

# frontier

Vol. 2: No. 16

JULY 26, 1969

PRICE 35 PAISE

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Editor : Samar Sen

PRINTED AT MODERN INDIA PRESS,  
7, RAJA SUBODH MULLICK SQUARE,  
CALCUTTA-13 AND PUBLISHED WEEKLY  
BY SAMAR SEN FROM 61, MOTT LANE,  
CALCUTTA-13

## AFTER ALL THE FRENZY

AS we go to press, three American astronauts are flying back to earth with a few bits of the moon. The excitement of the last few days will continue for some time even after their return. Every superlative cliché has been used to describe man's first voyage to the moon. This exhausting exercise will also continue for a while. But even at this stage it may be useful to give a thought or two to some of the basic facts and their implications. To be sure, the Apollo 11 flight has been a tremendous technological feat; it has all been very thrilling, very dramatic, very impressive. Both the astronauts and the many others who made their journey possible have deservedly won great admiration. It has been a marvel of skill and organization, of scientific ingenuity and technological development. But a few questions remain.

What is all this talk about a new era having been opened in the life of man? Sir Bernard Lovell described the moment of manned landing and exploration as one of greatest drama in human history, but how much does this drama mean to man's life? When one speaks of milestones in man's development, one thinks of the invention of the first method of lighting a fire, the beginning of agriculture, the replacement of stone implements by those of iron, or—coming to the modern age—the invention of the steam engine or the discovery of nuclear energy. These are developments which have totally transformed the conditions of individual and collective life. Is the journey to the moon the precursor of any such transformation? Most likely not.

Even in terms of modern science, the Apollo achievement (and that of Luna-15 if it returned to earth) seems to be of limited value. We will now know more about the moon; this, we are told, will tell us more about the history of the earth and the solar system. How much more remains to be seen! What is already known is that it has cost the Americans some twenty-four billion dollars to go to the moon and bring back some samples of the lunar rock. We are also told that a base on the moon will help astronomical observations of the remote reaches of the universe; probably hundreds of billions of dollars will be spent to reach that stage.

Is it pure thirst for knowledge that is goading the Americans, and the Russians, to spend on this scale? One need not be morally indignant

about others wasting their own money. If there had been no moon to spend it on, the money would probably have been used to kill more people in Vietnam. In any case, it is no use asking why the Americans are not using the space money to help the poorer peoples of the world or the poor people, mostly black, in their own country. They are perfectly entitled to spend their billions on space sport. But is it mere sport, even ignoring the claim about the search for knowledge?

Few people now talk about a military base on the moon, but is it conceivable that the organizers of space sport have not seriously considered the possibility? After all, rocketry grew from military needs; the association can hardly be broken when it has been so developed. There is one curious pointer. The treaty on the peaceful uses of outer space, which came into force in 1967 and to which both America and Russia are signatories, refers in most places to "the moon and other celestial bodies", but only to "celestial bodies" when specifically prohibiting military applications. The Russians objected, but soon dropped the objection—presumably after some private understanding.

According to *The Economist*, India's Chief Justice gave it as his opinion at the beginning of this year that whoever got to the moon first would be able to claim it under international law. But the Americans may not be so greedy; the space treaty says that there should be no national claim to sovereignty on the moon. In any case, they need—in the foreseeable future—share the satellite with the Russians alone. Under the treaty, the two countries are also expected to help each other's astronauts in difficulties. Was that why Luna-15 was standing by near the moon when the American astronauts landed? This could be the beginning of collective security in space.

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Our agent at Varanasi  
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## Game Of Chess

It would be churlish at this particular hour to look into the source of Mrs Gandhi's daring. She has dared, and, as the turbulent week following Mr. Morarji Desai's dismissal closed, the Syndicate was having the fright of its lifetime. Mr Nijalingappa's "ultimatum" on Friday evening—"restore Finance to Morarji by Sunday or else..."—was sounding ridiculous even before Saturday's sundown. By then Mrs. Gandhi had given the final brush-off to the egotist from Bulsar, and got her compliant Cabinet approve the ordinance to nationalise fourteen—and not five or six—leading banks. Once the ordinance was announced and she had taken to the radio, it was all over despite the whimpering from Mr S. K. Patil. The saddest figure in the capital, however, is not to be found among the members of the Syndicate, it is Chhatrapati Chavan, who has been outmanoeuvred all the way by the Prime Minister. Perhaps for years to come, Mr. Chavan will rue the wayward vote he cast for Mr Sanjiva Reddy.

Even in a game of bluffs and counter-bluffs, some preliminary homework is called for. It is obvious Mrs Gandhi had worked out her political arithmetic much better than the disreputables in the Syndicate did theirs. You need a two-thirds majority to eject the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party: even with Morarji's sacking and the consequent pooling of collective wrath, in all seasons it would have been beyond the capability of the Syndicate and its temporary associates to garner so many votes against Mrs Gandhi. In fact, Mr Chavan had been put on notice by those of his supporters who had migrated from the Peasants' and Workers' Party to the Congress that if the confrontation is going to be over Mr Morarji's retention in the Cabinet, they are going to sit it out. The Prime Minister could also take the fullest advantage of the Syndicate's other predicament: any hocus

pocus on its part and she could always go to the Acting President and have the Lok Sabha dissolved. Its strategy was—and presumably continues to be—to lie low till Mr Sanjiva Reddy is safely installed at Rashtrapati Bhavan. Mrs Gandhi's pledge to support—and even sponsor—Mr. Reddy's candidature was too tantalizing an offer for the Syndicate to be spurned as one of no consequence.

Finally, however, Mrs Gandhi could assess something which the Syndicate, by the nature of its composition, would be incapable of assessing correctly *a priori* of an event. If there were going to be a public brawl, the image of the Syndicate would be that of a shady bunch of conspirators, operating without any mass base, moving, stealthily, like thieves in the night. In contrast, the Prime Minister would have been the damsel in distress fighting for the cause of social justice and rapid economic growth, who has been made the target of unscrupulous manoeuvring on the part of the demi-crooks and confirmed reactionaries. Besides, the rank and file of the Congress are nobody's fools. Irrespective of ideological beliefs, once they are convinced that the only way to survive in 1972 is to don a radical mantle in the interim, they will do so, despite individual cases of hardship here and there. Notwithstanding the Syndicate, nothing, after all, succeeds so well as success. Once Mrs Gandhi provides them with a formula for keeping afloat, the middle rung of the Congress would rather vote with her; as with Simenon's character, they could move into the act and salvage what they can rather than watch the train go by.

The Prime Minister calculated and dared: by Saturday evening, Shri Desai's dismissal had been re-confirmed, and the Union Cabinet made to vet, unanimously, the ordinance nationalising the banks. Mrs Gandhi met headlong the challenge of the Syndicate and successfully got away with it: there was thunderous ovation at the meeting of the Executive

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Committee' of the Parliamentary Party and subsequently at the meeting of the general body, and the simulated threats of a motion of no-confidence were a non-starter. Mr Desai was allowed to go into the silent night all by himself: none of the half-promised protest resignations matured. Overnight, Mrs Gandhi's position in the party—and her stature in the country—had become unassailable. All that the ragtag of the Syndicate is capable of at the moment is to pray that, despite everything, perhaps they might still be able, if the madam for the present stays propitiated, somehow to ensure Shri Sanjiva Reddy's victory in the Presidential election, and following that—since hope springs eternal in human breast—tomorrow could still be another day. . . . But after all that has happened over the week, nothing can be taken for granted. Mrs Gandhi can smile and smile, and sponsor Mr Reddy's candidature; yet his fate may be sealed. A mere fifteen per cent defection of votes from the Congress, and the hero of the Syndicate could come crashing down to ignominious defeat.

