

# frontier

Vol. 55 : No. 19

ISSN 0016-2094

November 6-12, 2022

Founder-Editor : **SAMAR SEN**

On Other Pages

Comment	2
Note	3
AN INTERNATIONAL GUERRILLA Tania-Undercover for Che Guevara in Bolivia Chaman Lal	4
PLAYING WITH THE GALLERY From Rajpath to Kartavya Path Prem Singh	7
MOURNING THE MONARCH "Insulting the National flag"	10
'BHARAT JODO' YATRA The Idea of India Ram Puniyani	10
CONFUSION AND MISCONCEPTION 'So-called Primitive Accumulation' Ian Angus	12
Letters	14

Editor : **TIMIR BASU**Assistant Editor : **Subhasis Mukherjee**

Published weekly for Germinal Publications Pvt. Ltd. by Sharmistha Dutta from 44, Balaram Dey Street, Kolkata-700006 and Printed by her at Laser Aid, 35A/3, Biplabi Barin Ghosh Sarani, Kolkata-700 067.

E-mail : frontierweekly@yahoo.co.in  
frontierweekly@hotmail.com

Telephone : 2530-0065

[Typeset by THE D-COMLASER, 60 Sikdar Bagan Street, Kolkata-4, Ph : 98361-58319]

## 'Nothing Changes'

**F**INALLY CONGRESS HAS A NEW PRESIDENT MALLIKARJUN Kharge, a Dalit face and a first from non-Nehru family to lead the 137-year-old party in 22 years. This is perhaps Congress Party's reply to Bharatiya Janata Party's Droupadi Murmu—President of India. Murmu is a tribal and Kharge a Dalit. Kharge succeeds long-time party Chief Sonia Gandhi who managed the Gandhi dynasty since 1998, barring two years when her son Rahul Gandhi was in charge (2017-2019). Kharge will be second from Karnataka to lead the Congress after S Nijalingappa and the third leader to hold AICC president post after D Sanjeevaiah (1962) and Jagjivan Ram (1969) and tenth from South India to head the age-old Congress. Whether a Dalit can revive Congress party's electoral fortunes in 2024 parliamentary polls is open to question. Right now they are in power in only two states. It is not that easy to get back what they have lost—Dalit vote bank. The Dalit support switched to Bahujan Samaj Party and Samajwadi Party. Of late even Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) is trying to woo the Dalits by assimilating Baba Saheb Ambedkar in so many ways. For one thing the privileged Dalits who are being continually integrated into economic space and elite club are totally isolated from oppressed Dalit masses. The Kharges have no power to stop the systematic Dalit-bashing even if they hold high positions in mainstream parties or administration. Some people from the Dalit community are trying to escape caste persecution by changing their religious identity. Very recently a large number of Dalits embraced Buddhism in Kharge's home state Karnataka to protest against the evil called casteism. Over 450 Dalits renounced Hinduism in Karnataka's Shorapur city recently in a bid to get rid of 'untouchable' tag. This type of 'revolt' against caste prejudices lacks structural change. The event organised by Golden Cave Buddha Vihar Trust, was held on the eve of 66th Dhammachakra Pravartan Din when Ambedkar adopted Buddhism in 1956. It's 2022 but they are still being called untouchables.

Condemning Hinduism doesn't change the ground reality for the Dalits in totality. Embracing Buddhism might be a sign of protest against Hindu orthodoxy but it is not going to add any dimension to Dalits' cultural outlook. Even after conversion to Buddhist order "their occupation remains the same, their village remains the same, their names also remain the same. So this does not really change the perception of others on them, until there is a cultural transformation". That was Kancha Ilaiah Shepherd, an

expert on Dalit society. Despite conversion to Buddhism with a lot of fanfare nothing really changes. If anything the Hindutva brigade sees Buddhism and Shikhism as part of Hinduism. Their main problem is with Islam and Christianity—the aliens. The members of Dalit community have been converting to Buddhism since the days of Ambedkar but nothing has changed radically for the Dalits. They are Dalits still! Atrocities against Dalits go on unabated, mainly in rural India. They are denied drinking water in upper-caste dominated villages. The issue of forcible stoppage of entry to temples by Dalits gets currency frequently in the media. One reason they prefer Buddhism

over Islam and Christianity where cultural changes take place after conversion is reservation benefits. The Dalit Christians are fighting for quota in job and educational institutions. The same is true for those who have been converted to Islam.

Annihilation of caste is next to impossible without a social reform movement. And that is not on the agenda of so-called Dalit parties or Kharge's party—Congress; they are more interested in enjoying parliamentary privileges even by allying with the casteist and communal outfits that continue to treat Dalits as untouchables, directly or indirectly.

In his first statement after winning the Congress presidential election, Kharge asserted that he would

fight for the 'restoration of democracy', which the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party has been trying to vanquish by destroying all democratic institutions. It sounds fine but Congress has no popular action programme to challenge the BJP. For one thing Kharge is a Buddhist by inclination as he had said in 2008 during the inauguration of the renovated Buddha Vihara in Bengaluru. But why he is silent about the social brutalities the Dalits are being subjected to across the country almost daily deserves attention. Kharge belongs to the creamy layer of Dalit society and it is unlikely that Dalit voters will go to the Congress fold again because Congress party is now being headed by a Dalit. □□□

---

## COMMENT

### The Other side of the River

THE RECAPTURE OF THE KHARKOV region at the beginning of September appears to be a success for Ukrainian forces. Western and American media exulted and relayed Ukrainian propaganda to give a picture that is not entirely accurate.

For the Ukrainians, it is a Pyrrhic victory. They advanced into Kharkov without encountering any resistance and there was hardly any fighting. Instead, the area became a huge "killing zone" where Russian artillery would destroy an estimated number of 4,000-5,000 Ukrainians (about 2 brigades), while the Russian coalition suffered only marginal losses as there was no fighting.

Firstly, since 2014, linguistic minorities in Ukraine have been subject to restrictions that have made them 2nd class citizens. As a result, the Ukrainian policy has caused Russian-speaking citizens to no longer feel Ukrainian. This was even emphasised by the Law on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in July 2021,

which is somewhat equivalent to the Nuremberg Laws of 1935, which give different rights to citizens depending on their ethnic origin. This is why Vladimir Putin wrote an article on 12 July 2021 calling on Ukraine to consider Russian speakers as part of the Ukrainian nation and not to discriminate against them as proposed by the new law.

Regarding Vladimir Putin's announcement of a partial mobilisation, it should be recalled that Russia has intervened in Ukraine with considerably fewer troops than the American and Western experts consider necessary to conduct an offensive campaign.

The combat actions in Ukraine are mainly carried out by the Donbass militias. Instead of saying "the Russians," they should say "the Russian coalition" or "the Russian-speaking coalition."

Much has been made in the West and America about those who have sought to leave Russia to avoid

mobilisation. They certainly exist, like the thousands of Ukrainians who sought to escape conscription and can be seen in the streets of Brussels driving powerful and expensive German sports cars! Much less publicity has been given to the long queues of young people outside military recruitment offices and the popular demonstrations in favour of the decision to mobilise!

As to the nuclear threats, in his speech on 21 September, Vladimir Putin mentioned the risk of nuclear escalation. Naturally, the conspiratorial media (i.e., those that construct narratives from unrelated information) immediately spoke of "nuclear threats."

In reality, this is not true. If one reads the wording of Putin's speech, one can see that he did not threaten to use nuclear weapons. In fact, he has never done so since the beginning of this conflict in 2014.

In his speech, Vladimir Putin does not threaten to use nuclear weapons, but other types of weapons. He is of course thinking of hypersonic weapons, which do not need to be nuclear to be effective and which can thwart

November 6-12, 2022

FRONTIER

3

Western defences. For one thing the use of tactical nuclear weapons is no longer in the Russian employment doctrine for many years. Moreover, unlike the United States, Russia has a no-first-use policy.

In other words, it is the Westerners and their erratic behaviour that are the real factors of insecurity and nuclear escalation.

It is also interesting to compare the current general situation with what was described in the RAND Corporation reports published in

2019 as the blueprint for trying to destabilise Russia.

