

win
*
PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION

DAVID MORRIS:

**Fascism
Come
to India**

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I was very moved by Jim Forest's letter in the Sept. 18 issue of WIN in which he puts in a good word for those Vietnamese "who refused to be tough, who hated all the ideologies and slogans, who wouldn't take up weapons for either side, or who were conscripted by one side or the other but wouldn't kill." I am one of many people who has moved toward pacifism from the rhetoric of "armed struggle," and frankly the reason for this shift is directly due to the way that the "armed struggle" enthusiasts gleefully defend militarism and the repression of basic human rights in the name of "proletarian unity" or "anti-imperialism." I remain reluctant, however, to call myself a pacifist, because I have yet to see pacifists offer a path to revolutionary change, a way to wrest violent power from those who now hold it without creating a new violent caste. Without meaning to grasp anew for ideology, I feel that gay-feminist thinking, dealing with the roots of political behavior in the sex-role system, is on the right track. It is this nexus, I believe, which has brought so much gay-feminist writing to the pages of WIN, and it is my hope that old-time pacifists will understand the vitality of this connection and continue to be hospitable to gay-feminist thinking in the pages of their publications, such as WIN.

—ALLEN YOUNG
Royalston, Mass.

Thanks for keeping us posted of events in the Joann Little trial, as you did in the Changes column [WIN, 8/14/75]. The anecdote about the Durham County Medical Examiner was very interesting, but I was very offended by your reporter's caricature of the man's Southern accent. I couldn't help feeling that this was an effort to make the man seem ignorant because he didn't speak with the average white-washed Midwestern-American accent. White people from the Deep South are a group that gets dumped on so much that it's practically a part of their culture to have a huge inferiority complex and to hate white Northerners.

There really are white Southern radicals! Witness the existence of such groups as At-

lantá WIN and SCEF. I am a Southerner transplanted into the so-called "liberal Northeast." Let me tell you, the North can be just as racist and full of the death Culture as the South ever thought of being. I resent your reporter's efforts to make someone look foolish by caricaturing the person's dialect.

—JEFF KEITH
Holyoke, Mass.

Today it is possible for me to become aware of Joann Little's trial, and even to sympathize with her lot. Especially since I am familiar with the Beaufort county jail and its staff. Possibly even the same cell. But there was a time when I would have been indifferent. Let me explain.

BEAUFORT COUNTY

Joann Little's trial
Brings to mind
Faint memories
Of the prosaic side
Of Beaufort County,
"South Cacalac".
With its wide eyed,
Skeletal, bare footed,
Pussing,
Rib counting
Black children.
And some puffy
Overweight
Black mothers.
Dressed in rags.
Obsequious.
Living in ramshackle
Weathered hooches
Transformed magically
By frequent rains
And altitude
Into quaintly photogenic islands.

All successfully
Paled into insignificance
By overwhelming memories
Of the sprawling
Chain linked, barbed wired,
Immaculate,
Marine Corps Air Station.
With its squadrons
Of infinitely more exotic,
Awesome, white grey, manta like
Phantom Supersonic Phighter Bombers
Bristling with sinister projections.
Which I jealously guarded
And flew in
For the most intense year.

—STANLEY GRAJEWSKI
Monticello, NY

This is prompted by Claire Culhane's letter and Danny Schechter's article [WIN,

7/24/75], but is not per se about them, except tangentially.

What it is about is the repeated assertion that the "indomitable will" of the Indochinese "liberation" armies withstood the "full force" of American military might. Such a statement glorifies violence, makes the Indochinese somehow super-human (something the PRG, Khmer Rouge, et. al, never claimed for themselves), minimizes the importance of the American anti-war movement, and minimizes the power of the US military, all at the same time.

Fact: In 1966 the Pentagon wanted Johnson to authorize bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong. He refused. Question: What would have happened if such bombing had taken place? And why didn't it? Fact: In early 1968, the Pentagon wanted to ship 200,000 more troops to Vietnam. Again, Johnson refused. Question: What would've happened if those extra troops had been sent? And why weren't they? Fact: In November, 1969, Nixon was prepared to announce the bombing of Hanoi and the mining of Haiphong. He didn't; he instead announced a troop withdrawal. Question: What would've happened if the B-52'ing of Hanoi had lasted years instead of weeks; the mining of Haiphong years instead of months? And why wasn't the announcement made? Fact: There were contingency plans for bombing dikes, for massive troop invasions of North Vietnam, even for the use of nuclear weapons on Indochina. Question: What would've happened if these plans were put into effect? And why weren't they? Fact: Barry Goldwater recently released a list he'd secured from the Pentagon of restrictions placed on American military operations in Indochina. It was rather extensive. Question: What would've happened if those restrictions hadn't existed? And why did they?

The answer to the first in each pair of questions is, obviously, there is no way of knowing. But it does make it clear that claims that the Indochinese withstood the "full force" of the American military are patently absurd. Indeed, they didn't even get hit with a hefty fraction, and what they did get hit with was often not applied in the militarily most effective manner.

Why? Why wasn't Hanoi bombed in 1969 or even 1966? Why weren't more troops sent? Why did those restrictions exist? The answer is very simple: the American peace movement wouldn't allow it. When Johnson rejected the authorization to bomb Hanoi in 1966, he did so by asking the military to ask their computers "how long it will take five hundred thousand angry Americans to climb the White House wall

and lynch their President." Memos show that Nixon's decision not to bomb Hanoi in 1969 was motivated by concern about the upcoming November 15th demonstration And on and on.

The currently fashionable minimizing of the peace movement's effectiveness ("Well, we might have accelerated things a little, but...") is untenable, based on common knowledge and sense.

We had a job to do: ending American involvement in Indochina, and that job we did better than we seem willing to give ourselves credit for. While the final outcome of the wars in Indochina are not what I and many others would've hoped, still, the "liberation" forces have won their military victories, and, although it sounds (and feels) strange for a pacifist to say this, it is probably true that they couldn't have done it without us.

—LARRY ERICKSON
Long Branch, NJ

In reading the various letters and articles concerning Portugal, pro and con, it seems that the question of democracy is the critical factor involved, but what the hell is democracy? How is a two-party system, or a one-party system, or a multi-party system any more democratic than a partyless system of people's democracy? The really meaningful democracy in any system depends to a large extent on other con-

tributing factors such as the presence or absence of major corrupting influences operating on the system to manipulate and subvert the democratic processes; for example, (1) powerful concentrations of great private wealth, (2) the politics of seeking public office for private gain, and (3) the competitive private enterprise system itself with its accompanying ethics of dog-eat-dog. But all things being equal, a partyless system of people's democracy should by all standards be the most democratic and the most just and equitable system possible.

I can think of no greater democracy than that of a no-party system of people's democracy structured on ascending echelons of elected officials arising from the most basic grass-roots units, the small neighborhood committees, and terminating in a single national committee. The committees at each level of government would formulate legislation pertaining to its area of jurisdiction, and the people within that area would vote on whether to ratify or reject it. Even where they existed previously, such a system would probably of its own accord soon eliminate the major corrupting influences listed above. And as I understand it, the Armed Forces Movement of Portugal wanted to install this kind of partyless system of people's democracy. I can only suspect the worst of those who stand in opposition to such a plan.

—REYNOLDS MOODY
Miami, Fla.

Reluctant though we were to publish another special, single topic issue right on the heels of last week's extensive report on the campaign to stop the construction of the B-1 bomber, the events currently taking place in India are of such significance that we made the difficult decision to concentrate on this situation to the exclusion of others.

Frankly, the thing that tipped the scale and convinced us—for the moment—to shelve the articles that were originally planned for this issue was the uniqueness of these two reports by writers well versed in the political facts of life in the "sub-continent." Perhaps it is due to Indira Gandhi's censorship regulations, but nowhere have we seen such knowledgeable accounts of recent developments as these provided by Demie Kurz, Bruce Birchard and David Morris. We are proud to be able to publish their insights and observations.

Next week we'll return to the more usual potpourri. Or at least that's the way it looks today.

—WIN



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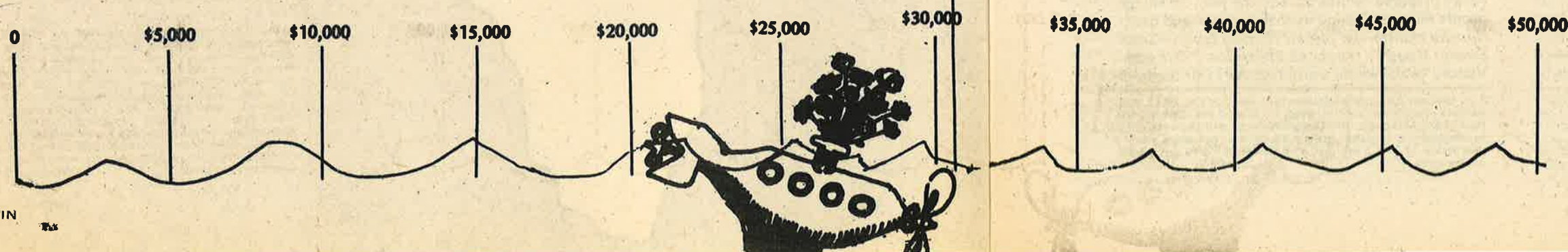
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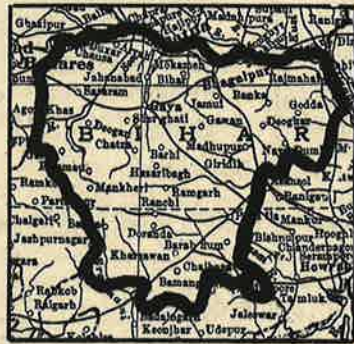
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THE ROOTS OF INDIA'S CRISIS



DEMIE KURZ & BRUCE BIRCHARD

In the early morning of June 26, 1975, after the last deadlines of the morning newspapers had passed, Indian police, acting on the direct orders of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, arrested Jayaprakash Narayan and 675 other leaders of the opposition movement which was seriously threatening Ms. Gandhi's power. Since that date, thousands more—nobody knows how many—have also been arrested. Strict press censorship is in full force, with the media forbidden to report anything which might be damaging to the government. In a country where millions engaged daily in wide-ranging political discussions and expression, fear has spread and few dare speak.

The "emergency," and the events leading to it, are poorly understood in the United States. Our news media present it as a clash between opposition political groups and Indira Gandhi's Congress Party, generated largely by the "Watergate-type" court case in which Ms. Gandhi was convicted of election-law violations.

Demie Kurz is completing her PhD in Sociology and is active in the feminist movement in the Delaware Valley. Bruce Birchard works full time on the Stop the B-1 Bomber/National Peace Conversion Campaign for Friends Peace Committee in Philadelphia. Demie lived in India for a year.

The Indian government encourages this interpretation. In an interview on "Meet the Press" broadcast August 17, the Indian Ambassador to the United States, T.N. Kaul, continually referred to the "duly-elected government with a Parliamentary majority" being threatened by a "political minority" in a confrontation which threatened "civil disorder, chaos and religious strife." * Stressing the June 12 case in Allahabad court in which Indira Gandhi was convicted of illegally using government officials in her campaign for Parliament four years ago, Mr. Kaul insisted that the law under which she was convicted was an "experiment in election law" which is now understood to be too stringent. This law has recently been amended by the Congress-controlled Parliament.

This picture omits many important facts and events in the struggle which led to the mass arrests and termination of individual and press freedoms in India. That struggle was, and is, *not* a simple confrontation of opposition political parties with a party-in-power. It is a movement whose final goal is radical social, political and economic change in India. Jayaprakash Narayan has been particularly important in developing this movement, and most Indians place a good deal of importance on his leadership. Although it appears that few Sarvodaya leaders have been arrested so far, it is the Sarvodaya influence, mediated especially through J.P. Narayan, that has made this a real movement and not just another party struggle.

