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MASS MURDER IN MADRAS

NOT a word of sympathy has been uttered, at the time of writing, by the Government of India over the mass slaughter of kisans at Kilavenmani village of Madras on Christmas Day. The Government was not ready with an immediate reply when the matter was raised in the Rajya Sabha two days later, though, if the members were willing, it would certainly have been able to enlighten them with minute details, known only to itself, of conspiracies of violent uprisings by kisans in different parts of the country. The Union Home Minister, who never misses an opportunity to dilate with great gusto on the threat posed to the country by alleged votaries of violence, is unmoved by the savagery of 43 people, 25 of them women and 14 children, being burnt alive by the hired henchmen of some village landlords. This is not the first instance of the Government's deliberate silence over killing of kisans. In the volumes that have been spoken and reported about Naxalbari, there is hardly any mention of the 11 women and children who were mowed down by police firing in the early stage of the agitation. But the entire propaganda machinery of the Government, official and non-official, swings into action the moment a landlord, or his hireling, or a policeman receives a scratch. Mr Chavan chooses to stand by as a disinterested onlooker as the victims are peasants and workers, more so if they are reported to be under the influence of communists of any shade.

The tragedy of Kilavenmani has another dimension. Our southern States also have a special problem. Though no part of India can claim to be entirely free from casteism and untouchability, the malady persists in a more acute form in some States in the south where, despite the sanctimonious celebration of the Gandhi centenary, a Harijan remains an inferior citizen, a sort of outlaw; his life and property are always a hostage to the pleasure of his "superiors" in caste, who also constitute the privileged classes. The injustice thrives under government auspices. Whether it is the Congress Government of Andhra or the DMK Government of Madras, they owe their existence to this inequality, and their authority is exercised invariably in favour of the privileged. Perhaps no political party can claim truthfully that it never plays on this inequality to gain a seat or two in the legislatures. In the past few months several cases of persecution, torture, and gross violation of humanity have been reported from some States, but they have not stirred the conscience of those who run the administration there or of

the Centre. For they know that their fate is linked with the malefactors and they cannot afford to antagonise those who are making a pastime of hunting the Harijans. The horror they express at these incidents is a sham, and none knows it better than the men who commit these crimes and the police who abet them.

It is not surprising that the Madras Chief Minister has turned down the demand for a judicial inquiry into the Kilavenmani incident and the Government of India kept quiet when a similar demand was made in the Rajya Sabha. Not that a judicial inquiry would have prevented recurrence of such incidents; but it would have been a token of the Government's non-partisan approach. Already there is a determined attempt to confuse the plain issue that these people were brutally done to death because their landlords wanted to teach the kisans a lesson for demanding a higher share of the crop they had grown. Newspaper reports persist in describing the tragedy as the result of a clash between two groups of kisans in which fire was also exchanged. But the secretary of the Tamilnad Kisan Sabha has denied this. He says that when some kisans tried to free two of their colleagues who had been "arrested", tied to a tree, and beaten up by some goondas hired by a landowner, they were fired upon. The scared kisans ran for safety and took shelter in the huts which were set on fire by the chasing goondas. Those who could not flee were trapped in the blazing huts; that is why there were so many women and children among the dead. It was not unknown to the Government that tension was building up in the area, and the police had been mobilised; but they reached Kilavenmani twelve hours after the incident. Among the 33 people arrested in connection with the incident is an office-bearer of the Tanjore district paddy growers association, described by the DMK Press as a supporter of the Congress. But the association itself represents Congress, Swatantra, and DMK landowners. This may be the reason for the absence of the police, though the conspiracy to burn down

the Harijan village on the ground that it was a hotbed of CPI(M) trouble-makers was said to have been hatched more than a week ago. The retired strongman of the Congress, Mr Kamaraj, who is now desperately trying to stage a political come-back, has seen in the incident the danger of a political alliance with the Left Communists, and Mr Annadurai is determined to go by the findings of his police who became an accomplice by their inaction. Maybe, the victims were supporters of the CPI(M); but that does not mitigate the enormity of the crime, nor does the fact that they were Harijans. The Congress and the DMK have, however, found a meeting ground in taking a different view, and both will no doubt come down hard on the kisans in the interest of the country's security if they organise themselves against such atrocities.

An Unreal Game

The unreal game goes on. The Planning Commission has now finalised the size of the Central outlay for the Fourth Plan; the Ministry of Finance in principle did not disapprove of the magnitude of expenditure decided upon. This is however neither here nor there, for the picture of resources remains as uncertain as ever. None of the States have agreed to raise additional taxes to the extent the Planning Commission wants them to; at this stage, the aggregate outlay under the State plans is, therefore, an unknown quantity. It will however be altogether simplistic to assume that the States would be allowed to expand their plans only *pari passu* with the extra funds they are able to raise on their own. The National Development Council will still exercise a veto on the Plan size; it is entirely on the cards that, to propitiate the State Chief Ministers, some projects will be lopped off from the Central sector and the resultant saving of resources handed over to the States. To the extent this happens, it is not the forces of planning, but those of autarky, which will steal the march.

Besides, despite last week's decision, even the Central outlay will in effect continue to be very much a creature of conjectures and hypotheses. To undertake this order of developmental expenditure, a minimum quantum of foreign aid is going to be called for. In this matter, neither Mr McNamara nor the Aid India Consortium can yet come up with definitive answers. Almost everybody is waiting for Mr Nixon; he has to get himself installed, do something about the Gilbert-and-Sullivan state of affairs at Paris, and to make up his mind about what should be the size of the American commitment to the world between now and the next four years. On the domestic front, the State Governments have their own private reasons for not taking very seriously the figures of outlays being 'finalised' by the Planning Commission and the Central Government. After all, the Finance Commission is to come out with its recommendations next July; depending upon how the cookie crumbles in these recommendations, the States will then formulate their individual charter of demands. The fighting and the clawing have not even begun.

How much additional resources can be raised is however a political decision. The Finance Commission merely provides the formula for allocation from out of a *given* kitty; whether the kitty will be big or small is an issue which has to be resolved only by the State Chief Ministers and the Union Cabinet, and by nobody else. By not making up their minds now, the politicians are merely telling Professor Gadgil that he can take that his mission is ended, and the Planning Commission can fold itself.

Other hints are being liberally thrown out. By another decision leaked to the press last week, the control of capital issues has been given up for all practical purposes, and the private sector has been handed a *carte blanche* for expansion. The latter need not worry about the size of its own plan, whether for the next five years or fifteen.

Violations In Vietnam

When the Vietcong launched the Tet offensive nearly a year ago, the Americans and their propagandists elsewhere feigned horror at what they called communist duplicity. When about a month ago they started talking about the possibility of another Tet offensive, or later about communist violations of the Christmas ceasefire, they were really creating a smoke-screen to hide their own preparations for the kind of attacks they mounted in South Vietnam last weekend. The attacks will perhaps be defended as being defensive in character, or perhaps being in anticipation of communist moves, but even American and British news agency reports showed that they represented a deliberate and brazen act of massive escalation. The calculation is not difficult to see; so long as the Paris talks, or rather the preliminaries thereof, continue the Americans probably expect the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong to be preoccupied more with their political than with their military tasks. Perhaps they also expect Hanoi and the NLF to devote greater attention to repair and reconstruction during what many people had expected to be a period of comparative quiet. Now, Washington and Saigon seem to think, is the time to exterminate all in South Vietnam who are opposed to their domination.

This is not mere speculation. A Saigon correspondent of *The Economist*, by no means a friend of the communists, wrote about a fortnight ago: "Now that some North Vietnamese regiments are back in their sanctuary areas across the borders, the Americans are devoting an increasing number of troops to rooting out the Vietcong infrastructure. The American battalions are not merely searching for communist main-force units but are hunting out Vietcong provincial battalions, village guerillas, tax collectors and propaganda agents. One recent comment in Saigon on this policy was: 'Without using their main-force units to tie up the Americans, the communists are now leaving their infrastruc-

ture wide open for annihilation. If this continues for a year—and if the allies are really efficient—they could eliminate the whole communist guerilla base to the extent that the North Vietnamese could not reinvade without suffering severe defeats."

The comment makes the calculation clear, but as in the past it starts from wrong assumptions and arrives at wrong conclusions. The primary source of strength of the National Liberation Front in South Vietnam is not North Vietnamese military help, but the support that the Front receives from the South Vietnamese people; to annihilate its infrastructure the Americans will have to annihilate the whole of South Vietnam. And that the task will not be easy could be seen within two days of the American attacks near Saigon and Da Nang, as it had earlier been seen during one phase after another of progressive American escalation of the war. The Paris talks may or may not continue, but the North Vietnamese and the NLF know that they will have to continue fighting aggression till the aggressors are forced to leave.

BHU

A correspondent writes from Varanasi:

Reportedly on being rebuked by the Education Minister for the mess in BHU the Vice-Chancellor bemoaned the legacy left him. Which of the many legacies we can recall for his benefit was he referring to? The one he inherited from Dr Sen, his predecessor? Or the one Dr Sen had? If the former, then Mr Joshi is brazenly blaming Dr Sen; if the latter, then his moan is pointless, for Dr Sen did not bewail it. Or still, the legacy he left in Chandigarh as V-C of Punjab University from which the State has yet to recover?

By having unwittingly joined Mr Joshi's game of stall-and-scotch Dr Sen allowed mischiefs in BHU to accumulate. By his religious advocacy of university autonomy he let Mr Joshi deal with the situation of his own creation in a high-handed manner.

