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#### DISENGAGING KILLERS

THE only difference between Nixon and Johnson seems to be that the former has a larger measure of low cunning. He had led some people to believe that while he himself wanted to get out of Vietnam the Pentagon would not let him. A dove in the claws of hawks, indeed! But now it is clear even to the naive that the President and the Pentagon are of knavery all compact. When Nixon announced three weeks ago that another 15,000 American bums—a term he uses for student dissenters -would be withdrawn from Vietnam within the next 12 months he kept the option open to delay the withdrawal till the last days of the 12-month period. Also perhaps to cancel the withdrawal altogether. For he made it clear that his policy could be reversed by communist actions in Vietnam. In reality he was waiting for an excuse to step up the murderous assaults all over Indochina. The CIA took the initiative and installed Lon Nol in power in Phnom Penh and this new defender of Cambodian neutrality started killing the Vietnamese in Cambodia in a series of massacres as brutal as Hitler's. The Cambodian reds could not but retaliate. So Nixon had the excuse he needed.

Almost immediately after the March coup American planes started pounding suspected Vietcong positions in Cambodia and succeeded mainly in killing unarmed civilians. And Thieu's troops, failing to defeat the Vietcong in their home country, began increasingly deeper forays into Cambodian territory. Still Lon Nol's position was getting desperate. More and more Cambodians themselves were rising against the American stooges. The General said he needed arms, not, men. Washington promptly supplied large quantities of arms. But there was still no improvement. So Nixon, without even bothering to give advance notice to his protege in Phnom Penh, has moved his own men in a massive thrust into Cambodia and an ordeal by fire and terror has begun. There are besides thousands of other freedom-fighters of the Saigon variety. But, of course, this is no invasion, no violation of Cambodian neutrality; only the Vietnamese communists had invaded Cambodia. So resume the air attacks on North Vietnam too, The raids had in fact never stopped altogether. Ever since the so-called bombing halt U.S. spy planes have been regularly flying over North Vietnam. Washington had to admit as much; also to admit that these planes are accompanied by. bombers to protect them against communist anti-aircraft fire. In the name of such protection the Americans have continued their bombing of North Vietnam on a limited scale. Even that limitation was withdrawn last Saturday when hundreds of North Vietnamese civilians were killed or injured in wide-ranging American air attacks.

In a rapid succession of sharply escalating acts Nixon has thus totally shattered the myth of disengagement. He has not only stepped up the level of fighting; he has expanded it to spread death and destruction to every corner of Indochina. The air attacks on Cambodia that accompanied the first assault by ground troops were the heaviest for the given period of time since the Korean war. The raids on North Vietnam have been no less massive. But to what effect? Civilians are being killed in both Cambodia and North Vietnam. The Americans themselves admit that they have been unable to get at major concentrations of Vietcong guerrillas which they suspect to be operating from Cambodian territory. As for North Vietnam, it has known the raids before and is prepared for more. What does then Nixon hope to achieve? That Hanoi and the NLF will knuckle under? Or on bended knees accept in Paris the kind of peace that Washington may dictate? It will be amazing if such illusions still persist. Or is Nixon playing for bigger stakes? He must have noted Peking's active support for the anti-American forces in Cambodia. It is not inconceivable that by provoking China to intervene directly to safeguard these forces as well as to defend North Vietnam against an all-out American assault he hopes to find the final excuse for a preemptive strike against China's growing nuclear capacity. It may be no mere coincidence that Nixon's seeming madness erupted within days of the latest demonstration of China's growing rocket power.

These are awesome possibilities. But the Central Government is no more than distressed. It has at least had

the sense to dissociate India from the Indonesian initiative to salvage the Americans from the Indochinese morass. But what is the point of talking about a new Geneva-type conference before the basic issue of American aggression is got out of the way? The aggression has not ended; it has acquired a desperate recklessness in both scope and style. The posture is frightening, but the desperation also shows how rapidly the rot is setting in at the core. Now is the time for the final resistance. And it must be joined in by all who wish to disengage themselves from the decaying system which Nixon is trying to shore up from a cataclysmic turmoil that may engulf much beyond Indochina.

### A Border Summit

Late last month while the Asian deputies of U.S. imperialism like Adam Malik, whose hands are stained with the blood of thousands of Indonesian communists, and Tun Razak were busy preparing a so-called 'Asian summit' to provide a legal figleaf to the brazen American intervention in Cambodia, a different kind of summit was being held somewhere on the Laos-Vietnam-China border. It was a summit of the Indochinese people represented by Prince Norodom Sihanouk for the National United Front of Cambodia, Prince Souphanouvong of the Pathet Lao, President Nguyen Huu Tho of the NLF and Premier Pham Van Dong of the DRV. It was no occasion for mouthing platitudes and exchanging pleasantries. More than just a summit, it was a sort of war council of the four delegations representing the three peoples of Indochina to forge militant solidarity and coordinate their fight against their common enemy, U.S. imperialism.

This summit, however, only formalized the solidarity that has been in existence for more than two decades among the Vietnamese, Lao and Khmer peoples. This was a solidarity forged in blood and steeled by the long years of struggle against the

French colonialists and Japanese aggressors. On March 3, 1951 a summit like the recent one was organized by the Vietminh, Pathet Lao and the Khmer National United Front for mutual support and co-ordination in the struggle against the French. It was on the basis of the agreement. reached at this summit that Vietnamese volunteers fanned out into Laos and Cambodia to fight shoulder to shoulder with the Lao and Khmer comrades. Notwithstanding massive American military aid, the French Union Forces, reeling under the hammer blows of combined attack, fled Indochina within three years. The result of the second Indochina war launched by the Americans cannot but be identical.

As Premier Chou En-lai, who also attended the latest summit, said, this conference is "of great significance in the history of the anti-imperialist revolution of the three Indochinese peoples." The closing of ranks has come at a crucial moment in the history of Indochina when the U.S. is stepping up a war of genocide, when its lackeys are trying desperatey to sow discord among the Indochinese people and indulging in a brutal pogrom of ethnic minorities. "At this historic moment", as the joint communiqué issued by the Conference stressed, "the Indochinese people should strengthen their solidarity and wage a heroic and tenacious fight, overcome all hardships and accept all sacrifices with a firm resolve to defend their sacred national rights." While the delegates of the Indochinese people have pledged "to do all they can to give one another reciprocal support", Premier Chou En-lai has reiterated the pledge that the whole of China would be a reliable rear area to the liberation fighters in Indochina. Significantly he chose to disclose the news of the successful launching of the Chinese satellite while congratulating the Conference for its success. The import was clear. China has called a halt to the nuclear blackmail of the Americans, who once planned to drop an atom bomb on the besieged fortress of Dien Bien Phu.

Under a new balance of nuclear terror the Indochinese people can now fight U.S. imperialism to the finish by a protracted people's war, the Chinese aid for which would be, as ever, generous. A guarantee of this aid was the appearance of Mao Tsetung with Prince Sihanouk at the May Day rally in Peking and later his conference with the Prince in which Lin Piao also took part, along with Chou En-lai, Chen Po-ta and Kang Sheng. It was a dramatic gesture of solidarity.

The resumption of the American bombing of North Vietnam, the desperate American plunge into Cambodia, intensification of the war in Laos and finally the necessity of convening a conference of the Indochinese people for waging a united struggle—all this again underlines the correctness of the Chinese stand when in April 1968 Peking termed, much to the annoyance of 'Peaceniks', the bombing halt a 'new big fraud" and described the peace talks as "essentially a smokescreen for covering up the expansion of war".

### See No Evil, Hear No Evil

A correspondent writes from New Delhi:

The Government of India is unable to condemn, it can only express its regret. It cannot afford to rage in indignation, it is scared to let go of even that quantum of disapproval as voiced by scores of staid legislators in United States itself. Scared, maimed into inaction, reduced to inane banalities, here is the government of a leading 'non-aligned' nation, which is still gloating over its great triumph in keeping Pakistan out of the Dar-es-Salaam meet. India, of Indira India Gandhi, would wish Cambodia away. It sees no evil, hears no evil, speaks no evil of the United States of America. The United States provides us with Rs 200 crores annually; if we behave, if we do not give vent to normal out-

rage, it might provide more. The United States, Richard Nixon's United States, has bought up our civil servants, subverted our politicians, corroded our educational system. It can speak filthy lies; we will not react. It can keep violating one small country after another in Asia; our susceptibility will not be affected. It can set at nought the whole lot of even the selective bourgeois canons of morality; our conscience, our dollar-fed pettifogging, wretched conscience, will refuse to be provoked. We will express regret, we will not condemn. It may be our turn next time, but it may not be either. Till as long as there is a quarter per cent chance that it need not be ourselves whom the good, civilised, noble, moon-voyaging Americans are going to annihilate, we will not misbehave.

In that obtuse, otiose, air-conditioned rotunda in New Delhi, they talk, with a pretence more of sorrow than anger, of the Naxalites of the waywardness of students and young men, of the curse of raising a progeny who turn against you, burn Gandhi, extol Mao. They talk and discuss in the manner of true decadence. They talk of police operations; maybe, after a time, they will even think of soliciting technical assistance from the General Templers and the Allan Dulleses on how to put down such home-bred insurgencies. These ladies and gentlemen are past all sensibility, otherwise they could be taught that the fault lies not in the progeny but in themselves. The young men and women are disowning their parentage for straightforward, honest reasons. Thank goodness heredity is a bad conductor of servility. You preach Gandhi and practice hypocrisy; you preach fearlessness and cower in fear before the American President; you talk of social justice and enact Srikakulam. You talk of human rights and inviolability of national borders and slur over, in a couple of sleek sentences, the immensity of the crime that is Cambodia.

