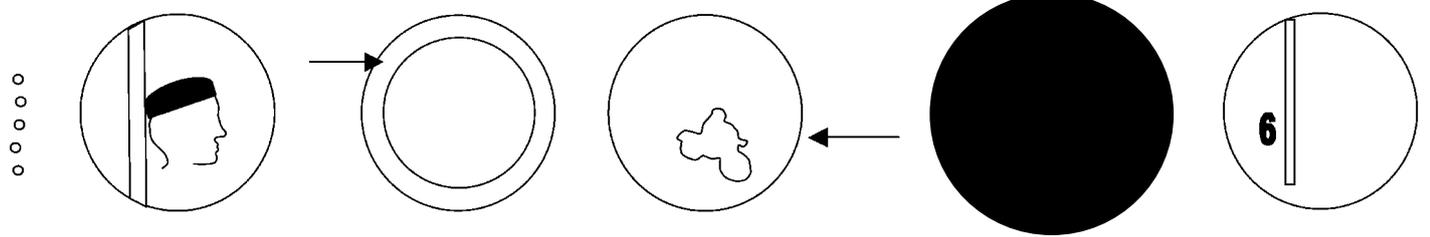
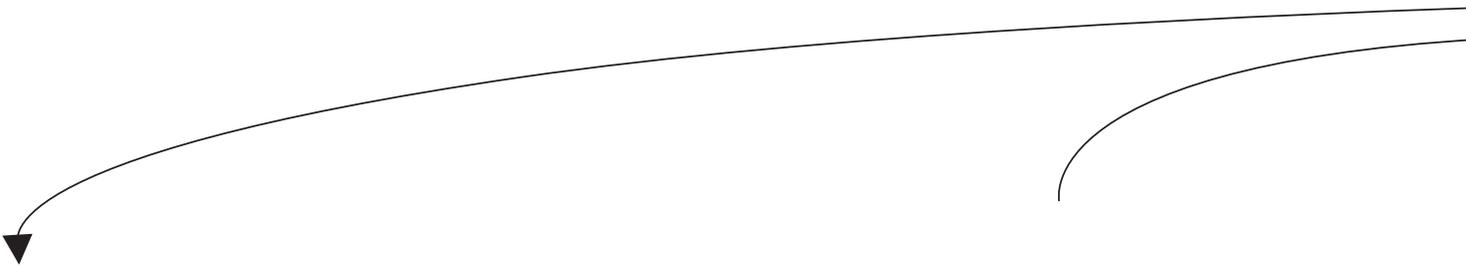
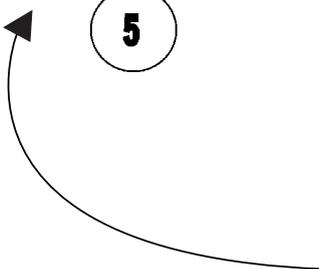
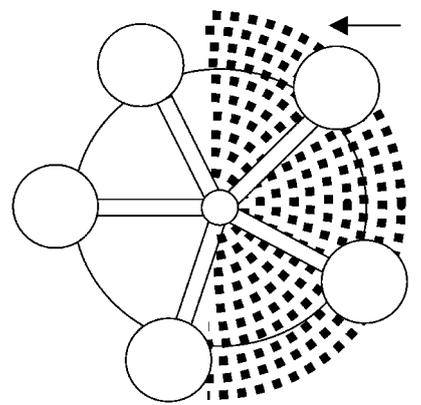
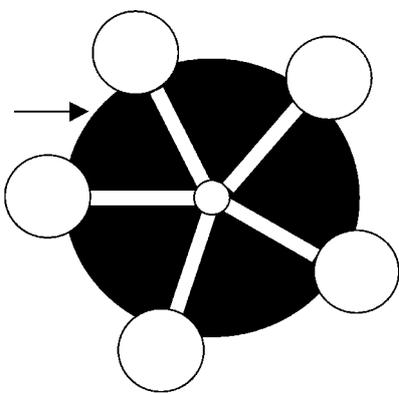
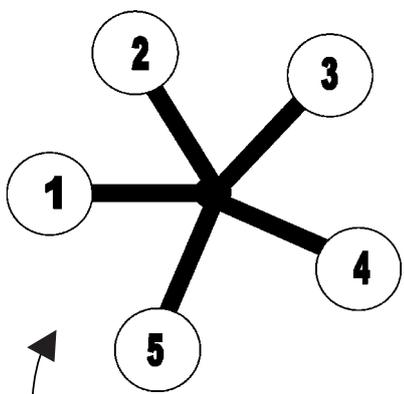
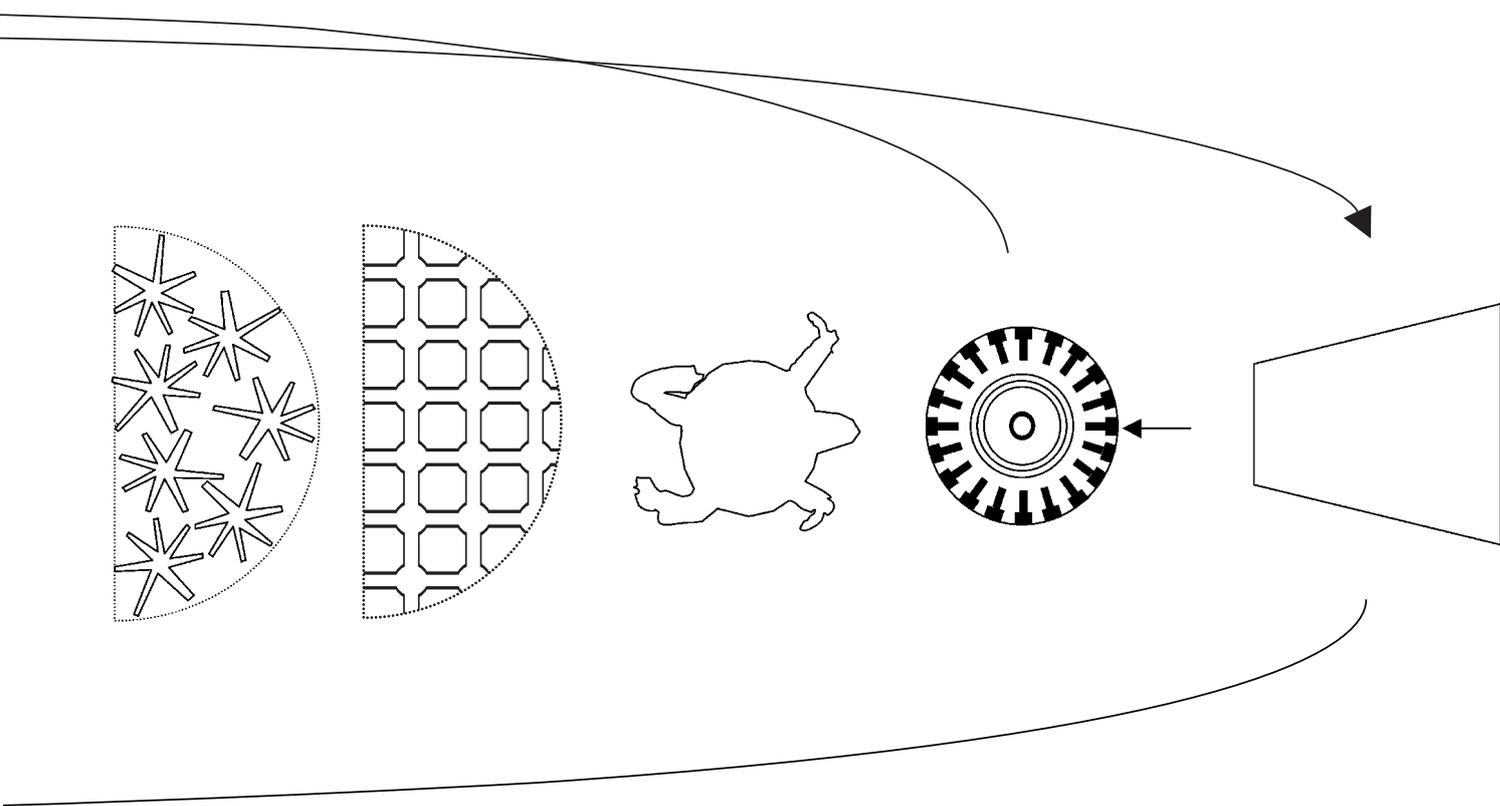
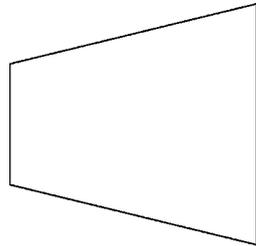
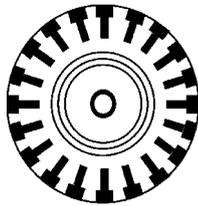
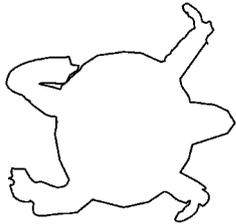
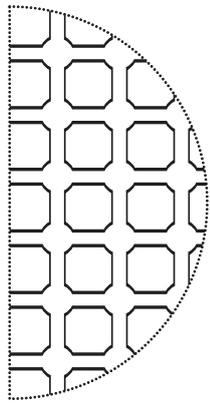
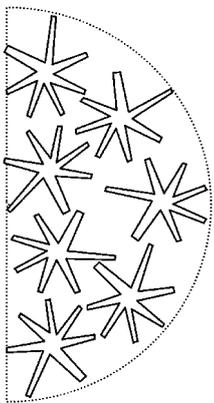