Now Dr Sen has given him the preemptive umbrella of protection by declaring in Parliament that the terms of reference of the Visitor's Enquiry Committee exclude examination of Mr Joshi's conduct. This is to prejudice the issue. With the chief protagonist of the play sheltered behind the wings what will the audience see? This renders the enquiry superfluous in the eyes of many.

For if New Delhi meant business it could implement the recommendations of other such commissions without needing a fresh one to enlighten it on the vapid theme of student unrest and nepotism in university appointments. Its pretence of ignorance about how to ensure fairness in appointments lacks even the virtue of naivete.

An all-India cadre of university teachers, at least for the Central universities to begin with, would obviate much of the conspiracy and corruption obtaining there, besides arresting the exodus of the brilliant to other prestigious and profitable careers. But it is not for a touching concern for university autonomy that the Union Government shrinks from this measure. It is for other reasons, not so edifying.

As to the teachers, lack of ideology and integrity seems to them paying in a set-up which has given a go-by to all cherished values and substituted success as the supreme deity. So long as mediocrities, upstarts, careerists and climbers throng the scene and choke out merit and morals, India can well do without universities. There is something radically wrong with a society which inflicts tyrants on the students with the support of batons and bayonets and where a V-C without any qualms turns a campus into a military cantonment.

As for BHU, whatever little remains of Malaviyaji's Grand Dream will soon be burnt out. The association of the V-C with BHU during the enquiry will see this consummation through.

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Gorillas And Ballets

After four years army tanks are back again on the streets of Rio De Janeiro. The occasion is not a coup, nor even a "waltz of the generals", for the ruling President, Marshal Costa e Silva is very much on the saddle. It seems to be a counter coup but against what nobody is sure.

Ever since the U.S.-inspired "revolution" of 1964 which overthrew the democratically elected left-wing government of Goulart, all the political parties have remained banned. There are instead a government party called National Renewal Alliance and an amorphous opposition in the Congress. The Congress was carefully disinfected against the communist virus. Yet one member of the Congress had the temerity to call the army "a nest of torturers" after the security forces had raided the university of Brasilia and called upon the people not to join the military parade on Brazilian independence day. The army could have fixed him but for the damned parliamentary

immunity. The army's demand to relieve the offending member, Alves, of parliamentary immunity was resisted by the Congress, including seventy of the official party. The President reacted quickly by pronouncing the "Institutional Act" which over-rides the 1967 constitution (itself a gift from the previous military dictator Castello Branco), suspended habeas corpus for those charged with crimes "against national security", and allowed the President to strip any Brazilian of his remaining political rights. Although some observers were puzzled at the drastic and disproportionate response to a minor defeat of the government in the Congress, for some time the air of Brazil has been thick with the rumour of an impending shake-up in the administration.

President Costa's military rule, in spite of his democratic trappings, was not designed to be very popular. The armed forces thought they had a monopoly of patriotism and honesty and behaved accordingly. The colonels regarded "ordinary progress" a problem of "national security". Students, labour leaders, clerics and politicians whose wavelength of thinking seemed to differ from that of the army must be subversive elements. So the CIA style secret police, "Department of Public Order and Security" hauled up people at pleasure about which the President himself was often in the dark. Other terrorist groups such as "Anti-Communist Movement" let loose a reign of terror with effective cover from the police. No wonder 30 per cent of the national budget goes to line up the pocket of the army. Educational expenses were lowered from 11 per cent to 7 per cent of the national budget. Students took to the streets to protest against this reduction and the miserable conditions in the university. They met with volleys of fire. The government was not unmindful either of the officials whose salary was raised 20 per cent. And on the same day another decree permitted food price and rent increases of 30 per cent—of course to make a square deal.

A section of the army was reportedly in favour of a freer civilian government for rescuing the nation from the

abyss of deficit financing. But the right-wing thought that only by scrapping parliament and by authoritarian rule they could save their interest as well as their North American masters. President Costa would himself have been elbowed out if he had not submitted to the right-wing pressure. Intra-junta rivalries and scramble for a bigger finger in the public pie were fast leading the army to open power struggle. President Costa's coup this time has saved the situation for the army as well as for himself. Meanwhile, on official admission, 200 journalists, politicians and judges of the Supreme Court (denied by the army) have been rounded up. Censorship has been clamped on all news media and previous censorship rules have been censured. All the embassies willing to offer asylum are reportedly jam-packed. Brazil, it seems, has settled for another round of uninhibited military rule.

While Brazil was reeling under the tanks another Latin American country, Guyana, offered a different example of "peaceful transition to power". Dr Cheddi Jagan's People's Progressive Party has been neatly defeated by the People's National Congress of Forbes Burnham. \$43 million U.S. aid over the last three years has enabled Burnham to cut just in time, before the elections, the ribbons for a high way and airport terminal buildings at Georgetown. But to leave nothing to chance Mr Burnham changed the electoral laws to give 66,000 Guyanans living abroad the right of absentee ballot. These votes ensured Burnham a margin over Dr Jagan. Revelation by a British television company that half of the Guyanan voters in England (43,000) were ghosts proved to be a minor surprise to the people of Guyana and none at all to Dr Jagan.

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JANUARY 4, 1969

Calcutta Diary

CHARAN GUPTA

IT may be later than what several people, including those all keyed up for the mid-term elections, may think. The gruesome killing of nearly fifty women and children in that little village in Tanjore is not exactly an existential happening. Things have been simmering in that district for quite a while: there have been umpteen recent instances where the rich landlords have brushed aside the demand of the landless labourers and the small peasants for higher payments for work rendered. In West Bengal too, clashes have taken place, involving some deaths, invariably of working peasants. All such encounters have been in the nature of a two-versus-one confrontation: the landlords and the police on one side, and the hapless small peasants on the other. In the reports which our good newspapers print, the police and the landlords are always right and the small peasants axiomatically wrong. It could hardly be otherwise in the type of society we have; never mind whether the State Government in power leans towards party *a* or party *b*, the police is an instrument of suppression of those who are already down and out; it is not any different in Kerala either. Partly because of the class and property interests of the senior police officers, and partly—as in Kerala—because the motley coalition which passes for the United Front includes representatives of the rich landlords, in any agrarian dispute the effective force of the police is pitted against the small peasant and the landless agricultural worker. In Madras, the DMK Government, if it wanted to, could have transmitted the message to the lower echelons of the administration to be slightly more considerate to the toiling masses in the countryside. But inter-party jealousy apart, class interests are involved; the middle peasant, who is fast turning into a big one thanks to the triumphal march of the Green Revolution, is in no mood to compromise with the landless worker. The DMK

cannot simply afford to alienate the middle peasant.

The police therefore benignly looks on, and we witness outrages like the one in Kilavenmani. Incidents of a similar nature are occurring elsewhere in the country, although the quality of the terror may vary. This is an extraordinary situation. Thanks to the perverse Government policy which passes as the New Agricultural Strategy, the landlords are being supplied with inputs at subsidised rates, are being offered fantastic prices for their crop, and are exonerated from paying any tax worth the name. Several amongst them have tripled and quadrupled their earnings over the last two or three years. But the more you have, the more you want to have. These gentlemen are not willing to pass on to the agricultural worker even a fraction of the additional income which they have earned through high prices and higher productivity of the land. In some parts of the country, some sort of an agricultural transformation is certainly closer to reality, but this has not made any impact on either the earnings or the consumption standards of more than four-fifths of the total agricultural community, consisting of the smallholders and the workers without land. The close-fisted kulaks will not part with even a minuscule part of their bloated income, and wages are sought to be pegged at what they were five or six years ago. On the contrary, in areas where share-cropping is extensive, for example, in this State, the start of the harvesting season in fact coincides with attempts to mark down the proportion of the crop earmarked for the bargadar and correspondingly increase the proportion going to the jotedar. The futility of Congress-sponsored land reform also gets revealed in its nakedest detail at harvest time. Large tracts of lands, which were supposed to have been vested in the Government and, in some cases re-distributed amongst the small peasants and the landless cultivators, have a way of being claimed back by the big peasants. Whenever such monstrosities are resisted, blood is spilled, and the newspapers are full of stories

of Naxalite depredations in the countryside.

* * *

Since the instruments of the State have become a part of the machinery of oppression, one has to reach the reluctant conclusion that perhaps even a laissez-faire situation would have been better. Let me amplify what I have in mind. With good crops in large parts of the country, there has been a significant drop in grain prices in recent months. This fall in food prices benefits the urban consumers, including the low-paid clerk and school teacher as well as the factory workers, as much as it helps the landless cultivator and the small peasant who has no surplus grain to dispose of in the market. If the rich farmer is not going to part with a share of his bloated earnings, then it is to the good of the rest of the agricultural community that farm prices decline all along the line. The landless labourer most of the time has to make cash purchases of the food he needs for himself and his family; similarly, the small peasant, whose holding of land does not exceed one or two acres, has to fall back on the market to meet the bulk of his food requirements. There are other instances where even a peasant, who has, say, five acres of land, is forced to sell his entire output of grain immediately following the harvest at relatively low prices to meet his obligation to the moneylenders or the big peasants; he has to buy back the grain subsequently, in the leaner part of the season, at much higher prices in order to feed his family. Each of these segments of the rural population will gain if grain prices keep tumbling till they reach a more tolerable plateau. But it is precisely this possibility of such a lowering of prices which worries the authorities and their cohorts. Mr Jayaprakash Narayan once upon a time was known as a socialist and, during the last fifteen years, has supposedly devoted himself to the cause of the small cultivator and the landless labourer. But one's basic class loyalties die hard; it was therefore perfectly natural on his part to issue a statement expressing consternation at the fall in farm prices and urging imme-

diate Government intervention. Mr Jayaprakash Narayan could have saved the statement. There is no dearth of alarms within the Government itself over the drop in prices; much bureaucratic sleep is being lost over the fact that in some areas food prices have come down almost 50 per cent from the levels reached during early 1967. It is an unabashed demonstration of class bias on the part of the politicians and the civil servants: they are grieving because prices have not stayed put at the peaks touched eighteen months ago when conditions verging on famine had been prevailing in many parts of northern India. The bastard expression 'normalcy', according to these gentlemen, is to be equated with famine, and normal prices are those which rule during a famine.

