slogans. A People's Daily article Nov. 1 attacked the four for trying to "wreck the country and ruin the people...by attacking the national economy" and sabotaging production. They were accused of having "reeled off the following nonsense: 'When the revolution is well led, production automatically increases.' "The slogan here called "nonsense" is almost indistinguishable from numerous exhortations by Mao himself.

A Nov. 3 People's Daily article followed this up with an attack on Maoists for wrecking the efficient running of the railroads. It charged them with crippling railroad schedules, "disrupting railway transport to undermine production and the national economy," and justifying these actions by claiming that "we'd rather have a socialist 'behind schedule' than a revisionist 'on schedule.' "Railroad workers opposing this sabotage were charged by the Maoists with "putting punctuality in command to insure the trains running safely and on schedule." Mao's slogan — "put politics in command" — was the thinly disguised object of this barb.

## Gandhi's Dilemma:

# **World Bank Holocaust or Communist Alliance**

Nov. 11 (NSIPS) - Robert McNamara, the "butcher of Vietnam" arrived in India this past week to inspect model World Bank funded rural work camps, give his seal of approval to the compulsory sterilization program now being carried out against government orders by his agents in India, and offer India extensive "aid." McNamara was preceded on his trip to India by International Monetary Fund head Johannes Witteveen and will be followed in a week by Orville Freeman, leading Carter advisor, to encourage the Indian government to impose the final solution of genocide and labor intensive agricultural camps upon its own population. Freeman in particular carries a larger package: he will offer India huge export markets in a de-industrialized advanced sector if India agrees to break away from the rest of the Third World in its demand for debt moratorium. Freeman's proteges in India have openly called for the "Brazilian miracle" for India on the eve of his visit. He himself will also recommend that India open up its Soviet-financed public sector for imperialist looting.

As these butchers set foot in India, the entire western media has begun an unprecedented propaganda slander campaign against Prime Minister Indira Gandhi attributing to her person the deeds of their own zero growth agents in India. Leading this pack of dogs, the Washington Post published last week a seven-part front-page series on India. The Post explicitly called for Indira Gandhi's assassination, for a coup d'etat by the armed forces against the government, for the imposition of austerity and fascism, and for the destruction of every political force that represents pro-socialist planning — the backbone of Gandhi's resistance to Wall Street.

The Post's recommendations are in fact the necessary precondition for imposing the Brazilian miracle Orville Freeman and McNamara are peddling in the name of India's "self interest." Between the Brazilian final solution and India stand Gandhi and the planning institution that non-aligned movement founder Jawaharlal Nehru created and his daughter Indira Gandhi represents. Gandhi cannot permit such looting schemes to go into effect unless her very base, particularly the planners and the pro-Soviet Communist Party of India (CPI) are destroyed.

India stands at the present time as the strongest Third World nation in the Non-Aligned Movement. When 18 months ago, Indira Gandhi declared a state of emergency against CIA destabilization she wrecked Atlanticists designs for the region and won for India internal stability — a luxury for any Third World leader in this period. Backed by the unwavering support of the Soviet Union, economically and strategically, India has since consolidated its position as the strongest Third World leader and initiated a motion by the developing sector to declare debt moratoria and create a new world economic order. Now India has the responsibility to act decisively. Soviet backing

stands between India and the ever threatened credit cutoff by Wall Street; India's foreign debt at \$15 billion is politically sufficient to wield a giant's blow to the tottering monetary system.

The key ingredient at stake is the courage to move internationally to secure the resources and political alliances to win a new world economic order. With the emergency and 20-point economic program, the awarding peasant debt moratorium to begin the process of dismantling the backward internal economy, Gandhi not only routed the CIA but created conditions that catalyzed the support of the working class and peasantry and the other major political party of India, the pro-Soviet Communist Party of India (CPI). Today with 18 million tons of food stocks, a state sector functioning at full capacity without internal artificial resource scarcities, the workers and peasants are mobilized demanding the investment of their labor into productive activity and not into debt payment.