# LEGEND



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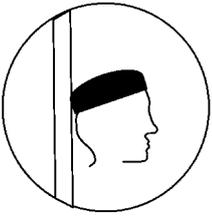




What you see here are pictures based on travels to India, Argentina and Bolivia. These countries are so deeply connected with the history of European projections that, when one is there, these projections are projected back. The projections also provide arguments for accepting the discrepancy between wealth and poverty as being that which is the case. At the same time, this discrepancy is used to legitimate measures to eliminate it. These measures are an exercise of power, as is the omission of these measures. It is not the case that one could weigh up or narrate these measures, their history, their welfare, and their gruesomeness in an uninvolved way. For, as an observer, one is part of what one looks at.

The “experimental set-up” of the pictures you see here repeats, repeating a situation that cannot be resolved. It acts as if it served to construct an apparatus: an apparatus serving to osmotically balance the pressure of wealth in the face of poverty. One cannot equate poverty with the countries visited here, and wealth cannot be equated with Europe – as if there were no poverty here and no wealth there. Yet on the other hand, a history of exploitation indeed exists between these countries, which clearly goes in one direction, and a history of exotic longings and projections going in the other. This history belongs to the essence of the viewer; but it is also shared by the one returning the gaze.

This brochure and the pictures on the wall are part of a legend. They serve to reveal to you the sources and materials of this apparatus - like a guided tour of a workshop and its instruments.



Let us begin with the photo of this person: she is dressed as if she were about to appear at a masked ball as a national liberation fighter. She seems to have chosen her costume from a reflex admitting of no alternative. For this person is not capable of reflection, although she has arranged everything for this purpose – the easy chair, the heroic background, the buttons her hands are playing with. But the arrangement has failed; the background is a slaughterhouse, the buttons lead to a sweatshop for children in Langalbund, the easy chair is part of a survey instrument dividing the person into the qualities of a rising middle class: *insular, aggressive, selfish, obsessed with material gain, socially callous*.

Pavan K. Varma: *The Great Indian Middle Class*. New Delhi: Penguin Books India, 1998.

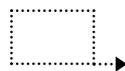
The person looks and looks and cannot do anything else, standing in shameful contrast to her costume. So she has been enchanted or outlawed in this gaze.

Assertions are made when one turns away from looking – for example, to those sitting next to one at a conference where one can debate about whether this time of looking, i.e., the time preceding the judgement, actually exists or whether it is only a dream of a shadow in this ideal world.

After her travels, she, the person, during her research, came upon statements of account, balance sheets, statistics, minutes of fact-finding committees, journals, and treatises that contribute to this ongoing interpretation of the shadows during a conference: are Native Americans people? How fast can angels fly from Madrid to Seville? How many calories does a person in Madras building a railway need? Which constellation of sunspots influenced the last upward economic trend?

The authors have the difficulty that they hardly know anything anymore and only have a vague memory of the moment in which they couldn't shut their eyes. Afterwards, they possibly had a hard time to once again concentrate on what was in front of them – the plates and cutlery for supper, the desk, the floor surfaces of the lobbies in which one sees one's own reflection, that's how smooth they are, while the assessment of the situation and the decisions on measures that must be taken to cope with the situation to the advantage of the host, something which is closely connected and almost identical with an osmotic balance of pressure between this moment of reflection and its blurring and the prevention of... outrage, for instance, or even violence.