There are other interesting developments elsewhere in the country. In Punjab, the State Government has sponsored a move to import six giant harvester-combines which will enable the big farmers to harvest the grain quickly and with only marginal help from the agricultural workers. The apparatus of the State is thus being used to render the small peasant and the landless worker redundant in the countryside. Labour means trouble, labour means parting with a share of the higher productivity, labour means the danger of collective consciousness on the part of workers. The Punjab landlords, supported by the Government, are obviously now trying to exterminate this evil at the very root: get the small farmer out of agriculture, and everything will turn out to be all right. First came the tractors and power tillers to economise labour at the time of sowing, then came the winnowing machines, and now, as clincher, the harvester-combines. We may have impressive statistics bearing on the frightening volume of unemployment and under-employment in the rural areas; we may even have conducted all kinds of meticulous research on the best choice of technology in Indian agriculture, given this backlog of unemployment and under-employment. These academic pursuits however do not deter the policy-

makers; they go by their own class instincts. The State Government writes to the Government of India, the Government of India issues the import licence, and the harvester-combines remorselessly make their way into the Punjab villages.

None of these things are happening in isolation. Somebody, somewhere must be playing God, and with startling success. There must be a fairly well-laid out plan elaborating how, given the present state of political wobbliness, decisions are to be rushed and capitalist agriculture permanently installed in India. The State Governments were in any case always under the control of the kulaks; they continue to be so. In New Delhi, a unified government scarcely exists; it is the satrapies of the individual ministers which count. Taking advantage of the twilight plight of the polity, maximum pressure is likely to be mounted between now and the next few years to make the position of the rural rich altogether unassailable. There is no question that a number of foreign elements are a party to this strategy, either directly or through the conduit of the Foundations. The progressive immiserisation of agricultural labour is part of this large battle plan. The state of affairs can be altered only if the present alliance between the bourgeois industrialist and the rural landlord starts creaking because of a clash of respective class interests. The high burden of taxation on industry, and the almost non-existent level of tax on agriculture, could be a potential source of friction between the two classes. The noises that are now being made by different persons, Mr Morarji Desai included, following Mr McNamara's visit, with respect to the desirability of taxing farm incomes suggests that, perhaps even from this point of view, it is later than one might think.

A stray thought also occurs to me. Pampering the rural rich is for the ostensible reason of developing national self-sufficiency in foodgrains. It is however quite clear that nobody in the Government really wants to reduce the dependence on American food. Mr Desai is unable to raise taxes, so he

has to use the proceeds of the counter-part funds generated by PL480 imports to narrow his budgetary gap. Production may expand; but neither Mr Jagjivan Ram nor the Chief Ministers want to procure grains. If this be the case, why bother to have a Green Revolution at all, and why worry about ensuring high prices to your rich farmers? But such rationale, I know, will not appeal to our authorities.

In this soul-consuming business of protecting the prices paid to the farmers, there is a single, remarkable omission; neither the Government nor the politicians have spoken up to protect the interests of the jute growers. Last year, market prices of jute fell way below the announced minimum support levels, but there was not a squeak from the Government, not a murmur from the politicians. An analysis of the data on cultivated land resolves this mystery for me. Jute cultivation, concentrated in the eastern parts of the country, is exclusively in small-sized holdings; even compared to the cultivation of rice, the holdings for jute are much smaller. For the small growers, the Government does not feel the moral urge to intervene, and the same with the politicians. In the case of jute, the interests of the mills and the traders are much weightier in the scales of the Government than those of the shaggy little fellow in West Bengal and Assam villages. This year, when the crop is short, the Government as well as the mills would not mind importing jute at fabulously high prices from abroad; they minded paying the small peasants the very modest minimum prices last year, which could also have enabled them to build a buffer.

No, irrespective of what stray leaders may think, the class war is already here; it will be foolhardy not to recognise it as such. Let no names be mentioned, but it is pretty apparent that some parties belonging to the Left have instructed their cadres in the villages to play it cool during the harvesting season despite provocations from the other side. They are obsessed by

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the fear that any outburst of incidents will be used by the newspapers on election eve to scare away voters from them. I can appreciate their worry, but I would still request these Left parties to think whether, in the process, they are not throwing away the baby along with the bath water.

* *

There should be a limit to levity. I have before me a newspaper insertion, on behalf of the Central Cottage Indus-

tries Emporium, New Delhi, trying to build a pun around the name Ajitha, while advertising its wares. This is intended to be a joke, but is in the lowest possible taste. The dolled-up ladies who inhabit the Cottage Industries Emporium should take some time out of their dalliances and read up about the fate of Marie Antoinette and the Romanovs; they will learn that revolution is not a matter of high-hearted banter.

nese Charge d'Affaires here twice last week. You should be knowing it better." Thereby hangs a tale. It has been the Government of India's practice to let two Indian journalists carry on their own dialogue with the Chinese diplomatic mission in New Delhi to assess the Chinese thinking. One of them is the editor of a weekly and another the chief New Delhi correspondent of a well-known daily.

Observers in New Delhi are inclined to think that it would do the Government a lot of good to begin a dialogue with China even if it would discomfit the Soviet Government which is now keen on stepping up its arms aid to Pakistan. New Delhi's panic at the possible flow of Soviet arms to Pakistan did not result in any positive plan to checkmate the move diplomatically. That might be because the Soviet arms aid committed to India is so substantial that New Delhi is afraid of a freeze on aid if an effort is made to reopen the border issue with China and seek a settlement. Thus New Delhi has no options left because its foreign policy has lost all sense of direction.

Elections

Mrs Gandhi, who is attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London early next month, is more preoccupied with her factional interests in the mid-term elections. The Congress is reconciled to losing West Bengal, Bihar and Punjab but it still hopes to make it in Uttar Pradesh. But Mrs Gandhi's faction in Uttar Pradesh is not very optimistic about the outcome and is already thinking in terms of a coalition with the Charan Singh group if the Congress fails to win the State, as it is wont to.

Everybody in the Congress High Command seems to be displeased with the Governor of West Bengal, Mr Dharma Vira. It is almost certain that he would not continue in Calcutta after the mid-term elections whatever the outcome. Mr Morarji Desai is unhappy that the Governor did not do all that he should have done during the North Bengal floods. Mr Atulya Ghosh is annoyed that the Governor did not oblige the State Congress in the manner a Governor under Presi-

View from Delhi

Dead-End Diplomacy

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

A country whose non-alignment has lapsed into double alignment can have no options in relation to super-Powers. Its foreign policy could at best be an aggregate of negative responses. The New Delhi exercise of heads of Indian missions in South-East Asia was not a meaningful effort at a policy orientation but a negative approach, to avert a possible isolation by China in the region. What seems to have unnerved the diplomats was the imminence of a Chinese peace offensive which might take the form of fierce trade competition to oust India from some of her traditional markets. But the scare created by the diplomats could only result in India being drawn deeper into the game to "contain" China. What else is the rationale of all the lengthy discussions about the super-Powers underwriting the stability of the Indo-China States after a Vietnam settlement? The idea was then elaborated to cover a plan for a Geneva-type accord on the entire South-East Asian region. And voices were heard almost echoing the view of the Singapore Premier about some kind of a regional alliance of Australia, New Zealand, Singapore, India and others, though nobody knows against whom.

To put it briefly, New Delhi's own diplomatic assessment is that China will not start another border war in

the near future. But in public, the Government might continue to affirm that the twin threats are real and Mr Swaran Singh might talk glibly about 1968 not being 1962 and the like. With the completion of the cultural revolution, China might be in a position to start a diplomatic offensive. New Delhi has been maintaining that Peking's intransigence rules out a dialogue for the present but India is always willing for one. But in fact, New Delhi prefers to wait until the new U. S. President, Mr Nixon, has decided his China policy. New Delhi would like to take an initiative towards a dialogue with China depending on the U. S. stance but there is another imponderable in the situation. The Soviet Union might frown upon any Indian initiative in the matter. It is not enough if the United States gives its tacit approval to an Indian gambit but the other super-Power has to be carried along. The old chicks are coming home to roost. India cannot have any initiative of her own.

One of the Foreign Office higher-ups invited four Indian journalists for a get-together with our diplomats from the South-East Asian region. When an Indian correspondent asked the official about the chances of a dialogue with China, the official said wryly: "Mr So-and-so, I don't want to embarrass you. But you met the Chi-

dent's Rule is expected to oblige. But there is a funnier angle to it. Mr Dharma Vira is known to have been telling Congress MPs from West Bengal that he had done everything he could to improve the Congress chances at the mid-term poll and if the Congress did not make use of the opportunity he had created, it was not his failing.