Mrs Gandhi now finds herself catapulted into a stance of radicalism: perhaps she did not quite intend to be where she finds herself to be, at least perhaps not so soon; perhaps one bank nationalization swallow does not make for an all-out socialist summer; perhaps, if the exigencies of survival so demand, she may still recant. But let us not deny it—she has shown a courage which her distinguished father could never be accused of during his long span as Prime Minister. Meanwhile, the UF regimes should be pleased; all of a sudden, the heat is suddenly off from them. Nobody, neither a cussed tycoon nor an illiterate newspaper editor can now threaten that if the State Government does not behave, industrial capital would be pulled out and taken elsewhere in the country. Thanks to the bungling of the Syndicate, the country as a whole has now become a "security risk" with the industrialists.

## Bank Take-Over

*A correspondent writes from Delhi:*

When Mrs Indira Gandhi was hustled into the decision to devalue the rupee in June 1967, she was still new in office and quite a bit in awe of the mystique of high finance the civil servants and the so-called technicians were weaving for her benefit. That was one decision which, perhaps much more than anything else, has directly led to the current atrophy in the economy. If the politicians, Mrs Gandhi included, were at that time a little less intimidated, they could have seen through the dubious nature of the advice rendered by the bureaucrats and could have vetoed it; but they chose not to. During last week's tussle over the nationalisation of the fourteen leading commercial banks, the tables have been nearly reversed. As far as information goes, nearly all the bureaucrats, including the Governor of the Reserve Bank, had, till the last hour, implored the Prime Minister to desist from taking a step which will be 'suicidal' for the economy. She brushed them aside with contempt; it is a measure of the distance she has travelled in the course of the three years. In making this transition, no doubt she has been helped by the external circumstances including the observed folly of the advice to devalue by this same batch of civil servants. By her act of nationalising the banks, she has thus put in their places not only the members of the Syndicate but also the bureaucrats: the only constituency left for the latter is the Swatantra party, unless they would prefer the Jana Sangh.

It is altogether silly to argue, as has been done by the frustrated fringe belonging to the Right, that it is ethically wrong on the part of the Government to promulgate an ordinance barely thirty-six hours ahead of the time when Parliament was due to meet. Some newspaper editors have been equally naive in suggesting that as the Ministries of Finance and Law had issued denials

only a day ago, the Prime Minister had no business to go back on the assurance that no ordinance was being made ready. Measures such as devaluation and bank nationalisation cannot be taken after prolonged, leisurely debates in the open. If a bill had first been brought forward in Parliament and debated interminably, deposits would have been diverted in diverse and indeterminate directions, and accounts which can now be brought into the open would have been buried several fathoms deep in sealed vaults, maybe in Switzerland. In a manner of speaking, the bankers and their henchmen can thank Mr Morarji Desai and the Syndicate that a total of fourteen banks had to be brought under the orbit of nationalisation instead of six as originally suggested. If the ordinance could be issued nearly simultaneously with the order of Mr Desai's sacking, perhaps for the present the Government would have stopped with nationalising only the top six banks. But because of the rumpus raised over the Finance Minister's dismissal, the proposed ordinance got delayed by more than two days. Meanwhile, speculators had started making a thorough job of transferring funds from the top six to the next half-a-dozen which were considered outside the zone of vulnerability. When the ordinance finally came on Saturday, the area of catchment necessarily had to be widened.

But nationalisation of the banks *per se* is not going to usher in an era of fair deal in the allocation of credit. There has to be a kind of meticulous credit planning which coheres with the social priorities claimed in the Fourth Plan. Small farmers as well as small traders and the promoters of small-scale industry, have to receive their due share of credit from out of the nation's kitty; States and regions discriminated against in the past for political reasons must be adequately compensated. At one stroke, the Government has been able to lay its hands over roughly Rs. 2,700 crores of deposits, or the equivalent of 10 per cent of the annual national income; a lot

of good can be done to release the impulses of both economic growth and social justice if the advances made out of these deposits could be planned fairly and well. Much will depend on the advisory boards set up by the Government for the nationalised banks. Here the danger lies in that the activities of the Reserve Bank and the Ministry of Finance may continue to be run by the same set of reactionary elements as of last week; these are the people who will normally have a predominant say in the composition of the advisory boards. There is every reason to fear that if left to their own devices, they would try to bring back surreptitiously the same set of crooks and hucksters as had been adorning the boards of directors of several of the banks; the old pattern of advances might then continue, as has been the unfortunate instances with the nationalised State Bank of India.

Let there be no beating about the bush here. The bulk of the senior civil servants, by both ideology and habit, are dead set against progressive economic measures. There must be a certain materialistic link in the chain somewhere, for there are any number of cases in which a Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, an Auditor and Comptroller General, and assorted Secretaries to the Ministry of Finance have on retirement found their way into high-salaried, prize slots in the private sector, including private banks. As one scans the newspapers, some of these eminent gentlemen are found to be the most vociferous in their condemnation of the nationalisation of banks. What goes for the old stalwarts should be equally true for the civil servants who are in position in the Ministry of Finance and the Reserve Bank. It would be clearly absurd to try to implement any effective policy of credit planning with the help of a fifth column of the Swatantra party; the latter will not lose any opportunity to sabotage the operations at every stage. If Mrs Gandhi would not like to get tripped after travelling all this course, she must, at the very beginning, get the would-be

saboteurs out of the top economic positions. These positions have to be socialised before the nationalisation of banks could yield socially desirable results.

## Lunar Week

*A Calcutta correspondent writes:*

It was quite natural for the Americans to spend the maximum money and effort to dramatise the moon expedition. The papers were full of it and the excitement was so sustained for the younger generation that, going through the dailies, few of them noted that articles in Bengali signed by different writers at times had the same phraseology, thus indicating a common source. But since the event was so spectacular the intrusion of American propaganda money seemed natural.

However, there were other distractions, apart from the two time-bomb explosions in American offices in Calcutta. The Russians sent up Luna-15, leading to intense speculation the world over. It was all so baffling. Newspapers had to give it space, breaking the Apollo monopoly.

Then there was Mrs Indira Gandhi with her two bombshells—the forced resignation of Morarji Desai and partial bank nationalisation. Desai out made big news, delighting the man in the street, and the charge that his resignation was the result of a personal vendetta on the part of the “self-willed lady” did not bother many, though the phrase tickled the Hindu attitude to women. Mrs Gandhi's bank takeover was described by some as loony, but the phrase could be taken as a compliment in the week of the moon.

The takeover was welcomed even by the vast majority who cannot afford to have a bank account because it was interpreted more as a political challenge to the older gang called the Syndicate than the first step towards a reversal of economic policy. How bank investments are manipulated is not generally known but people do

know that a lot of money goes into the hands of speculators, leading to price rises. The links between big business houses and some banks, which are almost like those between kith and kin, are general knowledge. If partial nationalisation can curb the underhand operations—a vain hope—then there would be relief. Those who have deposits accepted with an air of resignation the certainty that service would deteriorate. Some who have to depend on overdrafts to run their business began to worry about the amount they would have now to pay for overdrafts—it would be something like the licensing system which breeds corruption—while others said the stringent Reserve Bank regulations relating to overdrafts would now be more difficult to circumvent. Still others thought it might not be so easy for non-Bengali banks to discourage investments in West Bengal.

Leftist circles in Calcutta were jubilant—a thing they had agitated for over the years became a reality overnight. So, a power struggle in a reactionary party can lead to progress! The CPI (M) described it as a good and bold step while the CPI called for a rally to defeat any move against bank nationalisation. But with even S. K. Patil and Atulya Ghosh hobbling in to welcome it the arena was likely to be somewhat empty, for the time being. The CPI, however, has reasons to be pleased. Hadn't it been telling people about the struggle of the national bourgeoisie against the monopolists? And here is Mrs Gandhi coming out as a fighter against the monopolists. The rainbow of an alliance has appeared on the horizon.

There are others who think that Mrs Gandhi will not be able to land in the long—or the short—run, that it is all part of the game the bourgeoisie play when at bay. They push someone with radical slogans to centre of stage to serve their interests by other means and deceive the people. The radicals remain apollo-gists of the existing order. The remote control is always there.