THE SARVODAYA MOVEMENT

We visited India during the months of October to March, 1973-74. Having a strong interest in non-Western, labor-intensive, agriculture-oriented models of third-world development, we arranged to visit nine rural Sarvodaya projects. "Sarvodaya" means "the uplift of all," and it is the name generally applied to the Gandhian movement for constructive ("development") work and social change. In 1953, Jayaprakash Narayan resigned as leader of the Socialist Party and joined the Sarvodaya movement. He has remained part of Sarvodaya and refrained from party politics ever since.

During the course of our travels we stayed at Sarvodaya Ashram in Bihar. This is known as "J.P.'s ashram," and his house is still there. (Indians refer to Jayaprakash Narayan simply as "J.P.") We visited a village some ten miles from the ashram one afternoon. Forty-five families have settled on a rocky, previously uncultivated tract of land which was given to Sarvodaya Ashram years ago by a wealthy landlord. They are levelling their land and constructing irrigation ditches. The president of the village council, a low-caste laborer, explained:

Each family has four or five acres of land, but only a few have bullocks. So the village council bought nine buffalos. We meet each week to decide who should use them next. I have my own pair of bullocks. I have let others use them and have not had a chance to complete my own plowing. But God will provide.

As we prepared to hike back to the jeep, 50 village people marched behind us chanting over and over, *Humara mantra—Jai Jaghat! Humara tantra—Gram Swaraj!* Roughly translated this means: "Our goal—Victory to the whole world together! Our method—

* In the last national parliamentary elections in 1971, the various opposition parties, after excluding the Communist Party (pro-Moscow), the Congress Party and the various Independents, together got 43.3% of the vote from an electorate of 274.3 million. The Congress Party got 43.6% of the vote.

Cooperative village government!" They testify to the Sarvodaya vision of a revolutionary alternative to poverty and powerlessness: the world will be one when all people have power to govern themselves.

To understand the Sarvodaya movement, it is important to look back to Mahatma Gandhi. During the long struggle for Indian independence, Gandhi's immediate aim was to make the British "quit India." His long-term goal, however, was to build an Indian society based on villages which were largely self-sufficient and self-governing. He urged the Congress Party to disband as a political party and encouraged Congress workers to disperse into the villages and work for a Sarvodaya society. 80% of India's people still live in villages and small towns. To make independence meaningful, these millions must shed their powerlessness and poverty.

Sarvodaya workers at the nine projects we visited follow the model of Gandhi and his successor, Vinoba Bhave. In the 1950's, Vinoba walked throughout India to ask the landed people for *bhoodan* (gifts of land) to be distributed among the poor and landless. Later he developed *gramdan* (gift of village), a voluntary program for people in which land would be redistributed more equitably and village decisions reached by consensus. Although a simple program, the gramdan work had the potential for developing revolutionary changes in caste- and class-dominated Indian society.

During the past 20 years, thousands of Sarvodaya volunteers trekked through India persuading villagers to sign the gramdan pledge. In the pledge, people agree not to sell their land to outside landholders or moneylenders who would then become absentee landlords, a common practice which has done much to further impoverish many peasant communities. They also pledge 1) to give 1/20 of their land for distribution to the landless; 2) contribute 1/40 of each year's income to a common village fund for use in building irrigation projects, roads, schools and health facilities; and 3) attend meetings of the village council, which makes decisions based on consensus. Though very few pledged villages have even begun to meet these goals, there have been a few dramatic successes.

Within this framework of gramdan, Sarvodaya has worked for labor-intensive agricultural development, a system of education which is relevant to rural lives, land reform and people's power through cooperative village government. Their vision of agriculture is of a decentralized, labor-intensive system with appropriate, simple technology. Unlike the Western model of development pursued by the ruling party, this would provide work for the millions of unemployed and underemployed agricultural laborers and small artisans currently being displaced by machine- and capital-intensive industry and agriculture. Such a system of largely self-sufficient villages and regions, as in China, could both provide the basic needs of the rural population and protect the people from outside exploitation. A system of life-centered, agriculturally-oriented education, what Gandhi called "basic education," would encourage students to remain in their home villages and provide much-needed leadership and knowledge in this process of change.

In recent years, some Gandhians have argued that the gramdan movement and constructive work are not bringing about real social change. They feel that it is mainly social work, obtaining some relief for poor people but failing to challenge India's feudal system of landlords and peasants or the corrupt power of many political institutions. One of Mahatma Gandhi's

great gifts, his skill at keeping the powers-that-be on the defensive, has been lost. On the other hand, some Gandhian leaders feel that lasting social change must result from strong personal conviction within the hearts of people or it will prove ephemeral. Therefore, they argue, the slow process of constructive work must precede dramatic social change.

In a few areas, poor people and Sarvodaya workers have confronted the local power structure. In Tanjore District in South India, where wealthy landlords have systematically evaded land-reform legislation through an illegal system of double bookkeeping, a team from the Valivalam Gandhi Peace Centre obtained information on land ownership and use and helped the *Harijan* ("untouchable") peasants gain their legal rights to their land. Though initially intimidated by the all-powerful landlords, these landless peasants and Peace Centre workers have stood together, offering *satyagraha* ("holding fast to truth," or nonviolent direct action) on several occasions. Hundreds of local women and men went to jail for this. At another project coordinated by Anand Niketan Ashram in Gujerat, peasants have resisted corrupt landlords, money-lenders, police and government officials with *satyagraha*. They also have a "People's Court" and a process of selecting people's representatives to the state legislature which does not involve the political parties.

These efforts in the Sarvodaya movement represent significant experiments in social change—experiments with which J.P. was familiar and which he drew upon in formulating a strategy for a people's movement. Sarvodaya has been his "home" for 20 years, and its influence in his current strategy is clear.

THE PEOPLE'S ANTI-CORRUPTION MOVEMENT

When we entered the state of Gujerat in February, 1974, we were not allowed to leave the Surat train station the first night, due to extensive demonstrations and the state-wide curfew. A student protest over high food prices in college cafeterias had quickly spread to the rest of the population. There was a shortage of grain in the markets, though people knew the harvest had been adequate. It was being hoarded by black marketeers, in collusion with corrupt government officials, to drive the price up.

Within three months, the movement had caused Ms. Gandhi to remove the Gujerat Congress government, institute "President's rule," and prepare for new elections. The student campaign was nonviolent, though the government and other groups resorted to violence which left 56 dead by the end of February.* With the dismissal of the Gujerat Chief Minister and the state legislative assembly, however, the movement collapsed. Though Sarvodaya leaders discussed ways to get students into the villages and towns to work for a new political process of selecting people's candidates, these plans never materialized.

In the meantime, a spark was struck in Bihar—one of the poorest, most corrupt states in India. On March 18, 1974, the Students' Struggle Committee picketed the Governor's speech at the State Assembly House in Patna. The police responded with *lathis* (wooden truncheons) and arrests. As word spread through the city that student leaders had been badly beaten,

* We owe much of the information in this section to a report by Devi Prasad, "The People's Resistance in Bihar" (January, 1975), as well as letters written by Radhakrishna and Narayan Desai in the spring of 1975. The letter from Narayan Desai was reprinted in WIN (4/3/75). Copies of "The People's Resistance in Bihar" are available from Indians for Democracy, South Point Plaza, Lansing, Michigan 48910.

students and others began a violent rampage. Police charged and fired upon crowds of people. Many were injured and arrested, and shops were looted and burned. J.P. appointed a three-member committee to investigate these events, and this committee laid most of the blame for the violence at the feet of the city and state government.

In the ensuing weeks, unrest grew and the state continued its attempts to repress rather than understand it. A silent march was planned for April 8. April 6, J.P. announced that, despite ill health, "I shall find myself morally bound to enlist myself with those who wish to organize a silent march and organize it myself." The student leaders had asked Jayaprakash Narayan to advise and lead the struggle in hopes that



it would not collapse as the Gujerat movement had. Insisting that it be nonviolent and focus on fundamental changes in the entire social, economic, educational and political systems, J.P. agreed.

On April 8, 1,000 women and men signed a pledge of nonviolence. Tying their hands and binding their mouths with bands of cloth, these *satyagrahis* ("people holding fast to truth nonviolently") set out on a ten kilometer march through Patna. J.P. led the procession in a Land Rover. According to reporters, they walked in total silence, while 400-500,000 people lined the way, clapping in support as the marchers passed, but otherwise remaining silent. This plan had been offered by J.P. in an effort to insure that there would be no violence. It worked beautifully.

Through the spring and summer the movement grew, with another procession of several hundred thousand in June and a month of picketing at the legislative assembly. By July 12, 3,000 arrests had been made. On October 2, 1974, the anniversary of Mahatma Gandhi's birth, support rallies involving several hundred thousand people were held in Calcutta, New Delhi and other cities. And on November 4, another demonstration was planned for Patna. The Bihar government went all-out to prevent it from taking place. *People's Action*, the monthly journal of the Sarvodaya movement, reported: "All means of transport were cut. All ferries on the Ganges had been stopped. About 200 boats were captured. Fifty-eight of the 60 trains passing through the city were cancelled." Yet 55,000 people managed to attend the demonstration.

As the movement grew, opposition political parties began supporting it. These parties included the right-wing Hindu nationalist *Jana Sangh*, the conservative Old Congress Party, the Socialist Party, and the left-wing Communist Party of India (Marxist)—in fact, all the national parties except for the Congress Party and the Communist Party of India (pro-Moscow). The involvement of the right-wing groups has been

difficult to understand. Anand Kumar, a student leader who worked closely with J.P. until December, 1974, explained to a meeting at the University of Pennsylvania that the leadership of the various opposition parties had no choice but to support the movement. They saw their rank-and-file joining the people's anti-corruption campaign and had to follow or lose their credibility. He also stressed that he and other student leaders had much more responsibility for planning and organizing the movement and its actions than did political party leaders. And party spokespeople were not allowed to promote their party's programs at demonstrations.

In late November, 1974, J.P. convened an All-Party Conference in Delhi attended by most of the opposition leaders and others. The conference statement concluded in part:

While it is not possible to formulate a detailed socio-economic programme in the midst of a struggle situation, it is obvious that such a programme will by and large be within the Gandhian frame. The emphasis has to be on devolution of authority and decentralization of economy, on agricultural development, equitable land-ownership, application of labour-intensive technology agriculture and industry, extensive spread of domestic and rural industries, regional planning and development and removal of illiteracy in five years. . .

It should be clear that this is no ordinary political campaign by a coalition of opposition parties, but a struggle to generate a mass revolutionary movement.

By midwinter, 1975, the movement was entering a second stage which was clearly shaped by some of the experiments in Sarvodaya. Radhakrishna of the Gandhi Peace Foundation wrote on June 12, 1975:

Sensing a certain disenchantment in the minds of the people on demonstrations, gheraos, and other such militant steps, the movement has now formed out to villages and it is concentrating on what we call Janata Sarkars, the people's government at the block level. The block, as you may recall, is an administrative group of villages, roughly a hundred villages and a hundred thousand people. . . The Janata Sarkars are expected to undertake programmes of constructive service, like distribution of fertilizers or other scarce stuff. They will also take up issues of exploitation and corruption, equitable land distribution according to prevalent law, implementation of existing laws and speedier justice. There are now about a hundred blocks, which cover 25% of Bihar's area, where these efforts have been initiated and are in a varying degree of performance. . . J.P. hopes to expand his concept of people's government to more than half the area in Bihar by the end of the year. This will provide the necessary infrastructure for ensuring candidates chosen by people at the time of the next elections.

According to Narayan Desai, many young people were to be trained as Janata Sarkars this summer (letter printed in WIN, 4/3/75):

The emphasis of the movement has now shifted to the villages where during the next phase of the movement it will be trying to organize parallel assemblies and a people's government, built from below. Thousands of young men and women responded to J.P.'s call and gave up their studies for a year. We are now busy organizing training courses for these youths.