Amidst the continuing confusion over the proposed Central loans to two Gujarati newspapers to avert their sell-out to the Marwari Press baron, Mr Ramnath Goenka, the *Express* group of newspapers run by him is planning an edition from Calcutta. Mr Goenka, who has jute interests in Calcutta, is reported to have acquired a rotary, belonging to the *Jana Sevak* and is poised to launch his newspaper shortly. This might be the sequel to his bid to buy up the two Gujarati papers.

There is a great deal of politics to the loan. It was so well managed by those at the Centre that it was made to appear that the only way to check concentration of newspaper ownership in the country was to extend financial help to papers about to be sold to big chains. But Mr Morarji Desai is opposed to the Cabinet decision to give the loan and is bent on reopening the issue shortly. Meantime, the Press Council took a serious view of it. Except one member, from Gujarat to be precise, all the others opposed the loan. If the Government wants to run the newspapers as their gazettes, let them take them over straight-away, members said. So the Government would be saved a lot of embarrassment if the Gujarati papers voluntarily decline the loan, according to the political grapevine.

December 29, 1968

CORRECTIONS

In "The Compradore and his Capital" (December 21), on Page 10, 2nd paragraph, under Group it should read Manager-cum-junior partners (not senior partners). On Page 13 Ashoke Leyland's foreign loans amount to Rs. 8.2 crores (not Rs. 3.2 crores).

Uttar Pradesh

The Teachers

INDUKANTA SHUKLA

IF Morarji finds bulls more receptive to his precious perorations than the humans of Calcutta, Mrs Gandhi calls the U.P. teachers' agitation, pejoratively of course, politically motivated. Defective visions, no less than delusion and horrid inelegancies, are bred in ivory towers. Attitudes, like arteries, harden in advanced age.

But the teachers are up in arms and refuse to be cowed down. The Action Committee of the Madhyamik Shikshak Sangh has declared its determination to continue the strike until its demands are conceded. The Government is hoping for the momentum to slump through its policy of drag and delay. Its cynical disregard of the educational loss millions of students are suffering is shocking. Its flexing of muscles to tackle the problem as a law and order affair is primitive.

The degree college teachers have formally come out with their support for the secondary teachers. Principals and women teachers have not lagged behind in courting arrest. The primary teachers and Government employees in the State have pledged their massive support actively. These have not yet unnerved the tin Bourbons. Perhaps to sugarcoat the bitter pill of defiance the degree college teachers have recently declared that this is purely an educational problem and not a class struggle. This is meant to assuage the frayed tempers of the Government. But the Government is already treating it as a manifestation of class struggle.

An example of the Gandhian way in which those in authority respond to the legitimate demands of the people is the recent refusal of the Assam Government to consider the primary teachers' request for ex-gratia payment of Rs. 6 p.m. unless they withdrew their threat of strike in January.

Equally symbolic of things to come

is the hunger-strike in Varanasi jail begun on December 24 by four students in protest against the alleged misbehaviour of the jail authorities with a group of teachers. Curiously, these students who feel hurt at secondary teachers being abused by jail officials, are from BHU. The V-C calls them leftists and purveyors of explosives.

With the elections at hand motions of benignity may be gone through to win over the students and teachers. Some tokens of goodwill have already been dangled. It is likely that some officers would be transferred. But the teachers have to be wary. No political party should be permitted to divide their loyalties and disrupt their unity. No discriminatory distinction, however flattering, should be allowed to tempt them. The snobbery of those one rung above others in the professional ladder should be buried for all times. No class divisions like Government and non-Government or caste affiliations like Degree College and Secondary should be permitted to poison the camaraderie which prevails among teachers as a whole. It will redound not only to their credit but also to their benefit.

Flinching at this moment will harm their cause and they know it. No quarter should be given to a Government which is sold out to capitalist cartels, which spend lavishly on inanities and superfluities, which waste public funds on questionable purposes and fancy schemes.

Teachers are weary of platitudes and empty gestures. They are not ethereal beings. They have a stomach which no stoic sermon can wish away. What they gain monetarily may not be much. But they will have gained enough in solidarity and awareness which no Government will dare treat with contempt.

Teachers in U.P. are very ill paid. Their demands for parity, Kothari

University Enquiry

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

Commission grades, and regularity in the disbursements of their salaries are very modest. To frown at these is to drive them to desperation. They have suffered for long, and in silence. For once they have chosen to show how up is U.P. All strength to their elbow.

Wags are asking when Dr Radhakrishnan, a former Vice-Chancellor of BHU, and Dr Zakir Husain of U.P., will come to the rescue, respectively, of BHU and the teachers? One wishes it were soon.

The Prime Minister's descent on Varanasi left a trail of blood and tears. A jeep on way to the airport having turned turtle five persons met with death and nearly a dozen were hospitalized with serious injuries. The police resorted to lathi-charge—by the way, what is mild in it?—at one of her public meetings. She moved in a covered car with all protection and precaution. Against whom? She cost the State exchequer a pretty sum.

She came electioneering and addressed four meetings. Why was elaborate police *bandobust* necessary for a Congress leader at State expense passes comprehension. There was no State affair warranting her visit here.

On December 26 the cold wind was furious and razor-sharp and Varanasi was shivering in her bones. People gloomily recalled that Mrs Gandhi was followed by rain in Bengal, and mistral in Banaras. Ill forebodings. Towards the evening pat came the lathi-charge, and during her two days, death in instalments.

She of course sympathized with the teachers but could not commit the Government to be installed after the polls. Teachers also sympathized with her but could not swallow the enormity of wasteful expenditure during her visit. As for students, she had no time for them.

Mrs Gandhi visited Varanasi a city, left it a Valhalla.

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JANUARY 4, 1969

MR Joshi's gambit to escape exposure at the hands of an enquiry committee by having his Executive Council appoint an ersatz one seems to have failed. The personnel of the Visitor's Committee have been announced. But a note of warning is due.

If the committee is just to look into the vague phenomenon of student unrest it better spare itself the effete and old exercise. Its terms of reference should pointedly include a probe into the conduct of the Vice-Chancellor whose contribution to the unrest in the university has to be determined and dealt with. With anything less to do, the committee will have whittled its usefulness and negated its *raison d'être*. Dr Sen's soft-peddling has already given a liberal reprieve to the Vice-Chancellor. At a Press conference Mr Joshi has absolved the (R)SS. Naturally. Aren't the (R)SS boys generously ladled out freeships and scholarships and the (R)SS teachers given confirmation and promotion? The Singh-(R)SS horde makes no secret of the alleged blessings it confidently commands of two Union Ministers and the Home Secretary. The University Teachers' Association, reduced to a canaille, ignited the time fuse by toadying, touting and provocative mouthings. The strong-arm manoeuvres of the V-C and his divide-and-rule would shame any educationist worth his salt.

The discovery of weapons and explosives on those arrested and the insinuation that they were leftists will cut no ice with Varanasi citizens. It is a trick too worn out to pull off. Retributively to teach a lesson to the students the authorities have postponed to February the reopening of the university. If, as they say, the universities in U.P. are victims of the imminent elections, why is Allahabad University reopening on January 2? The terror unleashed by the PAC will rankle long in memory. Until the

V-C quits, and with him the Armed Constables, the students will not return. If he and his gendarmerie leave tomorrow, BHU will buzz with life and activity tomorrow itself. Let him disprove it.

It would be worth asking how many pledges given to students were broken, why only when the DM was absent were two blood-letting operations against students mounted at Rama Krishna Hostel and Vidyapith Hostel, how a girl was raped and a Muslim murdered on the campus, why the known perpetrators of these crimes were at large, which caste has surfaced the most benefited and most aggressive, and how many times the rules regarding appointments in the university were subverted impudently? And, by whom? Finally, is it because some students refuse to be a party to these ignominies that they have been picked out for a malicious man-hunt? We expect the Visitor's Committee to recommend adequate compensation to the aggrieved and the assaulted.

To enable the students to give evidence before the committee they should be released from jail. Their continued incarceration on false frame-ups and the V-C's association with the committee would hamper the course of justice. As a token of his gesture to allow fairplay and freedom in the committee's functioning Mr Joshi will be well advised to resign.

Tailpiece: As Vice-Chancellor of Punjab University Mr Joshi once annulled the appointment of a lecturer in English because his surname, for some reason, gave him the funk! The city munsif has stayed the appointment of some lecturers in Hindi, on an application moved by a petitioner alleging irregularities. And the Executive Council has stayed the appointment of the Head of the Hindi Department after scrutinising allegations that the candidate had canvassed for his appointment.

December 27, 1968

Vietnam War And Socialist Unity

BY A CORRESPONDENT

THERE is even now a good deal of misunderstanding about China's attitude towards unity among socialist countries in meeting the American aggression against South and North Vietnam. The impression goes round that the Chinese by refusing to unite with the USSR on the Vietnam issue are actually harming Vietnam's cause and thus helping aggression. It is here appropriate to ask the question:

What really is involved in this question of socialist unity? In other words, what should be the basis of the unity to be achieved? The Russians have never spelt out in clear terms just what kind of joint action they and the Chinese should take. However the following events throw a considerable light on what they have in mind.

Early in 1965 Kosygin presented to Hanoi the U.S. Government's request that in order to facilitate negotiations, North Vietnam should stop supporting the National Liberation Front and should bring pressure on it to cease its attacks on cities. The Chinese have reported this and the Russians have not denied the report.

On February 7, 1965 U.S. aircraft bombed North Vietnam for the first time (while Kosygin was in Hanoi) and yet on February 10, 1965 he stressed in Peking the need to help the U.S. in finding a way out of the Vietnam war. The Russians have not denied this report either.