This document shows that the US was aiming for a campaign of subversion against Russia, in which Ukraine was only an unfortunate instrument. The real problem is that America is not looking for Ukraine's interest, but to weaken Russia. And the West is obliging the Uncle Sam. Their one-point agenda at the moment is how to prolong the war and cripple the Russian economy. □□□

[Contributed]

---

#### NOTE

---

## Bharat Jodo Yatra

*Dilip D'Souza writes:*

ONE DAY ON THE BHARAT Jodo Yatra, we found ourselves with a group of people we had met while we walked. This was in the afternoon break between the two sessions of brisk walking. We were sitting on chairs outside two enormous tents. One had dozens of a simple lunch, served to them on bright green banana leaves. of cots on which the Yatra's yatri were resting. The other had long tables at which people sat to eat.

Finished with lunch, our new friends were discussing why his reasons right there and then, musing: "You know, I've been anti-Congress all my life! So they had joined the Yatra. Mohan, a squat man with a greying beard, seemed to be working through why am I here at all?" He stopped to collect his thoughts. "But it's just that now there's this t what he meant. He went on: "So I want to defeat that and save democracy." assault on Indian democracy," he said. Several people nodded. Nobody needed Mohan to spell out.

He seemed suddenly aware of the full weight of what he had just said. Then: "It's much better that we

start getting organised a year-and-a-half before the elections, instead of only a month before." Several others nodded again.

Soon after, Mohan got up to leave. After two days with the Yatra, he and his friends were returning home that afternoon.

Yes, this Yatra is happening a year-and-a-half before the next Lok Sabha elections. Yes, it seems a largely Congress show. Yes, Rahul Gandhi dominates the coverage. Yes, there are questions about the Yatra's purpose and meaning, even among the small group I had come with. But with all that, there's still an overriding focus among many who join the Yatra: never mind past disagreements, never mind the need to hold your nose if you have to—for there's a shared imperative here: to stand up to the party in power today.

Seen that way, it's an ironic reminder of an earlier moment in our history. That's when a group of parties came together—looking past disagreements and holding their noses—to form a coalition to front up to the party in power then. I refer to 1977, of course. Ironic, because the shared imperative then was to stand

## NOTICE

**Subscribers are requested to renew their subscription and send their phone numbers otherwise it is becoming difficult to communicate with them as old practice of sending reminder slips through subscription copy is no longer followed.**

up to the party then in power—the Congress. And that year, the motley Janata coalition managed to dislodge the Congress from power.

It's not clear that the Bharat Jodo Yatra can build up momentum and strength on that 1977 scale. But in some ways, and at least for now, that was irrelevant.

One face of the Yatra is the Congress. It's a party in some disarray and depression, you might say, because of its nosediving political fortunes over the last several years. It has lost elections, it has lost veteran Congresswallahs and it has factions sniping at each other. If this Yatra is a way to rebuild political capital, to galvanise Congress activists, to show the Indian voter that this party will not roll over and fade away—well, for anyone who values Indian democracy, that's welcome.

But another face of the Yatra is the diversity of people who join. There are those like Yogendra Yadav and Mohan above, known and se-

vere critics of the Congress in the past. But there are also the people bringing their own incredibly varied palette of issues to the Yatra. I mean LGBTQ activists and farmers, manual scavengers and schoolkids, unemployed youth and nomadic tribes and many more. Again, if this Yatra is a vehicle for them to bring their concerns to the attention of the Congress, but also to the country as a whole—well, that's welcome too. Because to me, this rich, colourful diversity is the authenticity and promise of India itself. This is what breathes spirit and life into the Yatra.

And why was I there? Partly because something like this gets my journalistic antennae quivering sharply. I wanted to simply watch and observe, in some sense not even really invested in the success or oth-

erwise of the Yatra. Partly too, this was something I felt I had to do to stand up to the divisiveness, the hatreds, the polarisations that are marking out and deepening so many fault lines in this country. My solidarity with—luxuriating in, more like it—the diversity of India may mean very little in any broader sense. But it means a great deal to me, and that's what took me to the Yatra.

But I was also accompanying a small group of public health professionals. Two of them, Ramani and Ravi, are doctors trained in community health and have worked in primary health care for years in rural Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Rajasthan and Gujarat. Their friends and colleagues Guru and Prasanna are not doctors, but have worked with public health outreach

organisations for years as well.

Working together over several days before we joined the Yatra, the four of them had prepared a brief on public health concerns—malnutrition, right to health care, and more. Their goal was to hand the brief over to the Congress leaders in the Yatra, including Rahul Gandhi. (They gave it to me to read and I had a couple of minor suggestions, which is why they added my name to the brief.) Through various contacts, there was actually a meeting scheduled—during the midday break on Monday October 10th—with Gandhi and others, where our group would present the brief. That was cancelled. Instead, the organisers arranged for us to walk with Gandhi for a while that morning.

□□□

#### AN INTERNATIONAL GUERRILLA

## Tania—Undercover for Che Guevara in Bolivia

*Chaman Lal*

ULISES ESTRADA, EDITOR of *Tricontinental*, joined Cuban revolution from the very beginning as part of 26th July movement in 1953. He was part of Cuban liberation war 1957-59 and later worked with Che Guevara in many assignments including in Congo. He was close friend of Tania, fiancée in today's terminology and they were supposed to marry after the success of Tania's mission in Bolivia, which unfortunately resulted in her, Che Guevara and many more guerrillas' assassination at the hands of Bolivian army. After their assassination, USA and western media vilified Che and Tania to demoralise revolutionary forces and to hide their own crimes behind smokescreen of this vilification. However Tania's mother fought for the reputation of her daughter and got the vilifiers convicted.

Tania's real name was Haydee Tamara Bunke; she was born in Argentina from German communist couple, who have to go to Argentina to save them from Hitler's fascism. Tamara was born on 19th November, 1937 and was martyred on 31st August 1967 in the jungles of Bolivia by Bolivian army, before completing even 30 years of her life.

In 1970, Estrada with another writer has published *Tania—The Unforgettable Guerrilla*. That time many things could not be made public, now in this expanded and exhaustive biography with lot of secret documents made public for the first time in Appendices, Tania's heroism, bravery and sacrificing spirit comes to fore. Her letters, her personal account of life, all make this \*book [Tania—Undercover for Che Guevara in Bolivia by Ulises Estrada, 1st ed. 2005, Ocean Press

Melbourne... pages 331, price Rupees 295/] more enriching.

The book is rightly dedicated to Nadia Bunke, mother of Tamara-Tania, who knew Tamara had wanted to marry Estrada, 'who treated me as her own son for more than 35 years', in author's words, who has written a detailed and touching dedication with the regret that Nadia Bunke would not be able to see the book, as he passed away before the publication of the book. Exhaustive contents of the book include—Acknowledgements, Preface by author, Prologue by editor-Luis Suarez and Tania's biography in 14 chapters and 137 pages. There are 17 documents in Appendices, Notes, List of Acronyms and List of Aliases in further about 200 pages. One feature of Ocean publications missing in this book is Chronology, which is generally part of all books on Che and Castro, in case of Tania, that was even more necessary. But in totality, with nearly 30 rare photographs, makes the book a significant contribution to biographical literature.



November 6-12, 2022

FRONTIER

5

In Preface, Ulises Estrada narrates his intense personal relationship with Tamara, bunking the western sensalisation of Tania-Che romantic affairs. Ulises explains that except for few companeros and Tania family, nobody knew about this relationship till 1969, two years after the assassination of Tania. Only when the author collaborated in first book on Tania, author published Tania's letter about their relationship to her mother. After that Tania's mother identified the "negrito" (Afro-Cuban), whom Tania dreamt of marrying and producing many "mulatito" (kids).

As per the author Che and Tania were discredited for political objectives or profit motives by many writers like French Pierre Kalfon, Mexican intellectual Jorge Castaneda. Later in last chapter of the book, author detailed how West German publisher in 1997 published the libel by Uruguyan writer Jose A. Friedl Zapata under title—"Tania the woman—Che Guevara Loved". Nadia at 81 years of age dragged the publisher to the court and won the case by getting 14 defamations removed from the book in 1998 and also getting him fined. There were many more in the West, who through their cheap sensational writings had vilified the revolutionary spirit of the two great revolutionaries of the world. But it is not new phenomenon. Karl Marx was described as 'Red bandit' and all communist leaders have been vilified, America has vilified and continued till now to vilify Fidel Castro.