Nauseating is the only appropriate epithet here. There are the clever ones who are busy providing a con-

torted explanation of Nixon's action. This makes grimy reading. According to the apologia, Richard Nixon, poor Richard Nixon, has to be more pitied than hated for what he has done. It is the Senate's rejection, for the second time running, of the American President's nominee for the vacant Supreme Court seat which has led to Cambodia. It is the put-out ego of a thwarted Chief Executive which has now sought sublimation in an external adventure, an adventure which may incidentally involve the raping and maiming of a small nation. But it is no matter, the nation is an American nation; it should feel proud that it is contributing to the sublimation of the ego of the President of the United States of America, the noblest and richest democracy on earth, and who have a written constitution consisting of several noble sentiments.

Nobody has bothered to point out that, in some instances, a swift castration provides the most appropriate answer to psychic ills. As for the sorry crowd in New Delhi, vasectomy is already enshrined as a national principle: the results show it.

#### Pointless Lament

President's rule, as we have said before, has not proved a magic restorer of law and order in West Bengal. Those who had worked for it are trying to pass the blame on the quackery of the Governor, as if some other person in his place and circumstances would have made a better showing. To hold Mr Dhavan personally responsible for the inadequacy of the administration is to oversimplify a highly intriguing situation; he may be acting on a plan, of course in collaboration with his masters in New Delhi, and another person in his place would have brought about, if at all, only marginal improvements. Even before the UF Ministry had been felled by Mr Ajoy Mukherjee, the police were clamouring for a preventive detention law of sorts to tackle the "ani-social elements". Mr Jyoti Basu had fallen a prey to their persuasion for reasons not quite known, and the UF Government had recommended continuation of the Preventive Detention Act, though with some reservations. Mr Basu retraced when public opinion asserted itself against a fresh lease of life to the Act.

The police are, however, a determined lot. They have not despaired of securing powers unfettered by the legal process, and in the Presidential regime they have found a more cooperative ally than the UF Ministry. Their case has now been taken up by the Adviser on Home Affairs, Mr M. M. Basu, whose liaison with the Union Home Ministry, a private domain of that arch-bureaucrat, Mr L. P. Singh, has survived two UF Ministries. Birds of the same ICS feather, they are in complete rapport over what ails West Bengal and its remedy. Mr Basu has already pressed for preventive detention legislation, and Mr Singh will no doubt oblige. Till then the police have to keep up the pretence that, disabled by the expiry of the P.D. Act, they are unable "anti-social eleto put down the ments". Some of the political parties at least are having a foretaste of what the police propose to do with the extraordinary powers that are about to be conferred on them. The dark days of Congress rule have returned; the police have regained their sovereignty, and arbitrary arrests, terrorisation and torture have become rampant. The forces of reaction are active; there is a concerted move to take back the land occupied by the landless and to deprive the workers of their right to struggle for redress of their grievances. With a preventive detention measure in the offing darker days are ahead.

Not all the left parties can revel in this prospect. But so enmeshed are they in their petty quarrels that they cannot take any step to end the regime. Their hatred of the Police Raj is not strong enough to unite them on a common platform; on the other hand, it appears that no party will grieve if the machine of oppression is turned against its rivals.

Their protests against police repression are, therefore, bound to sound hollow; for it is they who have ushered in the regime and are still perpetuating it. Twice have they failed to act up to the radical mandate of the people and made a present of the State's administration to the defeated Congress party in violation of what they called the expressed will of the people. Another mid-term poll may not yield a different result. No left party in the State is yet in a position to secure an absolute majority in the Assembly; and with the incurable proclivities of the left parties to fall apart no left coalition can remain in office for long. Elections will not help West Bengal in getting out of the tunnel; nor any hypocritical chorus of protest against repressive laws, importation of the Central Reserve Police, and police excesses. The only way is to end the regime. At one time one thought that the traditional left parties could bring this about if they united, but it is so much against their grain that they are determined not to go beyond periodic protests and mercy petitions to the Congress Government at the

### Silly Season

The season of examinations this year in West Bengal began with two scandals. One was related to the results of M.A. in Political Science of the previous year. Calcutta University authorities, because of the relentless agitation by students were forced to reopen the issue and had to admit that papers were examined not exactly on their merit. As a result, award of first class to some students had to be withdrawn. The second scandal was connected with Secondary Education Board examinations. Questions were sold freely in the market long before the examination

The authorities, after these two scandalous affairs, found it morally difficult to entirely blame students for

rowdyism in examination halls. Students were given a field day there and cheating was the rule rather than the exception. This was not something new. For the last decade or two, questions have always been known to those who had connections, examina-tion of papers has always been suspected to be rigged and students, on their turn, have always resorted to cheating, some more, some less. WBCUTA, a professors' association normally concerned with teachers' pay rise, however found the students' behaviour this year particularly ob-noxious; may be 'democratisation' of cheating was too much for its guts. Its president convened a press conference and called this year's examinations a farce.

It is a sheer treat to read the president's statement. True to Aristotlian formulation, it had a beginning, a middle and an end. In the beginning, he analysed the causes of student misbehaviour and mentioned such profundities as 'loss of values' and omissions and commissions of the authorities. In the middle he described the foul game played by students. The most interesting part however was the end where the President laid down, as the way of redemption, ten new commandments, which ought to be summarised for the knowledge of laymen. The commandments are: questions must not leak out; teachers must not teach in tutorial homes or take on too many private tuitions; members of other professions must not be appointed part-time teachers; the syllabus must be completed even at the cost of reduction of holidays; the home-centre system must be discontinued; there must be police pickets outside examination halls; all assistance must be given to invigilators insulted and injured during their work; roving WBCUTA teams must visit all trouble centres; public opinion must be formed against cheating by students; political parties including student organizations must condemn the cheats. As a, fitting epilogue to the press statement, the president congratulated Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee who was the only political man to condemn the students for cheating invigilators.

Some may feel like taking the WBCUTA programme as a comprehensive joke, even though teachers are not commonly given to humour. They may think that unemployment among the educated is the principal reason why students have been debunking examinations. To them, Mr J. R. D. Tata has a message. In a chamber of commerce meeting, he said that the whole thing would be alright by 1980, if industrialists are allowed to stay unfettered by silly government regulations. The problem of food in India has been solved with the arrival of the Green Revolution, said Mr Tata. The seventies should be devoted to the fight against unemployment, which may not be at all stiff. The proposed outlay of Rs 24,000 crores during the Fourth Plan will create 14 million jobs. By 1975, according to his calculations, there will be 27 million unemployed people. In the Fifth Plan, if the total outlay is fixed at Rs 40,000 crores, with the same ratio of job creation to investment as at present, the unemployment growth curve with level off by 1980. Mr Tata thinks that India has conquered Malthus by ushering in a wheat revolution. With rice, pulses, cotton and jute revolutions about to break out, India has beaten Malthus. Can't she as well beat Marx?

Whether or not Mao has said it, there seems to be some truth in Mr Charu Majumdar's saying that the more learned you become, the more stupid you are liable to be.

#### NOTICE

Business Manager

### View from Delhi

### Off The Bandwagon

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE slick PR boys of the Prime Minister until the other day are now the rueful radicals who bemoan the slide-back on the Bombay brand of radicalism. Everyone wants to make sure he is off the bandwagon in good time before the oracle among them pronounces the final judgment: that the split in the Congress had nothing to do with ideology. All the paradoxes and contradictions of the old Congress were inherited almost intact by the new outfit, and come to think of it, bank nationalisation was a measure contrived to knock together an alliance of the kulaks, the intermediary castes and the middle strata and the talk about Al Aqsa to titillate Muslim nerves (a classic case of "Left" communalism) to secure Mr Giri's election and thereby complete the Congress split.

Last week's defeat of the ICS bill in Parliament is in itself inconsequential. But the rumblings of revolt that accompanied the defeat cannot be ignored by the ruling-party's leadership. It is alright to say now that it was a technical defeat, and over a non-official bill. But the fact remains that the Government accepted the principle of the bill and went out of the way to allot its own time for it. More, a three-line whip was issued to the members of the tuling party to be present in the House to vote for the Bill.

Mr Dinesh Singh and that flamboyant enfante terrible of the Coun-Singh, are credited with the strategy for the grand scuttle of the ICS bill. Articles cannot be returned The princes' lobby won a major postage.

victory. Over 150 in the elections to three important House committees but only 62 per cent of the ruling party's members were present to Frontier vote on the ICS bill. A good

number, from all parties except the SSP (which managed a hundred per cent turn-out) and the Jana Sangh (which abstained from the voting) were present in the lobbies and in. the Central Hall.

The deadlock over the ICS bill is ominous. The princes' lobby is now in a position to stall the privy purses bill or even get it thrown out. Inside the Congress Lesislature Party, the demand for action against Mr Bhanu Prakash Singh was virtually brushed aside by the Prime Minister and it was understandable because she cannot risk a confrontation with any section of her party, not to speak of the opposition.

At an informal get-together with the students of the Institute of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, Mrs Gandhi is known to have reacted sharply to the suggestion that she is heading a minority government. the strains of running minority government should clear to her now. There is the imminent danger of Parliament being deadlocked on vital issues. The long-term perspective, of the need to go for alliances for a future election, is also emerging with many parties. The Congress-O knows it cannot go it alone and the search is on for allies. Mr Jagjivan Ram is known to have attempted an alliance with loyalist left parties on the eve of the biennial Rajya Sabha elections. But as the elections draw nearer, some of the parties of the left would find it increasingly hard to go it with the new Congress. The left has more to lose from Mrs Gandhi's brand of populism than the right.