Later, Kosygin agreed not to bargain with others on this issue and yet on February 16 he proposed both to North Vietnam and China that an international conference on Indo-China be convened 'without prior conditions'. This also has not been denied by the Russians.

Later still, the Soviet leaders publicly suggested that, if the U.S. stopped bombing North Vietnam, negotiations would be possible and told certain other communist parties that the USSR would favour negotiations if the bombing is stopped.

The Soviet Union has taken a series of steps to strengthen friendly relations with the U.S. It has supported UN intervention in the Congo, pursued 'peaceful co-existence' with the U.S., and signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. These policies have enabled the U.S. to move troops from Europe to Vietnam. Its representatives have even co-operated with Chiang Kai-shek's representatives and other U.S. puppet regimes to discuss such projects as the Asian Development Bank intended to bring about the development of South-East Asia including the Mekong Delta. It offered aid to the military regime of Indonesia and at one time even called that regime anti-imperialist!

In his statement of October 13, 1966 Kosygin, while denouncing U.S. aggression, said, "China's position has become a serious obstacle in the struggle for the sacred cause" of peace in Vietnam. Thus he blamed not the U.S. but China for the continued war in Vietnam!

The real question at the basis of China's objection to the Soviet proposal for united action is whether the Soviet Union is to be authorised to speak for China and Vietnam when its policy is based on a desire to accommodate the U.S. and on the belief that 'world peace can be ensured by joint action between the U.S. and the USSR'. This is precisely what Krushchev had clearly advocated.

On February 12, 1967 at a luncheon given to him in the Carlton Club by the Conservative Party leaders in London, Kosygin warned that if war in Vietnam went on "China might be driven to give still more support to North Vietnam and the Vietcong" (*Manchester Guardian*, February 13, 1967). It is surprising that Kosygin should have objected to greater support to the Vietnamese people even while his declared sympathies are for Vietnam.

On June 19, 1966 the Vietnam News Agency issued a statement re-

futing reports that China held up large shipments of Soviet aid to Vietnam. The agency said, "all aid materials from the USSR and other brother countries in Eastern Europe have received the whole-hearted assistance of China in transit" and that reports to the contrary are "sheer fabrications aimed at achieving perfidious provocative ends". In fact, China gave free transport for all Soviet military aid to North Vietnam.

Aid

A correspondent of *Broadsheet* who was in Hanoi for some time wrote in its May 1967 issue that "80 per cent of small arms and anti-aircraft batteries which North Vietnam needs so desperately are supplied by China". Harrison Salisbury virtually admitted this fact in his article in the *New York Times* of April 17, 1967. The Russians are supplying MIGs to North Vietnam. The Russian missiles supplied to North Vietnam are useful only against B-52s. But the Americans have not so far used B-52s over North Vietnam. The Chinese have been pouring all needed rice into North Vietnam at heavily subsidized rates and even tightening their own melts to meet the Vietnamese needs. The correspondent has the following startling report to make:

"When I was in Prague I met some young socialists from West Berlin who were horrified after a discussion on Vietnam with the Czech Young Communists. The Czechs were advancing the line that 'while we oppose the bombing of North Vietnam we think the Americans are justified in South Vietnam because North Vietnam has violated international frontiers and is trying to export revolution and this is against our line'. The sheer brutality of this remark and their abandonment of brotherly socialist solidarity is self-evident."

It is not difficult to see that such an attitude which is by no means confined to the Czechs but is quite common among most European communists is due to the change which has slowly crept over European socialist countries ever since the 1956 CPSU Congress. No wonder there was willing-

ness to exercise pressure on the Vietnamese to agree to peace talks "without prior conditions". The Russians even seemed getting impatient at the surprisingly tough and dogged resistance put up by the Vietnamese both in the north and in the south. What then could be the basis of socialist unity?

Western newspapers have never made secret of the fact that the Russian aim in regard to the Vietnam conflict is the same as that of the U.S. and the Western Powers. But negotiations 'without prior conditions' would help the U.S. in stabilizing and strengthening its military position in South Vietnam. Moreover, it implies that both sides are responsible for the conflict. This is so blatantly contrary to the fact that the U.S. is the aggressor and Vietnam the victim of aggression. This vitally important fact is continually ignored in all the attempts at peace-making.

There is no other solution to the conflict than an unconditional withdrawal of its troops by the U.S. and allowing the Vietnamese to settle the issue between themselves. Allowing the Russians to speak for Vietnam is to surrender its freedom to the U.S. If this is not understood, next to nothing can be understood about the reasons why the Chinese refuse to unite with the Russians. They will have nothing to do with this unity which leads to the sacrifice of the very purpose for which the Vietnamese are showing unparalleled heroism.

Different Aims

Those who think that the Chinese refusal to unite with the USSR on the question of Vietnam is harming the cause of Vietnam's freedom forget the fact that the Russians' aims in Vietnam are quite different from those of the Chinese. The Russians are all along attempting to end the war and thus enable the Americans to remain and consolidate their position in Vietnam. Their role thus places them on the side of imperialists. "There can be no question of united action against imperialism with those who actively promote fraudulent 'peace deals' with and on behalf of the enemy".

If the intention of the Soviet policy is to limit, localise and finally eliminate confrontation with the U.S. then the unity of the socialist camp can only be restored by betraying the national liberation struggle in Vietnam. Those who, like the Chinese, believe that the objective of the revisionists is to check the conflagration before the imperialists get too badly burned are entitled to insist that united action is impossible until its aim is agreed. The aim of the joint action, not the mere fact that it is joint action, decides whether it is anti-imperialist or not.

The Press

Turncoatism In Punjab

COMMENTATOR

AFTER Haryana, Punjab. Mr Rarewala, who has been shuttling between the Congress and the Akali Dal for the last two decades, is at the moment out of the Congress party and on his way to the Dal. He headed the first non-Congress Ministry in India, but his Ministry in PEPSU could not last a full term. After the merger of PEPSU in Punjab he moved to a bigger arena and added to the uncertainties of Punjab politics. The immediate cause of his exit from the Congress party is said to be a prick of conscience, for he thinks that the Congress is trying to drive a wedge between the Hindus and the Sikhs in Punjab. He would have one believe that personal ambition has nothing to do with his decision to quit the Congress and try to make his fortune elsewhere. So would Mr Bhagwat Dayal Sharma, the expelled Congress leader of Haryana. He has told a Delhi paper that search of power alone is not at the root or so many defections from the Congress. Groupism among the central leaders of the party is the single most important cause of defections. It is Congressmen themselves who instigate and manoeuvre defections of people they do not like to

Those who wish to help the Americans to get off the hook while enabling them to remain firmly in Vietnam by inducing a peace deal are clearly out to help imperialism.

The question of socialist unity is mixed with a widespread belief among many a communist and sympathiser that the Vietnam war is likely to escalate into a nuclear war and to spread beyond the borders of Vietnam. Such a war, it is said, will cause the destruction of the whole world. On this issue also the Chinese position has been very much misunderstood. It will be discussed in another note.

see in power. The factor next in importance is the bossy attitude and arrogance of those in the Congress High Command. They behave like the managing director of a company "forgetting that the company is almost in liquidation".

However, the High Command has by now developed certain fixed reflexes to all acts of defection. It goes down on its knees at every threat of desertion and promises all kinds of concession to retain the rebel in the party fold. When uncton fails and a parting becomes unavoidable, it describes the defector, with a simulated loyalty to discipline, as a good riddance. It did so in the past and is doing it now in the case of Mr Rarewala. In spite of almost daily defections, it believes that it can take the electorate for a ride by merely declaring that the Congress alone can provide a stable government. The day newspapers carried reports of Mr Rarewala's decision to quit the Prime Minister asked the people of West Bengal to vote for Congress for stability. The last of the Rarewala story has not been told yet. A Delhi paper has reported that some Punjab legislators who have been visiting New Delhi for tickets have

blue turbans (token of Akali allegiance) tucked away in their suitcases all ready for use at short notice should the need arise.

Partly agreeing with the views of the Congress High Command *The Times of India* says that Mr Rarewala's exit will no doubt damage the Congress party's prospects at the poll, but the damage to its internal cohesion might have been greater and more permanent if the disgruntled leaders had been allowed to work off their frustrations within the party. Following Mr Rarewala's exit, the Congress ranks will be thinner but there is at least a hope that what is left of it may be a more closely-knit organisation with a better sense of direction. For too long the Congress, in Punjab and elsewhere, has tried to maintain its strength through the tactics of involvement on the assumption that the different feuding factions can be held together by sharing out offices and places of profit among them and thereby giving them a common interest in the party's survival. The tactics worked as long as the party had an impregnable majority throughout the country. But when the general election brought about a different balance of forces, this bond proved to be too fragile, and nowhere has this been more apparent than in Punjab. If the party uses the opportunity created by Mr Rarewala's resignation to set its house in order, it will have reversed a trend which has done it much harm.