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## Hunger And War

The resilience of the Ibos in Biafra, now cornered within an enclave merely hundred miles long and fifty miles wide, in surviving an invasion by the mighty Federal Nigerian forces, befriended by Britain and Russia, encourages hope that Africa's most bold experiment in self-determination would be a success. The price Biafra has paid up to now is 1.5 million Ibos dead and the surviving 4 million face the grim prospect of mass starvation. But the tattered demoralized Ibo forces with only a meal a day are springing surprises beyond the comprehension of the Federal army. Three years back, at the time of the invasion of the East, General Gowon said it would be a quick surgical police action. But things never looked like that. For the Ibos, the fall of Umuahia in April was a major blow, but this was more than made up by the almost total liquidation of a Nigerian brigade after a three-month siege of Owerri, a vital crossroads city on the southern front. Biafran guerillas are now stepping up activities along the roads leading to their former administrative frontier of Umuahia in what could be a build-up for an attack on the centre itself. They are mobilising for what their commanders describe as 'zero hour'—the big attack, whenever it comes. The involvement of the Ibos in the war effort has been complete following the fall of Umuahia which made it possible to put into practice the Operation Bush formula. Now the administration has been brought down to the common man's level. This is all in pursuit of the establishment of a truly black African republic. Interestingly, the image of general Ojukwu and Biafra is not distinguishable. But if there is no Ojukwu cult it is because the Biafran will is a collective phenomenon. If one day his service is not available, the Ibos are confident that someone else will step in his place.

Biafra has been always within ten days of mass starvation. The relief operations failing, the Biafrans will

have nothing to eat until next fall's harvest. Relief was reduced to a trickle following the shooting down of a mercy plane in early June and the Nigerian announcement that all relief planes must stop in Lagos for checking, that the Nigerian authorities will take over relief co-ordination work from the International Red Cross and all flights to Biafra must be during daylight hours. Moves were made to cut off mercy flights into Biafra from neighbouring Sao Tome, Dahomey and Equatorial Guinea. Though the starvation death rate was one a minute, Ojukwu had to reject the demand for inspection as there is no guaranteed that the Nigerian generals who consider mass starvation to be the 'ultimate weapon', will not poison food destined for Biafra. The relief agencies, excepting Red Cross, have accepted the Federal terms to despatch whatever supplies are possible. (The amount of relief has declined to the extent that directing operations through Lagos involves additional expenditure.) Only last year the British Foreign Secretary, Mr Michael Stewart, said that if the Federal Government was to proceed to the starvation of the Ibo people, then the arguments which had justified British policy would fall. It is too much to expect that London will even now ban arms supply to Lagos; it is more interested in winning a smile from General Gowon than rescuing a black minority from starvation.

## Italian Crisis

The twenty-ninth Italian government since 1945 is gone. That the patchwork Cabinet of Signor Rumor had managed to survive the buffeting of student-worker-peasant movements for six months was something of a miracle. Although the final fall came on a different count—split within the coalition partners—that itself was a reflection of a deep social and economic crisis.

The centre-left coalition composed of the Christian Democratic Party,

the Socialist Party and the Republican Party never felt sure on its feet not only because the coalition is disparate or the Communist Party, the second largest group in Parliament, remained outside but because the problems facing Italy defy any solution, contrived or introduced from above. Organically incapable of attempting any such solution parliamentary parties can go on fighting among themselves, split, regroup and re-split. That is exactly what brought about the fall of the Rumor government. For some time ex-members of the Social Democrat Party (which merged with the Socialist Party) have not been pulling on well with the left-wing of the Socialist Party. The left-wing would like to co-operate with the Communists, at least in local government. But the right wing would avoid an alliance with the Communists at any cost. For one thing induction of such a big party in the government would leave little room for them in the ministerial gaddi. So, early this month at a meeting of the Socialist Central Committee Pietro Nenni's compromise formula failed to click and the Social Democrats came out to form a United Socialist Party. The dialectical movement of two combining into one and one splitting into two was once more confirmed! The left-wingers led by De Martino see in this split the first stage of a right-wing plot to create a 'disciplinary block' to run the country. Whatever may be the ulterior motive the immediate result was reduction of majority in parliament and resignation of the government.

Last week the Italian President, Signor Saragat, asked Signor Rumor of the Christian Democratic Party to try to form a new centre-left coalition. So a new move is afoot to work out a fresh coalition arithmetic while Comrade Luigi Longo and his Communist Party patiently wait in the wings for the invitation. Meanwhile the black-shirted fascists protected by the police have begun to come out in the streets of Rome. Bombs have been exploding near the headquarters of one party or the other. The example of Greece is too near

not to impress the generals, that is, the industrialists. Significantly C. L. Sulzberger writing in the *New York Times* has wondered why Italy does not take the right path as taken by Athens and Bonn in preference to the present mediocrity.

But left alone to fight the capitalist onslaught while the pragmatic and cautious labour leaders stand on the sidelines, the workers have at least found among students militant allies. Different groups, particularly the Marxist-Leninist Union, are very close to the workers and led recently a general strike in Turin against the sudden rise in the cost of living. A national congress of revolutionary workers' groups is shortly to be held in Turin to "work out the goals of the new phase of class struggle which must affect the whole fabric of capitalist society."

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## View from Delhi

# Mrs Gandhi Vs. Syndicate

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

**A**MIDST all the excitement elsewhere over the moon landing, it was a sordid drama of intrigue and politicking in New Delhi. The cynical climax to the consensus myth came earlier at Bangalore. The Syndicate which had innovated the consensus to rationalise Mr Morarji Desai's exclusion from leadership in 1963 and to stage-manage Mrs Indira Gandhi's election in 1966 and 1967 decided to call its own bluff and force a contest for Presidentship. Thereby they were serving notice on Mrs Indira Gandhi that her days as Prime Ministership were numbered. The backlash came in New Delhi. The sack of Mr Morarji Desai and the take-over of the big banks were at best part of Mrs Gandhi's private drama of vengeance against the Syndicate. Left to herself, she might have timed the step to secure for herself the maximum advantage on the eve of the 1972 general elections. But now it was a war against the Syndicate. The most vulnerable element in the Syndicate was Mr Morarji Desai and the only way to retaliate was by nationalising the banks.

It looks as though Mrs Gandhi has survived the first round but there is no saying when the Syndicate would catch up with her. After all this is a game both the sides can play. The coming Presidential contest is a factor inhibiting the Syndicate from forcing a serious crisis at the moment but then it might be too late in the day when it tries to carry out Operation Topple because Mrs Gandhi might well consolidate her position.

To recount the dizzy drama: The moment Mrs Gandhi found herself defeated in Bangalore, she seems to have decided to retaliate by sacking Mr Morarji Desai for identifying herself with the Syndicate. She could have retaliated by choosing another target—Mr Chavan, who is the Syn-

dicade's obvious choice as the replacement for Mrs Gandhi some day. But then the modern Shivaji could disrupt her own position through defections whereas the saintly, Gandhian Morarji Desai would not think of such a step. So it had to be linked up with bank nationalisation. Mr Morarji Desai came to know about the plan to deprive him of the Finance portfolio early that day and he got in touch with Mr Nijalingappa in Bangalore over the telephone. By the time Mr Nijalingappa could land in New Delhi, everything had been done. Even before Mr Morarji Desai was told about the decision to relieve him of Finance, the exercise on the banks take-over had begun among officials on the Prime Minister's orders.

The Syndicate was dazed, not because Mr Morarji Desai was going out. Anyway, he was not the Syndicate's choice for the Prime Ministership. Then came the nationalisation of banks. But the Syndicate played it rather cool, knowing that this was not the time to force a crisis. In any case, there could not have been a crisis in the Cabinet through resignations. Mr Chavan who has come to terms with the Syndicate, would not resign on the issue. Mr Ram Subhag Singh, who is Mr S. K. Patil's man, would not resign either. Forcing a crisis now might create a rift in the party and jeopardise Mr Sanjiva Reddy's chances in the contest. So for the moment, the Syndicate thought it wise to head off a confrontation and play for time.