During the first six months of 1975, the movement, while remaining strongest in Bihar, also attracted at-

ention and some support in other states. In two bye-elections for the national legislative assembly, candidates supported by the people's movement defeated Congress candidates. Then on March 6, 1975, J.P. led 100-300,000 people in a march in New Delhi. They presented to Parliament a "Charter of Demands" for educational reforms, election reforms, effective distribution of land and the lifting of the emergency security measures that the government has maintained since the 1971 Bangladesh war (which Indira Gandhi invoked for the present Emergency).

In Gujerat meanwhile, the Congress party was campaigning hard to insure a victory in the state elections—elections that were finally being held after the overthrow of the state government in March, 1974. Although Ms. Gandhi laid her prestige on the line and campaigned personally for Congress candidates there, on June 8, 1975 the Congress party won only 75 out of 182 seats in the legislative assembly in which it had won a majority of more than two to one in 1972. Congress lost control of Gujerat and Indira Gandhi saw her grip on power slipping.

Still reeling from this election loss, Ms. Gandhi suffered another blow on June 12, 1975. In a suit brought by her Socialist opponent in the 1971 parliamentary elections, Raj Narain, the High Court in her home city of Allahabad found her guilty of two infractions of the federal election laws. On June 25, 1975, the Supreme Court of India gave a temporary order staying the sentence of the High Court but suspending her from her parliamentary seat. She was allowed to continue as Prime Minister until the court decided the case. Following this decision, the opposition parties asked for her resignation pending the full Supreme Court verdict. While decried as unreasonable by Ms. Gandhi, her party had previously forced the resignation of the former Minister of Steel and the former Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh on similar election-law violations.

On June 25, a mammoth rally in New Delhi approved a program of agitation to force Indira Gandhi's resignation. According to the *Times of India* the movement planned to launch the agitation with marches of *satyagrahis* to the Prime Minister's residence daily from June 29 to July 5. It was hoped that this would be the first phase of a nationwide struggle which would attract support from all areas of India. Jayaprakash Narayan declared that he would participate, and went on to make the comments which Ms. Gandhi used as a rationale for ordering his arrest that night. According to the *Times of India*:

Mr. Narayan renewed his appeal to the armed forces and the police not to carry out any illegal orders. He also urged Central and state government employees generally to ponder over what their duty was in the circumstances now obtaining in the country due to Mrs. Indira Gandhi's refusal to quit office even after an adverse court verdict.

Clearly J.P. and the whole movement felt that Indira Gandhi's legal difficulties presented them with an opportunity. She had not responded to the demands of the movement to end corruption and begin a new path to equitable economic development, although she could have harnessed the energies of the movement to achieve these goals—goals she had long proclaimed. Zareer Masani, writing in *The Guardian* (7/22/75) said:

Had she read the signs of the time, Mrs. Gandhi might have met the challenge within the parliamentary frame-

work, relying on her considerable political skills to divide her opponents as effectively as in 1969. J.P. himself was not irrevocably committed to the Opposition and had indicated more than once his willingness to join Mrs. Gandhi in a partnership similar to that of Gandhi and Nehru before Independence.

He adds that she could have won over the Communist Party of India (Marxist) [CPI (M)] and Socialist parties and isolated the right wing by sharing power with the left and pursuing a radical program. In short, she could have cooperated with, and perhaps even co-opted, the movement. But she didn't.

On June 26, Indira Gandhi declared a state of Emergency, and she began a massive campaign of arrests. Several thousands are imprisoned at this time. These include J.P., some dissident Congress Members of Parliament, the leaders of right and left Opposition parties, many potential leaders and activists, black marketeers, hoarders of food, and other hoodlums and troublemakers. Secondly she eliminated freedom of the press by arresting newspaper editors and empowering censors to review all news printed in India or sent abroad.

For years, the gramdan movement worked at the village level for people's self-government. Their efforts constituted interesting, often locally successful experiments, but they never grew into a mass movement or "gramdan society," as Vinoba Bhave had hoped. The gramdan work never spoke sufficiently to the political and economic problems of the larger society—inflation, corruption, the black market, unemployment this was a particularly serious liability in terms of motivating city-dwellers, students, and other segments of the disaffected middle class. On the other hand, the opposition political parties were too narrowly "political"—they could not start a movement, for their goals were too parochial. They did not reach the rural and lower-class mass of Indian people. It has taken a Gandhi-type figure, Jayaprakash Narayan, and Gandhian ideology and methods to stir the people into a true mass movement.

On July 1, 1975, George Fernandes, chairman of the Socialist Party of India (who is himself underground) issued a call to forget political differences and form "anti-fascist people's committees," at all levels. Each should be responsible only to itself, and he urges all to: 1) produce and distribute underground literature and posters; 2) start whispering campaigns about facts which are being covered up by the government; 3) organize strikes and *bandhs* (city or statewide people's strikes); 4) paralyze the functioning of the government; particularly transport and communications systems; 5) befriend members of the police and armed forces; and 6) inform foreign embassies of "the brutalities committed by the fascist dictatorship." He concludes: *Our struggle is 1) for democracy, 2) for fundamental rights, 3) for rule of law, 4) against fascist dictatorship, 5) against Russian intervention in India's internal affairs, 6) against corruption, 7) against rising prices, 8) against unemployment.*

*Mahatma Gandhi's methods will guide us in our struggle. Mahatma Gandhi will be the unseen leader of our movement to liberate the country from fascist tyranny.**

* Copies of George Fernandes' call are available at \$.25 each from Indians for Democracy, South Point Plaza, Lansing, Mich. 48910. Chapters of Indians for Democracy are forming in many major cities and the leadership seems to represent the movement well.



Painting from the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Advent of Fascism in India

BY DAVID MORRIS

The huge Boeing 747 begins to land. It's 6:30 in the afternoon New York time, but 4:00 in the morning here.

"We have just landed at Santa Cruz airport," the cabin attendant announces in English, French, Hindi, and German. Despite the tiredness of those who got on at New York and have flown straight through, there is an undercurrent of excitement. India!

The buses pick up passengers at the foot of the stairs. There is a great deal of confusion and shouting in Hindi. The buses pull up at the Bombay airport terminal and disgorge the 320 passengers, who clutch passports, tickets, children and bags as they crowd into the small hallway. The Westerners begin to sweat profusely in the early morning humidity.

I had come to investigate the murder of democracy. It seemed as though nothing out of the usual had happened, though. There weren't any jackbooted police carefully scrutinizing the arriving passengers, looking for suspicious characters—only the normal, usually polite and very harassed officials stamping documents and directing people to the next line.

As soon as possible, I buy copies of the *Indian Express*, the *Times of India* and the *Hindustan Times*. **BIG INCREASE IN PLAN OUTLAY**, says one headline. **RETAIL PRICE TO BE MARKED ON ALL PACKAGED ARTICLES**, says another, **NATIONAL ACTION ON LAND REFORMS: MRS. GANDHI TO APPEAL TO STATES**. This article ends: "It is part of the general drive that has been launched to improve the quality of government and tone up the standards of public life and make the people develop a more positive outlook. The Prime Minister wants to use the Emergency to bring about an all-around improvement in efficiency and integrity both in politics and administration, so that the country can look back with pride when it reverts to more leisurely ways and that this corrective experience has not been in vain." There

David Morris was born in India, lived there until the age of 16 and has returned frequently. His last visit was during August of this year. He now makes his home in West Virginia, from which vantage point he covers Appalachian affairs for WIN.

is a curiously lifeless tone to most of the writing, a striking contrast to a year ago when I was last here. Then the criticism of the government was sharp and often bitter.

In the center of the city, there is a sign which reads: **Hard Work, Iron Discipline: This is the Magic that Will Cure Poverty.**

THE CITY

The morning editorial: "The Union Government was compelled to declare national Emergency because the forces of Right reaction and Left adventurism had forgotten the 'basic precepts of democratic functioning' and 'crossed all permissible limits' with a view to create chaos and anarchy in the country, says an official document on Emergency. In a 59-page document presented to Parliament, the Home Ministry gave facts and reasons which impelled the Union Government to declare National Emergency to 'put democracy back on the rails.'"

There is an Alice-in-Wonderland quality about life here. People really are afraid to discuss politics, unusual for India. It is not a time to go around asking questions of strangers. The mystery is more complex than I had supposed. Officially there was no murder, yet the people are afraid and it is clear something has happened. It feels somewhat like I always suspected fascism would feel, yet according to the newspapers, the Emergency is a victory for socialism.

One of the first Indians I spoke with, a Christian lawyer, pointed out that, "First it'll be the black-marketeters and the bureaucrats. Then they'll start looking around at the rest of us. Without democracy, who can say anything? What if they come for me tonight? There's no appeal. What if my enemies turn in my name? What can I do?"

Parliament's approval of the declaration of the Emergency [by a vote of 336 to 59, with jailed Opposition members abstaining] reinforces the legitimacy of the entirely constitutional remedy applied to an extreme situation of internal danger that also threatened to open up sensitive areas of national life to externally inspired subversion. Some might say in whisper campaigns—which the Prime Minister has so

sharply placed in the context of their anti-democratic and fascist intent—that the approval was not unexpected in view of the majorities enjoyed by the Congress in both houses of Parliament. . . —Quote from LINK, one of the Communist Party of India (pro-Moscow) subsidized newsmagazines.

I talked with a middle level retired government official. He wasn't too upset about the Russian role in supporting Indira Gandhi. "You Americans worry too much about the Communists. We are like beggars, we go everywhere. The United States, USSR, Japan. Anywhere we can get good deals and assistance." He shrugged when I mentioned Mahatma Gandhi and wondered if I could use my "influence" to get him into the United States.

Some political parties with fascist leanings had combined with a set of frustrated politicians to destroy the country's self-confidence and to challenge the very basis of democratic functioning. . . the democratic rights of the people can only be safeguarded if political order is ensured: lack of order is often taken advantage of by anti-democratic forces and fascist elements to rise to power and put an end to all political and economic rights of the people.

—From the preface of the government report on the Emergency

PUNISHMENT AWAITS ALL BLACK MONEY WALLAHS AND UNDERHAND DEALERS. THE EMERGENCY IS TO SAVE DEMOCRACY. WE WILL WORK FOR THE PRIME MINISTER'S REVOLUTIONARY SCHEMES. RUMOUR MONGERS ARE ENEMIES OF THE COUNTRY. LOSS CREATED FOR THE COUNTRY CAN DESTROY US. EFFICIENCY AND DISCIPLINE ARE THE NEED OF THE HOUR. HARD WORK, PERSPECTIVE, WILL AND DISCIPLINE SHOULD BE THE WATCHWORDS—THE PRIME MINISTER. . .

—Huge slogans in the local language prepared by the Directorate of Advertisement and Visual Publicity, the Central Government.

This is India's peculiar version of the Cultural Revolution and the Great Leap Forward, both at the same time.

THE COUNTRYSIDE

The city is a series of zones, structured like an onion. The heart of the city is the Western section, with its five-star hotels, its shops, its restaurants. Further out are the factories, the working class houses crowded together with small shops and open air markets spilling over into the streets. Here it is possible to see the tremendous explosion in urban population within the last 20 years: where there were once 500,000 people, now over three million live. It is a claustrophobic experience, a family to each room of the small houses that line the streets and a family to each cardboard and burlap tent that the squatters have built on what used to be sidewalk.

Horn blaring and driver shouting, we leave the city behind and enter the countryside. The farmers and agricultural workers are in the field, behind their bullocks which pull the ancient wooden plow. Here and there tractors can be seen and there are occasional patches of rice-fields where the owner has the good fortune to possess a pump.