The Statesman notes that any number of compromises made by the Central Election Committee of the Congress has failed to prevent the ostentatious exit from the Congress of Mr Rarewala, until lately the leader of the Congress legislature party in Punjab. This parting of ways has come about for reasons which are as unflattering to the CEC as they are to the Punjab leader, although both are trying to cloak the ugly facts by loud proclamations of high principle. Mr Rarewala was chagrined by the denial of the party ticket to one of his proteges who had ratted on the United Front at a time convenient to the Congress. Mr Nijalingappa and other Congress leaders who are now pretending that

their party is best rid of Mr Rarewala need to be reminded that until the other day he was their favourite. Mr Rarewala is no stranger to political perambulation. He has headed straight to the Akali Dal where he is being welcomed by those who, like Congressmen, are his former comrades. But whether or not he succeeds in achieving his aspirations—success seems likely in view of the growing Akali strength as well as the Akali-Jana Sangh alliance—he, the Congress party and the Akalis have succeeded in further lowering the tone of politics in the country in general and in Punjab in particular.

The Indian Express has asked the Congress High Command not to be despondent over Mr Rarewala's defection as those who have no firm political loyalties cannot be a source of strength to any party. Mr Rarewala's resignation from the Congress is not the result of any basic differences. He decided to part company because the CEC refused to nominate some of his supporters as candidates for the mid-term poll. The CEC exercised its right in making what changes it thought proper in the list prepared by the Pradesh Election Committee. The purpose of the CEC's screening is to see that the right men are chosen and the wrong men kept out. Disciplined Congressmen, especially Congress leaders in the States, are expected to bow to the central leadership's decision. Those who oppose it are generally guided by their personal or group interests in preference to the interests of the party. The paper thinks that the High Command's action in not allowing Mr Rarewala to form a Ministry in Punjab after the fall of the Gill Ministry in Punjab was unexceptionable and Mr Rarewala's grievance on this score only proves that office seemed more important to him than principles or the good of the party. Mr Rarewala's attempt to accuse the Congress of anti-Sikh bias is deplorable. Congress support to the minority Gill Ministry was certainly a bad thing. But it is difficult to understand how this or the subsequent decision of the Congress High Command against the Congress form-

ing its own Ministry could be described as evidence that the Congress has not been fair to the Sikhs.

Lunar Voyage

Describing the lunar voyage of the three American astronauts as "a thousand-year leap" *The Hindustan Times* says that man, reaching out for the moon in his dreams since time immemorial, has stretched across uncharted space and almost grasped it. In his measurement of time and space and in his measurement of himself, man has arrived at a moment of historic significance in his evolution. A new era unfolds, and in the next few months an actual landing on the moon is expected to take place. And as men stand on the threshold of the new era opened up by this journey to the moon, the mind turns inevitably to the narrow and chauvinistic urges that paradoxically divide the world into strife-torn camps. Near the moon it is very likely that the political ambitions of men and the thirst for power of nations appeared in their true proportion—small, mean, and futile. Indeed, the concept of a race to the moon between Americans and Russians must itself diminish to an absurdity as the earth, viewed from space, progressively shrinks to an insignificant ball. The Apollo-8 crew may not add a great deal to knowledge of the moon scientifically obtained so far. But it is men that are transmitting experience and pictures, not remotely controlled robots, and that is the core and essence of the hazardous achievement of the three astronauts.

In the same vein *Patriot* says that infinitely more wonderful than the most complicated of the machines and the knowledge and intensiveness of those who make and guide them from the earth is the spirit of dedicated courage of the three who have for the first time broken free of our planet's gravitational pull. The Americans have not, like the Russians, sent any unmanned scouting spacecraft round the moon and brought it back. Therefore, the task undertaken by Commander Borman and his intrepid companions has been described as risky; but danger is the salt

of life for truly brave men and all nations without exception anxiously waited for their return from this, the greatest adventure that men have yet undertaken. Inevitably, as these first adventurers advanced into outer space the thought occurred to all men of goodwill and wisdom that we have reached a phase of evolution which makes the pretty squabbles and rivalries between what are called nations look irrelevant. The human capacities for invention and the courage such grand ventures imply will be wasted and turned into sour diseases of the soul if they are not used for the achievement of peace and unity. America which can produce heroes like the three who hurtled into space for the sake of knowledge of the universe does not need the petty victory its politicians and soldiers seek in Vietnam to claim that it is one of the great nations in the history of man. The glory that Borman and his colleagues have earned for it will be more durable than all its nuclear weapons and other weapons of destruction it can produce. It is only if the little men who currently control its political and economic destiny could realise that they are living in a time when the adventures of peace are incomparably more important than those of aggression and unnecessary war then the rest of mankind will regard them as deserving the dedication and steadfast courage of its selfless astronauts.

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Editors All

M. R.

THE erosion of the editor's freedom has been taking place at both the ends—the proprietor's and the Government's. And the editors as a tribe have to thank themselves for this, having allowed themselves to be used by the proprietors and the Government for ends far from legitimate.

Nowhere is the erosion more evident than in New Delhi, which claims to be the Mecca of Indian journalists, a pampered, nondescript lot in general. The editor in New Delhi (the resident editors merely reside and do nothing else) is the best PRO of the proprietor, with his easy access to the Government. There is nothing that an editor is not supposed to be capable of swinging with the Government. In return for what he expects of the Government, the Government expects its price from the editor.

The two Prime Ministers after the late Mr Nehru have perfected news management as an engineering skill and news engineering is an extension of what is called "political management." Public opinion is a thing to be manipulated and public relations is a substitute for serious public discussion on issues.

For instance, what is this business of the Prime Minister calling in the New Delhi editors, chiefs of bureau or select special correspondents for public relations briefings whenever the leadership is in danger? The Prime Minister's "image" is more important than the country's. If the Prime Minister is heckled in Parliament and the two major news agencies and the big papers report it, that would be undermining the national security, what with two hostile neighbours, two successive droughts and what have you.

Mr Nehru did not fear Press criticism. He could take it in his stride. So the bully boys of the jute Press could equate personalities with policies—which ironically is what the left establishment Press in India

and Radio Peace and Progress from Moscow are doing now. If the jute Press attacks are against the so-called crypto-communists in the Government, the left establishment's attack is on the so-called "reactionaries".

The two Prime Ministers after Mr Nehru knew the potentialities of this game, by no means a recoiling one though. News engineering became a part of the game and the assorted crowd of image builders from both the Right and the Left took over.

The Government knows how to utilise both the big business and the left establishment Press and to the same end, namely political survival of individual leaders. The bomb lobby could be kept alive through one and the anti-bomb lobby through another. One super-Power could be kept in good humour through one and the other through the other. Frenzy could be whipped up over the Soviet arms sale to Pakistan to pressurise the Soviets into a slide-back if possible, through one and when needed, the other through the other. Frenzy could be non-alignment, indeed.

When the Soviet arms sale to Pakistan threatened Mrs Gandhi's position in the Congress Parliamentary Party, what she did was common knowledge. She met the special correspondents in two batches and the Delhi editors separately. But the super-special correspondent of a Moscow-lining sheet was called for a special briefing and to be sure whatever was told him must have reached the Soviet Embassy, as required by the Government.

No wonder the left establishment Press which includes smear sheets are used by leaders considered "progressive" by Moscow to denigrate those considered "reactionary" by Moscow. But this is a game both the sides can play. Some of these sheets are pampered with organised leakages which pass for "scoops".

The left establishment Press which was the Government's reliable instrument in hastening the 1964 split in the Communist Party of India is now being used for a campaign against the

ultras who have broken away from the CPI(M).

The big business Press looks to the proprietors and industrial houses and the left establishment Press looks to the Government and foreign sources for its relevance. It is therefore difficult to talk of an editor's freedom seriously. The proprietor knows that the semi-literate manager is more important than the editor and the manager thinks the paper sells because of the advertisements, gaps between which need to be filled with editorial matter. The editor makes up for all his humiliation by attacking those who cannot defend themselves. Editorial autonomy is so much moonshine with the present pattern of ownership. The

Government knows how to get the recalcitrant editor round. The intrepid reporter in Hyderabad who publicised the "kick Harijans" speech of a Minister is not in Hyderabad any more, thanks to the pressure exerted by the State Government over the news agency which employs him. The Government's subsidy matters more than the editor's independence. Earlier, two special correspondents and the chief of bureau of a big chain paper were victims of the Prime Minister's wrath. One was transferred out of New Delhi and another when transferred, resigned. The chief of bureau also resigned. Where were the great editors and the conscience keepers of editors then?

weather conditions. A better acquaintance with the acoustics of the hall might have persuaded the players to pitch their voices a little higher. In the final text this department rendered itself with great credit, except perhaps singing, which was a bit overdone.

Movements : Decided, graceful and well planned. The groupings on the stage pleased the eyes and were generally meaningful. Only for those occupying end seats some "covering" took place. The actors must learn to avoid this because it may hide from a portion of the audience some significant gesture or movement made by the actor being covered. "Covering" is difficult to avoid on a small stage but on a stage the size of that of the Kala Mandir this should not occur. The disappearance of the suicides behind a bevy of beautiful belles evoked understandable laughter in the hall.

Action : In a historical play, dealing with the life of a king who of necessity was also a soldier, there can be no lack of action in voice, gesture and movement. *Skandagupt* provides for this in plenty. Unfortunately explosive speech—most effective in such plays—and more realistic sword play could have helped the illusion further. The direction should have guarded against the movements looking pre-planned and too regimented.

Scenery and lighting : The production was considerably limited here and understandably so because the School came all the way from Delhi and could not possibly carry sets and props which could have been considerable for this play. The performance was thus staged on a bare stage. The flies with the insignia of the two houses did not really satisfy. The one with the golden orb in the battle scene was even less so. This perhaps was the main reason why the audience must have found it difficult to follow the sequence of events with quick shifts of scenes and rapid change of characters. For those who are uninitiated this lack must have strained their understanding to the utmost. How could they possibly assess the degree of *Skandagupt's* renunciation when all they saw was a bare stage!