A straight contest between Mr Sanjiva Reddy and Mr Giri would mean a victory for Mr Sanjiva Reddy. Theoretically, that is, because the Congress commands a strength of 52 to 53 per cent in the electoral college. But the entire opposition vote would not go to Mr Giri while some Con-

gress votes might. The Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh are opposed to Mr Giri and even if there is no third candidate, Mr Giri will not get these votes. But if there is a triangular contest, Mr Giri has absolutely no chance against Mr Sanjiva Reddy.

A point of speculation here is whether Mrs Indira Gandhi's supporters would try to spite the Syndicate by voting against Mr Sanjiva Reddy. After all the constitutional pundits had held even in 1967 that Mrs Gandhi's government need not go if Dr Zakir Husain were to lose the election. So Mr Sanjiva Reddy's defeat is not Mrs Gandhi's defeat and will not jeopardise her position.

Another point of speculation is whether there would really be any cross-voting in Mr Giri's favour. If the entire Opposition vote is united (which is impossible over Mr Giri), cross-voting by 20 Congress MPs can defeat Mr Sanjiva Reddy. This is an extreme possibility. So everything

points to Mr Sanjiva Reddy's victory.

#### Dissolution Threat

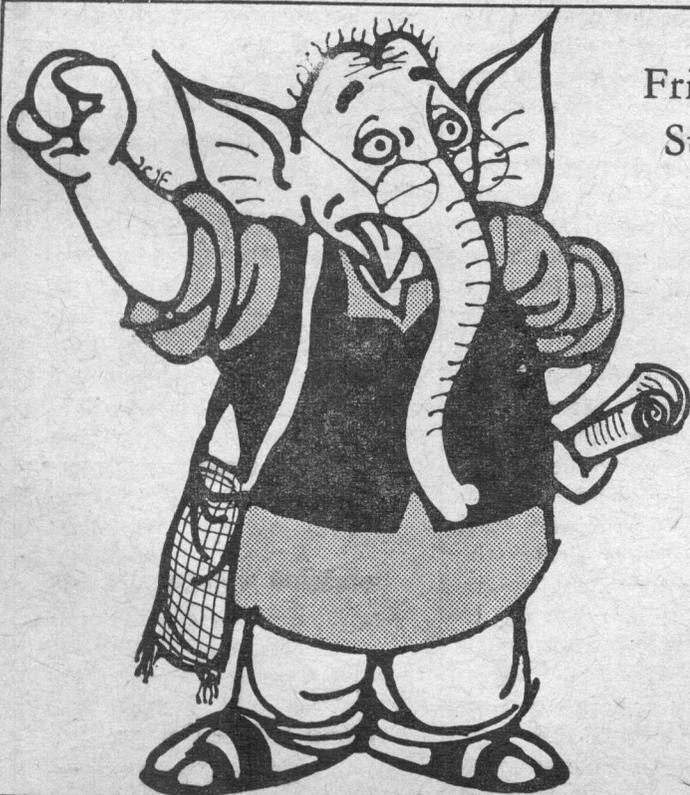
The threat of Mrs Gandhi going to Mr Giri (or to Mr Hidayatullah, later) to seek the dissolution of Parliament got into circulation here last week. It would have been patently mala fide for a Prime Minister to seek such a step when a Presidential election was in the offing.

The respective positions in the battle are not clear yet. The Syndicate appears a mighty force on paper: Mr Nijalingappa, Mr Kamaraj, Mr Patil, Mr Chavan and Mr Morarji Desai, with Mr C. B. Gupta backing them. Against this, Mrs Gandhi has only a charmed coterie, or Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed and Mr Dinesh Singh who do not matter in the Congress organisation. The alignments in the Congress Parliamentary Party are not clear. If the Syndicate is sure of its strength in the CPP, the normal, straightforward course would

have been to censure her in the party and replace her. But Mrs Gandhi seems to command a majority among the Congress MPs at the moment. She seems to hold the position that he owes her leadership to the Congress MPs and not to the bosses.

The bosses are in search of a role. Mr Chavan would have to keep his relationship with the Syndicate for some time to come. But Mr Morarji Desai, with a hard-core following of perhaps 40 MPs, is a goner. Mr Chavan's hard-core following will be roughly of the same size. The thought that Mr Chavan ditched her at Bangalore should still be an irritant to Mrs Gandhi but the only way she could get even with him now is to play Mr Desai against him. This again is difficult, once Mr Desai is out of the Cabinet.

Mrs Gandhi's own game to get Mr Desai out of the Cabinet long before the Presidential election issue is too well known. She had no compunctions about using the commissar-cor-



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respondents to run a smear campaign against the Deputy Prime Minister. The dossiers were handed over to these correspondents with the best compliments of the Prime Minister but she was obviously disappointed when the expected revolt against Mr Desai did not materialise in the Congress Parliamentary Party. She thought he would oblige her by resigning when Mr Chandrasekhar made all those allegations against him in the Rajya Sabha. She soft-pedalled the issue of disciplinary action against Mr Chandrasekhar. Mr Chandrasekhar should have learnt by now to be a little wary of the commissar-correspondents who think they are his conscience-keepers.

When it comes to intrigue, Mrs Gandhi is match enough for the entire Syndicate from which Mr Atulya Ghosh has been excluded of late. But Mr Kamaraj's open identification with the bosses against Mrs Gandhi has put the CPI in the most embarrassing position. After all, Mr Kamaraj's "socialist" image was built up by the CPI journals. Moscow thought on the eve of the 1967 elections that even if Mrs Gandhi was going to be finished, Mr Kamaraj was the man of the future. But now the pro-CPI journals have to denounce the over-rated strong man who is just a Tammany Hall boss and as honest about his socialism as S. K. Patil is.

### Andhra By-Election

A significant event that has gone virtually unnoticed is the by-election in Anantapur in Andhra Pradesh for the State Assembly seat vacated by the extremist leader, Mr T. Nagi Reddy, who had won it in 1967 as the CPI(M) candidate. The by-election from Attingal in Kerala was also caused by the resignation of the extremist leader, Mr Kosalaramdas. But the results of the two by-elections point to dissimilar things.

In Attingal, the CPI(M) retained the seat by a reduced margin despite a longer voters' list. From 5,000, the margin slumped to a thousand-odd votes and this could be achieved by swinging the 10,000 Muslim votes by conceding the demand for the Malap-

puram district. In another by-election in Kerala, in Malappuram proper, there is evidence of the CPI(M) sections voting for the Jana Sangh at the by-election in which the Muslim League retained the seat.

In Attingal, the extremists' call for boycott of elections had very little impact, as proved by the high percentage of poll. But Anantapur provides a different picture. The CPI(M) does not exist in the constituency after Mr Nagi Reddy had led the revolt over a year ago. In 1967, Mr Nagi Reddy polled over 20,000 votes (more than 48 per cent) against the Congress candidate's 17,000-odd votes and the CPI's 5,000-odd votes. This time the main contest was between the Congress and the CPI and the two together polled over 25,000 votes which means that the call for boycott of the election was highly effective. The Congress got less votes than it did last time and the CPI a little more. But the fact that the CPI(M) could not field a candidate is significant.

The document "Immediate Programme of the Revolutionary Communist Committee of Andhra Pradesh" should be of some interest here. The Committee has called for boycott of the panchayat elections in the State but clarifies the slogan :

"We must specify that the issue at hand is not a mere boycotting of elections by the people but, more than that, there is a way for them in people's war, that the path of people's war is nothing but a lead to the establishment of the village soviets and people's committees, that our programme for agricultural revolution has to be implemented under the leadership of these soviets and committees, and lastly that these constitute the foundation for a new People's Democratic Revolutionary State in villages."

People's committees are to look after village affairs where the Communist Revolutionaries have majority following in a village and are able to secure a successful mass boycott of the elections. These committees are

to work in competition with the village panchayats elected by the minority of the people and seek to implement the agrarian programme, undertake responsibilities like law, revenue, people's protection. These committees dominated by the revolutionaries and with the participation of agricultural labour and poor peasants will provide representation to those who would be willing to sail with the revolutionaries.