#### Unlawful Activities Act

The talk of a political answer to cil of Ministers, Mr Bhanu Prakash the Naxalite challenge has become debased political coinage in New Delhi. From the CPI ideologues to Mr Y. B. Chavan, everyone talks the same cliches and even the thinking on the problem has reduced itself to a cliche. There seems to be a tacit understanding between ruling party, the CPI and the CPI(M)for widening the

the scope of the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act to cover political extremists as they call them. There might be formal opposition from the two communist parties for the sake of record, but the bill will be allowed to go through Parliament. Already, the proposals have been circulated to the Opposition parties and so far no party has expressed any serious reservation. Even if any of them do, it would be for mass consumption and would not be seriously meant. It is difficult to believe that there is conviction behind the talk of the Government trying to arm itself against all its political opponents in the guise of containing the Naxalites. The CPI(M)'s complaint, if any, is that the Centre is not acting firmly against the Naxalites in West Bengal. The Centre is proceeding on the basis of two contradictory hypotheses: that the CPI-(M) itself is behind the recent bomb blasts in Calcutta and its obvious motive is to prove that law and order has not improved even with Mr Dhavan in direct control of the administration. In retrospect, it is true, the demand for the switch of the Home portfolio held by Mr Jyoti Basu looks meaningless, considering what has been happening since the ouster of the Government. Another hypothesis is that the CPI-(ML), wanted to divert the CRP, the BSF and the Eastern Frontier Rifles from the countryside to ease police pressure on the party's bases which were about to crumble. There is evidence to suggest that even before the bomb blasts, much of the police force deployed in the countryside, for instance the Gopiballavpur-Debra area, was diverted to Calcutta in anticipation of trouble. The Calcutta incidents in effect pinned the police units down to the city and to that extent the pressure on the party in the rural areas was less.

The initiative for amending the Unlawful Activities Act came from the Prime Minister and not from Mi Chavan and there is a subtle difference between the two leaders when it comes to handling the Naxalites. The Prime Minister has managed to undercut Mr Chavan on almost everything, be it the Naxalites or the princes. Lobby reports have it that she has asked Mr D. P. Mishra to negotiate with the princes on the transitional arrangements (which simply means the compensation to be paid to the princes) which means

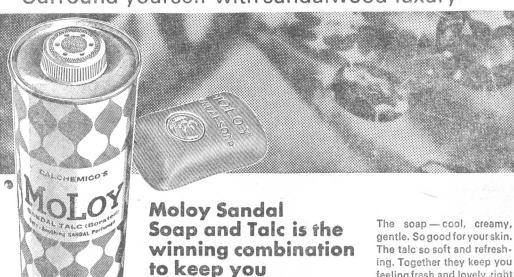
Mr Chavan is no longer the negotiator for the Government.

Much of the conflict in decision making can be attributed to the fierce power struggle among the Troika. Mr Jagjivan Ram wants to eliminate Mr Chavan as a rival and has whipped the support of a powerful Harijan lobby which has the dimensions of an all-India faction in the ruling party. Mr Chavan is trying to get Mr Jagjivan Ram to resign as a Minister and the Young Turks have been put on the job. At one of the closeddoor party meetings, Mr Mohan Dharia questioned the propriety of Mr Jagjivan Ram combining the offices of a Minister and the party president. Mrs Gandhi is playing it cool.

It might suit her fine to create the precedent of someone being a Congress President and a Central Minister simultaneously so that some day she can put into practice her famous theory of "fusion of leadership". In the alternative, the office of Congress President would have been so devalued that the Prime Minister would emerge the de facto leader of the party too, along British lines. Party presidentship would become an innocuous, sinecure office.

May 3, 1970

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## To Bomb Or Not To Bomb

D. G. SATARKAR

THE first Chinese satellite has gone into space. The news has been received with cautious interest. American moon-landings excite our people as man's courageous quest for new frontiers. A developing Asian country sending up a satellite does not warrant headlines. There were congratulatory messages from Heads of State when the first sputnik went up in 1957. But then it was a European power which did it. Nothing can excite our anglicised middle classes more than western advances in science and technology. But when it comes to Asians, all scientific growth is a part of an expansionist machine. It was only to be expected that the Indian press will be less than enthusiastic about the Chinese achievement. It, in fact, became a news that the North Koreans congratulated the Chinese on this feat. A China, which was about to be "torn to pieces" barely a year ago, has produced a sputnik. An Asia which went crazy over the moonflights has kept a knowing silence. For it knows the sacred distinction. In the case of the West, it is glorious adventures of the human spirit, in the case of a struggling and poor coloured State it is a part of a sinister machine.

The hypocrisy is stunning. But that is not all. The American moon adventure sent the Brahmins of Poona to the temple for prayers. A Jana Sanghi music director made a sentimental speech there. However the reactions to the Chinese satellite are not going to be pious or even cold. A new cry will be raised for an Indian Bomb. We must go nuclear. A CPI MP went a shade better. He urged that "the country should not be caught napping in respect of a missile programme." He, of course, would not advocate the Bomb presumably because for him the Soviet bombs would meet our requirements. Another MP of the Socialist Congress wanted us to achieve "worldstatus" like China by going nuclear.

I am not suggesting that the Bomb debate in this country has started only yesterday. It has been going on ever since the Chinese exploded their first atomic device in 1964. What is interesting is that it is getting very vocal now. Many more people are now coming forward with tables, charts and statistics to show that we can afford it. In fact, the debate on the Bomb usually takes the familiar road. The argument for the bomb opens with an indulgent view of those ignorant people who think that the costs would be prohibitive. Through a multitude of technical terms you are given to understand that the costs are going to be as low as 7000 or 700 crores (depending upon whom you are listening to) to be spent, presumably, over the next 5 to 7 years. Now an innocent like me feels that this is a bit too much; we are already spending 1100 odd crores on defence. Any defence budget of 1100 crores plus frightens me. But then I am only an innocent who does not understand the sophisticated power-game.

So the second argument comes forward. The Bomb is not meant for China alone. It is primarily intended to be the first step towards a power status which India must have. The only way to be a world power is obviously the Bomb way. (here a clever argument brings in a compliment to the Chinese on their correct understanding of power politics).) If one wants equality with superpowers, it can come only through the Bomb.

There are variations of these two principal arguments in favour of the Bomb. Simply put, they amount to saying that (1) the bomb is economical if you plan for it and (2) a nuclear arsenal will give you the necessary leverage vis-a-vis big powers including China. I had an occasion recently to listen to a panel-discus-

sion on the Bomb. All arguments that I heard then were varieties of or improvements on these arguments.

It is time somebody spoke against them. If the ruling classes decide that we should have a Bomb, they certainly can and will have one. So this argument about the 'economical' Bomb is a bit of deception. After all who is going to decide whether we can afford the Bomb? The ruling classes here decided seven years ago that we can afford a bigger defence budget. And so we have it. Nobody even raises questions about it. Rs 1100 crores are needed. They will be made available. Over the years we have even forgotten who foots all this bill. Meanwhile, there are defence contracts, an ever increasing number of officers and their privileges. If you ask any questions, you are promptly told the number of divisions the Chinese and the Pakistanis are supposed to have piled up across our frontiers. It simply does not make sense to these power-prophets that increasing misery, violence and disaffection in our public life may have something to do with the burdens on our people. Our heavy defence spending has a lion's share in all this. No economy there; for the defence of our motherland is in question! Patriotism demands that common people make sacrifices. Pattriotism, of course, does not demand any sacrifices on the part of that top crust of society which has benefited from this heavy spending. "Jai Kulak, Jai Officer" is our real motto. Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan is only a tragic parody of our real aims.

#### A Distraction

One suspects that the Bomb debate has been launched primarily to gloss over the questions against heavy defence expenditure. In other words, when you discuss whether the Bomb is economical or otherwise the debate naturally shifts its emphasis. Nobody then can discuss possible economy in the defence budget. It seems the Bomb debate is a very clever and sophisticated device to distract public attention away from heavy defence spending. Nobody,

for example, would argue that since the Bomb is necessary and ours being a poor country, let us economise everything and produce the Bomb. Let the officers sacrifice their privileges. Let the bureaucracy learn to live simply. Let the ministers know that they are representatives of a pitiably poor, starving peasantry. Let the kulaks sacrifice their profits on grains for, say, ten years; so that we can have a Bomb. But nobody would argue that way. For it is not the Bomb that we desire; nor is it power that we desire. We desire that those who are making hay while the "socialistic" sun shines, should continue to do so. The Bomb debate is thus a distraction. It is a clever device to ensure that the present level of defence expenditure is retained and later increased.

This may sound a little cynical. But if we turn to the power argument, the cynicism may in fact be seen as quite proper. These power-specialists are telling us and partly rightly that the Bomb is a major attribute of power. I do not think anybody would deny this. What is questionable is whether a State which can be dictated against trading with another State can really aspire to be a power. Do we really imagine that by some acts of bravado like closing down foreign libraries (even that, it seems, we may not do), we can assert ourselves as an 'independent' State? China not only has the Bomb but also has the power and the will to defy the super-powers. We must recognise that it is this will which makes a nation a big power. India has over the years demonstrated that she is nowhere near acquiring that will. Of course, the retort to this is: (and indeed I heard it in the above mentioned discussion) where is the contradiction between cultivating this will and making the Bomb? If anything, the Bomb will contribute to this "independence". A very disarming argument on the face of it; but very misleading all the same; for it puts the cart before the horse. Somebody wanting to run a marathon must first be able to walk. To say that there is no contradiction between the two is absurd. The Bomb school, I hope, does not want a Bomb in the hands of a scarecrow.