In Prologue Luis Suarez has mentioned Tania was denigrated by some intellectuals in pay roll of ruling classes in US, Europe and Latin America by describing her as 'femme fatale', who had 'useless sacrifice' for "her secret and sordid extramarital affair with Che." She was also described as 'Triple Agent for Cuba, East Germany and KGB of ex Soviet Union. These vilifiers described

Che Guevara also as 'seeking death', because of his differences with Cuban leadership. All these lies have been bunked with documents being published from Cuba, putting an egg on the faces of these so-called 'intellectuals' and 'writers' holding rabid anti-communist views. On the contrary great writers like Gabriel Garcia Marquez have upheld Cuban revolution and its heroic leaders, including Fidel and Che Guevara.

#### **Chapter 1—Historical context**

In this introductory chapter Ulises has explained Che's plans to expand liberation guerrilla struggles to other parts of the world as true internationalist. First they tried in Congo, where popular freedom fighter and Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba was brutally assassinated by CIA in 1964. There were dictators in Haiti, Nicaragua like places. Ulises has travelled with Che secretly to Congo through Tanzania; stayed clandestinely in Prague. Che spoke of his best relations with Fidel and Raul during those days. These days in these preparations writer got linked to Tamara, who had come to Havana.

#### **Chapter 2—Operation Fantasma**

Tamara was mentioned by Pineoro for the operation recommended by Che.

#### **Chapter 3—The Tania Case**

Tamara born in Argentina came to East Germany with her parents when 14 years old and joined youth organisation, visited Soviet Union as youth delegation, heard about Cuban struggle, well informed about war in Sierra Maestra and demonstrated solidarity. In 1959, she acted as interpreter for Che Guevara, when he visited East Germany. She became enthused to come to Cuba and finally arrived in 1961, at 24 years. Worked as interpreter/translator, associated with 'Association of Young Rebels' turned into 'Union of Young Communists' (UJC), on 4th April 1962... Tamara highly edu-

cated, knew many languages—German, French, Spanish, and English, well versed in music and literature, and studied philosophy at Humboldt University. She was working with Sandinista, planned to fight in Nicaragua. Che interviewed for mission in Bolivia and she end up by saying—'I will not betray this trust while I am alive and breathing'—Page 29

#### **Chapter 4—Operational Training in Cuba**

Tamara worked with Ulises during training period and they came close, though violating revolutionary code of not being personally close. Tania sung Argentine folk songs, played Guitar

#### **Chapter 5—Preparing for Latin America**

Che told her about her mission in Bolivia and to take up legal residency there.

#### **Chapter 6—Tania and Ulises**

Author honestly tells that 'we both knew that our relationship was forbidden in clandestine work, but we also knew that we could no longer retrain ourselves. We were convinced of the purity of our feeling and that these would not affect our profes-

#### **DOORSTEP COMPOSITOR**

[Contact for Bengali DTP Operator at your Doorstep]  
At present, we have started a new facility, throughout India. The Bengali language is now used in many places. Thus, there is a need now to have Bengali Computer Operators for publishing in Magazines, Books, Periodicals, Souvenirs. Further, we have created this new facility for preparing Question Papers for Schools, Colleges and Universities. So, you need not send the confidential works to outside. We can go to your Office or Institution to complete such works. We shall also make them in printable formats. Moreover, the translation to Bengali is also done. You may contact us for these types of work.

However, you have to arrange or pay the expenses for our Travel and Stay. We thus also accept some amount as Honorarium; it depends on the importance and quantum of work. We sincerely expect that you will use the facility.

Please contact: **THE D-COMLASER**  
BHASKAR DAS (Proprietor)  
39A, Nalin Sarkar Street, Kolkata 700004  
Mobile : 98361-58319  
Email : bhaskar\_sananda@yahoo.com

sional relationship' -Page 56. Ulyses shared with his senior revolutionary Diosdado, Tamara shared with her parents by writing to her mother on 11th April 1964 from Prague. Writer knew about this letter only when he joined Marta Rojas and Mirta Rodriguez Caldron in writing the book-Tania: the Unforgettable Guerrilla, published in 1970, where this letter was published. Ulises divorced his wife and remarried years after Tania were killed. Ulises writes longingly: 'i have to confess that she still remains alive within me. Not just as Tania, but also as Haydee Tamara Bunke, the exceptional woman, compenera, and friend I once loved with all my heart.'-Page 59

#### **Chapter 7-Failed Cover**

Tania was sent to Prague for further training, but this time Diosdado was assigned the task to train her, writer was heart -broken, he also felt it as punishment for breaking the rules. Diosdado sent positive reports about Tania's progress.

#### **Chapter 8-The Birth of Laura Gutierrez Bauer**

Tania was first planned as Italian cover Vittoria Pancini, which was dropped due to language deficiency and other practical problems. This time it was planned as Argentine woman, she was well versed with country and language. There have been funny instances of Tania-Diosdado stay in Prague. Tania always made Diosdado read her letters to her parents, even to Ulises, despite his reluctance to do so.

#### **Chapter 9-Tania's First Year in Bolivia**

Riding a mule, Tania entered Bolivian border from Peru on 17th November 1964. Got into touch with all high and mighty in that society, through showing her interest in Folklore and met painters, writers, journalists, once even had dinner with dictator Barrientos, with a 'friend'. Her network included intellectuals,

professionals, politicians of right wing; she always projected her as anti-communist. For legal residency, she even married an engineering student Mario Martinez Alvarez, who helped her in exit procedures, she had new passport now, travelled to Brazil as translator. Activist Mercy sent a positive report about her.

#### **Chapter 10-An encounter with Ariel**

Tania came to Mexico from Brazil in 1966 to meet Cuban officer. Che was clandestinely working from Cuban embassy in Tanzania. Tania did not know that Che was behind her selection for the mission and he had been involved in Operation Fantasma, which determined the following years of Tania's life, her sacrifice, and her transformation into Tania the Guerrilla.

**Chapter 11-Reunion with Che**  
Che checked about Tania's well being and about her marriage, whether it was with her free will. In 1966, as planned earlier, Tania got divorce from her husband, but helped him in his training in Bulgaria by arranging scholarship for him. Che arrived in La Paz on a passport of business person with Uruguyan passport as Adolfo Mena Gonzalez. Che probably met Tania on 4th November. Tania arranged for Che travel documents to travel the whole of Bolivia. The letter present to Sr Adolfo Mena mentions 'special envoy of OAS to research on economic and social situation in Bolivarian countryside', recommending all possible cooperation for research from all national and private institutions. Page 107

On November 20-19th December she brought ranch to jungles, not supposed to do then she accompanied Mario Munje, Bolivian cp leader on 31st December 1966 crucial meeting, disagreed, tense. Bolivian Communist Party inside Moscow line and Peking line, Monje Moscow line. Che predicted 'difficult time' ahead and

announced to work for 'the unity of all those who want a revolution'. Tania later visited Argentina to arrange Che's liaisons with revolutionary support. AS PER WRITER TANIA FOLLOWED DIRECT INSTRUCTIONS OF Che from 2nd January 1967 to 19th March 1967. Tania brought Regis Debray and Ciro Roberto Bustos, both now 'regret' to commitment to revolution. Che criticised Tania for being there, as two Bolivians deserted and difficult situation developed.

**Chapter 12-Tania the Guerrilla**  
23rd March 1967, first encounter with army-25th March Bolivian ELN, liberation front announced in meeting of 43 Bolivian, Cuban and Peruvian combatants. On 27th March, situation worsened. On 31st March Tania given M-1 rifle and became combatant. She had fever of 102 and Che attached her to Cuban Joaquin's command on 17th April, where she remained till 31st ambush by army, in which ten of the combatants were killed by army. Tania fought, falling with bullets in river, body found after a week on 7th September. Bolivian peasant Honorato Rojas betrayed and led army to ambush guerrillas. 35 members of army killed 7 of 10 member Joaquin's column combatants. Che's impression of Rojas on 10th February was 'a potentially dangerous man'.

On 8th October Che ambushed, killed brutally on 9th October. With that out of 49 Cuban, Peruvian, Bolivian, majority of guerrillas killed.