It is certain that in hundreds of Andhra Pradesh villages, the old Telengana spirit is being revived by the revolutionaries and one wonders about the solution Mr Chavan must be thinking of to contain this wave. If the majority in a village boycott the official panchayat and set up their own parallel panchayat even the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act would be helpless because boycotting a panchayat cannot be termed treason.

July 21, 1969

প্রকাশিত হল:—

নিশানা

দ্বিতীয় সংখ্যা

লণ্ডনের চায়না পলিসি স্টাডি গুপের

অনুমতিক্রমে ব্রেডশীট

এপ্রিল (৬২) সংখ্যার পূর্ণাঙ্গ অনুবাদ  
এতে আছে :

চীন—সোভিয়েত সীমান্ত সংঘর্ষ

প্রথম সংখ্যা এখনও পাওয়া যাচ্ছে

দাম : ৩৫ পঃ

এতে আছে :

শান্তিপূর্ণ উত্তরণ না জনযুদ্ধ ?

দাম : ৪৫ পঃ

আরও পড়ুন :

কমিউনিস্ট ম্যানিফেস্টোর শিক্ষা

(লেভিন, স্তালিন ও মাও-এর ব্যাখ্যাসহ)

—বিজন সেন দাম : ৭০ পঃ

ছাপা হবে :

চীনের চলমান বিপ্লব—হিন্টন

নিউ বুক সেন্টার

১২৫-১বি, বিধান সরনি, কলিকাতা-৩

## Some Old Style

C. K. ARORA

**G**UPTAISM is once again at work in its crudest form in Uttar Pradesh. The UPCC boss has belied the hopes of his well-wishers that he will learn from the snub administered to him by the electorate in 1967 and in the February mid-term poll.

Though there is no dearth of urgent problems, Mr Chandra Bhanu Gupta rarely finds time to attend to them. For the last three months he has been busy appointing handpicked officers to positions of vantage and distributing official patronage to the defeated and rejected "mini-bosses" in the State Congress on whom his empire rests. Mr Muzaffar Hasan has been made chairman of the Housing Board, the deputy chairmanship of the Plan Evaluation Committee has gone to Mr Newal Kishore and Mr Ram Murti is being tipped for the chairmanship of the Agro-Industrial Corporation. All the three gentlemen failed to get elected to the UP Assembly from their home constituencies in the mid-term poll. They lost their constituencies by a heavy margin. But Mr Gupta can afford to keep them without jobs only at his peril. The jobs given or being given to them are a drag on the state's economy which is already in bad shape; most of these were abolished by the United Front Government in 1967.

Mr Gupta has resorted to a most unpopular method to make up for the expenditure incurred on these "political offices". His Government has decided on an increase in school and college fees. The decision, however, has been put off for the time being following a threat of agitation by the students. Besides, he is sitting over the problem of distributing several lakh acres of Gaon Samah land which is being grabbed by big zamindars. The land should have gone to the landless farm workers.

The record of Mr Gupta's Government in the maintenance of law and

order needs no comment. Even the PCC members at a recent party conference alleged that law and order had deteriorated after the Congress assumed power and that the Government had failed to make any impact on the bureaucracy. The administration's handling of communal riots at Maunath Bhanjan in Azamgarh district and in Lucknow recently has created doubts whether at all Mr Gupta's Government is interested in upholding secularism.

The way the administration dealt with the Shia-Sunni trouble at Lucknow where Mr Gupta and his government sit, forced the Shia community to seek the help of the Jana Sangh and the RSS leaders for protection. The introduction of the Jana Sangh-RSS leaders in the domestic trouble of the two sects has made the situation precarious and tension still persists in old Lucknow even two months after the trouble.

It is not the administration alone that has begun to be affected by Guptaism, it also tells heavily on the State's universities and other educational institutions. Mr Gupta's writ runs from regular promotions of the staff in universities to the appointment of vice-chancellors and other office-bearers. In every university he has a lobby which has become vocal after his return to power. The Gupta lobbies are now running the universities, reducing them to an appendage of the Gupta group in the State Congress.

### Impotent Spectator

The opposition is a surprised and impotent spectator of this state of affairs. The BKD leader, Mr Charan Singh, on whom the people had pinned their hopes had failed. The Jat leader is behaving like a proverbial Don Quixote. He is haunted by the spectre of communism, to combat which he is busy evolving a non-Congress democratic front. In a bid to project himself as an all-India leader, which he knows he is not, Mr Charan Singh has raised the bogey of communism and is busy fighting it out, leaving Mr Gupta and Guptaism to rampage in the state.

Mr Charan Singh's deliberate indifference to the state of affairs at home has brought about a sense of disillusionment among the BKD workers, mostly Congressmen who had ringed around him to fight Mr Gupta.

Despite this, the local left establishment and its extension in Delhi are fabricating stories to make out that Mr Gupta has lost hold over the State Congress and Mr Kamalapati Tripathi, leader of the Brahmin faction in the UPCC, had gained at his cost. Mr Tripathi is a radical to the left establishment. His only noticeable service to the people of the State after independence is that he indiscriminately offers his feet to be touched. But for him the institution of "feet touching" would have died. He loves to be called "Panditji."

It is a fact that Mr Gupta is acting according to his will. His gesture in allowing Mr Tripathi to retain the offices of both Deputy Chief Minister and the State Congress President is made out by the left establishment as a defeat for Mr Gupta. Mr Tripathi's supporters, mostly former communists who feel flattered in associating themselves with a high caste Hindu, have made much of the concession allowed by Mr Gupta. They deliberately refuse to admit the fact that Mr Gupta's main aim in allowing both offices to Mr Tripathi was to keep the Prime Minister, Mrs Indira Gandhi, out of U.P. politics which he thinks is his exclusive preserve. Mr Tripathi has unwittingly allowed himself to be used as a tool by the Chief Minister.

The stage was almost set for a contest for the UPCC presidentship during the party conference last month. Mr Gupta's chief lieutenant, Mr Banarasi Das, and Mr H. N. Bahuguna, the right-hand man of Mr Tripathi, were the main contenders. Finding the situation sufficiently ripe, Mrs Gandhi's advisers suggested that she should attend the UPCC conference. She agreed. She had never attended such a conference.

The plan was almost finalised to project Mrs Gandhi as a peace-maker in U.P. The move was that she would issue an appeal for the unanimous election of the PCC chief, fol-

lowing which Mr Bahuguna, who was sure to be defeated, would withdraw his candidature. But Mr Gupta sensed the move and came to an understanding with Mr Tripathi. They ganged up not only to keep Mrs Gandhi out of U.P. politics but also to put their respective followers—Mr Banarasi Das and Mr Bahuguna—who are becoming too big for their shoes, in their proper places. The election was postponed.

Mr Gupta, assisted by Mr Tripathi, appears to be in complete command of the situation for the present.

But the session of the State Assembly will give him a trying time. He has not been able to expand his Cabinet because of the mushroom growth of caste-oriented groups in the party. Mr Gupta's future depends entirely on his capacity to keep the groups inside the party in good humour. Though the opposition parties are coming together to move a no-confidence motion against the Ministry, it will not mean anything unless some Congressmen quit the organisation.

passing away of a grandfather. And the memories I retain of him fit into the mould: short, squat stature, the *fez* dangling, rather insecurely, on top of the head, flowing grey beard, great zest in the way the limbs are being thrown, almost simultaneously, in different directions, the body jumping up and down, up and down, Dr Shahidullah regaling us with maybe a slightly smutty story, the twinkle in the eye, the mirthful face. Again, a great scholar, but one who could conceal his scholarship with a boisterous gush of folksiness, so much so that you might even, for one fleeting moment, conclude that here was a professor-turned-court-jester. Nothing of the sort. Dignity is as dignity does: Dr Shahidullah could weave a bond of affection and charm with his students, because he didn't care to remain ensconced in academic majesty. Some snobs took his philosophy of populism to be a variant of rustic manners, but thereby they only diminished themselves. After all, people like Dr Shahidullah were the first socialists in the Bengal milieu. They cared for the new generation students, fresh out of peasant stock, who were trying to make the transition from a pastoral to a bourgeois background. This transition, people like Dr Shahidullah argued, must have the end-product of a synthesis: in entering into the world of commerce and technology, the young brat from Nilphamari or Kishoreganj or Sirajganj must not forsake his rural heritage. At that particular juncture, in the University of Dacca, there was this peculiar problem of cultural adjustment: at one end, the dazzle of Bengali Hindu middle-class elegance, Tagore songs, the poetry of Buddhadeva Bose, Ajit Dutta and the rest, the sophisticated academic travura of men like J. C. Ghosh and S. K. De; at the other end, the direct appeal of Muslim peasant life, the boat songs, the folk literature of limited repertory, simplicity at its very raw. The haughty Hindus assumed that their culture, since it was associated with a higher per capita income level, was by definition *superior* to the peasant culture. Dr Shahidullah was one of