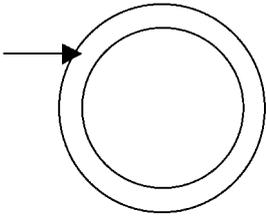
The person is wearing the costume of an epoch in which an important memory aid evolved through the development of photography. It began simultaneously with the European occupation of the world; it was an instrument in their arsenal. This instrument often lies, or re-enacts something that one would like to remember in this and in no other way; for example, this background, which is a photo.



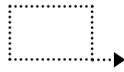
Felice Beato: *Secundra Bagh Palace after the massacre of 2,000 rebels by the 93rd Highlanders and the 4th Punjab Regiment, 1857*.

This photo counted as one of the very first authentic war photographs. The photographer Felice Beato reached India in 1858, after being commissioned by the English War Bureau to do this reportage. It is assumed that he restaged the massacre five months later.

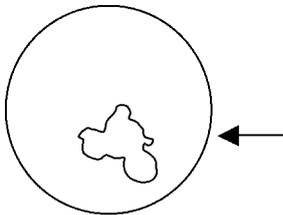
It recreates the suppression of the first Indian struggle for liberation with which the rule of the East India Company ended and the Empire began. In the fact-finding committees and the parliamentary debates, the Company was accused of ruling in a corrupt and cruel manner. From now on, the Empire regarded the Indian region as a large-scale laboratory for practising good governance. The reparations made after the uprising leads to a further increase of the lease. The peasants witness the auction of their own land as an audience.



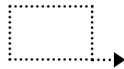
The person avoids studying current events: the grandiose development associated with the introduction of the Victoria bass as a commodity or the achievements of the dams in the Narmada Valley, the optimisation achieved in regulating the flow of unqualified workers to Europe – this yes /no /yes /no, a relay that opens and closes with the mechanical precision of the functional relationship between trigger, pin, spring, and projectile – to promote the industrial production of tomatoes and peppers. She fears witnessing her own fossilisation or – what is the worst, grasping herself, her own self, as a person consisting of nothing but a head, an almighty head on a coin – in the impossibility of closing her eyes, her lids or the judgements: *I: Hispan. et Ind. Rex, Dei Gratia*.



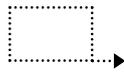
*Coin produced by the Casa de Moneda (or Mint) in Potosí.*



In this scene, the same person is sitting on a police motorcycle, circling around a suburb of Buenos Aires which no-one may access bar the families that own houses there and their staff; the individual districts also keep a close eye on each other. The person saw how a maid got out of a car at the entrance of the grounds to puke onto the nice lawn, while the car drove on.



*Nordelta, Buenos Aires, 2003.*

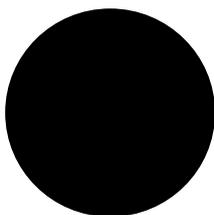


*Atlas of prisons and illustrations on the work of the police.*

*La nación argentina, 3rd ed. Buenos Aires: Control de Estado de la Presidencia de la Nación, 1950.*

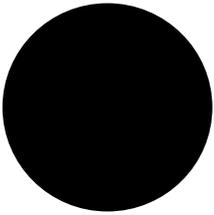
The atlas shows a national fortune that can be equated with the prosperity of the people – food, education, health. All this is guaranteed by the figure of the general on the first page and by the autarchy of a national industry that promises jobs and demands obedience. At the end of the atlas, there is a chapter on the police forces and their tasks. The tasks consist in distribution – for e.g., of warm blankets, medicine and bread – and destruction – for e.g., of insect plagues or illegal passengers. At the end, the prisons are shown, like the keystone of an arch supporting the entire construction.

The prisons and the suburb form a colony in which the inmates are trained to become settlers, in the way in which the state grasps itself as a community of settlers who at all times in a strained way recall the emptiness of the country when they arrived. No humans for miles around; several chains with ears were lying on the green grass.



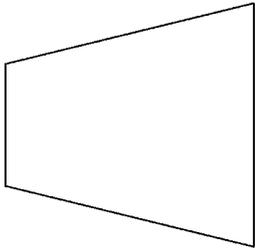
“If we speak of a hole – a black hole – it is to name that place where certain bodies fall into social non-existence (beyond the reach of consumerism and legal guarantees). If the hole is black it is because it prevents one seeing: it sucks in, attracts, terrorises; so sinister is it, it seems to have no interior. For what passes from the other side is turned into something else.”

*Colectivo Situaciones: “Agujero negro”, introduction to the booklet Presas. Buenos Aires, March 2005.*



“All initial situations that define the relations between the persons are distorted, the rules of social interplay are corrupted, it is impossible to start.”

*Claude Lévi-Strauss: **Tristes Tropiques**. Paris: Éditions Plon, 1955.*

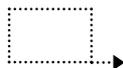


The person is so fixated on the person begging and so devoured by the black hole in between that you will not be able to get in between them. You must view the situation from the back. This model is a government office: you can aim directly out of its windows at poverty. You can also first take a look at the room itself and how it could be furnished.



These photos were taken in the Nehru Memorial in New Delhi. You see the study and the living room, the books on governing in the glass-fronted cabinets and the photos of persons who were involved in the independence movement.

(You also see pictures of the first elections. Only one picture was scribbled on or scratched away by visitors. It was the spot where one can assume that the face of a veiled woman at the ballot box was shown. A doubling in which it is not clear whether the scratches were meant to erase the face once more or whether the veil was meant.)

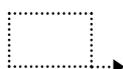


The ornament on the floor of the model is from the columns of the audience chamber of the Mogul Emperor Akbar in the empty city of Fatehpur Sikri. Only for fourteen years did people live in the city, because the architects made mistakes calculating the water supply when building the city. When the person was there, she stood in front of a column in the government room. She placed a sheet of paper on the stone and made a tracing of the ornaments. The lines could be reproduced on the paper because the spaces in between were empty. The officials of the Company removed all the gems from the marquetry.

This model of a government room is shaped like cameras from the 19th century. This is a connection between the suppression of the struggle for liberation, the replacement of the East India Company's rule by the Empire, and the huge demand for photographic volumes on India in England.