**Chapter 13-Return to Cuba**  
Officially death of Tania declared on 7th September, people wanted her body to be treated with respect, but army officer cruel. For publicity stunt Bolivian dictator Barrientos photographed with Tania corpse on 10th September, saying he ordered burial of Laura G bauer, Argentine woman with Tania alias 'with military

November 6-12, 2022

FRONTIER

7

honour'. But Christian burial was given to Tania due to pressure of women of area Vallegrande. But no one knew the remains later till 1997, when President Lozada has to order investigation. On 28th June 1997, Che's remains discovered and buried with honour in Santa Clara on October 8, 1997 on 30th death anniversary of Che. Tania's remains found on 19th September 1998, brought to Cuba in December 1998.

#### **Chapter 14-'My Little Ita'**

On 29th December 1998, Tania's remains interned in Santa Clara along with Che and other guerrillas in presence of her mother Nadia Bunke. Nadia died in 2003, her deepest feeling expressed in her 'little ita', an autobiographical note- They came to Argentina in 1935. Erich got job as teacher, had two children- Tamara and boy Olaf, pet name Tamarita, she too little say ita, she signed as Ita, happy optimist, energetic, tireless, vibrant, romantic, liked Argentine folk songs and folk music, attached to Latin America. Ulises assures Nadia and Erich that 'Tania is and will always be alive among us'-Page 144.

#### **Appendices**

1. Personal Records prepared for the Tania case-Secret

Tamara Bunke wrote this autobiographical note in preparation for her new identity as Tania.

Born in Buenos Aires, parents Communist, anti fascists, helped Jew refugees, returned to Germany in 1952, settled in Stalinstad, arrived in Cuba on 12th May 1961

Appendix 2. Tania's Operational Plan for the Cienuegos Practical exercise Secret-Havana-12th February 1964

Appendix 3. Tania's report on the Cienfuegos Exercises- Only Copy-Secret

To Ulises-Tania's report on work from 21st Feb. To 1st March 1964

Appendix 4. Tania's Message from Prague after her first trip to Western Europe

To: MOE from Bolivar Secret message 3

Appendix 5. Tania's message from Prague before her second trip to West Germany

Secret To: MOE meant for Ulises Estrada

Appendix 6. The Laura Guetierrezbauer Cover Story July 25, 1964 Top Secret

To M1 Copy 1-From MOE page 1

Appendix 7. Message to Mercy from HQ regarding Future contact with Tania in Bolivia

Mercy Message 5, November 1965, start

Appendix 8. Mercy's report on contact with Tania in Bolivia and Brazil-To MOE From Mercy Report on the various contacts made between 7 January and the last days of March 1966

Appendix 9. Tania's oral report on her first year of work in Bolivia given to Ariel on 16th April 1966 in Mexico

Appendix 10. Document Denying Tania's link to Stasi-GDR agency-1997

Appendix 11. Document denying Tania's link to KGB

Russian Fedration-Dec. 5, 1997

Appendix 12. Document denying Tania's link to Soviet intelligence -1997

Appendix 13. My Battle for Truth- An interview with Nadia Gunke Interview by Chritoph Wiesner, published on 7-8 March 1998, in Junge Welt

There are many groups and institutions that are named after Tamara Bunke or Tania in Cuba, also in Bolivia, lot of children are named Tania or Ernesto

Appendix 14. Nadia Bunke's letter to Fidel Castro on Tania's remains be buried in Cuba-25th December 1995

## **FRONTIER**

44, Baram Dey Street, Kolkata-700006

Phone: (033) 2530-0065

Mail: frontierweekly@yahoo.co.in

frontierweekly@hotmail.com

Site: www.frontierweekly.com

### **SUBSCRIPTION RATES**

(W.e.f January, 2022)

India [Annual] Rs. 500

Frontier Associate [Annual] Rs. 1000

Life Subscription [Inland] Rs. 5000+

Make payment by Cheque/Draft in favour of FRONTIER or GERMINAL PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD. or FRONTIER [GERMINAL PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD.]

MO should be addressed to Frontier Please add Rs. 40/- to inland outstation cheques towards bank charges, all remittances to FRONTIER

Payment should be made by cheque/ Draft in favour of

FRONTIER or GERMINAL PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD.

Or, in favour of FRONTIER [GERMINAL PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD.]

\*\*\*\*\*

**Payment could be made directly to our bank accounts as given below.**

**Check the bank details before transferring money. Also inform us through e-mail after sending money.**

Beneficiary Name: **FRONTIER**

Bank Name: CENTRAL BANK OF INDIA

Address: 8, Lenin Sarani, Kol-700013

Branch: Esplanade Branch

Current Account Number: 3116713216

IFSC Code: CBIN0280098

Swift Code: CBININBBCAL

or

Beneficiary Name:

**GERMINAL PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD.**

Bank Name: PUNJAB NATIONAL BANK

Address : 223, C. R. Avenue, Kolkata-6

Branch: Jorasanko Branch

Current Account Number: 0085050001319

IFSC Code: PUNB0008020

Branch Code : 0008020

Swift Code: UTBIINBBOBC

or

Beneficiary Name: **FRONTIER**

**(GERMINAL PUBLICATIONS PVT. LTD)**

Bank Name: PUNJAB NATIONAL BANK

Address : 223,C. R. Avenue, Kolkata-6

Branch: Jorasanko Branch

Current Account Number: 0085050001378

IFSC Code: PUNB0008020

Branch Code : 0008020

Swift Code: UTBIINBBOBC

Appendix 15. Fidel Castro's Reply to Nadia Bunke-1st April 1996

Appendix 16. Fidel Castro's speech at the burial of the remains of Che Guevara and his Companeros-Santa Clara-17th October 1997 I see Che as a moral giant who grows with each passing day, whose image, strength, and influence have multiplied throughout the earth.

Che was a true Communist and is today an example and a paradigm of the revolutionary and the communist, -Page 285

Che is taking up and winning more battles than ever.

This land is your land, these people are your people, and this revolution is your revolution. We continue to fly socialist banner with honour and pride-page 287

Appendix 17. Ramiro Valdes's speech at the Burial of the remains of Tania and others internationalist combatants-30th December 1998 Tania, she filled a glorious page in the history of Che's actions in Bolivia, giving her life in hostile environment, side by side with other Bolivian, Peruvian and Cuban Companeros

Welcome Tania, immortal example of a woman and a com-

munist-page 293-Socialism or death, homeland or death, we shall overcome. □□□

#### Notes

Patrice Lumumba founded Congo on 30th June 1960, assassinated on 17th January 1961 Mobutu Seiku became dictator and was overthrown in 1997 by Laurent Kabila, with whom Che had differences

Ciro Bustos drew sketches for army and US services, confirming Che's presence in Bolivia.

A well written book and an apt tribute to Tania!

[Chaman Lal is retired Professor from Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), New Delhi and Honorary Advisor to Bhagat Singh Archives and Resource Centre New Delhi. [prof.chaman@gmail.com](mailto:prof.chaman@gmail.com)]

#### PLAYING WITH THE GALLERY

## From Rajpath to Kartavya Path

Prem Singh

WHEN THE ROAD FROM Rashtrapati Bhavan to India Gate was named Rajpath, it was not a literal translation of the King's Way. In the same sense, Janpath was not the translated name for its old name, the Queen's Way. In the Rajpath nomenclature, the symbolism of independent and sovereign India's democratic statehood was fulfilled. From 26 January 1950 onwards, a colourful display of India's military might and cultural diversity continued to be showcased on the Rajpath. In this sense, the symbolism associated with Rajpath became progressively stronger in the public mind. If any individual or group continues to believe that Rajpath is a translation of the name of the colonial era, King's Way, and as a result of this, indicates the colonial mind-set, one must realise that for the vast public of India, Rajpath means the path of independent and sovereign India's democratic statehood. Therefore, the statement of the Prime Minister that he has liberated the nation from the colonial

mindset by renaming the Rajpath as Kartavya Path is mere a rhetoric.

While unveiling the statue of Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, which was installed under the Grand Canopy situated east of India Gate, the Prime Minister claimed to have given him his rightful place in history. Even this claim could be called hollow. The politics of symbols and icons has been going on all over the world for a long time. The Congress, in India, has also done that, and regional satraps have been doing it at the regional level in different ways. However, this politics has intensified in the neo-liberal era. The only thing that's new with the RSS/BJP in this regard is that it uses the politics of symbols and icons of anti-colonial struggle without having participated in the freedom struggle. It brings someone down, lifts someone up while doing this brand of politics. To cover the hollowness of this exercise, it has to go beyond history and logic, and resort to political power. Neither history is made nor is history written by making loud claims with

the support of power and rumbling of symbols/icons.