## Calcutta Diary

CHARAN GUPTA

DOWN memory lane. Twenty-five years ago, in the University at Dacca, Abdul Hai was a shy, young lecturer, a few years senior to me. Shy, never very loquacious in his lectures, but thorough, honest, and possessing a quiet passion for Bengali the intensity of which would be revealed only in the subsequent years. Not smart, anti-flashy, often the butt of ridicule on the part of more senior, extrovertish colleagues, Abdul Hai surpassed them all in terms of quality of output. Between the Department of Bengali in the University of Dacca and the Bengali Academy, tremendous scholarly work has been put in over the past two decades: research in phonetics and philology, syntax and grammar, spelling and scriptography, and all the rest. The East Pakistanis had to struggle hard to win the battle for the suzerainty of the mother tongue. Which is why there is this core of extra care, extra love, extra fondness for the language, leading on to such a crop of enriching scholarship. On this side of the border, nobody seems to bother about the problem of maintaining the pristine quality of the language. Just about anybody, provided he has the blessing of either of the two newspaper-owning dynasties which have emerged as the only substantial patrons of Bengali literature and letters these days, can

set himself up as a writer, never mind the grammar and the syntax, never mind whether he has even the basic minimum of literary imagination. Such charlatanry will not pass in East Pakistan; you need more honesty there. To be a litterateur, you need, in the first place, to be a literate there; mere gimmicks won't do. That, despite the pressure from hucksters, such a tradition could be built in East Pakistan is a tribute to the solid accomplishments of Abdul Hai and his associates. What a great pity that this quiet academic's life had to end, abruptly, in the way it did: I am told the particular phase of mental depression which induced him to take his life was brought about by a bout of character assassination indulged in by assorted shady elements who came to the fore even as the military regime entrenched itself. It is now nearly twenty years since I last met Abdul Hai, but at least till now there was scope for hoping that, somewhere or other, we might still run into each other. That hope is now snuffed out, and all I am capable of it is to leave on record this rather inept remembrance.

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Now Dr Shahidullah's death has followed that of Hai's. Dr Shahidullah was a patriarch figure, and his death is very much akin to the

the earliest to contest this utterly retrograde point of view. Cultures are disparate categories, you can at most rank them ordinally, but cardinal measurement is out. The Hindu chauvinists sent down to the University of Dacca by Asutosh Mookerjee, found this point of view totally unacceptable. Their hauteur was their principal armour; they had come to Dacca to impose their superior culture on the rustic Muslims, and they would remain unswervingly attached to the goal, period. Thereby a calamity was ushered in in the history of Bengal.

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This group of Hindu professors were utterly devoid of any understanding of the historical process. In the beginning, in the 1920's and the early thirties, they had a large say in the way the affairs of the university were conducted. There is no question that, for quite a number of years, scholars like Dr Shahidullah were discriminated against, and discriminated against merely because of the appellation of religion. It is absurd, how can a Muslim even be a scholar: this would about sum up the attitude of many of the members of the bourgeois establishment in the university. These gentlemen—many of whom are still around on this side of the border, leading a tranquil, respectable life, even though they deserved a rougher, ruder fate—would treat the young Muslim students equally shabbily. Arrogance was the operative word from the commencement of the first session to the closing of the last: not one attempt was ever made to understand the problem of cultural hiatus for teenagers making the trek, for the first time, from remote villages to the world of deans and provosts and house tutors and coeducation; not one sympathetic concession in the drawing up of courses and syllabi. The difficulties in communication which arose when lectures and everything else were in an altogether new, altogether alien, English language were brushed aside. It was thus historically inevitable that the reaction took the specific form that it did take. If the Muslim students

were made "communalists", the entire credit goes to the hoity-toity-upper-class Hindu professors in the University of Dacca who were without vision, without generosity of heart, and bigots of the most vicious type. The synthesis of cultures Dr Shahidullah and others tried so hard to bring about was never given a chance. Bigotry invited counter-bigotry. For a time, young Muslim students thought A. K. Fazul Huq's Praja Party to be the answer to their prayers; but soon Mohammed Ali Jinnah's immensely more radical promises engulfed them: in January-February, 1946, the halls of residence in the University of Dacca were empty, the students were away campaigning, in village after village, tenement after tenement, fragmented holding after fragmented holding, for the Muslim League.

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As I mourn for Dr Shahidullah, these unhappy, frustrating memories keep rushing back: the cussedness of small men who were born Hindus and therefore had the advantage of early start in education of the Western type, narrow-minded men who have to bear the major share of the culpability for the partition of the country, men who had not done a spot of work since earning their Ph.D's and yet had the audacity to sit in judgment on the alleged shallowness of Dr Shahidullah's scholarship. Following partition, these men returned to Calcutta along with their exploitative savings, built themselves imposing houses around the Dhakuria Lakes, and continued to play their old roles: they could be found among the Hindu Mahasabha and Jana Sangh leadership, they were among Dr B. C. Roy's closest advisers; when Dr P. C. Ghosh formed his Judas government in 1967, I could spot some of their specimen surrounding and serenading him.

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The middle-class Bengali Hindu mythology, namely, that the Muslims, coming as they do of a retarded culture, cannot possibly catch up with the original *bhadralog*, dies hard. Perhaps it is not aired as much these

days in so-called polite society, but scratch the surface of emotions, it is very much there. It is apropos of this that I listened with great interest to what an economist friend was recounting about his experiences at a conference organised by the International Economic Association in Ceylon last month. The conference was supposed to bring together economists from India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Nepal and Afghanistan. But a minor Ceylonese presence apart, it got reduced to a congregation of Pakistanis and Indians, roughly a dozen of both species. Of the twelve Pakistanis, at least nine were from East Pakistan, and what a magnificent lot they were. My friend tells me that the quality of the Pakistani papers, individually as well as collectively, was far superior to that of the Indian ones: they were down to earth, firmly related to the realities in Pakistan, had clear hypotheses to elaborate, and just the right measure of perfectly correct, perfectly weighted analytical vigour. In contrast, the Indian papers by and large were verbose, wondered all over, weak in their co-ordination of argument and data, and unduly laden with skill-fetishism of the most obtuse sort. The difference showed, equally glaringly, during the discussions. The Indian contingent would bog the time, pontificate at length on extraneous issues, and launch on Vedanta-esque pseudo-metaphysics in manifestations of what could only be described as autonomous elocution. It would be a great relief whenever the Pakistanis were able to insert a few comments sideways: they would be brief, to the point, back their assertions both via elaboration of facts and enunciation of syllogisms; their technical competence was no less, but they would never flaunt it. But my friend says that, even in terms of human attributes, especially the nine East Pakistanis excelled. Polite, honest to the core, full of warmth, they had also the right social attitudes. Whatever their background, they now constitute an influential segment of the elite in Pakistan—much more so than their counterparts in India—, and yet that

fact has not gone to their head. While the bulk of the Indian economists proved themselves model-builders first and expressed themselves on socio-political issues only peripherally, the Pakistanis would keep hammering all the time on the basic social issues, and persist in reminding the audience that mass has precedence over superstructure. And, finally, what fierce love they have for Bengali! Let us have the grace to admit, the people in East Pakistan are very much better integrated Bengalis than the Bengali-speaking heterogeneity on this side of the Benapole border. And cultural lag or no, the intellectual ferment with which they are seized will put to shade the droll gymnastics of the intellect indulged in on College Street or Chittaranjan Avenue.