But, then, I can't believe that the Bomb protagonists do not know the sad state of our standing in the international community. I cannot believe that they do not know that the Bomb usually comes as a consequence of a State's drive for independent foreign and defence policies, and not the other way round. Why, then, is this noise for the Bomb now? The reason, one suspects, lies outside the

defence field. The issue is not one of nuclear device or a power status but is one of consolidating the present ruling classes and their privileges. Defence expenditure (like all other expenditure, to be fair) has a role to play in the wellbeing of these classes. So it has to be defended, better still, hidden from the public view. The Bomb debate provides just that opportunity. Besides, if the Bomb comes at all it would mean a few hundred crores more to spend! And no spending in defence of the motherland can be too high!

Bihar

## CP(ML) Report

N. K. SINGH

THE political report passed by the Bihar State CPI(ML) at their last Conference deals with the fundamental tasks of the Indian revolution, with special reference to Bihar. It was the first conference since the CPI(ML) was formed in April 1969.

The first two pages deal with the geographical phenomenon of Bihar -a province inhabited by 50 million people. Bihar can be divided into two regions: the plains area which is known as the 'orchard of India' and the plateau area known as the 'Ruhr of India'. While presenting in brief the history of ceaseless struggles by the people of the province against imperialism and feudalism, the report points out as the causes of their failure that the struggles were neither inspired by a revolutionary theory nor was the revolutionary class at the helm of the leadership nor was any united front of revolutionary classes formed. For the failure during 1950-66, the leadership of the CPI along with the Gandhiite leadership was responsible. The Conference declared that despite the so-called reforms carried out during the last 22 years of 'freedom', the character of the society in Bihar is semi-feudal

and semi-colonial and there has been no fundamental change in its essence. Zamindari has been 'abolished' but the landlords got a heavy compensation of Rs. 115 crores. The government was able to realise the total revenue from peasants, i.e. Rs 18 crores, further increased by Rs 2.29 crores through imposition of fresh cess annually. "Such a land 'reform' can be called progressive only by the landlords of Bihar."

Apart from this, peasants were evicted from land so long tilled by them to such lengths that the population of landless peasants rose to 40% from the pre-1947 figure of 30% of the total rural population. Twothirds of the total cultivable land is under various forms of share-cropping, which is the principal form of semifeudal exploitation after the abolition of zamindari. The land has been further concentrated in a few hands so that now 3% of the rural households own slightly less than 40% of the land and 40% of the households are landless.

Another most cruel form of semi-feudal exploitation is debt slavery, which has turned into semi-slaves 70% of the rural population who

have to take loans in the lean months at exorbitant interest.

The classes in rural areas of Bihar can be categorised as landless peasants 40%; poor peasants 30%; middle peasants 20%; rich peasants 7%; and landlords 3%. The primitive wooden implements of production, ownership of 40% of the land by 3% of the population, twothirds of total cultivable land under the system of share-cropping, debt-slavery, the social oppression based on the caste system, the social status of Harijans, all these are solid and clear proof that the society in Bihar is semi-feudal in character.

#### Semi-colonial

"India is like Draupadi," said the other day a Naxalite leader. "She has to please so many husbands, Yankees, Russky, Britons, Japs Germans etc."

Even a cursory glance at the country as a whole would prove that even after 22 years of so-called freedom, our economy is semi-colonial, besides being semi-feudal in character. One aspect is the tremendous increase in foreign investments in India. Other examples are the more than 2000 collaboration industries and the absolute control of imperialists over the import-export trade as a result of which every year more than Rs 250 crores are pumped out of the country as profit.

In Bihar, copper, aluminium, tinplate, cable, iron ore, manganese, light railway etc are controlled by foreign interests. But imperialism has changed its policy. It controls industries which hang national signboards. For example there is TISCO, the oldest steel industry in India, where for each rupee invested by the Tatas, the World Bank (an efficient instrument of neo-colonialist exploitation in the hands of the USA) has invested Rs 1.40. In Telco too the German capital is 65% of the total investment. All these illustrate foreign liquor in native bottles. Modern machines, better designs, repairs, spare parts and provision of technical knowhow are also used by the imperialists extend their control. Another

phenomenon is the dependence on Americans and Russians for markets.

While dealing with the State sector-a "new colonial device"- the Bihar State CP(ML) attacks the USSR vehemently. It should be noted that Russians control 1/4 of the iron and steel industries, 1/2 of oil refineries and 1/5 of electric power. Pushing aside the CPI's plea that the Soviet help to the Indian State sector would reduce our dependence on imperialism, the report says that if the construction of iron and steel industries in the State sector is to be taken as a step towards eliminating imperialist exploitation then one will have to agree that the British and German monopolists who are helping our State sector are trying to commit suicide or else they have turned socialist! It is only a clear device to exploit our cheap labour-power and raw materials. The State sector is, in fact, a form of State monopoly capitalism i.e., bureaucratic capitalism.

The "four big mountains" from which our people have to be emancipated are Imperialism-the chief of which is American imperialism modern revisionism-the centre of which is the Kremlin-feudalism and comprador-bureaucratic capitalism. The global strategy of America and Russia is to encircle and destroy China, suppress and destroy the national liberation struggles and redivide the world among themselves. For the purpose, war-preparations are going on. In Bihar several industries, such as the HEC, TELCO, Indian Tube Cable Company, are already producing war requirements. Old airports are being modernised (such as Ranchi) for the use of supersonic jets while several new airports are being constructed.

Quoting Lin Piao, the report maintains that the situation is ripe for revolution. The Mushahari peasant struggle (1968) was the turning point in the political situation in Bihar. Since then armed peasant struggles have spread in waves in five districts of Bihar, particularly in two districts of North Bihar. Within the last one and a half year, the guerilla struggle in Muzaffarpur district has

spread in seven thanas and entered a new level, i.e., the level of guerilla zone. It has reached the contiguous areas of Dwarbhanga and Champaran districts, developed in South Monghyr and been initiated in Purulia district. Vigorous preparations are being made in Singbhum, Ranchi, Palamau and Shahabad districts.

These struggles have taught the peasantry, especially the landless and poor peasantry, that annihilation of the class enemy is a necessary step to rouse and organise the whole peasantry, smash feudal authority and establish revolutionary authority in rural areas. Armed guerilla struggle must be spread to lay the foundation of a people's liberation army and a revolutionary united front and to prepare the necessary prerequisites of a base-area.

A feature to note is the "powerful upsurge" of the industrial workers, students and middle class employees, which proves that the limits of economism are becoming clear to more and more people in the towns and industrial areas. Further development of revolutionary peasant struggles would draw "ever widening sections to the path of revolution."

The crisis within the ruling classes has entered a permanent stage. The legislature—the imost powerful weapon for duping the masses—has been thoroughly exposed and in Bihar its ugly face is there for all to see in the reports of the Aiyar and Mudholkar Commissions.

Another feature of the situation is the revolt by the rank and file of the CPI against their leadership and the withering away of the CPM. Cadres are being drawn towards Naxalites irresistibly. The report boasts: "They admire us, help us and are moving towards us step by step."

The report notes the total failure of the Government in crushing the revolutionary peasant struggles by the most savage repression employed in Bihar so far. But winning new successes, "the people and party have grasped the truth that no matter what difficult es they have to face, the final victory is theirs." The ruling classes are conducting a slander

campaign against the party and the revolutionary peasant struggle and in this they are most faithfully served by the CPI and the CPM. The CPI-(ML) vehemently attacked the other groups of Naxalites: "They are getting funds from doubtful sources and are also enjoying facilities of publishing and freedom of movement in conducting slander campaigns against us".

#### Mistakes

While dealing with the "Appearance of certain mistaken ideas and their rectification", the report seems a bit proud (and perhaps dishonest). The entire responsibility for what is called 'inevitable' erorrs is passed on to the "hangover of revisionist ideas

#### EPIC THEATRE

#### LENIN NUMBER

Has come out on April 22 It contains

> LENIN'S POEMas translated by Arun Mitra

GORKY'S ARTICLE on PERSONALITY

STALIN'S LETTER-Bill-Belotserkovsky

Boris Gorbunov's article on the class character of culture

Satya Banerjee's article on Culture & Trotskyism

> Utpal Dutt's Play "Leniner Dak"

> > Editor Utpal Dutt

Manager Asit Basu

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Address:

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and habits". Errors are in a way justified on the ground that "doing is learning".

Two of the mistakes were committed at the co-ordination stage. In relation to the Adivasi peasant struggle of Chotanagpur, it was wrong to set up the Birsa Seva Dal as a national mass organisation and expect it to initiate and lead an anti-feudal and anti-State struggle. The State leadership failed to understand that emancipation of the Adivasi from and their non-Adivasi exploiters emancipation from feudalism are not two different but integrated problems.

Regarding 'Boycott Election', the State Co-ordination Committee could not propagate the slogan in an effective manner and impart its significance to a substantial section of its cadres. As a result some units and cadres, particularly in Ranchi, Shahabad and Monghyr districts, joined the election campaign of this or that

During the Mushahari struggle, four mistakes were committed. In the first phase, there was manifestation of economism in the leadership and the district Committee. However, the Conference declares it an error on all-India level. The second erroneous notion was with regard to repression; when repression began, some of the leaders thought that "immediately we would not get mass support from the masses and we should wait for fair days". The third error was dependence on 'experts' and 'training' to launch guerilla warfare. The fourth erroneous notion which caused delay in going over to the second stage of the Mushahari struggle was the idea of dependence on modern weapons. The Bihar State CPI-(ML) warns: "This notion is still widespread and it is necessary that we launch a powerful campaign to eliminate it".