Several hours later we finally arrive at a village where I find my friends more interested in local

politics than in national events. Although different from the ordinary villager in that they work in a government hospital rather than in the fields, they come from outcaste (*Harijan*) families. They are the first to be educated, the first to break away from the fields. They aren't worried by the Emergency—it is "simply politics."

They are more interested in talking about the local moneylenders and the corruption that they see everyday: landlords hoarding rice, laborers having to pledge their labor years in advance to the moneylenders. These "bonded laborers" work mostly for landlords loyal to the Old Congress Party, one of the groups that make up the Opposition, and so my friends are willing to wait and see if Indira's (new) Congress Party will carry out any reforms.

"You must understand," one of them told me as we walked in the cool evening, "20% of the people in the village are surviving, they have food every day; 5% of the village is rich: the moneylenders, the landlords, the big shopkeepers; 75% are suffering. There must be change. It would be better if it were from the bottom up, but. . ." He looked around at the others, who nodded. "However it comes, it must come."

It is hard to see each cluster of huts as a grouping of people, 3/4 of whom are unhappy, exploited by 5% of their rural cousins. It destroys pastoral romanticism. I know that the situation is not quite so cut-and-dried; there are oppressor villages where everyone is related to the oppressors and *Harijan* villages where everyone is trapped in some form of bonded labor and indebtedness. But the essence of my friend's comment is true.

For one thing, if rural life were not so difficult, there wouldn't be the tremendous crowding of India's cities, filled with landless laborers who have come to seek their fortunes, hoping to better the lot of their families. There wouldn't be the sweatshops of the small scale industries, where industrial workers are paid 100 rupees (\$12) a month to work 14 hours a day, six and seven days a week. Or it wouldn't be possible to get a fulltime house servant for the same 100 rupees a month. Whatever happened to Mahatma Gandhi's dream of a prosperous countryside? I haven't heard his name mentioned once since I arrived.

On the way back into the city, I watch the monkeys playing. They are sacred, in honor of Hanuman, the messenger of Rama. As are cows. And elephants, because Ganesh, the elephant-headed god, is the god of good fortune. All one has to do is rub his protruding belly.

Only human life is held cheaply. On 100 rupees a month; with rice selling at five rupees a measure, and with a measure being enough to feed two, at most three adults, the entire family must work. Unfortunate are those who cannot find work. There is no money to spare for school or rent. The frugal save five or ten rupees and send it back to the village to help feed their relatives or pay off the moneylender. Since the Emergency, there has been a moratorium on rural debt—no debtor can be taken to court for refusing to pay on their loan. However, my friends told me that the moneylenders have not been put out of business. If you want a loan in the future, the moneylenders tell their clients, the old loan must be paid off.

60% of all loans, according to a Reserve Bank of India study, are for dowry and the expense of marrying off children. Paying dowry is a form of genetic

roulette; those families fortunate enough to have boy children win; those who have girl children lose. The staggering load of rural debt is a reminder of the cost of sexism in India.

We head back into the city, into the mobs of people, past the factories. Suddenly the road is jammed with cars. I walk down to where I can see more of the commotion. "What's going on?" I ask a taxi-driver.

"Big wedding," he says, naming the families, two of the most prominent in the city. "It will cost hundreds of thousands of rupees." I stand with him and watch the cars unload the guests. The children are all very Westernized, dressed in the fashions that crowd the pages of *Eve's Weekly* and *Femina*, the Indian "women's magazines." It is a glittering display of wealth. "They will not permit this any longer," the driver said, taking leave because a passenger had gotten into his taxi. "Watch closely, it may be the last one in this city. She has spoken against it."

I went home and looked at the day's newspaper. There was a statement by the Prime Minister attacking conspicuous consumption and the institution of dowry.

Before going to the countryside, I had obtained a copy of the 20-Point Program, the document that was supposed to be the blueprint of the present revolution. Point One: Streamlining production, procurement and distribution of essential commodities to bring down their prices. Economy in government expenditures. Point Two: Implementation of agricultural land ceilings and speedier distribution of surplus land—an important demand of the landless agricultural laborers. Point Three: Stepping up of provision of house sites for landless and weaker sections. That would provide housing for those living on the sidewalks. Point Four: Bonded labor, wherever it exists, will be declared illegal. Point Five: Plan for liquidation of rural indebtedness. Legislation for moratorium on recovery of debt from landless labor, small farmers and artisans. Point Six: Review of laws of minimum agricultural wages. . . Point Eleven: Socialization of urban and urbanizable (suburban) land. Ceiling on ownership and possession of vacant land. Point Twelve: Special squads for valuation of conspicuous construction (the "luxury flats" and condominiums that dominate the skyline of cities like Bombay) and prevention of tax evasion. Summary trials and deterrent punishment of economic offenders. . .

Was there really a revolution going on? Even if half the program were carried out, there would be a radical change in Indian society, with the rural elite and the urban nouveau riche the main losers. Was I so sure that Indira Gandhi had murdered democracy that I was unwilling to perceive the reality of the current situation? Was I blinded by prior assumptions? My Western assumptions? The mystery was more complex than I had anticipated.

ON THE TRAINS

There used to be three classes of accommodation on Indian trains, under the British; now, the surge of democracy had reduced this to two. The old third class had been upgraded to second, while the second, intermediate class was phased out. The difference was that it cost about five times as much to travel by first class.

As I rode the train to one of the old cities that once was the seat of a feudal kingdom, a conversation began. There were the usual pointed questions

about family, children, jobs and income and then the conversation veered around to politics. A Family Planning caseworker led the discussion.

"There is no alternative to her," he said. "You could not know the chaos we were having. The bad elements were making confusion everywhere. Have you heard of this J.P. Narayan? This fellow, he associated with RSS (a paramilitary Hindu nationalist group), the Old Congress, the Anand Margis, all the bad elements." He wandered off into a long discussion of India's problems: the lack of education, poverty, non-responsiveness to family planning and then said, ". . . in India, we have not communism or capitalism, but the worst of both. If we only had one or the other, it would be much better." The conversation returned to family planning. I was held up as a virtuous model to the rest of my fellow passengers because I was 27 and had no children. It was an embarrassing conversation where he praised the American Way of Life and I attempted to disillusion him. The matter was unresolved by the time we went to bed.

In the morning he expanded on politics while our train raced through the countryside, past villages and small groups of children who waved as the train went by. "You see, the politicians are confusing the minds of the people for electoral advantage," he said. "The outs want in, the ins want to stay in." Indira Gandhi had no choice but to declare the Emergency, ". . . since this J.P. fellow said bad words to the military and police, to rise up against the government. With the Emergency, she has silenced the politicians and let people get on with their work. What else could she do? Maybe she is not the best, but what would the bad elements do if they seized power? And look at the economic program. Surely it would do some good for the common man." Our fellow passengers followed the conversation closely, willing to let the Family Planner argue with the foreigner.

I thought to myself: who could be against locking up politicians and shaking up bureaucrats, even though the locking up and shaking up is done by other politicians and bureaucrats? It would probably be a popular program in most countries, including the United States. Whether or not Indira Gandhi was guilty, there was no doubt that she was a shrewd, capable politician who knew how to adjust her public image to fit the needs of the moment. Everyone so far had talked of her with great respect. It would be a great mistake to underestimate her.

AN OLD GANDHIAN

He was in his late 60's or early 70's and lived in a modest house on the grounds of one of the government sponsored Gandhi institutes which had a museum, a library, dormitory accommodations for visiting Gandhians and classrooms where Gandhian thought was expounded to new generations of recruits. He was very polite and welcomed the two of us; I had come with a young Gandhian friend. We talked about jobs, children and income in the usual way until my friend explained that I had come to find out the truth of what had happened during the last six months.

"I have made no secret of my views," he said. "I am a supporter of J.P. and of the stand that he took in this matter. You may know that we were not all in agreement and this led to division among us. Acharya Vinoba Bhave does not agree with us and it



J.P. Narayan. Photo from Free, J.P. Campaign.

has meant that the *Sarva Seva Sangh* decided that it should suspend its activities until the Acharya speaks again. Better this than the splitting open of the Sangh, but that means the question of right use of satyagraha is still not answered." The *Sarva Seva Sangh* is the leading body of Gandhians in India and, until the split over the J.P. agitations in March, 1975, the forum of old veterans of the Gandhian movement.

"Under Gandhiji we were told that for a total social change it was necessary to develop *jana sakti* [people's power or energy]. We should not depend on the State to bring reform, but the people. This was the lesson of Gandhiji and it proved itself in our struggle." He got up and offered us some fruit juice. The room was simply furnished, with a spinning wheel in one corner and a bookshelf running alongside the wall.

He made himself comfortable. "So, I was saying. . . *jana sakti*. . . because of this lesson, then we decided to set up the *Lok Sevaks*, because *raja sakti* [the power of the ruler] can be effective only when backed by *jana sakti*, therefore the *Lok Sevaks* should concentrate all their attention on lifting the morale of the people to bring about a new outlook. So far you understand what I am saying?" I nodded and he went on.

"Who can blame the Acharya if then he does not wish to change the government? It is understandable. But we cannot live in the past. There has been so much corruption since Independence. The government is divorced from the people. Look at Bihar. There the legislators were playing games with power, jumping from party to party without any principle, changing their vote for a small bribe. Meanwhile the people are suffering. Then there was so much violence. Who can blame J.P. for going to the scene of the troubles in Gujarat? Who can blame him for trying to open the eyes of the people, that violence will only lead to further violence, that the Mahatma, if he were still alive, would have also gone to the scene and offered constructive proposals for the energy of the people? He went and offered the example of non-violence, which is what we must all do when necessary.

"So then the newspapers call it 'the J.P. agitation,' though it is simply the struggle of Gandhiji in modern times. Then it spreads to Bihar and the students feel the power of this movement and they join with J.P. and others. Who is to blame for this?"

"What about Indira Gandhi?" my friend asks.

"She is very strong-willed. She is following the non-Gandhian policies of her father to try and keep up with the global Joneses. She talks of core industries, mass production, technological sophistication, arma-

ments, of capital inputs, even if it means selling our national resources and compromising our national interests to foreign powers. Where will this lead? It will lead to alienation, lack of personal fulfillment, these ghettos I read about. Surely you are familiar with all of this? She is promoting the build-up of the supersystems and imitating the international technological status quo. This will help the rich get richer but enslave the common man. She is fostering the development of the consumer-society in India in which we consume these movies, books, cars, food; but what of the creativity? Where are the travelling drama troupes formerly prevalent?" He breathed deeply several times and was visibly calmer when through.

"She may change and repeal the state of Emergency. If not, the only recourse will be to offer civil disobedience and suffer."

"What form will this take?" I asked.

"We must not pay taxes," he said. "And then we must publicly disobey the rules of the Emergency. The *Sarvodaya* movement will organize these if necessary. We are a decentralized movement. Too much organization will sap the life of a movement like this. For example, our funds are from purely voluntary contributions. There is some money from international sources. These are given to the needy for social uplift, such as wells. Not even administrative expenses are taken out. These expenses are met completely by domestic contribution. Our accounts are not secret and can be verified by any person who so desires. Of course we cannot always know the source from which a contributor may draw the money. It is possible that anti-social elements would give substantial amounts without our knowledge. There is so much talk of anti-social elements in Bihar and Gujarat. What can we do? We cannot turn someone away. Even Gandhiji managed to work with everyone, the landless, the Harijan, the Birlas (a wealthy industrialist family), the high and the low." He took another series of deep breaths. He was beginning to look tired.

"That is a problem, the anti-social elements," he finally said. "It was not a pure movement, not with the presence of politicians like Moraji Desai (a leader of the Old Congress). He is like Nehru, he cares more for political power than for people. There is some truth in what she says. There is the RSS and *Jana Sangh*, who have no commitment to nonviolence. Perhaps the young people, but not the leaders. Look how they talk against the Muslim. This caused much disagreement."