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It is a commentary on the degree of bamboozlement our rulers have been able to perpetrate on us that in case I want to make acquaintance with this marvellous group of Pakistanis, I have to fly to either Colombo or Kathmandu or Rangoon—if not to a still remoter place. Only 170 miles separate Dacca from Calcutta; but they cannot come here, we cannot go there, we will have to answer a thousand queries from both governments before the endorsement and visa would come through. They cannot come, we cannot go; their gramophone records cannot come, our records cannot go; their poetry magazines cannot come, nor can ours go. This is an altogether absurd situation; if we continue to tolerate it, that would only prove that we deserve no better. That the poet, Jasimuddin, could come and was accorded such a reception, including one by the Calcutta Corporation, shows that it is not all that difficult to crush the conspiracy to shut us out from cultural communion. But I would certainly want the United Front Government to assert itself in the matter; Mr Harekrishna Konar had already suggested a series of exchanges and visits. It is time to act on the proposal, and let New Delhi—whatever is left of it—dare to oppose the theme.

## Letter from America

# The Dark Side

ROBI CHAKRAVORTI

THE celebrated moon flight was somewhat anti-climactic in spite of the tremendous ballyhoo in the press, radio and television. I have seen television pictures of rockets flying out of the launch-pads before, and this one was no different. The pictures from the space were no more exciting than in the earlier flights. The astronauts on the moon were, of course, another matter; but, somehow, the fact did not match up with the dream. No wonder the television stations have to hire adventurers, writers and scientists to garnish their moon spectaculars. The CBS hired Orson Welles and Sir Francis Chichester, ABC Marshal McLuhan and NBC Harold Urey.

A reason for this sense of bathos is perhaps that there was no surprise in the effort; the only surprise would have been tragic. So, those who wanted surprise have to suppress their thoughts.

Another reason is certainly the extensive coverage of the moon flight. The way the entire trip was covered by cameras brought to my mind the unholy picture of millions of American tourists shooting a beautiful sunrise. Sunrise be damned; let's get a colour picture for my album. This caricature image of the American tourist cast a shadow over the whole Apollo flight.

The moon flight was also disappointing, for other, more philosophical reasons. It was, true, a tremendous achievement not only in technology but also in organization. Let me give you a couple of examples of the complexity of the machines and the co-ordination between organizations which went behind the launching. The launch vehicle itself consisted of 300,000 different parts, all sensitive, carefully checked and rechecked. Each metal that went into the vehicle was traced back

through all its manufacturing stages to test its quality. Drew Pearson reported that the job done on the Apollos was so good that they can be used over again. A total of 17,000 companies supplied all the component parts, which went into the Apollo launching. This meant a staggering achievement in not only producing but also in organizing the assembly. The American genius was indeed at its best in the two fields in which this country is rightly proud of, namely technology and organization.

Let's now turn our attention from the bright side of the effort to its dark side. President Nixon crudely wanted to exploit this magnificent effort for advancing his own fortunes and the country's in the international field. The timing of his Asian tour has been justly criticised; there certainly was nothing subtle about it.

Look also at the hassle over the flag to be carried to the moon. Originally, some Congressmen had suggested that a United Nations flag be taken to the moon, signifying the universality of the flight. The idea was a little too much for flag-waving legislators who wanted not only the American flag on the moon but also the flags of all the fifty States of the Union.

### Compromise

Finally, however, a compromise was made. The Apollo crew carried two large American flags to the moon, plus the flags of the 50 States, of the District of Columbia and the U.S. territories, plus flags of other nations as well as that of the U.N. But only one of the American flags was raised and left on the moon. The other flags were brought back. To flash the "Old Glory"—that's how the Stars and Stripes are called—on the television screen, it was stretched

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by rigid stays, since the moon does not have any atmosphere or breeze in which the flag can flutter.

Other disturbing thoughts also come to mind, like clouds darkening the shiny event of man's first moon flight. At about the time the Apollo was being readied for launching, General Wheeler took a trip to Vietnam, reminding one that although the plaque left on the moon stated, "We came in peace for all mankind," men were killing one another on this planet. Reinhold Niebuhr, the theologian, rightly said: "The moon is bereft of all life. I say thank God it's bereft of all life, because if it were full of life, we would enlarge the realm of antagonism between the intra-global entities and the inter-global entities. Thank God for that. Thank God the moon is dead."

Niebuhr was not making an empty, philosophical statement. On the day (Friday) the Apollo was passing the half-way mark to the moon, the *Wall Street Journal* reported that America has stored lethal nerve gas as part of its arsenal in Okinawa. Last week, a container of the gas or a weapon carrying it, broke open there and some 25 persons were hospitalized after exposure to it. It's a tragic commentary on the human condition that at a moment when man was reaching for the stars, he was also deploying means for his own destruction. At the moment of his magnificence, he was also being mean. Are we seeing here the God and the Devil, the Id and the Super-ego Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde or a simple culture-lag?

Two eminent thinkers compared the moon flight with the building of the Pyramids and darkly hinted that it may very well mark the turning point for the worse for Western civilization. Lewis Mumford said: "Though many now credulously believe that space travel will open up marvellous new possibilities, there are strong historical grounds for believing rather that this marks the fatal terminus of a process that has from the Pyramid Age on curbed human development. Space exploration itself is strictly a military by-

product and without pressure from the Pentagon and the Kremlin it would never have found a place in any national budget."

#### A Menace

Toynbee concurred: "In a sense, going to the moon is like building the pyramid or Louis XIV's palace at Versailles. Sizing up man's achievement, one would say how amazing, how strange, that this creature is so marvellous in his technology, but in morals and social behavior, he has stayed practically stationary. This makes technology a menace. The gap between technology and morals is the thing that worries me and that gap is increasing enormously."

What Toynbee and Mumford said is profoundly disturbing. Men approached the bright side of the moon before they have been able to shed the dark side of their nature. In America where the technological achievement of man has reached its apex, the nadir in social relations looks so gaping. A country that can spend 25 billion dollars on the moon flight, pinches pennies on spending on schools, housing, education and foreign aid. As the Reverend Abernathy, who led a small demonstration before the launching pad in Cape Kennedy, said: "There is more distance between the races of man than between the moon and the earth." Senator Thurmond and George Wallace must be proud and happy on the American landing on the moon; in technological ethos, they may claim to belong to the twentieth century, but in social ethos, they belong to the Stone Age.

Some sociologists call this culture lag: the gap between the material and non-material culture, between technology and ideology. This gap is found in every society, but it is here deeper than the craters of the moon because this country has reached the peak in technological heights.

Here is a schism, a kind of split personality which has been so peculiarly human, and in circa 1969—the year of the man's first landing on the moon—so dramatically and tragically American.

## CHEMISTRY

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ARIES

# Critics Of The Ninth Congress

PRABODH CHANDRA DUTTA

LIN Piao's political report together with the constitution of the Chinese Communist Party has given rise to a crusade on the part of the revisionists. "It is an amazing thing", writes weekly *New Age* (June 8) of the right CPI, "that CP(M) P.B. has chosen to criticise the Maoist line of 1969 basing itself on the Maoist line of 1963. Yet the truth is that the decision of the so-called Ninth Congress of the CPC is a culmination of the wholesale repudiation of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism contained in the June 63 CPC letter and its 'general line' which the CP(M) leadership still adores". Amazing indeed is the discovery—Mao repudiating Mao, but still more amazing is the fact that both the Marxist CP and the 'revisionist' CPI from polar opposites come to the same conclusion—"China's rupture with Marxism-Leninism is thorough and complete".

Lin Piao's report which says that the Soviet Union has been transformed into a social-imperialist country, revisionism having ripened into social-imperialism, has drawn the sharpest criticism. "In 1963 the Soviet Union was still listed in the socialist camp but in 1969 she has been excluded". Is it not arbitrary? But was it arbitrary for Lenin to call his comrades Plekhanov, Kautsky and others, those prominent Marxists, social-imperialists, social-fascists, social-chauvinists subsequently? To be sure, not one of them was a capitalist or a landlord.