Regarding Purulia district, the State Conference found 'putschism' in the tendency to annihilate the class-enemy without sufficient political work. Another wrong tendency was seen in Champaran-the petti-bourgeois deviation of relying on middle peasants

and not integrating with the landless and poor peasantry. One of the most dangerous deviations was observed in Paru and Baruraj where pure economic actions were resorted to behind the back of the party.

Summing up the mistakes, the report throws the entire responsibility upon revisionism "which is still the main deviation.'

The Conference has outlined the following tasks for rural and urban

In rural areas, priority is to be given to developing the base-areas. Other tasks are: to propagate Mao Tsetung's Thought and politics of Agrarian Revolution; to develop political campaign and armed guerilla struggles; to annihilate the class-enemy; to concentrate on and integrate with landless and poor peasants; to firmly unite with middle peasants but not allow them to be the leader of the struggle; to rely on traditional and home-made weapons; to adopt the tactic of smaller guerilla unit; to build up village defence corps in each village.

Towns are the secondary field of activity. There, the main task is party building and sending advanced elements of the working class to work in rural areas. Other tasks are: to concentrate on industrial workers and students; to fight revisionism (the main manifestation of which are trade-unionism, economism, legalism and reformism); to fight communalism, casteism, provincialism and national chauvinism prevalent among workers and intelligentsia; to strive for bringing about active interaction of the working class and the intelligentsia in support of revolutionary peasant struggles; to strive for bringing about the active interaction of the working class and the intelligentsia on national and international political issues; to build up party organisation in the power, transport, communication, the State sector and other allied industries concerned with war preparations.

### Frankly Speaking

SANJOY

THE morning after May Day was rather blank. One did not know how the meetings went, but the morning after there were no newspapers. It was unique-the fact that the racous, vicious but unavoidable Fourth Estate did not function on May Day in Calcutta. Our bowels do not move without reading the dailies. Have they, as a result of the UF rule, gone somewhat socialist in a shamefaced sneaking way? Or was it the pressure of the press workers that did it? If pressure was the decisive factor, then it shows that the workers have given up economism or are rather prosperous,—they decided to forgo the larger-than-usual overtime money for the sake of international solidarity. The change is remarkable. One remembers the eagerness with which sub-editors in the same papers wanted to work on a holiday, for extramoney, ten or 12 years ago. Since a skeleton staff would do, lots were drawn to choose those who would be lucky enough to work. The 'winners' were happy. And let it not be forgotten that organisers of a general strike, not to speak of May Day, always exempt the press. It is almost an essential service.

It renders an essential service these days. The bourgeois press and the police seem to be working in ideal harmony according to a division of labour. The former carries on psychological warfare; the latter perform the brutalities of maintaining a civilised State. Rumours, half-truths, strange facsimilies and falsification and fabrication of day-to-day history are used by the former to create a scare and agitate the silent majority. The softening up process goes on, so that when the Centre returns to govern with the mailed fist sighs of relief go up in many quarters. Even the warring politicians seem to welcome the change and fall into the habit of referring every complaint to the representatives of the Centre. Another scare then is started—every

damned thing under the tropical sun is attributed to a particular party and the impression created of a widespread conspiracy against law and order and the State. Arrests are numerous, the treatment is brutal. But few politicians of the left protest—aren't the decks being cleared for them when they return to operate within the framework of the Constitution?

One of the reasons for the selective preference of the left for the Congress (R) is that the Congress (O) would be ruthless. A Congress (O) —Jana Sangh-Swatantra combine would be terrible. But are the men and methods of Mrs Indira Gandhi soft? When 20 to 30 or more people are killed in communal clashes, the attitude of the Centre and the States is almost philosophical in their detachment; there is no hysteria among the newspapers or the leadership, for communal killing is not an un-Indian activity. But kill a few jotedars—and the Congress(R) and most of the other parties are perturbed because they know that the attack is on the esablished order, based on property and violence. That is why the death of a policeman-symbol of defence of property—is an occasion for a flowery procession whereas scores killed by policemen are in order. And this sneaking admiration for order also overwhelms the petty

It is people thirsting and shouting for limited power who can still hobnob with the Congress(R). Oh, no! not yet with the Congress(R) in West Bengal (though Mr Siddhartha Sankar Ray, because of his height, reminds one of B. C. Roy, the last Mohican of the W.B. Congress), but the Congress(R) government ruling from New Delhi, that city fattening on the life income of the States and flourishing under the daughter of Nehru, is quite different. It is a civilised body—think of the bungalows, the fountains, the huge office buildings, the cars, the telephones, priority housing, free trips, the air-conditioned Parliament House, the whisky embassies—all that it means, all the comforts it distributes!

Think of Parliament, which a contemporary describes as a trade union of leaders who are as much perquisiteminded as the boxwallahs are. They are more important—they have perquisites plus political power. The government based in New Delhi must be different.

It is not. The way the agents of Mrs Indira Gandhi are peopling West Bengal with the CRP while talking of a political solution, the way all the instruments of repression are being mobilised and used, the way preventive detention is being reintroducedall this shows the real face of the Congress(R). There is a difference in style, of course, in its functioning in West Bengal. Mr Dharma Vira behaved like a bloody boor, like a Shakta. This won't do now. Mr Dhavan behaves like a Vaishnavite, and the leaders are subdued. In the meantime, the State is being pockmarked with police of all denominations and the victims are being beaten up. The leftist leaders are not much concerned with the deployment of the CRP and other police, unless it be in a particular area controlled by one of their parties. Any encroachment there is a matter for squealing and writing letters to the Governor. Otherwise, there is no confrontation with the Centre, but the reactions of a piqued lover who still hopes to go to bed.

Some people cry out in pain and anguish that the Naxalites, by their pranks, are helping police mobilisation and re-introducetion of preventive detention. They should know that any movement aimed at shaking up the established order will incite police ruthlessness. Think of the attitude of the Centre towards Naxalbari. Very few jotedars were killed there, but the Centre know it was something fraught with potentialities of radical change, and was about to intervene. Ajoyda saved the situation. The Centre was tolerant, almost benevolent, when seizure of vested and benami land began in 1969-it knew that it was sort of a safety valve and that the warring UF partners would undermine that unity of the toilers which is the basis of any move-

ment that can lead to far-reaching change. The movement turned into a fight for spoils. The Centre knew that no continuous revolution was involved. That it was right is evident from the fact that the movement was stalled as soon as the UF collapsed. No police protection for the landhungry peasants is assured now, so there is no earnest move to continue the seizures. A continuation would make it difficult for the police to restore the land already seized. Perhaps it would be adventurism for the leaders to fight. If they are arrested, who will seat in the Secretariat? Forgotten is the experience of Kerala 1965, when most of the CPM leaders in jail were returned in the election.

It is time we ceased to think that the choice is between reaction and Mrs Gandhi. The fight is against reaction whatever be the face of it, even if the face is much fairer than that of Nijalingappa. They all know that power is kept through the barrel of a gun.

\* \* \*

To return to the press, news agencies and the gullible readers. President Nixon, the great withdrawer, has now intervened in Cambodia-of course against the North Vietnamese. The North Vietnamese, to go by newspapers, are everywhere, in South Vietnam, Laos and now Cambodia. They were about to be involved in Nagaland and Mizoland, but the calamity was somehow avoided when a document over which the U.S. stooges kicked up a row in Parliament turned out to be false. It is at rare moments that some reports are leaked out about the nature of the insurgents of South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. That there has been a tremendous stir among the Cambodian peasants, that there was already a guerilla movement in Cambodia against the Sihanouk Government but which has now joined hands with his forces are seldom mentioned. Seldom highlighted, except in the foreign press, is the American conspiracy against the peoples of Asia.

The conspiracy against Cambodia is not new. In late 1967, M. S. Arnoni of the now defunct The

Minority of One, wrote in his journal that perhaps never before had an aggressor been as open about his intended further aggression as the United States had been in discussing the 'need' to invade Cambodia, Laos and North Vietnam. "But judging by recent precedents, all that openness will disappear as soon as the planning stage is succeeded by that of implementation. U.S. officials and the obliging American press will then speak as if the unfolding events had never been pre-announced, as if the American initiative had never been planned and merely came as a compelling reaction to someone else's provocation. A few dissenting publications will then quote official U.S. sources to remind us of the pre-announced 'scenario' of events, but by virtue of their too-long memory they will be considered 'irresponsible', 'unpatriotic' and on the 'lunatic fringe', that needs neither be heeded nor answered." The conditioning of the public for an invasion of Cambodia would take the form of a barrage of 'news' about the alleged use of her territory as a sanctuary by the forces of the Vietnamese NLF, and of the port of Sihanoukville for clandes ine weapons deliveries destined for them.

Arnoni further wrote that the American allegations were intended to justify not only the sporadic attacks that were taking place even then but also an outright invasion and occupation of parts of the country, anytime the U.S. military should deem this desirable. As for North Vietnamese presence in Cambodia, he argued that even if the charge was fully justified, the 'guilt' would not come anywhere near the war involvement of such American allies as Thailand or Japan, for example. Without even a formal state of war existing between the U.S. and North Vietnam Sihanouk's Cambodia could not conceivably be violating her neutral status no matter what kind of military assistance she would be extending to the Vietnamese.