"What about J.P.?" I asked.

"He was very angry at Moraji Desai for using the movement to help win the election in Gujarat, did you know that? It was not done with a pure spirit. Moraji said openly that he did not agree with J.P. and his ways, yet he allowed the people to think they were working together."

He was looking very tired and I felt it was time to leave. We said our goodbyes. "The question is: what would Gandhiji have done?" he said as we left. "Now is the time to think on this." It was night and cool once more. My friend and I walked in silence past the people who were getting ready to sleep on the sidewalks.

"How's the khadi business?" I finally asked him. Two years ago, he had been living in a hut, trying to carry out Gandhi's instructions about rural living. Although he was educated and young, his farm failed to

make enough money to support him and his wife and he had returned to the city. Now he was exporting khadi cloth, the original handspun, handwoven cloth that Gandhi had encouraged producing in order to undercut the British textile industry. Khadi cloth production never proved economical, but it is subsidized by the government so that otherwise unemployed people will have some income, as well as for reasons of ideological support for the ideas of Gandhi.

"There are many problems," he said. "The American market is so demanding. Every piece of cloth must be exactly this size or that color. It is difficult for us to do this when hundreds of weavers are involved. And now the government is becoming very strict. They propose to cut back the subsidy unless the cloth is being exported." He launched into a long discussion of the problem of finding genuinely handspun thread and how most weavers were substituting machine-made thread for genuine handspun. "Now they say if they find any sign of machine-thread in the khadi bought for the government, they will not pay the subsidy. On the one hand, the weavers are not happy; on the other, the government is not happy. What will those of us who wish to follow Gandhi's teachings do?"

THE LIBRARY

This morning's headline: PRODUCTION BOOST LIKELY. The article included this paragraph: "The improved industrial relations following the Prime Minister's appeal to workers and employers after the Emergency would ensure that the human factor will not hamper increased output. . . industrial production would also benefit from the substantial increase of 25% in the annual outlay for 1975-'76. . . Events since February suggest that the economy can look forward to a more significant expansion of both agricultural and industrial output in the current year. . ."

I looked at my copy of the 20-Point Program. Point Fourteen: Liberalization of investment procedures. Action against misuse of import licenses. Point Fifteen: New scheme for workers association with industry. Yet there's also all the socialist rhetoric. The Emergency and the 20-Point Program owe more to Keynes and the Harvard Business School than to Gandhiji.

Time for a little research. I concentrate on *Commerce*, which is India's weekly *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Economic & Political Weekly*, which is a bi-weekly along the lines of *Monthly Review*, and begin back in May. Indira Gandhi in a speech to the All-India Lawyers Conference, April 26: ". . . the people of the country are not apt to think highly of liberty if they find that those who are believed to be involved in grave economic crimes, such as smuggling, tax-evasion and drug adulteration, etc., are let off on purely technical grounds." *Commerce*, May 3.

A column by Rohit Dave about Gujarat: "This movement has for its goal the total revolution in the life of the country. In concrete terms this would mean loosening the stranglehold of the Establishment over the people. Till now they have worked our political system according to their own convenience and convictions. It is now for the first time that an organization claiming to speak on behalf of the people has intervened and has sought to establish certain norms of political behavior. . ." *Commerce*, May 3.

Lead article in May 10 *Commerce*: Engineering exports in trouble? Production of engineering goods

went from 30 billion rupees (\$3.75 billion in '73-'74) to 36 billion rupees in '74-'75 but there was a sudden fall in rate of export orders booked. The reasons: 1) delay in announcement of government subsidy and 2) lack of commercial credits through the government-owned banks.

In 1964, the value of consumer electronics was 260 million rupees (\$32.5 million) while in '72-'73, it was 1.62 billion rupees (\$202.5 million). *BUT* the industry was facing a major problem. The lack of a rise in the standard of living meant that the industry had "saturated" the market. The fall in demand meant that the industry had either to export or to wither away.

May 17 *Commerce*, another column by Robert Dave: "J.P. is beginning to stress the 'social dimension' of life, saying that the social thinking of those in power has become obsolete. In recent speeches, he has been stressing the need for a fundamental change in people's outlook on life. For example, the 'struggle committees' which have been trying to enforce the land reform laws. Now the 'struggle committees' are talking of the 'need to overhaul the entire social system at the village level.'"

May 24 *Economic & Political Weekly*: a long article on the problems in India's economy: ". . . the effective 22% devaluation of the rupee since Dec., 1971, hasn't helped much. India has borrowed all it can from the IMF [International Monetary Fund]; the 'Arab credits' are mostly short-term; the European Economic Community market is limited and the uncertainties of the American political and economic climate make it difficult to hope for any upturn in exports to the US. They also would seem to limit the capability of the World Bank to keep on arranging new loans and debt rescheduling. Interest on India's US loans was 2.7 billion rupees in 1966-1967. By the 1980's it will reach over a trillion rupees. We are thrown back on the rut of the stereotyped policy of scrounging for external accommodation, a policy dreamed up in the 1950's and not since abandoned.

"There is no light at the end of the tunnel; the tunnel only becomes elongated in time. As long as there is no fundamental restructuring of the economy, including of its income and consumption patterns, the problem will remain and grow more acute."

May 31 *Commerce*: Report on meeting of the Congress of Indian Trade Union (CITU), the "radical trade unions" that mostly support the CP (Marxist): "The trade union movement in our country is undergoing some radical transformation at the moment. It is quite likely that the mood of the workers might take a radical turn. As long as the present recession lasts, this is not likely to happen. The workers at the moment are busy sticking to their jobs rather than improving wages and living conditions. . ."

". . . it is quite likely that the national economy might take a turn for the better in a short time and this might encourage the workers to demand a larger share of the national product. It is also conceivable that if the economic situation deteriorates still further, the workers in sheer exasperation might turn their ears to radical slogans. In either case, the present situation is unlikely to last long. . ."

"It was stated that every government measure intended to control inflation or promote exports or curb credit or raise new taxes is intended to throw the burden of the economic crisis on the working class and the people. It is our complaint that none except the

top sections of exploiters—monopolists, capitalists and landlords—escapes the government's measures.

"There should be immediate reopening of closed units, full utilization of installed capacity, an immediate moratorium on all foreign debt repayment, nationalization without compensation of all foreign and Indian monopoly companies. . . immediate steps to abolish landlordism and redistribute the lands of the big landlords to agricultural laborers and poor peasants through people's committees."

June 7: The stock market in trouble.

June 21: Rohit Dave again on the victory of the Janatha Front in Gujarat, another loss for Indira Gandhi and her supporters: ". . . the need for a powerful opposition is felt strongly at the moment in view of the fast developing political situation. Normally the Lok Sabha (House of Representatives) elections should be held by February, 1976. It will help in strengthening the democratic roots in our country if we have a ruling party commanding a clear majority in the Lok Sabha but not so preponderantly powerful as is the case today. A fairly powerful opposition would keep the Government always on alert. . ."

June 25: J.P. gives the speech he has been giving since March 15th calling for civil disobedience on the part of government officials and army officers, asking them to "obey their consciences."

June 26: The predawn arrests under the newly proclaimed Emergency.

The next issue of *Commerce* July 5. Rohit Dave no longer writes for them. The lead story is the Prime Minister's economic program: ". . . There is only one magic that can remove poverty and that is hard work, sustained by clear vision, iron will and the strictest discipline. . ."

"The campaign of lawbreaking, paralyzing national activity and inciting our security forces to indiscipline and disobedience would have led to economic chaos and collapse and our country would have become vulnerable to fissiparous tendencies and external danger.

"With the fumes of hatred having cleared somewhat, we can see our economic goal with greater clarity and urgency. . ."

July 12 *Commerce*: "The Reserve Bank of India in a letter on July 8 advised banks to give added attention to 1) deferred payment exports (which turned

out to be very cheap 180 day credits), 2) export oriented industries, 3) industries with short gestation periods, 4) long term loans to agriculture 5) the requirements of industries in industrially backward areas. . ."

Another article examined India's ability to penetrate the world capital market: "Indian skills and natural resources, European technology and Arab capital should be the best arrangement for us. . ."

Some conclusions: the role of the United States in India was that of a large moneylender who kept the client coming back for more, stringing the client along with the methadone of long term loans. Whatever else the Emergency was, it was a victory for the industrialists as well as Indira Gandhi.

In September, 1974, it had felt like there was going to be a revolution. That revolution had been hit with a "pre-emptive strike"—the beginning of fascism. No amount of socialist rhetoric could alter that. But why were so many willing to support the beginning of fascism? And what was the meaning of the presence of the moneylenders and landlords on the side of the Opposition? From everything I read and heard, it seemed that they were definitely the targets of the present reform, which was only natural since they were the political losers. But in the time of Nehru, they had been the bulwark of the Congress Party. So even though there was no doubt that India had entered a period of fascism, the attack on the moneylenders and landlords could only be considered progressive. Fascism with a human face? Whatever it was, it had not been imposed against the will of a majority of the people, if I was hearing correctly.

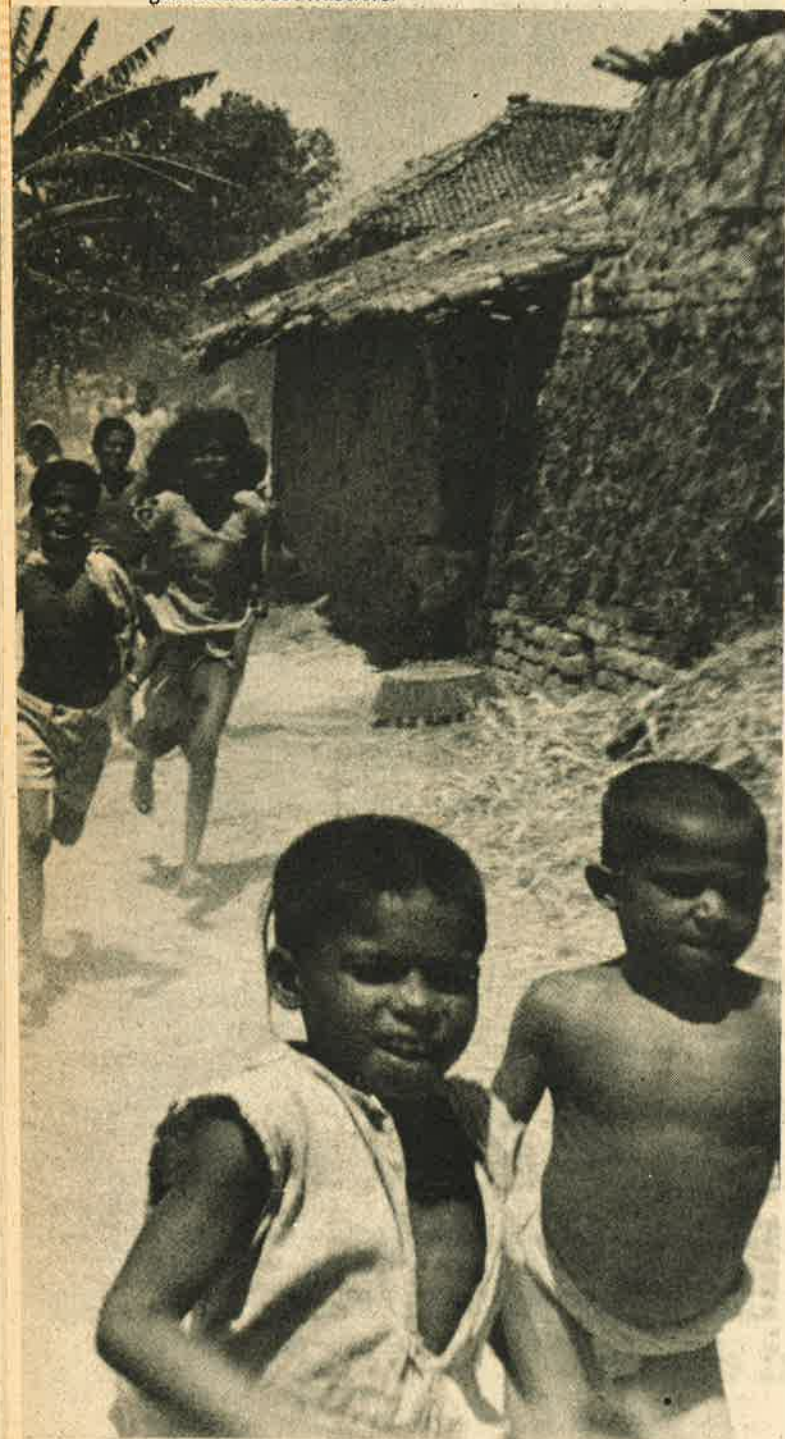
A MOMENT OF REFLECTION

Between interviews, reading the newspapers and spending time in libraries, I spend time doing what everyone else does: going out to friend's houses, windowshopping, riding the autorickshaws. While I am carrying on, along with hundreds of millions of others, the political prisoners are still in jail. The fact that most of them are conservative politicians and various varieties of blackmarketeers, illegal moneychangers, income tax evaders, smugglers and con artists doesn't alter the fact that they were jailed without bond, trial, appeal or any particular sentence. The only reason more left revolutionaries weren't picked up this time

"The campaign of lawbreaking, paralyzing our security forces to indiscipline and disobedience would have led to economic chaos and collapse and our country would have become vulnerable to fissiparous tendencies and external danger."

is that they had been arrested, jailed and even shot under the earlier MISA (Maintenance of Internal Security Act) of 1971.