The question facing the Indian government daily is where its burgeoning economy can go in a world facing economic and political holocaust? The reality is that no further domestic gains, however laudable the ones of the past 18 months have been, can sustain a growing economy within a fixed mode of production. Sheer political will has to secure new resources for the economy.

The question Gandhi faces is the same one every other Third World leader has to answer immediately: to bring about a world that represents their pro-growth worldview. Gandhi's declaration of emergency exercising these qualities of moral and political responsibility against the Atlanticist beast in 1975, and the magnitude of the conspiracy to overthrow her at the first available opportunity is a clear reminder to the Third World and Gandhi of Atlanticist intent and power. The sudden sweetness of McNamara's and Freeman's voice is only the effort by the Carter forces to gain maneuvering room inside and outside India, to activate their agents inside the government to destroy the resistance to genocide that presently exists on the Indian subcontinent.

#### **Internal Tension**

For the past month, in preparation for the Freeman-McNamara sham, the entire right wing of the ruling Congress Party has prepared the political ground, playing upon Gandhi indecision to act forcefully against them. National elections scheduled originally for March 1977 has been postponed as the right wing has mobilized its entire political and media apparatus to peddle the line that India does not need elections at the present time. If Gandhi were to decide for elections, the only platform she could run on is one which would de facto ally her with the Communist Party of India (CPI) and its pro-growth economic platform, propelling her to destroy the right wing of the Congress immediately. To challenge her and the planners on

their political will to carry out the economic program, there have been repeated violations of the 20-point economic program. Landlords, the backbone of the Congress have stalled on giving debt moratoria to peasants and numerous cases of forced sterilization of workers and peasants have been reported by the CPI. The CPI reports the misuse of the powers of the emergency by the right wing agents in the government who have used the name of the government to violate its program and undercut its political base. If Gandhi is not to be totally undercut within months, Gandhi is faced with the task of weeding out the deeper penetration agents in her government and finishing the task the emergency began.

### The Choice: Cow or Tractor

The lever being used against Gandhi is the side of India that the intelligensia has so far failed to challenge. Eighty per cent of India is represented by a village structure, fixed in a primarily rice-based labor and the unchanging bestial world of the caste system. Social transformation does not exist for a caste determined Hindu: he is born a piece of the Deity's body: the Brahman (the head), the Vaisya, the body (peasant), the Kshatriya (the warrior and business), and the Untouchable, the unclean human being. The cow is revered more than his women folk.

It is this fixed social mode that British imperialism sought to secure, and the Fabian Society preserved to represent the socalled identity of India, ready for external manipulation. The native oppressor of the society today is the landlord and business alliance brought into existence, protected by the British empire, and prominently led by the Birla family. The Birlas, not only cornered much of the Indian private sector concentrating on exports of textiles and jute and used every opportunity to destroy the Soviet-aided public sector, but politically funded the national movement under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. The Birla praised in Gandhi the very philosophies that cohered with their own zero growth worldviews: austerity, self-reliance, maintenance of the Indian population in peasant backwardness. The Birlas, through Gandhi, gained control of the Congress Party party machinery, a control they have falsely equated with India's national independence. These are the allies of the World Bank today. In the postwar period, these backward forces gained the new strata of London School of Economics and World Bank trained 'economists' to peddle their zero growth schemes with sugarcoated "anti-imperialism."