Centenary Of The Hindi Theatre

BY A DRAMA CRITIC

OF the seasonal events which burst upon the scene in Calcutta the centenary celebrations of the Hindi Theatre were among the most important. The programme of events found a fitting venue for its inauguration at the recently completed Kala Mandir on Shakespeare Sarani, previously known as Theatre Road. The imposing edifice with its mammoth stage and many modern conveniences provides Calcutta with yet another worthy auditorium.

That Kala Mandir will extend its facilities to the less pecunious producers of the city is devoutly to be wished for. For it would be tragic indeed if events clouding the opening of Rabindra Sadan find repetition here. But then there is the basic difference between an institution set up by the public sector as opposed to one by private enterprise.

As if in response to a rousing call made by a leading businessman of Calcutta at the opening of a contemporary art exhibition, the audience that greeted the first day of the centenary celebrations was composed largely of the leaders of business and industry in the city. Of the many points

that Dr Keskar made in his inaugural address the one that was most timely was his plea for a professional theatre. He pointed out that if the Hindi theatre is to develop, one of the necessary conditions was a full-time occupation in its various problems. The chief guest, Mr Dharma Vira, Governor of West Bengal, exhorted the organisers to take art to the people for it to flourish.

If we take our cue from this address, then the performance of Jaishankar Pershad's *Skandagupta* which followed, would surely not be a suitable presentation. The standard of Hindi was so high that it must have gone over the heads of many in the audience. Besides its dramatic values were further blurred by inadequate production and stage management.

Since *Skandagupt* was presented by the National School of Drama, it seems right to examine it department by department.

Speech : Clear, controlled and effective to the extent of audibility. The auditorium being very large, portions of the audience were not reached. Audibility suffered also because of snuffles and sneezes so usual in current

What the decor lacked, the lighting tried desperately to make up and almost succeeded in doing so. If what was seen in action is standard equipment of the Kala Mandir—and one is inclined to believe that it is, due to Tapas Sen's association with it during its construction—then Kala Mandir is by far the best stage in Calcutta. Lighting arrangements for positioning are so good that they could be compared to any elsewhere in the world.

Costumes: The choice of colours and materials of the costumes was good. In this department the School came through with flying colours.

Makeup: Sparingly used. In the case of the bearded characters the use of crepe was good. In the case of the hairless the make-up was palpably obvious and detracted from the generally pleasing visual effects of the rest of the production.

Music: In all the three departments in which it was used it was effective. The opening strains were just right to set the tone of the play. As background music and as sound effects during periods of excitement, it did not jar but created the right atmosphere. As accompaniment to the singing it played a supporting role and did not, as so often happens, drown the singer.

The players were well chosen and performances were pleasing. In speech and gesture the effects of training were easily discernible. One wondered whether Mudgal's limp was real or acquired. If a criticism is to be made it would be that the players acted rather one like the other and no 'individualities' were introduced into the various roles. The only character which stood out was the conspiring priest among the men and the singing Rajkumari among the women.

The stylised acting, it appeared, so restrained the actors that the play seemed more academic than life-like.

The festival performances are also backed by an exhibition organised by E. Alkazi but of that, later. Two other performances and a symposium on society's responsibility to the arts were also held during the celebration and shall be dealt with fully in future issues.

A Distinguished Show

—BY AN ART CRITIC

AT the tenth annual exhibition of the Society of Contemporary Artists at the Birla Academy of Art and Culture, a hippy looks at you with sad gentle eyes with nails sticking out of his bare feet like knobs—a twentieth century Christ. Next to him is a king on his burnished throne, a chilling symbol of authority in Imperial purple. On another wall is a collage, quaintly described as 'Dialogue with the Tree', which looks like nothing in the world and yet its vibrant kinetic colours and its cunning juxtaposition of forms produce an undeniable feeling of pleasure and warmth.

The representational hippy and the other paintings of Bikash Bhattacharya, with their visual puns and sick jokes, and Manu Parekh's non-figurative abstraction provide the framework, as it were, within which the rest of the fifty-four paintings fall. Among the other artists, except for Ganesh Pyne, all draw in varying styles of abstraction. Stylistically, Ganesh Pyne's temperas fall, in between, and his "Drizzle", in terra verte and brown, laid over with a wax coating, is exquisite. Other pictures that stand out are Anil Baran Saha's water colour "Antique"; Suhas Roy's "Throne", Lalu Prasad Shaw's "Sitala", to mention just a few. The works of the other artists of the Group—Sanat Kar, Sunil Mitra, Dipak Banerjee and Sunil Das—bear the stamp of their acknowledged competence.

There are also four pieces of sculpture by Ajit Chakravarty, all of which are much better than what one normally encounters in the local exhibitions.

Group shows in Calcutta generally suffer from a basic malaise—an unevenness in quality. The exhibition under review is a rare exception. Despite the diversity of styles, techniques and themes, there runs through all the exhibits a unifying element—the element of competence. Altogether it is a distinguished show and anyone visiting it (open till Sunday, January 5) will find it amply rewarding.

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Moonstruck

Your leading editorial 'Moonstruck' (December 28) is guilty of facile generalisations and incoherent conclusions. You are right in criticising the expensive space shows which are not necessarily the best way to cultivate the science of astronomy. The plight of the earth is indeed disregarded by the rich nations. But the incoherence in your comment comes out when you equate China's manufacture of nuclear weapons with the showmanship of Russia and America. You say "they (the Chinese) may well have needed to develop the weapon" and yet some vague idealism leads you to criticise the Chinese for making it. Is it not true that the poverty of the peoples can be removed only by defeating those who cause it? The expenditure on any military hardware (why only speak of nuclear bombs) is a wastage; but how can China avoid it right now? What element of showmanship have you found in China's nuclear venture?

You do not know what the Chinese mean when they correlate certain material developments with the strength of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Contrary to what you presume, this is no glorification of the nation. Mao's thoughts infuse social consciousness in an individual and guide him to action. This subjective inducement has its impact on the work performed by the individual—the peasant in a commune, the teacher in a school or a scientist in a laboratory.

G. MUKHERJEE
Calcutta

Your comment "Moonstruck" (December 28) presents strange logic. To say that the Americans should not have embarked on the Apollo-8 programme because "even in prosperous America there are tasks of much greater relevance to its own people which languish for lack of funds" is just another way of saying that Michael Faraday should not have gone

on with his then useless and expensive experiments in electricity because there were tasks of much greater relevance to the members of his family, which languished for lack of funds. And even if "promoting science or making science an instrument of human welfare" be not their aims the mere fact that some mortals of this poor earth will gain knowledge and experience of space enthuses us for we know that scientific knowledge can be gained but not monopolised and that such knowledge will add a new dimension to human civilisation as a whole.

As for the "controversial comment" of Lovell that the information and understanding the space programme promises to yield could be acquired at much less cost and with much less risk to human life, the point is admittedly controversial and the Americans may better be given the benefit of doubt.

And lastly, thanks to your even-handedness, you do not forget or fail to extend your admonition to Russia and China though on different counts. In fact your reaction to the Appollo-8 programme reminds me of a father who grudged much the success of a rival of his son in the school examinations and told him (the rival), "There is no use passing examinations these days, you had better join a technical school and receive technological training which would be of real use to you and your family. I tell my son the same thing but he has gone perverse now-a-days."

BHUT NATH BHATTACHARJEE
Janbari, Howrah

Kerala

N. K. S.'s letter (December 28) is revealing. He starts by quoting K. P. R. Gopalan, allegedly an extremist, to dub the recent happenings in Kerala as "betrayal of the teachings of Mao Tse-tung" but at the same time makes it a handy weapon to attack the "so-called revolutionaries" whose case for the parliamentary road to socialism N. K. S. is obviously out to defend.

We should not have grudged much if

N. K. S. had confined himself to a purely objective assessment of the Kerala incident in isolation. For, while we sympathise with the cause and do not decry it as either "violent" or a "law and order problem" we too have serious reservations about the way the thing was led and launched. But N. K. S. has used the incident quite conveniently (like Mr Chavan) to lash out at the political slogans raised by the "extremists" all over India and in the process profusely quotes Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China. But may we ask why he should undertake the trouble of stepping as far back as 1957 to grasp the views of the CPC on the correct forms of revolutionary struggles? Can we not expect him to be conversant with what the CPC said in 1968 about the Naxalbari movement and, for that matter, the entire communist movement in India in most unambiguous terms? N. K. S. has unfortunately resorted to what the CPC describes as the method of "using the Red Flag to combat the Red Flag". Or should we be left to assume that Mao Tse-tung and his comrades have by this time degenerated into "renegades"?

Again, much in keeping with the usual practice of his bigger comrades, N. K. S. has not failed to make a passing reference to one of Lenin's famous writings on left-wing communism. We are afraid that N. K. S. is better acquainted with the title of the book than with the content. If he would care to read the book he might be horrified to see such an "adventurous" observation from V. I. Lenin that "the number of parliamentary seats is of no importance to us; we are not out for seats, we yield on this point." How does N. K. S. reconcile this with the ceaseless craving for seats of the Indian Communists? It is better to learn properly before one teaches.

In fine, even if the Kerala incident should be called 'adventurous' or "anarchic", the responsibility still lies with the traditional opportunist leadership of the Indian Communist movement. To quote Lenin once more—"Anarchism was not infrequently a sort of punishment for the opportunist

sius of the working class movement" (*Left-wing Communism—an Infantile Disorder*).