The U.S. aggression in Asia is so brazen that it is time for Indians to do something about the American presence in this country. There are more urgent tasks than chasing the ghost of Gandhi.

#### On Lenin-II

#### MONITOR

HE stage of revolution that a society goes through cerresponds basically, to the state of the economy of the society in question. That is why the fundamental task of every revolution is to discover the "economic law of motion" of society at a given period of its history. Accordingly Lenin's very first writings were directed to a scientific analysis of the social and economic system of Russia at the end of the nineteenth century. This scientific, that is, Marxist, line Lenin had to establish, following G. V. Plekhanov, by defeating the various non-Marxist trends in social sciences in contemporary Russia. From the Left the toughest resistance to Marxism was offered by the Narodniks (Populists) who held considerable influence among the advanced workers and revolutionary intelligentsia in contemporary Russia.

The Narodniks maintained that in the process of social evolution Russia was following a path quite different from that of Western Europe. Without going through capitalism Western Europe could not pass on to socialism. But not so Russia. She had already evolved her unique institution, the mir or the village community, on the basis of which she could effect the transition to socialism without going through the painful process of capitalism. By this assertion the Narodniks were, at the same time, denying the applicability of Marxism in Russia-though they cited, extremely mechanically and not always honestly, some of Marx's own writings in their favour. Plekhanov had already refuted, fairly effectively, the basic arguments of the Narodniks on Russian 'exceptionalism.' But it was left to Lenin to deliver them the decisive blow. Here again Lenin

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See, for example, his Our Differences (1885), specially chapters II and III in G. Plekhanov — Selected Philosophical Works (Moscow) vol. I pp. 235 ff.

showed himself a consummate dialectician.

The starting point of Lenin's analysis was Marx's fundamental concept of Ekonomische Gesellschhaftsformation ("social economic formation")2 that manifests itself through the prevalent mode of production of a society. The state of the economy of a society at a particular time corresponds to a definite stage in the social economic formation of that society whose structure and development are principally explained through the production relations (that is, the relations in which men enter with one another in the process of production, giving rise to classes). Though "social-economic formation" is a perfectly general concept, one must, at the same time, emphasize its specificity which is no less important. In other words, though it is true that the relations of production form the structure of a society and that these relations correspond to a definite stage of the development of productive forces, that does not itself explain the specific character of a particular mode of production of a particular society.3

Russian society was of course different from West European society which had served as the model to Marx and Engels. But the differences were more phenomenal than essential. True, the historical development in Russia did not proceed as 'smoothly' and as uniformly as, for example, was envisaged in Marx's abstract model in Capital-an abstraction, it should be emphasized, that was scientific and essential. The concrete situation in Russia at the turn of the century was extraordinarily complex. What was essential was masked by the superficial and the phenomenal. The latter was taken to be more important by the Narodniks who could

only consider what was being and not what was becoming. Thus they thought that the growing capitalist enterprises like factories and workshops in the cities and the rising commodity and capitalist relations in the countryside, which for the time being looked insignificant in the context of Russia's total economy, were "alien" and not natural to Russia. For them the reality was the self-sufficient patriarchal village life manifested through the idyllic mir. Lenin showed that a mere observation and description of what exists does not suffice; one must penetrate the appearance to get at the essence, look for the becoming behind the mask of the being and seize the laws beneath the accidental. Lenin demonstrated that in spite of the quantitatively overwhelming existence of precapitalist modes of production in Russia the traditional mir was already being fast corroded by commodity and capitalist relations and that the tendency towards the break-up of the patriarchal and subsistence village economy had gone far and was irreversible.

"No Future"

The Narodniks asserted-on a non-dialectical understanding of some of Marx's formulations—that there was an absolutely insoluble contradiction between production and consumption in capitalist society; capitalism increases output and the impoverishment of the masses at the same time, so that with the development of capitalism the 'home market' shrinks, specially in a backward country like Russia; the only way out of this contradiction could be the simultaneous expansion of foreign markets as an outlet for the increasing output, but there, too, Russia had no chance against the competition of the advanced capitalist countries; hence capitalism had no future in Russia. Thus the Narodnik logic amounted to asserting the existence of some sort of a limit—in the metaphysical, abso-

lute sense—to the development of capitalism in Russia. This logic was the outcome of the Narodnik thesis "underconsumption", traceable not to Marx but to the French classical economist Sismondi.4 In a sophisticated version and in a different context this theory was later to appear in Rosa Luxemburg who, as we have already mentioned, developed a catastrophic vision of the "breakdown" of capitalism on account of the exhaustion of foreign markets. Lenin decisively demolished the Narodnik argument. Put in a nontechnical way Lenin's reasoning roughly ran as follows:

Far from the home market shrinking under capitalism it is the very process of the growth of capitalism that creates the home market. Under natural economy society consisted of a mass of homogeneous economic units-for example, primitive village communities—each of which engaged in all forms of economic activity from the initial stage of extraction of raw materials to the ultimate stage of the preparation of consumer goods. But under commodity production—that is, production for market—which is the starting point of capitalism heterogeneous economic units come into being, the number of separate branches of economy specialising in the production of particular commodities increases. Thus the division of productive activities transforming their products mutually into commodities creates, at the same time, the market for these commodities. Secondly, the relation between production and consumption is far less simple than the Narodniks supposed. To start with, not the whole of production is immediately destined for consumption. Production under capitalism was conveniently divided by Marx into two major Departments-Department I producing means of production (that is, production of goods for producing other goods) and Department II producing articles of consumption. Marx showed that the drive for ever more accumulation and ever more productive power is inherent in capitalist production. Moreover, capital goods demand other

<sup>\*</sup> See Lenin-A characterization of Economic Romanticism (1897), specially ch. I, sec. 1, 6, F.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy (1859), Preface. Our reference is to Marx-Engels-Werke (Berlin) Bd. 13, S. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Lenin-What the 'Friends of the People' ore and how they fight the Social Democrats (1894) in Collected Works (Moscow) vol. I, pp. 141 ff

capital goods to produce them. So, on the one hand there is always a tendency for the production of the means of production to outstrip the production of the articles of consumption; on the other hand the market for the means of production, at least for some time, is created and sustained within the sphere of the means of production themselves. The upshot is that "the growth of home market for capitalism is to a certain extent 'independent' of the growth of personal consumption."5 It would, of course, be a mistake to think, Lenin was careful to add, that productive consumption (that is, 'consumption' of articles, as it were, by capital) is entirely divorced from personal consumption. In the last analysis productive consumption, is always bound up with personal consumption. However, it remains true that the former can and must grow faster than the latter. Needless to say that the development of production-and consequently of marketchiefly on account of the means of production-signifying 'production for production's sake—is a contradiction. "But it is a contradiction, not of doctrine, but of actual life; it is the sort of contradiction that corresponds to the very nature of capitalism."6

In the second place, Lenin emphasized, the argument of foreign market is completely irrelevant for explaining the realization of production and, consequently, of surplus value (realization refers to the availability of market for the goods produced). "Marx revealed that it is utterly wrong to drag foreign market into the problem of realization."7 In fact, capitalism itself arises only as a result of widely developed commodity circulation which transcends the limits of state. It is, therefore, impossible to conceive a capitalist nation without foreign trade, nor is there any such nation.8

From the preceding it does not, of course, follow that Lenin conceived of the development of capitalism in Russia to be 'smooth' and uniform. He, on the contrary, insisted on the dialectical character of the growth of capitalism; the process of its growth is zigzagging, multiform, multilateral. The successive social-economic formations while historically preceding capitailist social-economic formation are not completely superseded by the latter. The older forms continue to co-exist with the new-unlike, again, what Marx had conceived in his 'classical' model.

Major Contribution

This brings us to one of Lenin's major contributions. When Marx had spoken of the crisis of capitalismlike the crisis of any other social-economic formation being the result of the forces of producton coming in conflict with the relations of production at a particular stage of its development he thought, basically, of the internal obstacles to capitalismthat is, he property relations constituted by the bourgeoisie. Lenin, however, studying the conditions of Russia, discovered that apart from the internal limits capitalism had also its external limits from the survivals of the pre-capitalist relations of production (like feudalism etc.); the dialectical process was "The end of internal-external.9 the nineteenth century", wrote Lenin, "finds Russia involved in the extremely acute contradiction between the requirements of the whole of social development and serfdom which, in the form of the landlord and aristocratic latifundia and the labour rent system, retards economic development..." <sup>10</sup> That is why Lenin, while asserting the "extremely rapid" growth of the economy in comparison with the pre-capitalist epoch, pointed out that the rate of growth was "really slower" than was possible "with the modern level of technique and culture generally"—because "there is not a single capitalist country in the world in which ancient institutions, incompatible with capitalism, which retard its development, which immeasurably worsen the conditions of the producers who suffer from capitalism as well as from the insufficient development of capitalism have survived in such alundance as they have survived in Russia."<sup>11</sup>

Capitalism, moreover, develops in depth—that is, in industry and agriculture within the given territory—and in breadth—that is, in the extension to new territory. But in either, Lenin emphasized, "unevenness of development is a feature of capitalism." 12

(To be concluded)

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The Development of Capitalism in Russia, ch. VIII, sec. VI.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., sec. V.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> The Development of Capitalism in Russia (First ed. 1899; second ed. 1908)—Ch. I, Sec. VI.

Sec. VI. <sup>6</sup> Ibid.

 $<sup>^7</sup>$  Ibid.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Ibid.