#### Science

The battle against hurling India into this Fabian-imposed and World Bank fostered backwardness has been carried out in an unyielding manner not only by Indira Gandhi but by Indira's political mentor and father, Jawaharlal Nehru. As early as 1940, Nehru, who was to later become the theoretician for the Non-Aligned Movement, laid out the essential features of his worldview: "A village normally speaking is backward intellectually and culturally and no progress can be made from a backward social environment. . . . Narrow minded people are much more · likely to be untruthful....I do not think it is possible for India to be really independent unless she is a technically advanced country. I am not thinking in terms of armies, but rather of scientific growth.... For international cooperation is necessary.... If this is admitted and is found feasible, then attempts must be made to realize it at every point, not in terms of one economy which is cut off from the rest of the world but rather one which cooperates." Spending over 12 years in British jails, Nehru wrote letters to his daughter Indira, educating her around the scientific worldview he believed would be the future of India, breaking every Hindu law by treating Indira, a mere woman, as an equal.

Nehru allied himself with the Soviet Union, denounced Hitler's fascism as the "final stage of capitalism" and Britain's admiration for it. In post-independence India, Nehru fought tooth

and nail for industrialization of India against every dictate of imperialist Third World policy. Where the World Bank refused to build India a heavy industries sector, the Soviet Union constructed these plants in the 1960s. Where the World Bank shipped in its experts to wreck India's agriculture, advising against massive capital inputs, and inculcating a zero-growth policy, Nehru set up the institution of the Planning Commission to counterattack by progressively strengthening the heavy industries. Repeatedly in the 1960s, the criminals of the World Bank such as Eugene Black expressed hatred for Nehru's heavy industries projects and at every point sabotaged these ventures. The Soviet Union's support of India enabled Nehru to fight back. Nehru's Planning Commission and his writings gave India a new identity, a worldview based on rationality and science upon which Indira Gandhi operates and the Communist Party of India organizes at a mass level.

But the contradictions of Nehru himself poignantly speak to the paradox of India. Throughout the independence movement, the sole reason Nehru did not break away from Mahatma Gandhi's zero growth ideology or his degradation of the Indian population was Nehru's fear of rallying and relying upon the forces that most represent the new India: the industrial labor force. Nehru's fears attached him to the security of a Mahatma Gandhi, while his vision for building India attached him to a deep commitment to socialism. The psychological weakness that attached Nehru to Gandhi and his terror of sensuously realizing politically what he believed unquestionably intellectually contained Nehru in a dichotomized state that left him unable to finish the socialist task he began. In the 1940s Nehru chose to investigate the communists for anti-national activities, spurred by their effort to involve the left wing of the Congress in an alliance with the CP and split it away from the Fabians, because their actions at that critical point threatened his identity as a committed socialist. Then, Nehru's capitulation to Mother India, to peasant backwardness resulted in the destruction of the communist movement and the smashing of the mass strikes.

In the same way, throughout his 16 years as Prime Minister of India Nehru tolerated the Fabian networks long after Mahatma Gandhi was out of the picture. His failure to weed them out when he was strong, resulted in the destruction of his vision of India by the World Bank in 1966.

Nehru's toleration of the Ford Foundation agents and the police apparatus of the Home Ministry directly resulted in the 1966 devaluation of India's currency. Because Nehru lacked the courage to politically defend the Planning Commission heavy industries sector by declaring a debt moratorium earlier in 1964, this meant that India became the first World Bank model for top-down control of a Third World economy. From beginning to end, Soviet material support for India by itself was inherently insufficient for the scale of the Indian economy. The devaluation in 1966 served to wreck the ability of the entire economy to function and demolished the labor force for the Soviet built plants. In subsequent years, Nehru's shortcomings resulted in the regression of India's development, forcing the planners to make concessions to the World Bank and to witness the death and famine of millions of their compatriots.

The political alignment of forces domestically faced by Nehru and Gandhi are the same. To the right, stands the deadweight of the clumsy Congress Party machinery. To the left, alliance with the pro-Soviet Communist Party of India is within reach. Indira Gandhi faces the same dilemma: India cannot have Five Year Plans modelled on the Soviet experience and compromise either domestically or internationally with the Carter forces. There is no middle road of peaceful coexistence between using the Soviet Revolution politically and economically as its model, as the left Congress does, and the World Bank's reduction of India to a diseased wasteland.