The RSS/BJP finds everything wrong in the historiography of ancient and medieval India and freedom struggle. The correct way is that its scholars should attempt re-writing the 'right history' but only after following the rigorous discipline of historiography. Historiography is perhaps the most difficult academic pursuit in the modern world. Like every subject, historiography is determined by rigorous examination of accepted methods and criteria. Without learning, understanding and following them, one cannot become a historian or a scholar of any other subject. Ignoring this difficult though necessary path, the RSS/BJP try to slander the left scholars who write history, and tamper with the already prescribed text-books. As if, in India and in the world only sanghis and communists exist; and other than the communists, scholars of no other streams have done any work in historiography or in any other subject. Obviously, this becomes a futile debate on the part of the RSS/BJP, which blocks the path of knowledge.

Left scholars in India and in the world have contributed a lot to historiography and other subjects. This



November 6-12, 2022

FRONTIER

9

is the result of their sincerity, intellect and hard work. A scholar of any other stream cannot move forward without having gone through their work and learned from them. Exactly in the same way, a scholar of the Marxist stream cannot progress by neglecting the work of scholars of other streams.

But people of stagnant mentality become accustomed to instigating arguments and quarrels instead of pursuing the basics of academic learning. Due to this they do not develop as modern human beings, their intellectual credibility is doubtful and their social personality suffers. The same holds true for the RSS/BJP. One cannot claim to be modern simply by indiscriminate adoption of digital devices invented by the western world. For that one has to adopt the philosophy of the natural sciences which nurtures a scientific and progressive outlook. It is not without reason that people with a stagnant mindset try to make themselves look modern by equipping them with various digital tools.

The question of colonial mind-set and liberation from it has been a very problematic and serious question. Not only for the countries which have been colonised, but also for the colonialists. There is a plethora of literature and debates available on colonialism, post-colonialism and neo-colonialism. Many important leaders of the world including India have also given serious thought to this subject. In the field of politics, a true statesman will not make superficial speeches on the serious question of colonial mind-set and liberation from this mind-set. For the last three decades the threat of neo-colonialism has resurfaced for the countries which got freedom from the grip of colonialism. India is also facing that threat. But, unfortunately, the ruling-class here, instead of performing its duty towards ensuring

the country's independence and sovereignty, is handing the country over to the neo-colonial clutches. While doing so, the ruling-class reduces the freedom fighters and the national flag into merely objects of political use.

The present government has been doing the same thing, first with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and now with Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. The government is neither concerned with the role played by Patel for national integration and communal harmony, nor with the socialist and secular ideas of Netaji. It wants to keep new or corporate-India (Nigam-Bharat) as a communal state, which it calls 'Hindu-Rashtra'. Netaji's daughter Prof Anita Bose Pfaff, in her letter addressed to the Prime Minister, states, "... he upheld in no uncertain manner communal harmony, Indian unity as well as the emancipation of women and the downtrodden people."

The Prime Minister, while unveiling the statue of Netaji, bypasses the fact that it is a stop gap arrangement. VD Savarkar's statue is yet to be installed with Netaji at the same place even if a statue of Bhagat Singh too needs to be installed alongside. People will remember that in August 2019, the leaders of Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad (ABVP) had secretly established the trinity of Savarkar-Netaji-Bhagat Singh in the main campus of Delhi University. In an article written at this time this writer had said that this course was not going to cease with this incident.

In fact, it is a two-pronged psychological warfare going on: diverting the attention of the masses, especially the younger generation, from the neo-colonial clutches; and the inclusion of those who fought against colonialism in the arena of neo-colonialism. This combined exercise of the ruling-class and the

**As Timir Basu is still seriously ill, he is not in a position to communicate with contributors and subscribers. Please bear with us.**

—Fr.

media is advertised as patriotism, day and night, by uninterrupted propaganda. People are drawn in by this way of preaching and applaud it. A few generations have been born from the womb of a-politicisation that went under three decades of corporate politics. They do not seem to mind the phenomenon of corporate politics selling off national assets, destroying constitutional institutions, renaming cities, roads, buildings on communal lines, and the celebrations of all this.

For one thing it can be said that the new beautified Kartavya Path of new India will inspire the people to imagine that their duty, like the ruling-class, is to be devoted not to the sacrifices of their anti-colonial, patriotic forefathers but to the service of neo-colonialism! □□□

[The writer associated with the socialist movement is a former teacher of Delhi University and a fellow of Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla]

গড্ডালিকা প্রবাহ থেকে

বাংলা ভাষা তথা মাতৃভাষা বাঁচান

‘শুধু পূর্বাশা’

সাদা জাগানো বাংলা পাক্ষিক পত্রিকা

ও ‘পূর্বাশা এখন’ মাসিক পত্রিকা

এখনই সংগ্রহ করুন

সব স্টলে পাওয়া যাচ্ছে। ‘শুধু পূর্বাশা’ দাম ৫

টাকা মাত্র ও ‘পূর্বাশা এখন’ ২৫ টাকা মাত্র।

‘শুধু পূর্বাশা’-এর বার্ষিক গ্রাহক চাঁদা ১৭০

টাকা। ‘পূর্বাশা এখন’-এর গ্রাহকরা অতিরিক্ত

১০০ টাকায় পাক্ষিকটিরও গ্রাহক হতে পারেন।

কলকাতা কার্যালয় :

২৩, ডাঃ কার্তিক বসু স্ট্রিট, কলকাতা-৭০০০০৯

চলভাষ : ৮৪২০৮২৪২৮৬

email : editorpurbasha@gmail.com

---

**MOURNING THE MONARCH**


---

## “Insulting the National flag”

*[Following is a statement issued by the CPI-ML Liberation]*

**S**EPTEMBER 8. PRIME MINISTER Narendra Modi, speaking at the newly inaugurated Kartavya Path at India Gate said that “Rajpath” [translated from the English Kingsway] was a symbol of slavery. Similarly, last week during the commissioning of INS Vikrant, Modi unveiled a new Indian Navy flag in which the old St George’s Cross was dropped and a new insignia was added. Again, the PM’s office said that this change was an attempt to move away from India’s colonial past.

The very day after changing the name of Rajpath to Kartavya Path, the Modi government has already shed its Kartavya (duty) to stand against symbols of colonialism and slavery. In an official statement, the government announced that the National Flag will fly at half-mast on September 11 as a mark of “respect to the departed dignitary.” Here the departed dignitary is Queen Elizabeth II of Britain and Northern Ireland, whose position is a symbol of hundreds of years of colonial exploitation, slavery and plunder across the world.

Elizabeth II, who was crowned in 1953, was Britain’s longest-reigning monarch. She is not a mere rem-

nant of the colonial era, but was an active participant in colonialism as Britain attempted to brutally suppress anti-colonial struggles across the world in the 1950s and 1960s.

In India, the massacre of 1857 revolutionaries, the Bengal famine, the Jallianwala Bagh massacre, the hanging of Bhagat Singh and other revolutionaries, the repression against the ‘Quit India’ movement and the whole freedom struggle are just a few of the major colonial crimes committed under the royal insignia of the British monarchy. Economist Utsa Patnaik has estimated that Britain stole \$45 trillion from India between 1765 and 1938.

This is the very monarchy which was carried forward by Queen Elizabeth II without any remorse, reparation or apology. How can Indians lower their national flag, symbol of the freedom struggle, at half-mast as a mark of respect to this central institution of colonialism?

While India freed itself from the clutches of British colonialism, countries across the world had to continue the struggle for another five decades, facing violence and massacres at the hands of British forces enforcing the rule of Queen Elizabeth II. During her reign, she over-

saw the brutal suppression of the Mau Mau freedom movement in Kenya during the 1950s, leading to the massacre of tens of thousands of people. More than 20,000 Mau Mau members were summarily executed and a large number of people were sent to concentration camps by British colonial authorities. Veteran survivors of the rapes and horrific torture in these camps are today still seeking justice.

There are consistent attempts to ‘whitewash’ and dissociate the Queen from these colonial crimes by portraying her as the ‘rock’ of modern Britain. But the blood on the throne of the British monarchy (no matter who sits on it), can’t be washed off, representing as it does hundreds of years of colonial atrocities across the globe.