“From the earliest days of the calotype, the curious tripod with its mysterious chamber and mouth of brass taught the natives of this country that their conquerors were the inventors of other instruments besides the formidable guns of artillery, which, though as suspicious perhaps in appearance, attained their objects with less noise and smoke. [...] I took a photograph of three inhabitants of Byjnath, two women and one man, who showed great fear of my camera, as they apparently thought I intended to shoot off their heads.”

*Ulrich Pohlmann; Dietmar Siegert (eds.): **Samuel Bourne: Sieben Jahre Indien. Photographien und Reiseberichte 1863-1870**. Munich: Fotomuseum im Münchner Stadtmuseum; Schirmer/Mosel Verlag, 2001 [exhib. cat.].*



*Travelling photographic darkroom.*

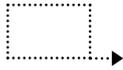
*Thomas Theye (ed.): **Der geraubte Schatten. Die Photographie als ethnographisches Dokument**. Munich: Münchner Stadtmuseum, 1989 [exhib. cat.].*



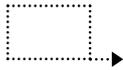
*The end of the Afghan War. The Armeer Yakoob Khan at Gandamak, 1878/1879.*  
Thomas Theye (ed.), *ibid.*



*A hand performing a magical defence against photography.*  
Fritz Sarasin: *Women from Bada, Celebes, 1902.* Museum der Kulturen, Basel.  
Thomas Theye (ed.), *ibid.*



*Test drawings for half-length portraits and head support.*  
Thomas Theye (ed.), *ibid.*



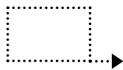
*Otto Reche: Improvised anthropometric photo, with head support and scale, c. 1908.*  
Bildarchiv der Hamburger Südsee-Expedition, Museum für Völkerkunde, Hamburg.  
Thomas Theye (ed.), *ibid.*



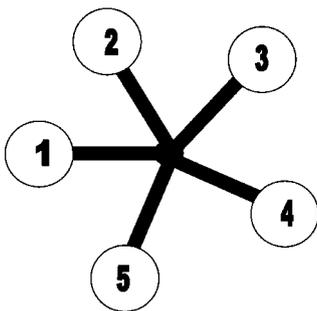
*Augustin Krämer: Anthropometric photos of two women, Luf, Bismarck Archipelago, c. 1906.*  
Völkerkundliches Institut der Universität Tübingen, Tübingen.  
Thomas Theye (ed.), *ibid.*



*Johann Stanislaus Kubary: Anthropometric photo of a woman from Samoa, c. 1875.*  
Thomas Theye (ed.), *ibid.*



*Anonymous (Marc Ferrez): Set of portraits of Botocudo natives in carte-de-visite format, 1870-1871.*  
Museum für Völkerkunde, Freiburg im Breisgau.  
Thomas Theye (ed.), *ibid.*



### 1

Now aim at poverty no. 1 through the target of the room. The bar of this figure measures the relation between the Gross National Product and population density. This relation does not take into account who produces and who keeps most of the Gross National Product. At the same time, it makes one afraid of those whose density encompasses this wealth like the night encompasses the moon.

*Atlas der Globalisierung, Le Monde Diplomatique, Berlin, 2003.*

### 2

The yardstick of this figure refers to the “middle class” in India and its potential of consumption: 49% of all households have a transistor radio; 46% a bicycle; 30% a pressure cooker or a TV; 12% a refrigerator; 6% a moped, a telephone or a washing machine; 1% a computer, a video camera or a car.

*Gallup India Pvt, 2002.*

### 3

The yardstick of these two figures refers to:

- a) the Income Consumption Index, which is based on the sociological study *Life and Labour of the People in London* by Charles Booth, 1892;

b) the estimate of the calories available per day.

Both indexes are used by the World Bank to assess poverty.

Christoph Dittrich: *Bangalore: Globalisierung und Überlebenssicherung in Indiens Hightech-Kapitale*. Saarbrücken: Verlag für Entwicklungspolitik, 2004.

#### 4

The yardstick of this figure refers to the annual costs of a man-hour differing on a global basis between \$35,000 and \$500. Moreover, it shows samples of the relationship between working hours and pay.

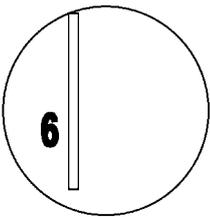
*Atlas der Globalisierung, op. cit.*

#### 5

Kategorie	Unterkategorie	Anzahl Personen	Anteil an Gesamtbev. (%)	Jahreseinkommen (Rs./Haushalt)*
Oberschicht	<i>The Superrich</i>	39.000	0,005	> 5 Mio.
	<i>Sheerrich</i>	144.000	0,02	> 2 – 5 Mio.
	<i>Clearrich</i>	444.000	0,05	> 1 – 2 Mio.
	<i>Nearrich</i>	1,55 Mio.	0,2	> 0,5 – 1 Mio.
Mittelschicht	<i>The Srivers</i>	25 Mio.	2,6	> 300 – 500.000
	<i>Climbers</i>	45 Mio.	4,7	> 100 – 300.000
	<i>Aspirants</i>	120 Mio.	12,6	> 50 – 100.000
Unterschicht	<i>The Deprived</i>	760 Mio.	79,8	bis 50.000

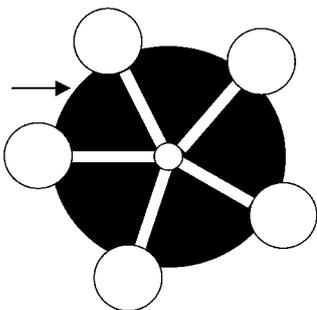
\* 10.000 Rs. entsprachen 2003 etwa 200 Euro; das Jahreseinkommen in Euro muss um den Faktor 4 gewichtet werden, um die reale Kaufkraft ermessen zu können. Quelle: CHATTERJEE (1998).

*Christoph Dittrich, op. cit.*



You have now arrived at the person fixating the gaze of the viewer. The yardstick of this person refers to the debt and the debt servicing of 187 developing countries between 1980 and 2000. "Debt" is a term and an exclusive measure. Debts are also a condensation of history. The creditor states meet in Paris and the creditor banks in London to keep the *significant*, its divide and the forgetting of the *signifié* stable.

*Global Development Finance, World Bank, Washington, 2001 & 2002.*



It has been decided that debt servicing is an outdated form of exploitation. Hence, the HIPC Initiative was conceived.

#### The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative

The Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Initiative was founded in 1996 by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and expanded and expanded at respective summits.

It grants debt relief to countries that are allowed to be called "poor" or "highly indebted".