I had heard stories of living under fascism in Germany and Chile; when I was younger, I read the stories of Alberto Moravia about fascism in Italy during the late 1920's and 1930's. The central message of his stories was the ordinariness of fascism, how life went on with whatever adjustments had to be made. Democracy had been murdered in India; there was no longer any doubt about that; yet it seemed an almost abstract concern. Inflation and prices were down, office attendance was up. Errands were far quicker to do now than before. There was less harassment by beggars and street hustlers.



It was a shock when I realized how rapidly I had become used to fascism.

NEW DELHI

One night in New Delhi I went to interview an editorial writer for one of the national dailies. He was highly Westernized and had spent two years in the United States working on postgraduate studies.

"For some time we were worried," he said as we drank thick black Turkish coffee. "It seemed that the forces of reaction were going to overwhelm us. This has been Indira Gandhi's third big crisis: first, the ousting of the old leaders like Moraji Desai; second, the Bangladesh War and third, the Emergency. She is a marvelous survivalist. When it is absolutely necessary, then she will take action. You can't imagine how stagnant the situation was. Nothing could be done because of the Opposition. The courts, the legislature, everything was blocked. Despite their fine words, the Opposition showed that they truly did not care for the poor and disadvantaged."

"Indira Gandhi understands that the central problem of India is poverty, that the poor hold the future of India in their hands. She is not willing to sit back and see the gains of the last 25 years thrown away simply because some old men want to rule. What choices did we have? J.P. is a fine man, but what does he say about industrialization? Nothing. Moraji Desai leads a crusade for feudalism. Only Indira Gandhi understands science. She is very modern, she understands what industrialization means if we are ever to have socialism."

This sounded like the line of the Communist Party of India (pro-Moscow), so I asked him what he thought of them.

"The biggest problem of the CPI (pro-Moscow) is that it has worked so closely with the Congress Party and Indira Gandhi that many of the idealistic people prefer to go elsewhere. They would prefer someone like J.P., even though he is too utopian. But you must remember that J.P. is not Gandhiji. He doesn't have the sense of timing Gandhiji had, the knowledge of how far to go and still stay within the game. The question I always ask those who support J.P. is: what shall we do with the industrial infrastructure already developed? Should it be dismantled? Without industrialization, we shall always be the victims of the two imperialisms."

I asked him if industrialization hadn't led to fascism.

"It isn't so simple," he said. "What we have had here in India is a traditionalist-modernist split within the elite. As I said, Indira is a modernist and a pragmatist. She is willing to overhaul the judiciary and the Constitution in order to get done what has to be done. She is a leader who is willing to do what has to be done and let the chips fall where they may."

"You may know of the old quarrel in the Congress Party between Indira Gandhi and the people like Moraji Desai who had become used to wielding power. Who are their supporters? Landlords and money-lenders, rich peasants, large shop keepers, the conservative elements of society. But time is running out. We have been working on the welfare state for one generation now and it isn't enough. Look how our industrial production has grown. The public sector industries were nothing 20 years ago and now they are an important force in the economy. For the time being, we share the commanding heights with the large

private corporations, but they recognize they must work with us."

"Is there really that clear an ideological distinction between the J.P. movement and those who support Indira Gandhi?" I asked.

"Some are more conscious than others," he said. "See for yourself. Some of us are gradualists and others call for total revolution. Some feel that socialism comes from the centralization of power and others call for the decentralization of power. Some are willing to participate in parliamentary changes within a democratic framework and others call for extra-parliamentary activity. Some look to Marx and the world socialist countries and others wish to follow Gandhi. Some of us are realists and others idealists. I am all of the first, like many others. But the J.P. movement, the RSS, the Jana Sangh, the Old Congress, the Naxalites and even some of the CP (M) are for the other. At first glance they make strange bedfellows, but there is at least a minimum of ideological agreement. That is why they all had to attack Indira Gandhi, because she is also more the first than the second."

"But the centralist way is also elitist," I said. "How can the masses be involved with something that only calls for their passive acceptance? At least with J.P., they could be involved in making the decisions."

"Perhaps for the white collar workers and students this was true," he replied. "And for the anti-social elements, it is obvious that they must advocate the decentralist way, although if they came to power it might be a different story. But what about the workers? Very few workers supported J.P. And while the agitation was going on in Bihar, there was the railroad strike. What did J.P. do to help the strikers? He deplored the violence, that was all. It opened the eyes of the workers to the nature of the J.P. movement. Despite all his talk of democracy, it was not democracy for the workers, but for students and anti-social elements."

I questioned him about the amendment to the constitution that now absolved the Prime Minister of any crimes.

"Indian situations demand Indian paradigms," he said, refilling his cup and mine. "In the US, it is important to have an independent judiciary so that quarrels between the bourgeois can be settled. Here we do not have a bourgeois society developed to the level of the US. Capitalism is a new force; there are still progressive aspects to this development, unlike the US where capitalism has entered the stage of imperialism. The Constitution is being used here in India to block all forms of social progress. For example, the subsidy of the old maharajahs would be going on until this day had it not been for Indira Gandhi's willingness to cause social change despite the ruling of the courts."

Frustrated, I asked him what he saw for the future.

"We must implement the 20-Point Program. It is not the revolution, but it is a beginning. This is something else that may be distasteful to those who want total revolution. How can we have total revolution in a country like India? This is the importance of gradualism in our specific situation. Look at the size of the country, the tremendous population. If only our population had grown at 1.5% instead of 3.0%. Then our Five-Year Plans would have come close to their targets and the path of socialism would have greater respect. Look at the linguistic differences, the

cultural differences, the division between Hindu and Hindu, and Hindu and Muslim. How is it possible that total revolution could succeed? If it breaks out in one place, the other places will be passive. Gradualism has to be the Indian way."

"You work for a newspaper," I said. "How do you feel about press censorship?"

He looked sad. "I do not mean to say that I am completely happy with the Emergency. There is great unhappiness in the uncertainty connected with the powers given to the police and the armed forces. And there is an end to dialogue. I may not agree with the honest people who supported J.P., but I do not mind dialogue. Because of the anti-social elements, certain things had to be done, but now I tell my wife I am on a paid holiday, since I can only write one side of my stories. However, the Emergency is only temporary, and once over, then perhaps we can renew dialogue."

There is no debate or public dialogue now. The undercurrent of fear and suspicion means developing a sort of schizophrenia whereby on one mentioned the obvious break in daily life after June 26th. It has happened and there is nothing to do but to accept it.

I was beginning to feel like a spy: if someone mentioned anything that reflected a political view, I made note of it but said nothing. I too was beginning to be infected with the psychosis of fascism. Walking past a policeman, I tried to look straight ahead. Sometimes when walking, I would feel that I was being followed. The only thing to do was to duck into a store or take a bus and then look behind me. Was I actually being followed? Probably not.

A YOUNG ENGINEER AND A YOUNG INDUSTRIALIST

I was staying in Delhi with a friend of a friend who was an engineer with one of the large private companies that used to be called the "large monopoly houses" (using the same definition, General Motors and EXXON would be giant monopoly houses). He was apolitical and lived with his parents in a typical joint family arrangement. They were what Indians consider "modern"; everyone was very Westernized and sophisticated. My host owned a car and lived in South Delhi's suburbs, which made the family one of the elite, though they described themselves as middle-class. Besides Western clothes, they had a TV (which costs 6,000 rupees, about the average annual wage of a middle-level bureaucrat) and a stereo, the gift of a friend whose family owned a well-known electronics firm. While my host read the paper, his wife carried on political discussions with me. She was very pro-Indira Gandhi, saying it was necessary because of the chaos and confusion and the disruption of life before, and how things were so much more peaceful now. Her husband interrupted to agree. People were working so much harder now. Before they always came to work late and took long breaks and there was so much corruption and black money that honest people were trampled underneath. Besides, if you were a law-abiding citizen, the Emergency made no difference.

They were charming, educated people, very much like young couples I knew back in the States. I couldn't help but wonder that if fascism came to the US, if this conversation wouldn't be repeated by many other young, well-to-do American couples. It wasn't necessary to read Engels to know that stability and monogamy went together.

One night they had a party for the young industrialist who had given them the stereo. He had been interviewed for a TV show on how people felt about the Emergency and wanted to see himself. We watched the news: "It's mostly for the villages," my engineer friend said and sat through an hour of "Songs from Films" which, in honor of the upcoming August 15th celebration of Indian Independence Day, were "patriotic folk songs." "They do it to try not to pay entertainment tax," the brother of the engineer told me. "Patriotic" films get certain concessions from the government, but even then don't make a profit. When the young industrialist came on, he spoke about the Emergency in glowing terms. His other friends began kidding him. "You had to say that, didn't you?" the young engineer asked cynically.

The young industrialist turned serious for a minute. "No, no. It's true. I support the Emergency. They have given us everything this time—credits, liberalization of imports for our products, full co-operation from the bureaucrats. We can't complain about the government blocking us anymore. They are on our side. Now it's up to us to show we can compete."

The conversation turned to the raids of the Income Tax assessors in this and the surrounding suburbs.

"But surely they don't actually try and collect from the rich," I said. "There must be some way they can avoid taxes."

"No, no," he said. "This time the raids are real. Of course, the honest person has nothing to fear. Now's his chance to get ahead. But take, for example, these three architects over in East Nizam-ud-din. They were each doing quite well, yet they put down their joint income as 6,000 rupees a year. The salaries of their servants alone must be 6,000 rupees; the house itself 400-500,000 rupees, at a minimum. If people like that don't pay their taxes, how can the government run?"

He went on to name other prominent examples of tax evaders and those who had made their money in various illegal ways. "It is not good for business, that the country should be run that way," the industrialist said. "Even if we lose some sales, in the long run the quality of our product will win out. For sales in India, it doesn't matter if there is corruption, but for sales overseas, corruption is not enough. The product itself must be good."

Two days later, I got up very early in the morning to watch the Independence Day celebrations at the Red Fort on TV. It was a dramatic spectacle that was being broadcast to 2,400 villages via an American satellite that had been lent to India for a year. The SITE program had only been inaugurated two weeks before and it was already showing its Orwellian potential.

