

The book is closing with summary and conclusions presented by Theodor Bergmann which include the results of the discussions during the symposium.

According to Bergmann – and this is also the opinion of the reviewer – the phenomenon of the kibbutz is bound to the specific conditions of Israeli society and not replicable in the same way anywhere else. But, by its continued existence and adoption it can teach valuable lessons about potential alternatives to inhuman, alienating conditions of work and life. The papers are not so much focussed on particular problems of fully integrated cooperative societies, but on the socio-economic problems of the industrial society in the field of a participatory democracy.

Ottfried C. Kirsch

*A. R. Desai (ed.)*

**Peasant Struggles in India**

Bombay, Oxford University Press, XXV + 772 pp.

The volume collects in 6 parts 39 contributions or reprinted papers about agrarian movements in India. The editor, grand old man of Indian sociology, takes a comprehensive view and includes all political movements, in which the cultivators are involved; he orders them chronologically, beginning in the midst of the 19th century and ending up practically with the achievement of independence. (Only the analysis of the struggle in Telengana, precursor of Bhave's land-gift movement, transcends this dateline.) India being an agrarian country, this implies that all political processes and events somehow are linked to the rural population including the tribal groups, the vast majority, that mainly lives on cultivation of land (with some ancillary occupations) largely owned by non-cultivating strata. It is natural that these masses played an important role in the nationalist movement for independence, organized by the Indian National Congress. Desai's assumption is that the image of a passive, fatalistic, superstitious etc. Indian peasant is basically wrong. Long outdrawn protest, revolts and militant struggles characterize the rural scene. Just the revolutionary potential of a rising »peasantry« explains for the editor the ambiguous attitude of the »indigenous bourgeois-landlord classes«, of compromise with the colonial power as also the basic content of Mahatma Gandhi's civil disobedience and non-violent path and his frequent withdrawal from the movements. In his short introduction Desai analyses Gandhi's path, enabling the Congress

»to secure a transfer of power from the British rule and stave off the possibility of the subcontinent following the other militant path of revolutionary class and mass struggles.« (p.XX)

He largely follows Marxist definition and sociological analysis of the rural population, which he sees socially divided and stratified.

The first part gives a general overview of tribal and peasant movements, inter alia largely drawing on V. Raghavaiah's »Tribal revolts.« This book also gives a chronology of

tribal revolts from 1778 to 1971, including the struggles of the Mizo and Naga in the Eastern border regions during the 1960's and 1970's and the Naxalites; it is rightly assumed that their main content is a social one. Fr. Stephen Fuchs deals with the basic traits of messianic movements. N. G. Ranga, a former peasant leader, later right-wing politician of the Swatantra party, presents a brief account of several movements over a century and relies them partly to the frequent famines that deeply affected the rural and agricultural population. Ranga rejects the external leadership of agrarian movements, because by these leaders peasants then are »cheated of the fruits of revolution or are the worst victims of the failure of a revolution«. Kathleen Gough presents the movements in a historical and comparative perspective. Even strong uprisings were limited in the area covered, never really nationwide, though they have sprung from broader political forces. She tries to classify and find a typology of the movements. Generally she views these movements as strong and educative:

»Peasants are capable of co-operating in class struggles across caste, religious and even linguistic lines to redress their common grievances.« (p. 112)

She also stresses the strong influence of communists on peasant struggles, which sometimes was ambivalent. And she sees no end of this struggle after independence

»for imperial extraction of wealth from India and oppression by local property owners continue to produce poverty, famine, agricultural sluggishness and agrarian unrest.« (p. 117)

Part II describes and analyses some powerful struggles of peasants, tenants and tribal people between 1850 and 1900, as a consequence of the deep transformation brought about by a centralized British-Indian administration. In the editor's introduction British rule is exposed and also the missionaries' basic support; they brought farming into the framework of the world capitalist system. Methods and immediate aims of the struggles differed, but all were directed against the effects of colonial exploitation and against the class collaborating with foreign exploiters.

Part III deals with the beginning 20th century, when the quality of the movements changed deeply due to the effects of the Russian October-revolution and the growing strength of the nationalist movement. Peasant and independence movements had a deep, though contradictory interdependence, which expressed itself in Mahatma Gandhi's approach, who

»emerged as the astute and the most farsighted leader of the Indian bourgeoisie. He experimented with various approaches to both politicize and also to regulate the mass and class movements. He unleashed various movements, withdrew (from) them, when he got frightened by the possibilities of these unleashed forces getting out of control and leaping into mighty revolutionary class struggles affecting both the imperial masters and the local exploiters.« (p. 213)

This chapter is made up of two chapters from Sukhbir Choudhary's »Peasants and workers' movement in India 1905–1929«, New Delhi, 1971, who gives a very lucid analysis of the different interpretations of Gandhi's slogans by the exploited rural masses and by

the dominating Indian elite. Already in 1919, at the annual meeting of the Indian National Congress the demand was formulated that the peasants be declared actual owners of the land they cultivate. Nehru sided much more with the peasantry than Gandhi and criticized landlords and zemindars very frankly, while Gandhism still prevailed in the Congress resolutions and activities.