This designation is attained by proofs and accountancies,

by compliance with statistical material,  
by the purchase of technological achievements necessary to do so,  
commodity forms,  
and the permanent libido of petitions.  
Acquiring this is first level,  
because it is supposed to mark a hurdle,  
which to be overcome implies this overt willingness.

Burundi, the Ivory Coast, Comoros, Laos, Liberia, Myanmar, the Republic of Congo,  
Somalia, Sudan, Togo, the Central African Republic.

The second level is termed the “point of decision”, as  
in a competition at a school function.  
The slogan is: good governance.  
The government officials are asked to draw up concepts of how they imagine  
ameliorating the poverty of the inhabitants of the territories they rule.  
The concepts must find the liking of the creditors,  
something which limits their possibilities to the following:  
the opening of markets, services,  
monetary transactions by international investors,  
the body and its habits, desires,  
needs, knowledge, and one’s lifetime.  
Government employees should additionally see to it  
that the streets in the capital are tarred,  
that shoes made of thin leather, perfume,  
silk scarves, and coats can be purchased there,  
that the ATMs are guarded, and that the airport  
is professionally managed,  
that electricity is stable enough  
to supply a five-star hotel and the air conditioning  
cooling its rooms  
and the arrangements of oilcloth-pale orchids in them.

The Republic of Congo, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea and Guinea Bissau, Honduras,  
Cameroon, Madagascar, Malawi, Rwanda, Zambia, São Tomé and Príncipe,  
Sierra Leone, Chad.

The third level is called “point of completion”.

Benin - granted credit: 265 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 8 million  
dollars, date of approval: July 2000; Bolivia - granted credit: 1,302 million dollars, debt  
service in 2006 after the relief: 28 million dollars, date of approval: June 2000;

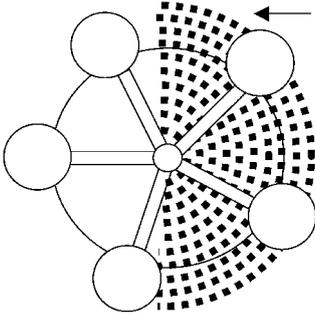
“The first phase of the Plan Colombia earmarked 640 million dollars for Bolivia. But from  
1999 until today, in cooperation with an ‘alternative development’, meaning a change in  
cultivation (away from coca), Bolivia was promised 500 million dollars a year. But only a fifth  
came from the United States, the rest came from Europe and Japan. These 100 or 110 mil-  
lion dollars that the gringos gave us as a present went directly to the military for its anti-  
drug policy.”

*Colectivo Situaciones: Mal de altura. Viaje a la Bolivia insurgente. Buenos Aires: Tinta y Limón Ediciones, 2005.*

Burkina Faso - granted credit: 398 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 23 million dollars, date of approval: June 2000; Cameroon - granted credit: 1,260 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 34 million dollars, date of approval: October 2000; Chad - granted credit: 170 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 13 million dollars, date of approval: May 2001; Gambia - granted credit: 67 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 5 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Guinea - granted credit: 545 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 29 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Guinea Bissau - granted credit: 416 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 7 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Guyana - granted credit: 585 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 7 million dollars, date of approval: November 2000; Honduras - granted credit: 556 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 20 million dollars, date of approval: July 2000; Madagascar - granted credit: 814 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 40 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Malawi - granted credit: 643 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 47 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Mali - granted credit: 523 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 32 million dollars, date of approval: January 2000; Mauritania - granted credit: 622 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 12 million dollars, date of approval: April 2000; Mozambique - granted credit: 1,970 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 31 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Nicaragua - granted credit: 3,267 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 14 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Niger - granted credit: 521 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 20 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Rwanda - granted credit: 452 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 21 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; São Tomé and Príncipe - granted credit: 97 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 2 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Senegal - granted credit: 488 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 38 million dollars, date of approval: April 2000; Tanzania - granted credit: 2,036 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 71 million dollars, date of approval: April 2000; Uganda - granted credit: 1,003 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 73 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000; Zambia - granted credit: 2,499 million dollars, debt service in 2006 after the relief: 47 million dollars, date of approval: December 2000.

*HIPC Report, World Bank, 2006.*

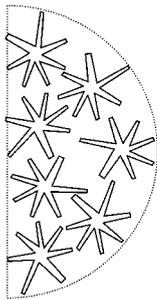
## Debts are a condensation of history



### A

Reparation demands of the African World Reparations & Repatriations Truth Commission made at the conference held in Durban, 31 August - 8 September, 2001, to the former colonial states. Each figure: 193,500,000,000,000 working hours; in red: Africa's total debt, 2004.

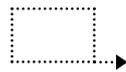
The demanded sum amounts to \$777,000,000,000,000 for 300-500 years of abduction, murder and slave labour; estimated reparation per hour: 10 cents; 10 cents was the estimate of an hour of forced labour in the trials against German industry to repay the victims of National Socialist forced labour.



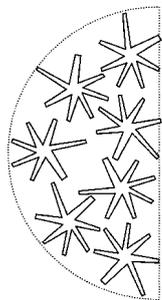
### B

Debts of the English textile industries to the City of Dacca for the destruction of spinning and weaving through import sanctions, 1815-1832. In this period the value of cotton from India decreased from £1.3 million to £100,000 at 12 from 13 parts. An estimate until the end of the Empire would result in £21.6 million.

Between 1818 and 1836, the export of cotton yarn from England to India increased 5,200-fold, and the population of Dacca sank from 150,000 to 30,000.



*Mahatma Gandhi at the spinning wheel. Action to boycott British goods and restore the Indian textile industry.*

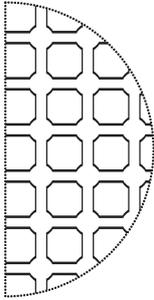


Development of the English spinning and weaving mills from 1770 to 1860 – during this period having the monopoly of machinery and of the markets of the world.