The message was very clear: Indira Gandhi is the Empress of India. Did she believe that herself or was it only acted out to make it clear to those watching that she was the legitimate center of authority, the *raja sakti*? I had no way of knowing.

But the important thing is that the murder of democracy in India had not been accomplished by one person. It can never be murdered by one individual, but is a massive collective action involving millions of people, all of whom may have good reasons. In the case of India, it turned out that there was little dramatic about the death by slow strangulation except the last gasp.

BACK TO BOMBAY

The train that I took to Bombay went through the countryside of Rajasthan and Gujarat, where the Janatha Front government now ruled. At every station where the train stopped, there were groups of peasants hunkering, waiting. The men wore bright passion pink and yellow-orange turbans and sat by themselves, smoking *bidis* and talking while the women and children huddled nearby. Neither the J.P. movement nor the Emergency had shaken the traditional ways, it seemed. And these were the people constantly referred to in speeches by both sides as "The People." It was for them and to them that the events of the last several years had been addressed.

Bombay itself is now more densely crowded than Calcutta was back in the 1960's when it became a symbol of ultimate urban disaster. It is also the most Western of all the Indian cities, with its skyscrapers and luxury condominiums on Malabar Hill. Yet the phone system of Bombay is so overloaded that it takes on an average of an hour to get a telephone connection.

I am staying with another engineer, who also works in a large electrical engineering company that has done well exporting. At home, all the traditional ways are followed: the women are expected to wait hand and foot on the males of the household. My protests embarrass everyone, yet having someone butter my toast because I am a male offends me, so after the first day a compromise is made. I can butter my own toast, but the women butter everyone else's. Then my host leaves and goes to work in an air conditioned office, designing electrical equipment for export to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait.

After several hours of trying to get through on the phone, arrangements are made for me to meet a friend of a friend who is the editor of a left magazine. Surprisingly, the magazine is still publishing, even though all the dissenting editors and columnists are no longer represented. "It is better this than nothing," the editor says, apologizing as we shake hands. The associate editor, a woman who before the Emergency had been involved with documenting under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA) abuses, joins the discussion.

I asked about the wave of arrests that had taken place June 26th. "We thought they might come for us," she said. "But they didn't. Some of our friends were not so lucky. Most are in hiding now; they call it underground, but I call it hiding. The Emergency came more quickly than most expected and people had become accustomed to certain ways of operating politically."

"I understand that many of the Naxalites were already being jailed," I said. "Under the old MISA acts."

"Those people," she said. "Yes, many of them were already underground, of course. The ones I'm talking about are radicals, not revolutionaries. But we cannot all be underground. Mass communications must be above ground and even mass political links. This is not the first nor will it be the last crisis."

"Then you don't think these reforms will have any effect?"

"No, it is not possible. It is *structurally* impossible. The Indira Congress is a reflection of the society as a whole, no better and no worse. To make structural changes, she would have to go outside the Congress Party and who would be there that would allow her to stay in power?"

... India is not a place where a person can... begin asking questions... Trust is the first victim of fascism.

"Part of the Emergency is to make the Congress Party safe for Indira Gandhi. Do you know that we heard that Jagjivan Ram (Agriculture Minister) was about to defect to the forces of Moraji Desai? If he had gone, then there would have been serious trouble. Some of her devoted followers might have decided to jump ship with him and she would have been left with the industrialists and those who support state capitalism. There would have been no link to the masses. But the Emergency has put an end to that nonsense. She is in complete charge now."

"What if the alliance with the industrialists fails?" I asked.

"Simple," the woman said. "They will nationalize the monopoly houses and we will have full socialism. The state will control everything and we will be even more powerless than before." We talked for a while about politics in the US and then they indicated the interview was over. It had not been the frank discussion that I had been looking forward to, but it was hard to blame them for being suspicious. While they could be fairly sure that I was who I said I was because of my knowledge of their friend, India is not a place where a person can wander into an office and begin asking questions these days. And I was nervous, too. So far every thing had gone well, but it was very possible that the offices were being watched. Trust is the first victim of fascism.

A YOUNG REVOLUTIONARY

The arrangements for my last interview went smoothly. We met in the home of one of my friends, but since we couldn't talk politics there, we left and started walking. He was about my age, a slender, intense person who was living with his family, working for a public sector engineering company during the day and doing political work at night. The streets were crowded and he was nervous about being followed, so we took a taxi to another area and walked until we came to an expensive bar.

"They probably won't look for us in here," he said. "During the first week of the Emergency we would meet in the Taj (one of Bombay's five-star hotels). But then we heard that the police were watching

there for income tax evaders and black money *wallahs*, so we had to meet by twos and threes on buses!" We found an empty table and sat down. There was a noisy drunken party going on next to us.

"Were you affected by the June 26th arrests?" I asked, leaning forward so he could hear me.

"Unfortunately, yes," he said. "We were doing rural work, strictly within the law—implementation of measures on the books. So at least some of us had to be overground." He spoke quietly and fast, so that it was difficult to hear. "We felt that something was up about a week before, but they moved so quickly. They got ten out of 12, all at one time, just like that." He made a grabbing motion with his hands. "I was already underground, as was another, but we had not established identities for the rest. It isn't easy, you know, finding jobs for the people of your group when unemployment is so high." It was difficult to concentrate with the loud joking and drunken shouting coming from the next table. "So ten out of 12 gone, only the two of us left and then you know what happens? They release all ten without a word of explanation. What are we to think? It is almost worse this way. We must assume that they are being followed so we must be extra careful now. But we must meet to decide what to do next. We can't make a false move or we will all be arrested this next time."

"How did they know?" I asked.

"The Research and Analysis Wing of the Intelligence Bureau is very skillful," he said. "They have the money to pay for people being watched and they are not fools. Some people credit the KGB. Myself, I am not sure. The British also had very good intelligence. But in our case, it was more simple. All they did was to send a note to the local officials asking if there were any local troublemakers who should be rounded up. We were organizing landless agricultural workers—Harijans and tribals—so the landlords were angry. They gave the officials the names only a week before, we were told. It was very efficient. They got the Opposition and also those who were trying to organize revolution, all in one net." He took several sips of his beer.

"Are you a member of the Naxalites?" I asked.

He nodded his head. "We are Marxists-Leninists," he said. "It has been difficult to carry on political discussion, so for the moment we are independent. We feel that there must be rural work, but now, what should we do? There is no protection for rural work. We cannot go underground in the rural area. The peasants know immediately who you are and the local police soon find out from their informers. Some of our rural cadre say it is not only our speech or our appearance, they say the middleclass even smells different! Yet we do not want to become an urban group. There are others who prefer urban work. We are committed theoretically to working with the landless agricultural laborers. We feel our line is correct: the landless laborers should not ask for land, but for higher wages. Do you understand this?"

I shook my head. "At first we supported the demand for individual distribution of land. Then we realized that this is what they want us to do. Because of the industry, they must have capitalist agriculture. Feudal agriculture, with the surplus going to the landlords and moneylenders, is too inefficient. Productivity remains constant, because why should the laborer work hard for no money? But they think: perhaps if the peasant owns a little land, he will begin

to grow rice like the Japanese. So they want to have land reform. We are not opposed to the peasants having land, but we feel it is an illusion that freedom will come with owning a small piece of land. When they ask for higher wages, then they expose the heart of capitalist agriculture. It is cheaper to buy them off with land than to pay higher wages. When the peasants understood this, we gained much support. That is why the landlords were so angry with us. The peasants were beating them at their own game."

"This is the meaning of the Emergency. They—the industrial bourgeois and even some of the medium sized industrialists—they understand what is happening in India. For too long the large industries were competing with the small industries and the public sector. Now they say: private industry, public industry, small industry, *bhai! bhai!* (are brothers)." The waiter came down and began to hover around the table. Without switching tone, he began talking about how difficult it was to make phone calls in Bombay. We ordered another round of beers and the waiter went away.

"Rationalize! Modernize! Efficiency!" my friend said, spitting out the words. "These are the passwords of the industrial bourgeois. For the State Planners and for millionaires, the problem is the same. How to become rid of irrationality. The black money must be channeled through the state banks. The taxes must be paid so export concessions can be made. Deals must be made with the Americans for private credits and advanced technology. We must compete overseas or die."

The waiter came back with the beers. We must have looked like a pair of drunks, my friend with his passionate gesturing and I leaning forward and nodding as he spoke. "Can they succeed?" I asked.

"No, how is it possible?" he said. "Perhaps in the short run, but in the long run, never. But how many years is the long run? Who can tell? The whole world capital market—the Soviets, the US, Japan, the EEC [European Economic Community]—even now they are having trouble. For everyone, the answer is to export and not buy imports. How can everyone export and no one import? It isn't possible. This is why they say: we can't afford democracy. It is true. This is why they say: perhaps the new international economic order will save us. What is this new international economic order? It is the old economic order trying to fit a new skin so it can survive. The elites of the world sign a pledge to protect each other. But how can there be honor among thieves?"

My head was buzzing from the conversation, the loud drunken laughter and the beer. "Tell me about your group," I said finally.

"Five women and seven men," he said. "We are typical of others that we know of. At first we were not so political but as the years go by, we understand more. We understand why the educated as well as the uneducated are unemployed. We study Lenin and Mao, we keep our eyes and ears open. We know about the Bombay Plan and the Tata Memorandum, so we are not surprised at this fascism. But it happened differently than we thought, which took us by surprise."

"What is the Bombay Plan and the Tata Memorandum?" I asked.

"Do you know about J.R.D. Tata? [Besides being the head of one of India's largest industrialist families, he is somewhat of a Howard Hughes; he built Air India from scratch and then sold it to the Indian

government.] In 1944, the Tatas, the Birlas, the Shri Rams, the Dalmia Jains, decided that since they were good nationalists, they should have a plan for India's future. The Bombay plan said that the state and private companies should work together. The state should undertake the projects that were not profitable and the private companies should take care of the domestic market. The government would be referee. This worked well until 1967, when the state sector began to come of age. Then the public sector managers and the bureaucrats called for nationalization of the private sector. Previously, the private sector was under controls, but now it was worse. The large monopoly houses were shown to be the enemies of the state. So in 1972, J.R.D. Tata is willing to make peace. He submits the Tata Memorandum."

"In this he says: why put controls on the private companies? We are productive but we cannot produce with controls. We are not the enemies of the public sector. We must build India's industrial strength together. We must have capitalist agriculture. We must discipline labor. The first sign of this was the railroad strike. She tried out their plan—and they broke the strike. She wants to be her own woman, but what to do? Moraji Desai is trying to overthrow her once again; the economy is in chaos. She waits to see how it will come out. Then the Allahbad judgment and the election loss in Gujarat. She has two choices: she can surrender or she makes a deal with the Tatas and Birlas. She can defend industrialization or she can turn on it. And we know what she did."

"And so the beginning of fascism," I said.

"And so the beginning of fascism. It was coming, but even we did not understand everything. It was the first time for us. Now that we look back, we can see it more clearly, but it seemed there would be revolution first. Still, now she has no alibi. It is dialectics. We should have been prepared better. But now that they have imposed fascism, the stalemate is broken. She may rule now and profit from her crime. They will do as they please, but one day—we hope soon—one day, this fascism will breed our revolution. They will fail in their exports. If they succeed, it will only mean greater exploitation. What does it matter if by the public sector or the private sector? Meanwhile, we will recover and there will be further struggle. For the moment, our political activity is slowed. But we will find a way."

"What about nonviolence?" I asked. He drank the rest of his beer.

"Violence, nonviolence," he said, looking at his watch. "For the moment, we are nonviolent. We have no other choice. I am not a terrorist. But also I am not a sarvodaya. Each has its place, in its own time. Right now, the state has the monopoly on violence. Everyday, the peasants suffer violence. It is violence to be a beggar, to have no place to sleep, no food to eat. I am not a philosopher. Whatever is decided by the group we will do."

