the meteorology of the tropical regions, so as to produce a succession of good crops in India, China and other countries. After several years of prosperity the 600 or 800 millions of inhabitants buy our manufactures in unusual quantities; good trade in Lancashire and Yorkshire leads the manufacturers to push their existing means of production to the utmost [...]. While a mania of active industry is thus set going on in Western Europe, the solar radiation is slowly waning, so that just the time when our manufacturers

are prepared to turn out a greatly increased supply of goods, famines in India and China suddenly cut off the demand."

William S. Jevons: "Commercial Crises and Sunspots", in H.S. Foxwell (ed.): Investigations in Currency and Finance. London: Macmillan and Co., 1884.



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1. Kuddera C.; 2. Naga Boosher; 3. Tupsee Muthchey; 4. Wallagoo; 5. Peddar Porawar; 6. Sorra Kowar; 7. Dondoo Paumu; 8. Manti Bukaru Paumu; 9. Calasmaia Paumu; 10. Chaelloo Paumu; 11. Lama Guliminda; 12. Bontoo; 13. – ; 14. Karwar; 15. Kurah Mutoo; 16. Bondarroo Kappa; 17. Calamar Kappa; 18. Pool Chitsillo; 19. Statistics on the patenting of the neem tree; 20. Statistics on the patenting of kava kava; 21. Statistics on the patenting of rampion; 22. Tenkee; 23. Mokarah Tenkee; 24. Isacuma Tenkee; 25. Pollee Makum; 26. Walama Tenkee; 27. –; 28. Koma Sorree; 29. Lama Wellakum; 30. Woragoo; 31. Rante Wellakum; 32. Moree Godo.

Patrick Russell: Descriptions and Figures of Two Hundred Fishes, Collected at Vizagapatam on the Coast of Coromandel, Presented to the Court of Directors of the East India Company. London: W. Bulmer, 1803.