“From 1815 to 1821 depression; 1822 and 1823 prosperity; 1824 abolition of the laws against Trades’ Unions, great extension of factories everywhere; 1825 crisis; 1826 great misery and riots among the factory operatives; 1827 slight improvement; 1828 great increase in power-looms, and in exports; 1829 exports, especially to India, surpass all former years; 1830 glutted markets, great distress; 1831 to 1833 continued depression, the monopoly of the trade with India and China withdrawn from the East India Company; 1834 great increase of factories and machinery, shortness of hands. The new poor law furthers the migration of agricultural labourers into the factory districts. The country districts swept of children. White slave trade; 1835 great prosperity, contemporaneous starvation of the hand-loom weavers; 1836 great prosperity; 1837 and 1838 depression and crisis; 1839 revival; 1840 great depression, riots, calling out of the military; 1841 and 1842 frightful suffering among the factory operatives; 1842 the manufacturers lock the hands out of the factories in order to enforce the repeal of the Corn Laws. The operatives stream in thousands into the towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire, are driven back by the military, and their leaders brought to trial at Lancaster; 1843 great misery; 1844 revival; 1845 great prosperity; 1846 continued improvement at first, then reaction. Repeal of the Corn Laws; 1847 crisis, general reduction of wages by 10 and more percent, in honour of the “big loaf”; 1848 continued depression; Manchester under military protection; 1849 revival; 1850 prosperity; 1851 falling prices, low wages, frequent strikes; 1852 improvement begins, strikes continue, the manufacturers threaten to import foreign hands; 1853 increasing exports. Strike for 8 months, and great misery at Preston; 1854 prosperity, glutted markets; 1855 news of failures stream in from the United States, Canada, and the Eastern markets; 1856 great pros-

perity; 1857 crisis; 1858 improvement; 1859 great prosperity, increase in factories; 1860 Zenith of the English cotton trade, the Indian, Australian, and other markets so glutted with goods that even in 1863 they had not absorbed the whole lot; 1861 prosperity continues for a time, reaction, the American Civil War, cotton famine; 1862 to 1863 complete collapse.”

Karl Marx: “Repulsion and Attraction of Workpeople by the Factory System. Crises in the Cotton Trade”, in *Capital*, vol. 1, part 4, chapter 15, section 7, 1867.



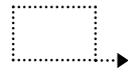
## C

Debts of the King of Spain owed to the mining cooperatives in Potosí.

Total exploitation of the Potosí silver mines: 700,000 t of silver until 1800. If only a fifth were tax income for the King that would amount to: 140,000 t of silver.

### **First attempt to explain what the releasing of humans through money could be It amounts to 8,000,000 deaths while extracting silver in Potosí**

One can claim that there is a mobilisation in the centre and bondage on the periphery. But centre and periphery get confused like the bubbles of oil on water. Mobilisation is an easier term than extermination. But how can one comprehend the extermination of humans while creating value?



*Cattle drive man out.*

Pierre Chaunu; Huguette Chaunu: *Séville et l'Atlantique (1504-1650)*.

Paris: Armand Colin, 1959.

Mobilisation has two sides. One side could give an account of the freight of humans (*The Law of India* / Book VI, Title 1, Law 13. The ban on transporting Indians from a cold region to a warm one and the other way round, following the huge loss of labourers), or of the arrests of tramps in Paris for the manufactures.

The other side could give an account of the expulsion of peasants in England or Cracow, in Nueva Hispania or in the Vice Kingdom of Peru in a period spanning 200 years or more. It is an expulsion that leaves just a few behind, as engineers and maintenance workers of a mechanism termed world economy.

Mobilisation can also be imagined as a fabric made of arteries pulsating with silver and gold. In regard to the period discussed here, one must picture a circulation so accelerated by silver and gold that it has an intoxicating effect or is like a fever putting the imaginary body of the foreign trade volume in a state of enormous productivity: the silver supplies from America coinciding with the increase in grain prices in Andalusia and the cutback in wages.

Mobilisation ranges from Russia, which supplied wood for ships and musket stocks, to Wales, which produced hemp – bales upon bales that are twisted to ropes in Flanders and then shipped and transported across the isthmus to Portobelo along with the wood, lead, blades, wax, and whatever else is needed to conquer, to requisition, to freight, to tie up hands, and to pay out the ropes in the mineshafts.

It is a mobilisation that opens and closes like the valves of the heart, attracting money and people according to the beat of spasms and relaxations, consuming them and discharg-

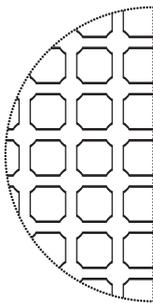
ing them, attracting them, consuming them, and discharging them: slaves, possible slaves, servants, possible servants, day labourers, possible day labourers, vagabonds, possible vagabonds.

Mobilisation deals with eternity, because the destruction of humans does not amount to a frictional loss but to a transfer of value: detritus to silver, silver to coins, coins to goods, goods to profit, profit to fortunes, or to an extraordinary concentration of options in the beads of sweat on the foreheads of kings when requesting further credit for their wars.

Mobilisation operates with freedom, because it sweats out persons when transforming them into value. These persons could disappear into thin air, there to immediately turn into the following dream that calms the nerves.

“As I heard, those who are accustomed to living in this way can no longer dispense with it. They know no worries, they pay neither lease nor taxes, they have nothing to lose, they are independent, warm themselves in the sun, sleep, shake with laughter, feel at home everywhere, move only to wealthy countries, where they are given and know how to find what they want, they are free everywhere.”

*Juan Maillefer, quoted in Fernand Braudel: **Civilization and Capitalism, 15-18th Century.** London: Collins, 1981.*



Seville - The promotion of fantastic ideas: The officials were ordered to make known in all towns of the Empire, on squares and streets, where the large findings of gold and silver are located, where it can be found and where the search for it has begun. The question of profession should not be raised when filling in the exit documents. *Decrees by Charles V, 1526, 1529 and 1531.*

Cadiz - An entire swarm: In February an entire swarm of tramps enters the city, cunning have-nots, who beg, who eat bran bread, herbs, cabbage stalks, snails, dogs, and cats, and season their soup with the water used to desalt mussels. *Anonymous, 1652.*

Lisbon - 10,000: In the mid-18th century around 10,000 tramps are hanging around. *Anonymous, 1685.*

Lyons - 17,000: In the spring of 1630, 17,000 beggars suddenly arrive in the city. The city decides to lure these poor people into the city with bread and then lock its gates. *Chronicle.*

Genoa - Pits are excavated and lime is spread: The poorhouse is closed because there are too many corpses. Pits are excavated and lime is spread, 1650. *Chronicle.*

Venice - 6,000: In March 1545, 6,000 beggars suddenly enter the city. The city distributes authorisations for some and chases the others away. *Chronicle.*

London - Beggars without a license and older than 14 are to be beaten and branded on the left ear in cases in which no-one engages them for two years; in case of repetition, they are to be executed. *Elisabeth I, Act 18, chapter 13, 1597.*

Marseilles - Pack your belongings for the slightest reason: Mirabeau fears the migration of craftsmen to other countries, if the manufactories go bankrupt: “A guild on the fly, unreliable ones, who for the slightest reason pack their belongings and follow the abundance. The others can be found in spitals and on the street as beggars.”