This is not, however, completely absent in Marx. See, for example, his preface to the first edition of Capital, vol. I (1867).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> The Agrarian Question in Russia at the end of the Nineteenth Century (1908), end of Sec. II.

### Internal Migration—III

Asok Mitra

THE Middle Eastern countries too, are largely dominated by the feature of the metropolitan city. About one quarter of the total population of Jordan and Syria, 40 per cent of the population of Iraq and Lebanon, and 70 per cent of the population of Kuwait live in cities of 100,000 or more inhabitants. All the countries of this region have at least one metropolis of over 100,000; Iraq has five such cities, Saudi Arabia three and Syria four. Each of these has the character more or less of a primate city in which most industry and services are concentrated in and around the city giving rise to ribbon formation and shanty towns. Metropolisation, primacy and domination of large centres in the urban pattern are in this region showing evidence of the broader problems of uneven distribution of the population resulting obviously from an imbalance in economic opportunities.

Metropolitan dominance continues in Africa often in the shape of primate cities having central cores resembling the structure of western cities, surrounded by large settlements of indigenous population living in ghettoes, in bidouvilles and shanty-The planned metropolitan towns, as in many parts of colonised Asia, were developed to serve the administrative and commercial needs of the metropolitan governments. Most of them developed as a result of non-African enterprises and were treated as major centres of non-African activity, with little or no attention paid to the corresponding urban or peri-urban population. This has certainly added complexity to the economic and social aspects of urbanization in Africa, for until recently some of these towns were not considered suitable habitats for permanent African settlement. In recent years, however, some governments have adopted an urban policy to assist the growth of a more intimate urban society, with a predominantly African population, Dakar and

Nairobi being two examples of such an approach by way of modern metropolitan towns, each characterised by special features. The metropolitan character of African cities serves to perpetuate the advantages as well as the disadvantages of their colonial oirgin. The pull of family and friendship ties, and the desire for education and employment opportunities are important causes of migration. Lack of adequate means of communication impedes movement between country and town and favours the increase of a tribe of African rural townsmen who spend a definite limited period of time in city for lack of residential facilites and of communication. Disparity between local prices and wages exists everywhere placing at variance not only city and country dwellers but also the inhabitants of the large towns and port cities and those of the smaller urban centres. Kinship responsibilities put burdensome demands on the urban employee. In Nairobi, in 1935, it was estimated that 50 per cent of the workers in the private sector, and 25 per cent of those in the public sector, were earning less than the basic minimum, but sending half of their wages to relatives in the country, receiving nothing in return. On the other hand African women have gained in status through urbanisation. As a result of the weakening of traditional ties in the towns and removal from the restrictions of village life, many women have found new freedom in the cities. A greater variety of jobs are being opened up to them in the towns and their participation comes often on equal basis with men. An essential feature in every independent African country which bids fare to quicken the pace of urbanisation is the placing of education in the front line of national planning, so much so that several African countries spend as much as one-fifth of their total revenue on education from which towns obviously have been the prime beneficiary, often to the disadvantage of the rural areas, in terms of the quality and quantity of the available facilities they receive, as well as in the drain to the cities of

the educated and semi-educated youths. This rapid expansion of education has, in some places, been challenged by the paucity of mobility mechanism outside the formal school system, such as systems of apprenticeship and the development of small businesses to provide alternate occupations and social mobility. This in turn has put a premium on primary education for occupational success. African Governments have their own share of the problem of regulating the flow of restless unemployed youths to the towns which they have sought to meet by a variety of youth training schemes. In many African countries modern forms of apprenticeship have been introduced, particularly in the cities, which are being expanded especially through western business and industrial concerns. In the town of Ibadan, for example, it was found that some 2 million apprentices were learning a wide range of arts, crafts and services, from the traditional skills of wood-carving and bronze-casting to the contemporary one of electrical wiring, dry cleaning and local trade.

Similar characteristics are noticeable in the urban populations of Latin America with its historic and economic emphasis on metropolitan cities. The numbers of families of resident workers on the large estates have continued to decline owing to mechanisation of agriculture, shifts in commercial crops, and resident workers' claims to land reforms. Small cultivators are feeling the burden of population increase, deterioration of their land through unavoidable exhaustion and over-tilling, and declining opportunities for local seasonal wage labour on the large estates. The small village, consisting of a small and loosely organised cluster of families, constituting a primary neighbourhood and usually found in combination with still more dispersed settlements by single families, is more often in evidence than large agricultural villages. Present rural trends, in spite of population increase, seem to be in the direction of even greater dispersal and impermanence of rural settlements, including the springing up of many irregular line settlements. In recent years attempts have been made in Argentina and Venezuela, Colombia, Mexico and Peru to build up local and intermediate urban centres on the principle that most of the new jobs will have to be created outside agriculture but will involve resettlement of persons who were in agriculture. This task in Latin America has been made difficult by the historic fact that small towns that are the traditional administrative, marketing and servicing centres for the rural neighbourhoods in Asian countries, for example, have seldom carried out these functions very effectively in Latin America. The cities that lie between the extremes of the great agglomerations and the small local centres suffer from lack of effective regional planning which again is both difficult and expensive. These intermediate cities include (a) provincial capitals (which for lack of major industry or other new functions have tended to become ruralised), (b) rapidly growing centres of diversified manufacturing and commercial services for important hinterlands, more in the nature of company towns, (c) coastal resort cities which are undoubtedly attractive for tourists but not satisfactory for the indigenous population, and, (d) new cities arising out of the creation of industries and depending on local resources—primarily steel and petroleum products.

In the developing nations urbanisation is proceeding more rapidly than improvement in the social and economic indicators, except those related to health. A common feature of urbanisation in developing countries is the level of unemployment among the young population, even among those with considerable levels of educational and technical attainment.\*

\*On the 1961 Census data of India some analyses were made of the level of unemployment and of resident migration differentials in employment and unemployment in age groups of 15-34 and 35-59 for males. This yielded a picture of lengthening shadow of unemployment over the younger educated migrants in the age group

Although the economic indicators, particularly the industrial ones, are most highly correlated to the urbanisation level, reflecting their close interrelation, the fact that changes in the level of these indicators often lag behind urbanisation levels sugests that many developing countries are overurbanised from the standpoint of their economic development. A United Nations Workshop which recently studied the problems of African urbanisation, observed that disparities in the ways and standards of living between town and country dwellers are so great that flight from land seems inevitable. Among the recommendations this Workshop listed were, first, adoption of administrative and economic decentralisation measures designed to attract rural migrants to smaller urban centres; secondly, the establishment of viable industries and the stimulation of growth of centres at intermediate points away from cities; thirdly, regulation and control of development of cities and peri-urban land and ad-

of 15-34 compared to the older age group of 35-59. While the proportions of illiterate, non-working male migrants are almost universally smaller among the younger age group of 15-34 than in 35-59 denoting a buoyant market for unskilled jobs among younger workers, the proportions of non-working literate, but without educational level, male migrants are apparently more in age group 15-34 than those in 35-59. Similarly, the proportion of male migrants not working but with primary or junior basic or matriculation or higher secondary qualifications rises more steeply or even startlingly in age group 15-34 from those for male migrants with university degree or post-graduate degree other than technical diploma. For every 100 non-working males in each city the unemployment among non-working male migrants was proportionately higher than that of the non-working resident males in groups 15-34 and 35-59, which is proof of in-migrants and the working of the urban pull in several growing industrial cities.

jacent areas; fourthly, strengthening of urban community development schemes; and lastly, the strengthening of programmes of education, training and research with a view to adapting African education to the changing social, political and economic problems of both rural and urban areas. But, while wholesome policies are easy to formulate on the financial and administrative levels, it is difficult to disregard the external economies of large population concentrations and settlements of a metropolitan type, the range of constraints encountered in respect of decentralisation, the difficulties encountered in controlling migration, the built-in advantages of internal economics of scale, and the shortcomings of small or single industry settlements.\*

#### Reverse Flow

Studies of internal migration have been mostly concerned with rural to urban flow and what influx of rural populations does to towns and cities. Few studies have been made of the effects on the rural population of the reverse flow, that is, of turn-round migration from urban to rural areas. Still fewer studies have been made of the effect of flow of skilled manpower—whether administrative, scientific, technical or managerial—from the big city to the small town. Both are phenomena of considerable im-

<sup>\*</sup>At the other end, of course, are the diseconomies of large countries which are largely the result of what may be called overurbanisation and have served to renew attention on the planning of metropolitan areas and new towns. These diseconomies appear in the form of poverty, disease, slums, economic inefficiency, traffic congestion, social problems, political discontent, burgeoning of social overheads and public services, separation of residential from work areas and resulting commuting problems, of traffic and parking, land speculation and misuse, high cost of public welfare, poor conditions of work and a feeling of hopelessness in the idle migrant population.

portance today which, consciously or unconsciously, constitutes an important strategy in developing backward areas or stimulating economic development and regionalisation.

This reverse flow is not a new or recent phenomenon. Such flows have been engineered either by compulsion or indenture or by ingeniously organised recruitment under what in several developing countries has been known as the Sardari or leader system, to attract large masses of skilled and semiskilled labour, technicians and professionals like engineers, teachers, medical men and other service corps to open plantations, mines and other extractive or processing industries in Asia, Africa, Madagascar, Mauritius, West Indies, Australia or Latin America. In the wake of wars, particularly of each of the two World Wars, and the resultant redrawing of boundaries, Governments have brought about significant migrations and through them significant changes in the ethnic, linguistic, industrial and cultural compositions of their border problems. The necessity of stimulating economic development in backward sparsely populated areas has persuaded governments to offer various forms of incentives, concealed or unconcealed concessions and hardship bonuses, by way of wages, improved housing, health, educational and other types of social and cultural facilities, including facilities by way of home visits and exchange and remittance of earnings to regulate flow of population in certain directions.