The waiter came with the bill. We split the cost after quarreling over the bill in normal bourgeois style.

Outside, the night was quiet. People were already selecting their section of the sidewalk. "I am sorry to do so much talking," he said, as we walked. "Time is so short. We should not meet again. It is a terrible way to live, but what can one do? I must go home, like any person who has stayed after work for a few beers with a friend. Give my best wishes to the political people in America. Wish us luck." We shook hands. A taxi came

by slowly, cruising, and he hailed it. He did look like the perfect engineer, with his suit and his briefcase. He waved and was gone.

EPILOGUE

So I returned to the land of the free and the home of the brave, where revolution is to be celebrated for the next two years.

Here the newspapers are not openly censored and the police are supposed to get warrants before they wiretap. TV doesn't carry government official propaganda and one is free to learn about the life of the FBI, SWAT teams and a variety of policepeople. Freedom! Free to purchase a wide variety of lifestyles, and live where I want, as long as I can afford it. Free to say but not necessarily free to do. From overt fascism to an undeclared semi-fascism, where labor is increasingly being denied the right to strike and liberals sponsor the regressive Senate Bill One.

On my return, I hungrily read anything and everything that had been written about India while I was gone. Almost all of it had no bearing to what I had seen and heard. The dominant thesis was that Indira Gandhi was a hysterical woman, obsessed with her personal concerns, who had singlehandedly seized power in India through a coup d'etat which somehow miraculously succeeded. Many of them are hatchet jobs that suggest that menopause and a Joan of Arc complex were the main reasons for Indira Gandhi's actions. Two particularly bad articles are those by Claire Sterling in the Aug. 10th *New York Magazine* and by Oriana Fallaci in the September 18th *New York Review of Books*. Perhaps I still retain a certain amount of paranoia, but I couldn't help feeling that the male editors of these magazines had deliberately picked women to make the personal and unsubstantiated attacks. The reason for this feeling is the memory of how Midge Decter was used to attack women's liberation as a woman to prove it was "wrong."

I made some of the same mistakes in an earlier article I wrote for WIN [4/3/75 issue] before going to India (July 15th): I had not done my homework and there had been changes far beyond what I understood in the year I was away from India. Indira Gandhi is a capable politician who reflects accurately what many influential people in India feel. To attack her personally is to obscure the deeper meaning of what's happening and to suggest she is an inferior head of state because she is a woman.

There is no way to estimate the influence that Mahatma Gandhi and his idea of nonviolence has had on the left in the United States. However, there's a good deal to learn from Indira Gandhi and the growth of fascism as well. Industrialization in the United States is at a far higher level than India. The United States is far more powerful, one of the two imperialisms that helps keep the stalemate of detente functioning internationally. It's hard to believe that semi-fascism or fascism is necessary to help defend capitalism in this country. Yet most people, including politicians and the ruling class, are "reluctant fascists" like Indira Gandhi. Fascism is a defensive measure, an admission of failure. To the extent that we live in a semi-fascist society, with narrowly restricted choices, we are living in a society where capitalism is not well.

Fascism is a creeping disease. None of us are immune and all of us are carriers. The question that bothers me now is not the future of India's fascism but the future of our own society.



CHANGES

SHOSHANA FREED

Despite the best efforts of the Judge to convince the jury otherwise, Shoshana (Pat Swinton) was found not guilty of three charges of conspiring to bomb, on Friday, September 26 after a four day trial.

In his charge to the jury the judge made the point that "proof of conspiracy is ample in this record and the membership of Patricia Swinton has been sufficiently shown to warrant a finding of the jury of her membership in this enterprise."

There still remains a question of whether or not the judge will press charges of criminal contempt of court against Jane Alpert and John David Hughey, both of whom refused to testify against Shoshana.

After delivering the verdict one juror described it as "our contribution to the bicentennial."

—MC filling in for MJ

WORLD-WIDE PROTESTS IN RESPONSE TO SPANISH EXECUTIONS

Demonstrators in Paris, Mexico City, Ankara, Geneva and other cities reacted violently to the news from Spain that five Basque nationalists had been executed by the Franco government. In Lisbon the Spanish Embassy was burned and looted despite efforts by elite Portuguese troops to stop the attack.

Meanwhile in Spain a 48 hour general strike in the Basque region was almost totally effective and priests delivered sermons denouncing the executions.

Those executed were members of a group called ETA which consists primarily of young militants. They were tried in August and September in military court on charges of killing five officers of the paramilitary Civil Guard in four separate incidents. The trials lasted only a few hours each. One defendant, a 23-year old industrial worker, had half his brain surgically

removed before being induced to "sign" a confession with his thumb print.

—MC/LNS

MENNONITES BAR A ROLE IN BICENTENNIAL

For most Americans, the Bicentennial is the celebration of the nation's birth.

But to a group of Mennonite church leaders in Lancaster, Pa., it is the celebration of war. And for the Mennonites, all wars are bad.

So the leaders of the Lancaster Conference of the Mennonite Church has asked the conference's 200 congregations—with a total membership of 16,000—not to participate in Bicentennial activities.

"This came up because some of our churches had been asked to support community Bicentennial activities," the Rev. David N. Thomas, moderator for the conference, said in a weekend interview. "We looked at the celebrations planned and many of them seemed nationalistic and imperialistic—just contrary to our whole stand against war."

—News Desk

DEFEND THE SEAFAIR THREE

We feel the Seattle Seafair people should receive a Bad Taste Award for the theme of this year's Torchlight parade—"a salute to the army and navy on their bicentennial." In response to this, it became evident that it was time for War Resisters League/War Tax Resistance to swing into action.

We gathered with our signs, made a mad dash downtown and impatiently waited for the moment that felt right. For some of us, it was to follow the navy float with a huge anti-Trident banner. Soon we were joined by a good number of motorcycle police and we were ushered out of the parade.

Three of us had unofficially joined the parade with placards marching behind the army float that listed their conquests. The signs read "resist war

taxes" and "we are standing in proxy for the war killed." Alice Ray-Keil, John William and Tom MacLean

were't smoothly ushered out of the parade—they were arrested for failure to disperse.

The Seattle municipal code defines "failure to disperse in two ways: 1) four or more people disobeying an order to disperse (there were only three people behind the float), and 2) one or more people disobeying an order given in the interest of public safety (we're still trying to figure out what "public safety" was involved). Alice, John & Tom pleaded "not guilty" and requested a jury trial.

For information on the trial contact: WRL/WTR, 331 17 East, Seattle, WA 98112. 206-525-9486.

—Betty Brantner

RALLY FOR ATTICA DEFENDANTS

A rally in Buffalo, New York demanding "total amnesty for Attica Brothers" and a march to a local police station demanding an end to "repression in our communities" marked the fourth anniversary of the Attica prisoners' uprising.

Speaking in support of these demands and in "support of all prison struggles" at the September 13 rally were Reverend Stroble Smith, who is the mother of recently acquitted Attica defendant Shango, and Belen Molinari, a representative of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PSC). The PSC has been demanding the release of five Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned in the US since the early 1950's. Among other speakers at the rally of 300 supporters were defense attorney William Kunstler and Attica Brothers Big Black and Akil.

Meanwhile, the trial of Jomo Joka Omowale on charges of kidnapping and murder began on September 15 in the Erie County Courthouse in Buffalo. In a statement to the press the Attica Bond to Free Jomo stated that

"the case against Jomo is based entirely on witnesses who have already testified against Shango and others, and whose testimony was totally rejected by at least one jury."

—LNS

MILLION DOLLAR SOUTH KOREAN GIFT TO HARVARD STILL RANKLES

This is the conclusion reached by Crocker Snow Jr. in a recent column in the Boston *Globe* about last spring's \$1 million gift from the Korean Traders Association to Harvard University's East Asian studies program.

He quotes "one of those directly involved" as saying recently: "Sure, it still seems funny for a rich university like ours to get this gift from a poor country like Korea without an ulterior motive." Of course, there is an ulterior

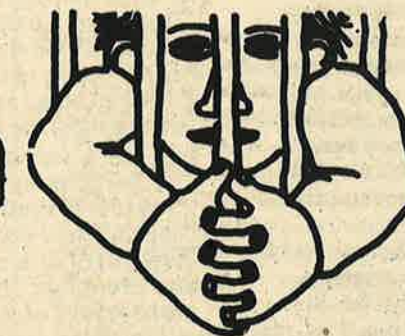
motive—on the part of the authoritarian, oppressive Park regime.

"It [the gift] came in the wake of the collapse of South Vietnam when the Seoul government was scared about US inconstancy in Asia and smarting under criticisms of American intellectuals led by Harvard professors Edwin Reischauer and Jerome Cohen about that country's [South Korea's] repressive internal policy," Snow points out.

"Unease is heightened by the suspicions of some faculty members about various South Korean government types now studying there (suspected of reporting directly to Seoul on the activities and attitudes of other Koreans at Harvard). The latest object of suspicion is one Kun Kai Lee, a dynamic and well-connected South Korean who was deputy police chief in Seoul before coming to Cambridge this summer."

—Jim Peck

prison



notes

The harassment and prosecution of draft resisters in America's colony, Puerto Rico, continue, despite the end of active drafting. Early in August Jose Antonio Moya Vazquez, 31 years old and the father of two, was arrested as a military deserter, while he was in sole charge of the grocery store he manages in Puerto Nuevo. He was taken from the store even though his wife was at a hospital visiting a small daughter who had just had surgery, and he was caring for their six-year-old son. The San Juan *El Mundo* reported that the mother of the arrested man called his arrest a "capital abuse," and indicated that federal authorities should take into consideration "the sorrow of Puerto Rican mothers" when FBI agents make such arrests.

Another story in *El Mundo* tells of twenty-eight Puerto Rican young men who are to be tried for violating the compulsory military law who refused to accept Ford's plan of alternative service. These pending trials reveal again the punitive nature of

the Ford "clemency" program which is especially odious because it involves people who were subject to the draft by a nation which does not even permit them to vote or to have congressional representation. Furthermore, of the hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans who violated the Compulsory Military Service Law on political grounds, these few are to be punished.

Another significant political case which should have more national publicity is that of Charles Duane "Chuck" Armsbury who is in county jail in Vancouver, Washington awaiting trial on a charge of having harbored Carl Bowles, who escaped from the Oregon State Penitentiary in 1974.

EVENTS

NYC—Ethel Taylor, Director of Women Strike for Peace speaks on "Women and the Peace Movement," Oct. 16 at 7:45 pm at the New School, 66 West 12 St. Admission \$3.50.

CAMBRIDGE—The Black Rose/Black Circles Lectures will be presenting Howard Zinn, speaking on "Emma Goldman and the American Anarchist Movement," Friday night, October 10, 8:00 pm, at MIT, Building 9, Room 150, located at 77 Mass. Ave.

CINCINNATI—A Midwest Tax Resistance Gathering will be held at Southern Rainbow House the weekend of October 24-26. Write to Mark Reeve, c/o Southern Rainbow, 717 So. Crescent Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45229 for more information.

Bowles was captured in northern Idaho after a wild manhunt and is now in the Idaho State Prison at Boise under a sentence of seventy-five years. Armsbury had known Bowles when both were prisoners in Marion, Illinois, and he again came in contact with him in 1974 when involved in prisoner support activity. Armsbury and his supporters maintain that he is innocent of the charge and that the real reason for his arrest is his record as a political activist who helped establish children's food programs, support actions for Wounded-knee and the farm workers' struggle, prisoner support and education against imperialism. Four other area activists have already faced trial on the same charge, two were convicted and two acquitted, with the convictions resting on the testimony of one woman, who was promised immunity from all federal charges, including perjury, for her testimony. For more information contact the Portland Defense Committee, Box 512, Portland, Oregon.

—Larry Gara