Paris - 91,000: In the 17th century it was estimated that 91,000 tramps were in the city: dismissed soldiers, widows and children, disabled persons, jobless, elderly, persons affected by fire, and those expelled by the war. Mass arrests were ordered to galleys, deportation and workhouses. *Chronicle.*

Amsterdam - 1st Edict of the States and Cities of the Netherlands, 19 March 1671: 41 executed, 35 branded, 37 whipped, 183 expelled.

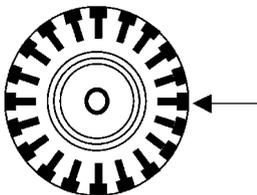
Antwerp - 6,000: 6,000 contracts as day labourers in the sugar plantations between 1635 and 1715.

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.*



*Jeremy Bentham: Panopticon: Or, The Inspection-house: Containing the Idea of a New Principle of Construction Applicable to Any Sort of Establishment, in Which Persons of Any Discretion Are To Be Kept Under Inspection; And in Particular to Penitentiary-houses, Prisons, Houses of Industry, Work-houses, Poor-houses, Manufacturies, Mad-Houses, Lazarettos, Hospitals, and Schools; With a Plan of Management Adopted to the Principle: In a Series of Letters, Written in the Year 1787, from Crecheff in White Russia, to a Friend in England. Dublin: Thomas Byrne, 1791.*

*Jeremy Bentham: Management of the Poor: Or a Plan, Containing the Principle and Construction of an Establishment, in Which Persons of Any Discretion Are To Be Kept Under Inspection. Dublin: Moore, 1796.*

"This early example of privatisation proposed a formation of a National Charity Company that would construct a chain of 250 enormous workhouses, financed by a large number of small investors. Each workhouse would hold around 1,000 inmates who would be put to profitable work and fed on a Spartan diet."

*Marjie Bloy, in www.victorianweb.org*

*Jeremy Bentham: Panopticon Versus New South Wales: Or, The Panopticon Penitentiary System and the Penal Colonisation System, Compared. London: Robert Baldwin, 1812.*



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

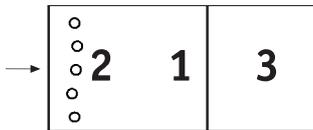
"In Langalbund, an entire region is dedicated to producing pearl buttons. [...] A caste of river boatmen harvests and sells river mussels providing the mother-of-pearl. After the shells are steeped in a corrosive fluid, they are smashed to small pieces with a hammer and made

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.

धान्येष्टमंविंशंशुल्कंविंशंकाषीपणावरम्  
धर्मेपिकरणाशूद्राःकारवशिल्पिनस्तथा 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.

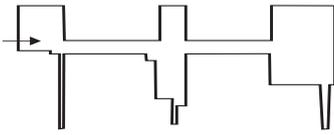
There is no reason for the proportionality between the silver coming from the mines and the treasure of the mountain. But there are laws stipulating the amount of labour that should be used to extract the silver. The legality of these laws is derived from an assumption made by both the officials of the 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 screes, two portals of the San Lorenzo and San Ignacio churches, the Casa de Moneda.

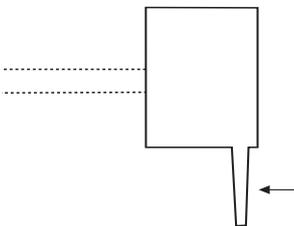
The first mine, "La Descubridora", was founded in 1546. Between 1549 and 1555, 250 tones of silver were extracted annually. At the time, this was two-thirds of the silver in the entire world, more than 1,500 tones. Another sum is the 16,000 million kilos of silver that were unloaded in Spanish ports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

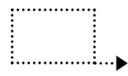
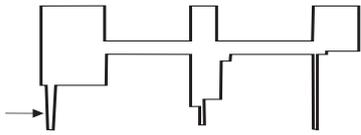


The silver is shipped to Europe, where the ships are already attacked in the harbour of Callao by the lust for money, because this silver is not a resource but a potential form "with which one can do what one wants in the world. One can even bring souls to paradise with it", as Columbus wrote to the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

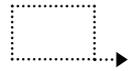
It is brought to London via various financial centres to fund the business of the East India Company.

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.



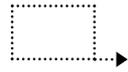
The silver trade routes. Casa de Moneda, Potosí.



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.

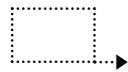
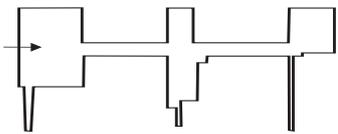


The development of prices and wages in Spain (1500-1650). Jaume Vicens Vives: **Manual de historia económica de España**. Barcelona: Teide, 1959.

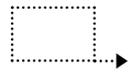
Stock exchanges: Bruges 1409; Antwerp 1460; Lyons 1462; Toulouse 1469; Amsterdam 1530; London 1554.

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.”

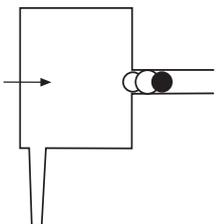
Mike Davis: *Late Victorian Holocausts: El Niño Famines and the Making of the Third World.*  
London; New York: Verso, 2001.

### Poppy (Opium)

Districts	Acres	Per Acre	Total Quantity
7. Umballa . . .	3,620	Lbs. 18	Lbs. 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 given 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.

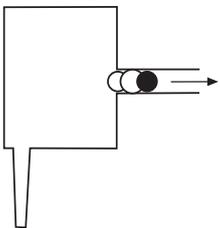
Recently the Government of India, driven to despair by the fact that all its small economies, as well as the proceeds of additional taxation and the amounts drawn from the provincial exchequers, threatened to be completely absorbed by the fall in the exchange, appointed Mr. O'Connor to inquire into the 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.

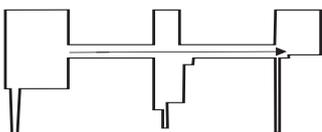
Beyond all question the fall in silver is most harmful to India and its people at this time, and the plainest common-sense would recognise that at once, if the old ideas did not obscure the fact that additional food is being sent out of the country for nothing. The danger now is, in regard to India, 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.