The return flow from urban to rural areas has been both induced and voluntary. Induced flows have been brought about by government or corporate bodies through preferential incentives, concessions and hardship bonuses to professional, educational, scientific, technical and civil service personnel. Voluntary flows occur through retirement, demobilization, scarcity of housing, employment and other opportunities in the town or city. The new profitability of agriculture along with acceleration of resource-based lindustries and dispersal of consumption-based

industries by concentration of population has recently witnessed the return to the village of critical masses of population capable of touching off impressive social change. Case study after case study has demonstrated how the new messsage from the town about an improved seed or irrigation practice or an agricultural implement casually brought in through marriage or return of a demobilized soldier, has brought about revolutions in outlook and practice, creative of material and cultural wealth. The migrant from the urban to the rural area is truly acting as a critical mass for bringing about accelerated social change among seemingly stagnant societies.

Similar changes have come about through transfer of skilled and trained technical and professional personnel and their families from the big city to the small town or the single indusry 'company' towns. A edifice of demographic investigation awaits to be built up around these three phenomena of rural to rural, urban to rural and urban to urban migration because in the context of economic and social development, in developing countries, material and cultural progress really depends largely on activating the rural base through the raising of agricultural production and expansion of agro-based industries. The demographic features of these critical masses of migrant populations-their sex and age structure, education, material status, economic and industrial status, employment features of women-folk, child-spacing and other norms, nutrition, mortality and morbidity-are bound to generate significant chain effects in rural and intermediate urban centres.

Apart form the analysis of internal migration by numbers and a broad classification of sex-age groups, by place of origin and direction of migration and their further distribution by occupation and industry, other demographic characteristics of the migrant population await further study. One of the major areas in which demographic information is lacking is the dfferential fertility among migrants from rural to urban areas and the effect of migration on

the size of migrant households. Sample studies have been undertaken on the size and composition of the household and the compulsions put by the demands of kinship and traditional ties and the responsibility put on migrants in the town of educating relations and co-villagers from the home village. Studies have been recently made in India on fertility patterns of migrants and their relationship to better health, sanitation, medical and diagnostic facilities, better nutrition and education and the level of wages and employment. Important observations have been made how security of income and housing tends to raise the fertility level among low income groups in urban areas, how with better, though not ample, housing, fertility seems to register a decline as in the new housing colonies of Hong

In Latin America it has been found that fertility rates in the low income settlements in cities appear to be generally very high in spite of the large number of illegal abortions. In Santiago at the time of the 1960 census, fertility rates in low income groups of the cities with a total population of 600,000 amounted to 44 per thousand, far above the national rate of 35 to 36. Infant mortality among migrants remains to be studied separately along with studies of morbidity and mortality classified by census of death. Differences in life expectancy among resident and migrant populations are another area on which work still awaits to be undertaken.

In this particular field, better diagnostic facilities available in the towns will probably render comparisions with rural areas difficult but a beginning needs to be made in comparing the morbidity and mortality patterns of migrants with child-spacing patterns of migrants in cities. The marriage and child-spacing patterns of migrants in cities have studied in small samples in several developing countries particularly in connection with family planning programmes. But these studies have been too small and restricted to permit conclusions on a national scale.

### Investiture Of Hate

Mriganka Sekhar Ray

VISCONTI is a true aristocrat of the cinema, moving with equal ease from the dark, dank realities of the Neapolitan slums in Rocco And His Brothers to the baroque grandeur of Lampedusa's feudal territory. His work is a peculiar blending of the naturalist tradition (a stamp of his early training with Renoir) and the grand Guignot style of the Italian opera. His latest film The Damned concentrates on the Essenbecks, a German family of steel magnates and the period is 1933, on the eve of the Nazi regime, the era of Germany's baptism of fire. Visconti's clinical analysis places the characters and the background in the proper historical perspective without any glossy attempt at false drama or sloppy sentiment. A simple but vigorous narrative with an unbending concern with the social realities, it carefully relates the characters with the environment. Slowly, the disease of the times creeps into the protagonists and the Essenbeck family becomes a microcosm of the contemporary German neurosis. Visconti's masterly treatment lifts the film from the level of an average family intrigue and gradually the whole thing assumes the prophetic proportions of the silent German films which foretold the impending crisis. A fluid and probing camera lays bare the human frailties and the chiselled beauty of the images brings out the gothic atmosphere in sharp focus. The horror of Nazism always lurks in the deep recesses of everybody's mind and the shock transformation of Martin, the junior Essenbeck, from a queer pansy-type into a hardboiled jackboot serves as a quintessence of the whole film, almost its moral, pointing to the callous submission of men to a cruel system.

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#### Letters

### 'New Light On Naxalites'

Apropos your editorial comments in the 11th April issue, which combine to an amazing degree new light with old out-worn assumptions, one has perforce to point out that the top strata of India's ruling bourgeoisie are not so united as they are presumed to be by their class opponents. It has by now become an open secret that the elite of the Central bureaucracy and the middling but ambitious administrative cadre of West Bengal are working at cross-purposes. To make matters more complicated, worse still, prominent Central Cabinet members have now taken up sides making it incumbent for the contenders to cut across traditional loyalties of service. Need it be pointed out that such conflicts as did openly crop up over the allocation of portfolios to the advisers (in which the Centre is more keen than Dhavan), and their status and locus standi, and the Home Ministry's continual proddings to super-impose the Centre's will upon the Governors, have led to a stalemate, the very reverse of what the ultra-Right interventionists had bargained for!

Meanwhile the Centre's hallucinations about the Naxalite menace grow apace. The Home Minister fears extension of the Naxalite movement into Assam, nay, the entire North-Eastern region. From time to time, nightmarish pictures of uninhibited foreign supply are drawn. The bigbusiness interests reflected by the huge combines of newspapers, periodicals, radio and other mass media of information and propaganda, have projected their anxiety over the "spilling over of discontent" from West Bengal into the North-East, yet they cannot abjure their diehard authoritarian complex to rule by intervention and to snuff out what little measure of self-rule was given by the States. Not Constitution to the content with poaching on the people's preserve-ministry-making in the local legislature—ordering about of

ministers and governors and the posting of para-military forces under the Centre's command anywhere, arbitrarily, the present ruling class has now come out against the timehonoured concept of autonomy in educational institutions. The police have now been told that whenever they came to know of any organised breach of law in a college or university, it is their duty to go and deal with it without waiting to be officially informed by the authorities concerned! But are the rulers in Delhi quite sure that the Naxalite ideology has not already spilled over to the Delhi University campus? To the forests of Kumaon division, the open fastness of Bijnore district in U.P.? To the districts of Sangur and Hoshiarpur, Rupar and Patiala, Jullundhur, Phagwaria, Amritsar and Ferozepur of Punjab and former PEPSU? To Andhra, Tamil Nadu and even Madhya Pradesh? Whether it is a brain fever of the august politicians or parliamentarians, the 'N' movement has scored the nth time with their supposed guerilla warriors, arms catches and hidden training centres.

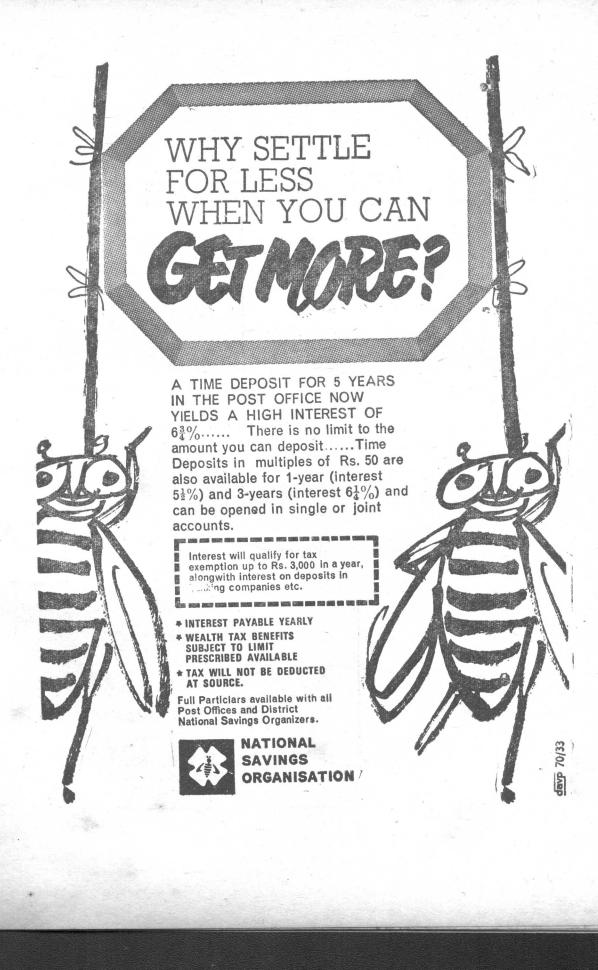
R. P. Mullick New Delhi

#### Mcaning, Please

Some writers tend to drown the subject matter by using grandiloquent language. Recently, going through the April 11 issue of your journal I came across the phrase "hawkish Mephistophelian glamour." Besides, could you let me know the meaning of "dovish" "braggadacio" etc. I wish you suggested to humble readers like, us a list of the dictionaries which we are supposed to buy in order to understand the articles published in your esteemed journal.

P. K Calcutta

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