Today, people are celebrating the 75th anniversary of freedom (‘Azadi Ka Amrit Mahotsav’) as a mark of respect to the glorious freedom struggle against colonialism. Lowering the national flag at half-mast, as the Modi government wants to do, will be an insult to the sacrifice of freedom fighters who gave their blood to break the colonial shackles. By doing this, the Modi government is only proving itself once again to be the loyal legatee of the colonial rulers, the brown sahibs or ‘bhure angrez’ Bhagat Singh had famously warned people against.

□□□

---

**‘BHARAT JODO’ YATRA**


---

## The Idea of India

**Ram Puniyani**

**I**NDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (INC), the oldest party of the country is organising a Bharat Jodo Yatra from 7th September, from Kanyakumari to Kashmir, a distance of 3500 KM, passing through 12 states and two union territories. The

yatra (march) is being undertaken by an electoral outfit, still on 20th August nearly 200 social activists, who generally have no direct interest in electoral politics also interacted with Rahul Gandhi and it is likely that they with their organisations will actively asso-

ciate with the Yatra. Yogendra Yadav, a prominent social activist and head of Swaraj India widely circulated the appeal to the social organisations to be part of the Yatra. In an appeal Yadav very aptly sums up the need for such a Yatra,

**The appeal states:**

★ Never before have the values of our Republic faced as heinous an assault as they have in the recent past.

November 6-12, 2022

FRONTIER

11

- ★ Never before have hate, division and exclusion unleashed on us with such impunity.
- ★ Never before have we been subjected to surveillance, propaganda and disinformation at this scale.
- ★ Never before have we seen a regime so callous to the plight of the people while the economy lies in ruins, propped up only by a few favored cronies.
- ★ Never before have had the real nation-builders—an overwhelming majority of the farmers and workers, Dalits and Adivasis—faced such effective exclusion in the shaping of the nation's future.

Yadav is hitting the nail on the head while summarising today's dismal situation. Even when the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) first came to power under Vajpayee, many social activists, who had the understanding that BJP and Congress are two sides of the same coin, did realise that BJP is different. Even when BJP was not in majority and led the NDA coalition, it displayed its being a party with a difference, its being a part of RSS combine, committed to the agenda of Hindutva, Hindu Nationalism as against Indian Nationalism. Its policies in education (Saffronisation of education) and the growth of RSS shakhas during this period were phenomenal.

The overt and covert anti-Minority sentiments were out in the open. The Anti Muslim violence was duly supplemented by anti Christian violence (burning of Pastor Graham Stains 1999). Bajrang Dal's Dara Singh was there to frighten those longing for democratic ethos, defence of minority rights being one of them. The foundation of corporate dominance and media being bought over began in the right earnest. Gujarat Carnage set the new low in the ferocity of communal brutality.

With BJP coming back to power in 2014, with full majority NDA was reduced to a formality and the agenda of BJP-RSS came up in full

flow. The institutions meant to protect Democracy got undermined in due course and the cleverness of RSS affiliates in winning over sections of Dalits, adivasis and even section of religious minorities was visible. The present political scenario is very frightful for the poor and religious minorities. The value of Indian Constitution, particularly fraternity has been pushed to the lowest rung of ladder.

The social groups committed to better India have been looking for ways to restore democratic norms and prepare the ground for struggles for rights of the marginalised sections of society, so it seems many social groups are inclined to associate with this much needed Yatra, which aims to promote fraternity and raise people's conscience about the worsening conditions of living on daily basis. The economic disparities are on the upswing and citizenship rights of many are becoming a mere formality. The case of Bilkis Bano shows the modulation of social thinking where the rapists and murderers are not only being released but also being garlanded, while those struggling for the weak and oppressed like Umar Khalid are behind the bars. Mercifully Teesta Sitalvad did get the bail.

Yatras in India have played diverse roles, positive as well negative. One recalls the two major yatras by Mahatma Gandhi which changed the dynamics of society. The Dandi march was a major step in anti-colonial struggle, it strengthened Indians' aspiration for Independence and infused the society with values of social reform and anti colonialism. Not surprisingly the Communal organisations kept aloof from this march. It was a meticulously organised event, which also was a major step in uniting Indians with Indian identity overarching the other identities of caste and religion.

Then Gandhi responding to Ambedkar's struggles for social justice, in the aftermath of Mahad

Tank and Kalaram Mandir agitations took the issue of caste and untouchability seriously. The seriousness was to the extent that he suspended steps towards anti-colonial struggle he took out series of yatras from 1933. These yatras aimed at eradication of untouchability and caste hierarchy. This again united as Indians to a great extent.

There are many other yatras like the one led by Jagan Mohan Reddy (For electoral gains), NTR (For coming to power), by Chandra Shekhar with the broader goal of Indian Unity being the major ones. The one which had divisive impact was the Rath Yatra led by Lal Krishna Advani. This yatra got a boost in the context of affirmative action of Mandal Commission implementation. Advani's yatra also aimed to divide the society along religious lines. The result was stepping up of the communal violence, in the aftermath of the Advani-BJP yatra and leading eventually to Babri demolition. That process of divisive politics got a big boost from last over eight years and now the deeper spirit of fraternity, national unity are in a poor shape.

Though the present Yatra is being led by a political party, the logic for social organisations associating with it are for the loftier goal of national unity. Even those groups differing with Congress politics at some points are whole heartedly associating with this exercise as they all recognise the need to combat the communal politics and its negative impact on the national unity. One has hopes that most of the non-BJP political parties, the regional parties, the social activists and groups standing for the 'idea of India' as it emerged from the freedom movement and are enshrined in the Constitution will look up to this yatra as the paramount need of the hour to keep aloft the India of the dreams of Gandhi and Patel, Maulana Azad and Nehru, Bose and Ambedkar!

□□□

## CONFUSION AND MISCONCEPTION

**'So-called Primitive Accumulation'***Ian Angus*

**I**N PART EIGHT OF CAPITAL, titled "So-called Primitive Accumulation", Marx describes the brutal processes that separated working people from the means of subsistence, and concentrated wealth in the hands of landlords and capitalists. It's one of the most dramatic and readable parts of the book.

It is also a continuing source of confusion and debate. Literally dozens of articles have tried to explain what "primitive accumulation" really meant. Did it occur only in the distant past, or does it continue today? Was "primitive" a mistranslation? Should the name be changed? What exactly was "Marx's theory of primitive accumulation"?

On June 20 and 27, 1865, Karl Marx gave a two-part lecture to members of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) in London. In clear and direct English, he drew on insights that would appear in the nearly-finished first volume of Capital, to explain the labour theory of value, surplus value,

class struggle, and the importance of trade unions as "centres of resistance against the encroachments of capital". Since an English translation of Capital wasn't published until after his death, those talks were the only opportunity that English-speaking workers had to learn those ideas directly from their author.

While explaining how workers sell their ability to work, Marx asked rhetorically how it came about that there are two types of people in the market—capitalists who own the means of production, and workers who must sell their labour-power in order to survive.

"How does this strange phenomenon arise, that we find on the market a set of buyers, possessed of land, machinery, raw material, and the means of subsistence, all of them, save land in its crude state, the products of labour, and on the other hand, a set of sellers who have nothing to sell except their labouring power, their working arms and brains? That the one set buys continually in order to make a profit and enrich themselves, while the other set continually sells in order to earn their livelihood?"

A full answer was outside the scope of his lecture, he said, but "the inquiry into this question would be an inquiry into what the economists call 'Previous, or Original Accumulation', but which ought to be called Original Expropriation".

"We should find that this so-called Original Accumulation means nothing but a series of historical processes, resulting in a Decomposition of the Original Union existing between the Labouring Man and his Instruments of Labour. ... The Separation between the Man of Labour and the Instruments of Labour once established,

such a state of things will maintain itself and reproduce itself upon a constantly increasing scale, until a new and fundamental revolution in the mode of production should again overturn it, and restore the original union in a new historical form".

Marx was always very careful in his use of words. He didn't replace accumulation with expropriation lightly. The switch is particularly important because this was the only time he discussed the issue in English—it wasn't filtered through a translation.

In Capital, the subject occupies eight chapters in the part titled Die sogenannte ursprüngliche Akkumulation—later rendered in English translations as "So-called Primitive Accumulation". Once again, Marx's careful use of words is important—he added "so-called" to make a point, that the historical processes were not primitive and not accumulation. Much of the confusion about Marx's meaning reflects failure to understand his ironic intent, here and elsewhere.