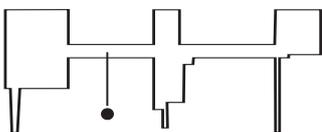


**Openings for Capital.**—Fluctuations in exchange long hindered the free investment of capital in India; but now that the rupee is fairly established at the rate of 15 rupees to the pound sterling, India has become entitled to the serious attention of capitalists who desire sound industrial investments 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.

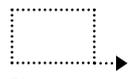
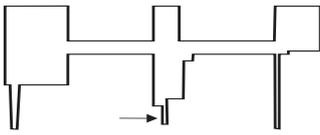
Francis W. Hirst (ed.): *Harper's International Commerce Series.* London; New York, 1902.



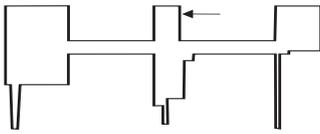
Georg Agricola: *Vom Bergwerk 12 Bücher...* Basel: J. Froben, 1557.



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.



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



## BUTTERFLIES

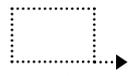
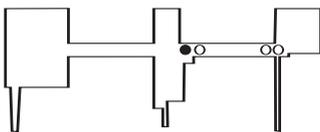
Raquel Gutiérrez Aguilar: Big mobilisations are precise moments in time, in which for some reason and with a certain amount of previous effort by small groups a general idea jells and people want to do things and they do them. And when they cease to want to, they quit. And so the idea is to study why 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)

	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)

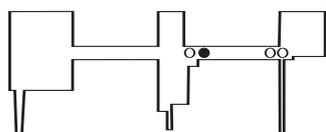
	1750	1800	1830	1860	1880	1900
<i>Europe</i>	23.1	28.0	34.1	53.6	62.0	63.0
UK	1.9	4.3	9.5	19.9	22.9	18.5
<i>Tropics</i>	76.8	71.2	63.3	39.2	23.3	13.4
China	32.8	33.3	29.8	19.7	12.5	6.2
India	24.5	19.7	17.6	8.6	2.8	1.7

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

(Value in Crores of Rupees\*)

Year	<i>Cotton twist and yarn</i>	<i>Cotton goods</i>	<i>Silk goods</i>	<i>Woollen goods</i>	<i>Machin- ery</i>
	(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

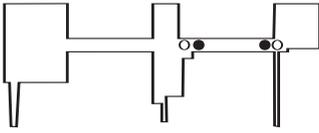
(Value in Crores of Rupees\*)

Year	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	<i>Raw Cotton</i>	<i>Indi- go</i>	<i>Rice, wheat and other grains</i>	<i>Hides and skins</i>	<i>Raw jute</i>	<i>Opium</i>	<i>Seeds</i>	<i>Tea</i>
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 £ sterling. It has been converted into rupees at the rate of £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).



### 3. Establish sales markets

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.

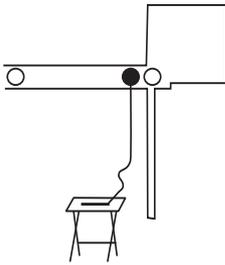
First year under the administration of the East India Company: £2,341,000.

1793: Land tributes of the final tax assessment: £3,400,000.

**Government Revenue.**—The gross revenue of the Government 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.

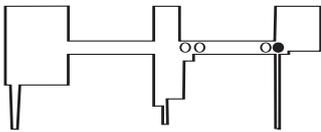
John Hector: *Land and Railways in India*. London; Edinburgh, 1872.

Mike Davis, *op. cit.*

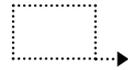
Rajani Palme Dutt: *India Today*. London: Victor Gollancz, 1940.

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

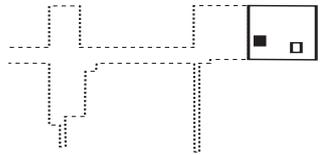
Rajani Palme Dutt, *op. cit.*



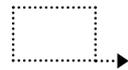
**1. In the case of forced trade relations, what meaning do the concepts of supply and demand have?**



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 tak-

ing possession of themselves. In any case, the bourgeoisie will create the material pre-conditions for both.”



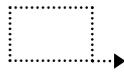
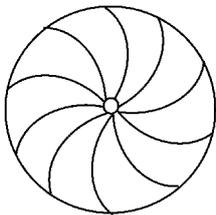
“The Gujarati is a soft man, unused to privation, accustomed to earn his good food easily. In the hot weather he seldom worked at all and no time did he form the habit of continuous labour [...]. They lived by watching cattle and crops, by sitting in the fields to weed, by picking up cotton, grain and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

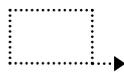
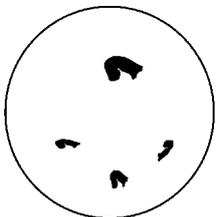
That was the story of mining silver, its minting to coins and the creation of the dependency of survival on money. But this coin is not a subject. Not everything is its fault. There are no tigers, hyenas or jackals in London, either, that pull black or white ropes through the world. There are also no 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.



*Kodak no. 1.*

“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..*

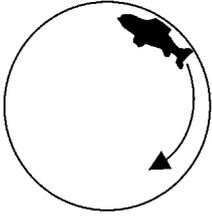


*Sunspots, 13 September 1867.  
Kart Bruns: Atlas der Astronomie. Leipzig, 1872.*

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.*



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.*



Brachim: I have forgotten everything I had and knew. And I want to forget everything. Life is worth nothing. Life is working, sleeping and waiting for death.

In Almeria, in an area of 350 km<sup>2</sup>, approx 3 million tons of greenhouse vegetables are produced annually, of which half is exported to Northern Europe. Profitability mainly depends on the possibility to immediately mobilise a huge amount of cheap labour for a short period of time. The supermarket chains Aldi, Plus, Carrefour, WalMart, Lidl, Spar and Metro control the market and run down the prices. More than 90% of the approx 80,000 agricultural workers come from the Maghreb, the countries south of the Sahara, Latin America, and Eastern Europe. Most of them have no documents. They work in temperatures of up to 50° centigrade and are exposed to a high concentration of pesticides. They suffer from nausea, headaches and rashes. The hourly wage is around 3 euros. They live in huts or cardboard boxes. These 80,000 workers were not even noticed until January 2001, when an accident occurred near Murcia in which twelve workers from Ecuador died.

The greenhouses of Almeria can be seen from the Moon.

ALICE CREISCHER, 2005-2006