The introduction to part IV, dealing with the twenties and thirties, outlines the weaknesses of tribal revolts, which can easily be isolated and defeated, if they do not win the support of the (small) working class, that controls transport and communications. In isolation, they easily turn to separatism, if their leaders reject class struggle. Gandhian non-violence was always rejected by the tribal uprisings. But during this period Gandhi and his followers also took up many serious grievances and complaints of the rural poor and tried to exact some material improvements from the local exploiters.

Part V deals with the contribution of the rural masses to British withdrawal and the achievement of political independence. Some very important movements are analyzed in this part, viz. the Tebhaga movement in Bengal and the Telengana movement, which led to the formation of peasant soviets in a large area of Eastern India. The repercussions were heavy and of long duration: armed intervention by the central government, crushing the resistance, deposal of the Nizam of Hyderabad, Bhave's boodhan (and gramdan) movement etc. This part assesses the leading and organizing role of the communist party, but also its changing and alternating policies without clear line and direction. But the close links between the Kisan Sabha (peasant organization) and the CP remained and in spite of its political reversal it won a victory in the following first ever general elections, though it did not achieve any real land reform in Telengana. It is good academic procedure that two contradictory analyses of this vast movement are published, the official one by a leading member of the CP and a quite critical one.

While part II to V deal with particular movements, part VI tries to give a more general and generalizing overview. The two first contributions still deal with actual movements, though in a wider framework. The paper by Hamza Alavi about Peasants and revolution follows. Then Kathleen Gough, who made intensive research on peasant revolt in South India, discusses a few basic issues about the origin of these movements in the South (endemic or exogenous), roles of the rural social strata, future potential of peasant revolt. The split in the Communist Party led to a polarization of the two political lines: parliamentarian-democratic approach and rebel policy. Gough tries to explain the intricate relationship between the rural social strata in Kerala, the societal changes since 1947 and the partial success of agrarian reform. – Uday Mehta tries to define three periods of peasant movement: initial phase without proper leadership (1827–1921); second phase with emergence of class-conscious peasant organizations (1923–1946); post-independence phase with leadership provided by leftist parties through their kisan organizations. Desai in the final papers calls for a new evaluation of the two-stages theory of revolution in the third world. His thesis is an independent application of marxism to the present situation of the third world. He does not believe in the ability of the bourgeoisie to establish a new social order after independence, or to solve the problems of development in the capitalist

framework. He also refutes the »theory«, that the colonial bourgeoisie fights or will fight feudalism and imperialism.

This huge volume gives a multifaceted and vivid account of the many agrarian movements of the Indian subcontinent over almost 100 years from the 1850's up to independence with a few views into the later decades. Beside the description and analysis of the social struggles certain theoretical issues are discussed; some valuable contributions are made to the theory of peasant political role, consciousness and behaviour, as also to some basic problems of political development in third world countries. Controversial views are presented, and the editor frankly states his position of independent marxism. Much has been written about the political struggles of the toiling rural masses of India. But, still much remains unknown, and Desai points to these lacunae and calls for more intensive research. The volume is a valuable addition to our knowledge of the politically moving forces in South Asia and should be widely read by researchers in general and rural sociology, political science, history. It is a pity that the index is quite out of order and seems incomplete.

Theodor Bergmann

*Peter Dähne*

**Entwicklungsbanken in den Philippinen als entwicklungspolitische Institutionen. Ein Beitrag zur Beurteilung der Möglichkeiten und Grenzen des instrumentalen Einsatzes nationaler Entwicklungsbanken**

Duncker und Humblot, Berlin 1980, 340 S., DM 56,-

Der Zugang zu Krediten und anderen bankwirtschaftlichen Leistungen hat für Tempo und Richtung des Entwicklungsprozesses eine große Bedeutung, die in der allgemeinen Entwicklungsliteratur oft nicht angemessen berücksichtigt wird. Die vorliegende Freiburger Dissertation stellt diesen wichtigen Aspekt in den Mittelpunkt einer Länderfallstudie. Sie behandelt hier den Zeitraum von 1960–1976. Nach einer einführenden Diskussion der verschiedenen methodischen Evaluierungsansätze entwickelt der Autor einen eigenen Beurteilungsrahmen. Er geht dabei von dem Komplementäransatz aus, d. h. er prüft die Frage, ob Entwicklungsbanken entwicklungsrelevante Bankleistungslücken auszufüllen bzw. tendenziell zu vermindern in der Lage sind. Sein sehr detaillierter Referenzrahmen – mit einer Indikatorenliste von immerhin ca. 60 Einzelpunkten (S. 46 ff.) – vermag kaum das methodische Problem zu lösen, wie man den Beitrag einer Entwicklungsbank zum wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Fortschritt nun exakt messen könne. Insbesondere die Verknüpfung der einzelnen Ziel-Mittel-Ebenen, bei einer immer mehr oder weniger unzureichenden Datenlage, wirft bei einer praktischen Evaluierung erhebliche Probleme auf. Dennoch wurde hier ein nützlicher Einstieg in die einzelnen Bankfallstudien entwickelt, die in ihrer Empirie an diese Indikatorenliste dann zwar nicht heranreichen, aber dennoch diese Banken – es handelt sich um die Development Bank, die Private Development Corporation sowie die Private Development Banks und die Rural