In the first paragraph he says that 'ursprüngliche' Akkumulation is his translation of Adam Smith's words previous accumulation. He put the word ursprüngliche (previous) in scare quotes, signaling that the word is inappropriate. For some reason the quote marks are omitted in the English translations, so his irony is lost.

In the 1800s, primitive was a synonym for original—for example, the Primitive Methodist Church claimed to follow the original teachings of Methodism. As a result, the French edition of Capital, which Marx edited in the 1870s, translated ursprüngliche as primitive; that carried over to the 1887 English translation, and people have been stuck with primitive accumulation ever since, even though the word's meaning has changed.

Marx explains why he used so-called and scare quotes by compar-

**Just Published****WITH THE  
PASSING TIME**by  
**Farooque Chowdhury**Published by  
**NGG Books**4, Aati Bazar, Keraniganj,  
Dhaka, Bangladesh  
Email: [nggbooks@gmail.com](mailto:nggbooks@gmail.com)Website: [www.nggbooks.wordpress.com](http://www.nggbooks.wordpress.com)Price: 400tk  
[300tk for teachers and students, if  
collected from the publisher.]



November 6-12, 2022

FRONTIER

13

ing the idea of previous accumulation to the Christian doctrine that all suffer because Adam and Eve sinned in a distant mythical past. Proponents of previous accumulation tell an equivalent nursery tale:

“Long, long ago there were two sorts of people; one, the diligent, intelligent and above all frugal elite; the other, lazy rascals, spending their substance, and more, in riotous living. ... Thus it came to pass that the former sort accumulated wealth, and the latter sort finally had nothing to sell except their own skins. And from this original sin dates the poverty of the great majority who, despite all their labour, have up to now nothing to sell but themselves, and the wealth of the few that increases constantly, although they have long ceased to work”.

“Such insipid childishness is every day preached to us in defense of property”, but when we consider actual history, “it is a notorious fact that conquest, enslavement, robbery, murder, in short, force, play the greatest part”. The chapters of So-called Primitive Accumulation describe the brutal processes by which “great masses of men [were] suddenly and forcibly torn from their means of subsistence, and hurled onto the labor-market as free, unprotected and rightless proletarians”.

“These newly freed men became sellers of themselves only after they had been robbed of all their own means of production, and all the guarantees of existence afforded by the old feudal arrangements. And this history, the history of their expropriation, is written in the annals of mankind in letters of blood and fire”.

Marx’s account focuses on expropriation in England, because the dispossession of working people was most complete there, but he also refers to the mass murder of indigenous people in the Americas, the plundering of India, and the trade in African

slaves—“these idyllic proceedings are the chief moments of primitive accumulation”. That sentence, and others like it, illustrate Marx’s consistently sarcastic take on primitive accumulation. He is not describing primitive accumulation; he is condemning those who use the concept to conceal the brutal reality of expropriation.

Failure to understand that Marx was polemicising against the concept of “primitive accumulation” has led to another misconception—that Marx thought it occurred only in the distant past, when capitalism was being born. That was what Adam Smith and other pro-capitalist writers meant by previous accumulation, and as, Marx compared that view to the Garden of Eden myth. Marx’s chapters on so-called primitive accumulation emphasised the violent expropriations that laid the basis for early capitalism because he was responding to the claim that capitalism evolved peacefully. But his account also includes the Opium Wars of the 1840s and 1850s, the Highland Clearances in capitalist Scotland, the colonial-created famine that killed a million people in Bengal in India in 1866, and plans for enclosing and privatising land in Australia. All of these took place during Marx’s lifetime and while he was writing *Capital*. None of them were part of capitalism’s prehistory.

The expropriations that occurred in capitalism’s first centuries were devastating, but far from complete. In Marx’s view, capital could not rest there—its ultimate goal was “to expropriate all individuals from the means of production”. Elsewhere he wrote of big capitalists “dispossessing the smaller capitalists and expropriating the final residue of direct producers who still have something left to expropriate”. In other words, expropriation continues well after capitalism matures.

In the history of capitalism, one sees a constant, dialectical interplay between the two forms of class robbery

that Peter Linebaugh has dubbed X2—expropriation and exploitation. “Expropriation is prior to exploitation, yet the two are interdependent. Expropriation not only prepares the ground, so to speak, it intensifies exploitation”.

Expropriation is open robbery. It includes forced enclosure, dispossession, slavery and other forms of theft, without equivalent exchange. Exploitation is concealed robbery. Workers appear to receive full payment for their labour in the form of wages, but in fact the employer receives more value than he pays for.

What Adam Smith and others described as a gradual build up of wealth by men who were more industrious and frugal than others was actually violent, forcible expropriation that created the original context for exploitation and has continued to expand it ever since. As John Bellamy Foster and Brett Clark write in *The Robbery of Nature*:

“Like any complex, dynamic system, capitalism has both an inner force that propels it and objective conditions outside itself that set its boundaries, the relations to which are forever changing. The inner dynamic of the system is governed by the process of exploitation of labor power, under the guise of equal exchange, while its primary relation to its external environment is one of expropriation.

In short, Marx did not have a “theory of primitive accumulation”. He devoted eight chapters of *Capital* to demonstrating that the political economists who promoted such a theory were wrong, that it was a “nursery tale” invented to whitewash capital’s real history.

Marx’s preference for “original expropriation” wasn’t just playing with words. That expression captured his view that “the expropriation from the land of the direct producers—private ownership for some, involving non-ownership of the land for others—is the basis of the capitalist mode of production”. □□□

## LETTERS

**Das Kapital**

“Most of the creations of the intellect or fancy pass away for good after a time that varies between an after-dinner hour and a generation. Some, however, do not. They suffer eclipses but they come back again, and they come back not as unrecognisable elements of a cultural inheritance, but in their individual garb and with their personal scars which people may see and touch. These people may call the great ones—it is no disadvantage of this definition that it links greatness to vitality. Taken in this sense, this is undoubtedly the word to apply to the message of Marx. But there is an additional advantage to defining greatness by revivals: it thereby becomes independent of one’s love or hate. People need not believe that a great achievement must necessarily be a source of light or faultless in either fundamental design or details. On the contrary, one may believe it to be a power of darkness; one may think it fundamentally wrong or disagree with it on any number of particular points. In the case of the Marxian system, such adverse judgement or even exact disproof, by its very failure to injure fatally, only serves to bring out the power of the structure.” (Joseph Schumpeter)

“Marx was the great character reader of the capitalist system.”... The significance of Marx for modern economic theory is that of an inexhaustible source of direct observation. Much of the present-day theorising is purely derivative, second-hand theorising. People often theorise not about business enterprises, wages, or business cycles but about other people’s theories of profits, other people’s theories of wages, and other people’s theories of business cycles. If before attempting any

explanation one wants to learn what profits and wages and capitalist enterprises actually are, he can obtain in the three volumes of Capital more realistic and relevant first-hand information than he could possibly hope to find in ten successive issues of the United States Census, a dozen textbooks on contemporary economic institutions, and even, may I dare to say, the collected essays of Thorstein Veblen.” (“The Significance of Marxian Economics for Present-Day Economic Theory” by Wassily Leontief, Harvard University; *The American Economic Review*, Vol. 28, No. 1, Supplement)

“Let us finally imagine, for a change, an association of free women and men, working with the means of production held in common, and expending their many different forms of labour-power in full self-awareness as one single social labour force.” (Capital Vol 1, Karl Marx)

Sudeb Mitra

**Vernon Gonsalves**

Mumbai Rises to Save Democracy (MRSD) is distressed to learn about the health situation of 65 -year -old activist, poet, and writer Vernon Gonsalves, incarcerated since 2018 in the Bhima Koregaon/Elgar Parishad case. Gonsalves started developing several symptoms, such as fever, cough, dizziness, and nausea starting on August 30, as per the affidavit filed by his lawyers in Court. However, his health condition was met with neglect and it was only after pleading several times that he was finally taken to the state-run JJ hospital on September 6. Instead of continuing his treatment there, he was taken back to jail the same day. Upon hearing about this from other co-accused, Gonsalves’ lawyers and family members moved the NIA court seeking temporary bail on medical

conditions. During the hearing, the lawyers told the Court that apart from Dengue, he may also be suffering from Pneumonia. It is appalling that in spite of this he was not provided adequate medical care by the authorities, leading to his health deteriorating further. Only after the bail hearing on September 7, he was admitted to the state-run JJ hospital. Gonsalves has since been put on Oxygen support.