ACHINTYA MUKHERJEE
Calcutta

Birla On West Bengal

Except the controversy over whether or not Kerala offered a sick cotton mill to Shri G. D. Birla very little attention has been given to his other important announcement that there has been and will be a flight of capital from West Bengal because the investment climate and working conditions are unsuitable here. This should have instilled wholesome respect in the people's minds for what the industrialists and operators and big jotedars understand by "law and order". Do the industrialists not maintain our bare sustenance by employing, even at recurring annual losses, a sizable part of the population? Do the operators not maintain an equilibrium in the even distribution of riches among themselves and among those within the orbit of their transactions? Do not the affluent jotedars garner the grains in times of scarcity so as to see us through during the rest of the lean year? The patriotic industrialists are doing a national service by bringing about a conscious flight of capital from West Bengal, where permanent and quasi-permanent residents, in addition to the Bengalis, include our brethren from Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Maharashtra, Manipur, Mysore, NEFA, Orissa, Punjab, Tripura, Uttar Pradesh and (the most important) Rajasthan. These inhabitants will be taught that the absence of what the industrialists consider "law and order" would mean the total absence of any industry in this State. This is not economic tyranny: it is a pure and simple case of non-cooperation with the evil that is West Bengal and its inhabitants. The patriotic industrialists must subdue the evil by the benign force of non-violent non-cooperation.

Shri G. D. Birla, acting on an

irreproachable synteresis, has rightly considered the aetiological symptoms of law (-lessness) and (dis-) order. His teleological prognosis cannot be cavilled at. Our Constitution guarantees him and other industrialists the right to do business from anywhere in India, even if that means loss of employment to (i) business executives and assistants from Andhra Pradesh, Kerala and Madras; (ii) research scholars and artisans from Assam; (iii) factory workers from Bihar and Orissa; (iv) stores-suppliers from Gujarat; (v) transport operators and technicians from Haryana and Punjab; (vi) skyscraper-builders from Maharashtra.

If even such a practical admonition does not improve the law and order climate in West Bengal, Shri G. D. Birla and his brother industrialists taking part in the beneficial "flight of capital" strategy may be compelled to discontinue sales to this erring State of the goods and products manufactured by their mills and factories situated in better climates. What a colossal loss it will be for us to be deprived of the innumerable varieties of goods strictly answering to ISI specifications! It will serve us right if we have to rely then only on Taichung or IR-8 paddy through intensive cultivation—strictly on the supposition that the seeds and fertilizers are received in time from Government sources.

Mr Editor, I have written this warning in a moment of fright, but now I am afraid of publishing my name because I have a sneaking ambition of joining the winning party after February 1969. I am therefore taking shelter behind my pseudonym.

SUDHIS K. RAY
Calcutta

Russians In Nigeria

Your editorial comment on the motive behind Russian 'aid' to the Federal Government of Nigeria is evasive. Why not speak out the truth that the policy of "social imperialism" pursued by the present leaders of Soviet Russia results in the exploitation of the Third World? Lenin used

The January 25 issue of

FRONTIER

will be a special number

It will contain, besides the regular features, a number of special articles

including

Foreign Aid : Illusion and Reality

by N. K. Chandra

State Capitalism in India

by Paresh Chattopadhyay

The Dragon and the Sacred Cow

By S. Dutta

The Struggle for the Muslim mind

by Iqtidar Alam Khan

the term "social imperialist" about those pseudo-communists of Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire who during World War I supported their national imperialist governments in their war effort. The communists in Germany hoped that possession of colonies would make the national economy prosperous and the working class would have its share of the booty. Thus revisionism and social imperialism are complementary to each other.

Since their 20th Party Congress the leaders of the CPSU have been dangling before the nose of the Russians the prospect of higher standards of living. They must supply the material incentive at any cost, even if that means exploitation of the Third World in a devious way. The rate of development in Russia being what it is, a successful exploitation of the poor nations (with that ideological smoke-screen—peaceful economic competition) will enrich the Russian economy. The obvious expression of this exploitation is military supplies to them. Nigeria, Egypt, Pakistan, India and Burma get planes and tanks of outdated models and pay back in raw material. This is a "drain" of real wealth from the Third World in exchange of unproductive goods. The readymade answer to this charge is that the Soviet arms supplies come in the place of American products and to that extent precipitate the crisis in American industry. But in fact the theatres of local wars in the Third World are nurtured by the Big Two and when a round of clashes exhausts the weapons, fresh supplies are ready for delivery, as in Egypt, and now in Nigeria.

Nigeria's natural resources, closed to Russia so long, can be utilised in exchange of planes and tanks, no matter how inhuman the result of this help may be.

G. MUKHOPADHAYAY
Calcutta

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"Human Rights"

On December 10, Human Rights Day, the leaders of our country were trying to prove that India is a great supporter of fundamental freedom and human rights. Our Vice-President, Mr V. V. Giri, referred to apartheid in South Africa, denial of the basic right of self-government to the overwhelming majority of people in Rhodesia and the violation of human rights in Arab territories occupied by Israel.

But the same day the chairman of the Committee on Untouchability told a Press conference that in Jammu and Kashmir there are separate bathing ghats for scheduled castes and tribes. In U.P. scheduled caste students are not allowed to mix with other students at the university and college level. A backward-class boy was admitted to a common mess. He paid the fee, but could not take even one meal as students belonging to caste Hindu families refused to dine with *chamars*. In Tamilnad (Madras) scheduled caste boys are not allowed to ride a cycle in some villages. In Orissa a scheduled caste woman was paraded naked after her husband had been killed in a clash over drawing water from a tank. In Porbandar the scheduled castes are not allowed to take water from a common place. We should remember that Porbandar is the birth-place of Bapuji! In Rajasthan scheduled caste children are not allowed to use public drinking-water places.

It is a fact that the evils of casteism and communalism have become more acute after Independence. One of the reasons is parliamentary democracy and elections. All the political parties, progressive or reactionary, become communalist for getting more and more votes. The Congress is always giving its tickets on the basis of majority caste. We call the SSP a progressive party, but Dr Lohia tried to divide India on the basis of casteism instead of class, in order to get more votes from scheduled castes. The Dangeites and the Marxists sometimes support the wrong Muslims. Why? For votes.

N. K. S.
Patna

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কেবল বৃহদাকার যান্ত্রিক কৃষি সংস্থাগুলি ও ব্যাপকভাবে গ্রাম্য বৈদ্যুতিকরণ একত্র এই ছুরবছা থেকে দেশকে উদ্ধার করতে পারে। গ্রাম ব্যাপক বৈদ্যুতিকরণ কৃষকদের শক্তির যোগান দিয়ে অধিক খাদ্য ফলাতে সাহায্য করে এবং দেশের উন্নতি বিধান করে।

দেশের গ্রাম্য বৈদ্যুতিকরণ কর্মসূচীকে সাফল্যমণ্ডিত করার জন্য জি.ই.সি. গুরুত্বপূর্ণ ভূমিকা অবলম্বন ক'রেছে। গ্রামাঞ্চলে বিদ্যুৎশক্তি সরবরাহ ও তা'কে কাজে লাগাবার ক্রমবদ্ধ মান সমস্যার সমাধান ক'রতে যে'সব সরঞ্জাম প্রয়োজনীয় সে'গুলির উন্নতি সাধন নিম্নিত জি.ই.সি. তার প্রায়োগিক বিশেষজ্ঞদের নিয়ে সর্বদা সচেষ্ট রয়েছে। বিগত কয়েক বছর ধরে ভারতের গ্রামাঞ্চলের রূপ পরিবর্তনের সাহায্যকল্পে যেসব জাতি গঠনকারী অত্যাশঙ্কক প্রকল্প সমূহের কাজে যোগদান করতে বার বার জি.ই.সি.-র ডাক পাড়েছে, সেই প্রকল্পগুলি হচ্ছে—ডাথরা নঙ্গল ও হীরাবুঁদ বাঁধ। গ্রাম-বৈদ্যুতিকরণ পরিকল্পনাকে সফল করে তুলতে জি.ই.সি.-র ভূমিকা অগ্রগণ্য। জি.ই.সি. বহু ট্রান্সফরমার, মোটর, সুইচগীয়ার ও পাল্পাসেট সরবরাহ ক'রে “অধিক খাদ্য ফলাও” অভিযানকে সাফল্য লাভে সাহায্য ক'রেছে।

এই সব উন্নয়নমূলক কাজের ফলে ভারতের রূপ অনেক পরিবর্তিত হয়েছে, কিন্তু একটি জিনিস অপরিবর্তিত রয়েছে, সেটা হচ্ছে জি.ই.সি.-র ‘শুণ’। ভারতের কৃষি সংস্থাগুলিতে নিয়োজিত জি.ই.সি.-র উচ্চশ্রেণী সম্পন্ন যন্ত্রপাতি দেশকে কৃষিক্ষেত্রে স্বয়ংসম্পূর্ণতার পথে অগ্রসর করে দিয়েছে এবং সংস্থাগুলির উন্নতি লাভে সাহায্য ক'রেছে। এটা কিছই আশ্চর্যের বিষয় নয় যে, এগুলি দেশের মাধ্যমে বুড়ুঝার বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রামের পক্ষে অত্যন্ত নিভ'রযোগ্য অস্ত্র।

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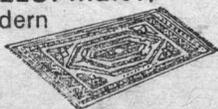
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Bird's Export Division.
Chartered Bank Buildings, Calcutta-1