Notably, his condition deteriorated in prison, as mentioned in the affidavit. At first, he was administered Paracetamol and Erythromycin without examination. Upon no improvement, and recurring fever and cough, on the fourth day, upon requests of co-accused Sudhir Dhawale and other fellow inmates, he was given an injection and antibiotics and sent back to the barracks. The fever still did not reduce, and by the fifth day there was nausea, weakness and dizziness. Till that point also, no checkups were done.

Earlier, out of the 16 arrested persons, Jesuit priest Stan Swamy died at a hospital in Mumbai while in custody, due to gross delay and neglect on the part of the prison authorities to provide medical care and treatment. Several others have fallen sick or were delayed medical help for an ongoing health condition. Two other accused persons, Sudha Bharadwaj and Varavara Rao, are currently out on bail. The latter, who is out on medical bail, similarly suffered medical neglect in jail and delayed treatment during the pandemic.

The activists, academicians, and lawyers incarcerated in the case have been arrested in multiple rounds, starting from June 2018, months after saffron flag carrying mobs attacked Dalit- Bahujans who had gathered at Bhima Koregaon for its bicentennial anniversary of the battle of Bhima Koregaon. The denial of

November 6-12, 2022

FRONTIER

15

timely medical treatment and care to not just these undertrials but several others indicates the callous attitude of the prison authorities and state governments, which is in contravention to national and international guidelines of human rights and individual dignity.

Apart from Gonsalves, the other accused persons in custody are Sudhir Dhawale, Rona Wilson, Surendra Gadling, Shoma Sen, Mahesh Raut, Arun Ferreira, Anand Teltumbde, Gautam Navlakha, Hany Babu, Sagar Gorkhe, Ramesh Gaichor and Jyoti Jagtap.

All the prisoners who are suffering from medical ailments should be released on bail as neither the jail nor the government hospitals are equipped to address emergency medical situations.

Mumbai Rises to  
Save Democracy, Mumbai

### **A Farcical Interview**

The interview for the post of political science (Guest) (Delhi University) was scheduled on September 10, 2022. Given my previous experience, I was not willing to appear for it. But friends persuaded me to go and fight for our rights.

I reached the college well before the time. When my turn came and I entered the room. The first question was asked about my experience. I said that I had taught for four semesters at NCWEB. I mentioned that I had taught "Comparative politics", "International Relations", "Comparative Political Thoughts" and "Indian Government and Politics". I said that as a teacher I had taught all the articles listed in the syllabus of the same Delhi University and the expert could ask anything about any reading or ideas.

Friends, the first question asked by a female member, perhaps she is the principal of the college if I am not wrong, to give the full form of

NCWEB! The second question asked by a male expert, perhaps he is the political science department head, is to differentiate the money bill and finance bill.

These two questions were clear indications that the board does not deserve to take my interview. My work is on minority affairs and social justice; the expert did not have any time to look into it. Had they studied it carefully, they would not have asked me finance bill and money bill questions as I have never worked on that issue. Had they asked about the larger political economy question, it might have still made some sense.

Even I said that you could ask and discuss any reading from the above-mentioned four papers but they could not ask anything. Perhaps, they themselves have not read anything!

Soon, they called a person from the office and asked him to take me out.

Having experienced such a humiliation, I felt very sad. My sadness is not because I was thrown out of the interview room but because of the sorry state of Indian academics, particularly the political science department which is headed by intellectual bankruptcy.

Dr Abhay Kumar, New Delhi

### **Energy Protest**

Huge protests are pouring into the streets in Germany against Olaf Scholz's Government.

- Energy Bill protests are on in Italy.
- Spain is teetering on the edge of bankruptcy. It already saw massive protests in March.
- 70,000 Czechs protest over energy crisis at Prague.
- Slovak Government has fallen.
- "Don't Pay UK" and "Enough is Enough" campaigns are gathering steam in UK.

- France issued "Energy Sobriety" measures with more to follow.
- Sweden and Finland have announced rescue packages for their Energy Companies.
- Austria's primary power company has already folded.
- Many European Energy Companies are on the brink of going under.
- Russia has earned OVER 158 Billion in excess energy sales, post the Ukraine invasion.
- Russia has suspended supply of Gas to Europe.

But...guess whose Government is in danger of falling, as per Western 'experts'?

Putin's!

Soumyabrata Guha Thakurta,  
Kolkata

### **'I am not a Marxist'**

Marx hyphenated himself as a Marxist as he was opposed to confine his ideas into any 'ism'. Marcello Musto in his 'Last years of Karl Marx: An Intellectual Biography', wrote: "After the birth of the French Workers' Party, in September 1882, he raged to Engels about the husbands of his two elder daughters: "Longuet as the last Proudhonist and Lafargue as the last Bakuninist! The devils take them!" And in a similar vein, he more than once attacked those who claimed to be following his ideas, wittily noting:

'What is certain is that I am not a Marxist [Ce qu'il y a de certain c'est que moi, je ne suis pas Marxiste].' Marx stated in chaste French.

Sankar Ray, Kolkata

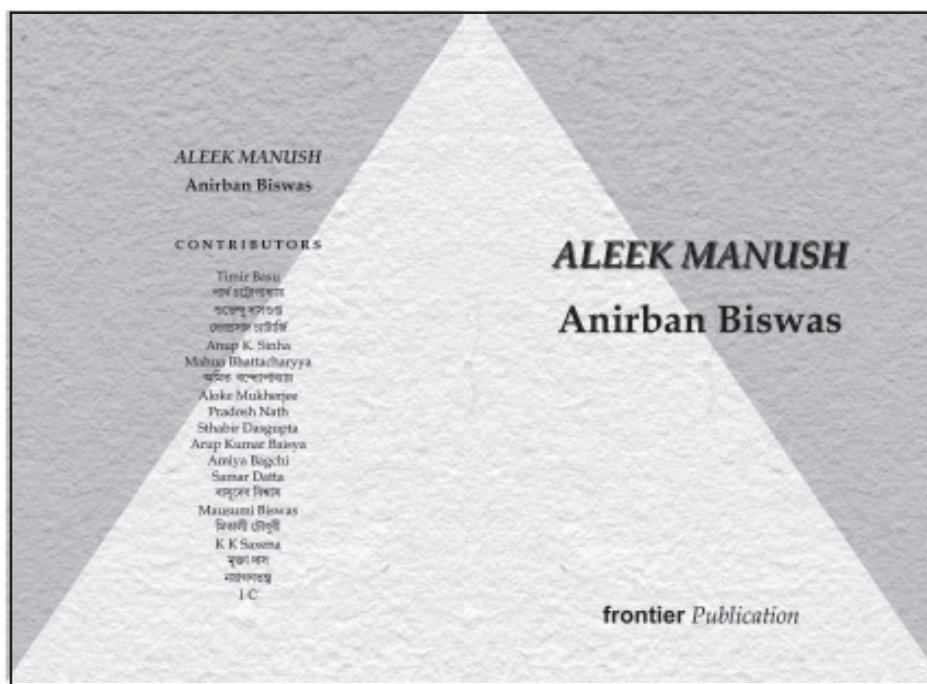
For **Frontier Contact**

**DHYANBINDU**

College Square

# A **frontier** Publication

Just Released



## **ALEEK MANUSH**

**Anirban Biswas**

**COMPILATION TEAM:**

TIMIR BASU, ARUP SEN, NABINANDA SEN, TARUN BASU

**CONTRIBUTORS:**

TIMIR BASU, PARTHA CHATTOPADHYAY, SHUBHENDU DASGUPTA,  
DEBAPROSAD CHATTERJEE, ANUP K. SINHA, MAHUA BHATTACHARYYA,  
AMIT BANDYOPADHYAY, ALOKE MUKHERJEE, PRADOSH NATH, STHABIR  
DASGUPTA, ARUP KUMAR BAISYA, AMIYA BAGCHI, SAMAR DATTA,  
BASUDEB BISWAS, MAUSUMI BISWAS, MITALI CHOWDHURY, K K SAXENA,  
MUKTA DAS, NAYAGANATANTRA, I C

Available at:

Frontier Office, Patiram Stall (College Street), Dhyانبindu  
and other book stalls selling issues of frontier.

**Contribution: INR 100**