Materialist dialectics is the doctrine of development. Did the 1969 line fall ready-made from the sky? If the 1963 line is correct, the 1969 decision naturally flows from it. If the Soviet leadership is revisionist the break with it is historically necessary and inevitable. What was the 1963 line? It was the concerted attack by the CPC against Soviet revisionist positions. It was not at all a call for unity between Marxism and revision-

ism but a positive call for a break with revisionism. That did not mean that an immediate break with revisionism was possible, it meant only that historically a break was imminent. Soviet revisionists understood it well and that is why they rejected it outright. If the CP(M) is convinced that the 1963 line is correct and consequently the Soviet rejection of it is wrong, does it not follow that it should direct its criticisms and attacks against the Soviet revisionists, the more influential and more dangerous opponent of the 1963 line? But instead of attacking the Soviet revisionists the CP(M) attacks the CPC for 'violating international decisions'. What are the international decisions? Who broke them? Who started the game? Who fraternised with Tito? Who found the imperialist chieftain Eisenhower 'a man of peace', Kennedy 'a liberal democrat', Johnson 'a sensible man'? The international resolutions have less idle declamation and more definite content. They speak of the very same revisionism that has now matured into social imperialism. It is ridiculous to think that one can implement the revolutionary anti-imperialist formulations of those resolutions in company with those who are collaborating with imperialism and have been undermining their very basis from the very beginning and ever more bluntly with every passing day.

## Same Content

Revisionism and social-imperialism have the same political content, namely class collaboration, repudiation of the dictatorship of the proletariat ("State of the whole people"), repudiation of revolutionary action (refusal to organise class struggles and cultural revolution in "socialist" countries and encouraging peaceful transition to socialism in capitalist countries), confidence in the bourgeoisie (Dange's birthday greetings to Nehru and Soviet confidence in Ike, Kennedy and Johnson) and lack of confidence

in the proletariat (Soviet estimation of Mao's China and the prospect of world proletarian revolution). Social-imperialism of the Soviet Union is the continuation and consummation of Khrushchevite revisionism. 'Leadership is revisionist but the State is not'. Here you have the living dialectic of opportunism. Can a country be socialist when it is guided by revisionism, the bourgeois ideology in the working class movement? Just as Kautsky in his time tried to divorce imperialist policies from imperialist economics, they try to divorce revisionist politics from revisionist economics. On the one hand they with a learned mien assert that Mao has not said anything new on classes and class struggles under socialism, on the other they imply that, with industries socially owned and controlled, classes and class struggles have been abolished and therefore the term 'revisionist country' is just an 'innovation' i.e. a socialist country can never become a revisionist country, a social-imperialist country. Why then did 'socialist' Czechoslovakia react as she did? 'Productive forces' theory is mechanistic materialism. Marx said that the materialist doctrine that men are products of circumstances and upbringing, and that, therefore, changed men are products of other circumstances and changed upbringing forgets that it is men who change circumstances and that it is essential to educate the educator himself. The coincidence of the changing of circumstances and of human activity can be conceived and rationally understood only as a revolutionary practice. The role of ideas, i.e. politics in command, and its vehicle, the dictatorship of the proletariat on the basis of class struggle, is inseparably bound up; nothing is automatic. To remove the defects and inequalities of bourgeois society, dictatorship of the proletariat, is essential. It does not merely mean suppression,; above all it means conscious direction. But when that direction goes wrong, when the leadership degrades into revisionism, what happens? Whom does it serve and whom does it harm? If it is not the dictatorship of

the proletariat, does it not follow that it must be the bourgeoisie since a State can pass only through either of the two? The CP(M) leaders never raised seriously the scientific and political question: was it possible for the representatives of the most prominent party to betray socialism in the land of socialism? Where did the "ideological errors" spring from? (till then there has been revisionism in the Soviet Union, but now there is not! Today there are only the resonant names of "ideological errors", "deviations".) What gave them strength? How must they be combated?

### Mao's Analysis

It was Mao who answered the questions. Nobody before him had talked so explicitly of class struggle, of contradictions under socialism and the necessity of revolution after the socialist transformation of society has been in the main completed. By trying to "expose" Mao, the Left CP only exposed its own ignorance. Marx and Lenin hinted at these developments but were not explicit, nor could they be. Before them there were no concrete examples of Tito's Yugoslavia, Dubcek's 'socialist' Czechoslovakia and Brezhnev's 'socialist' Soviet Union. Mao's conclusion was of course new but not in the popular sense because there are no absolutely "pure" phenomena, nor can there be either in nature or in society. So long as there are classes, there will remain the soil for revisionism and restoration. Revisionism is a trend, a mass phenomenon, not an individual aberration. Revisionism in the Soviet Union was in its adolescent form, as it were, before the war. After the war, with the growth of the Soviet Union with its inequality of incomes, the emphasis on the non-socialist

profit incentive\*, the proposal for handing the ownership of State farms to individual collective farms, the idea that the development of agriculture should be based on the free competition of economic forces, the introduction of the Titoite anti-Marxist theory of handing over factories to workers' councils, it gradually grew to 'manhood' and its 'innocence' and youth cannot be restored. An entire social stratum consisting of Soviet deputies, journalists and writers, labour and agricultural officials, privileged office personnel, higher party officials and certain upper strata of workers has sprung up and become, to use a term Stalin once used, the "Soviet bourgeoisie". It is this stratum that the Soviet revisionist leadership represents. It is these economic policies that dominate the Soviet scene and concrete class relationships. From the aggression against Czechoslovakia, from the pattern of foreign trade in civil and military goods with East European and underdeveloped countries, profiteering out of external trade is one inevitable corollary of profiteering at home, it is clear that Soviet revisionism has matured and transformed itself into social-chauvinism, social-imperialism. The conclusion is inescapable and with bitter disappointment we have to record it.

With the economic crisis sharpening in the entire non-socialist world, resulting in acute contradictions within and between imperialist and social-imperialist and revisionist countries, with the prospect of world proletarian revolution, the time has come for a complete break with op-

\*Communist subbotniks in Lenin's time used to work overtime without pay. "Communism begins," Lenin says, "when the rank-and-file workers begin to display self-sacrificing concern that overcomes all obstacles for increasing the productivity of labour, for husbanding every pood of grain, coal, iron and other products, which do not accrue to the workers personally or to their 'close kith and kin', but to their 'remote' kith and kin, i.e. to society as a whole...."

portunism. The revisionists have completely deserted to the camp of the imperialists and there is no longer any spiritual tie between a Marxist and a revisionist, between China and the Soviet Union. In the CP(M) critique, instead of an analysis of ideological errors or 'revisionist mistakes' and an exposure of the depths of its contradictions we have nothing but a reformist pious wish to waive them aside, to evade them.

### Successor

It is hardly surprising that parties and people should talk about China. But to make a many-sided investigation of a given aspect in its development is one thing, to grab, like the sophists, at one of many 'points' is another. The Politbureau of the CP(M) has singled out the 'successor' point contained in the preamble of the constitution of the Communist Party of China, which states: 'Comrade Lin Piao is Comrade Mao Tse-tung's close comrade in-arms and successor'. One would almost think, from the fuss raised on this question, that the successor has special privileges and rights enjoined in the constitution, that he was arbitrarily imposed and that the question had never been mooted before.

But it is precisely the question who would succeed and who would lead that Lenin put, from his death-bed in his 'Letter to the Congress' known as his 'testament'. There he tried to name the 'successor'. Lenin tried to find the right one but failed. In China Lin Piao has been named Mao's successor to ensure stability and continuity in face of external danger, but he has been given no corresponding organisational power in the shape of general secretaryship (as in Russia) which in a certain sense is more real, with potential for greater mischief. The Chinese have abolished the very post of general secretary so that power may not be concentrated in a single hand, so that organisational power may not be used as a lever.

Lin Piao is not a hot-house growth. He was already a legendary figure in the fifties. The China-

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watchers talked of him as the 'next man' long ago. Writing in the July 30, 1966 issue of the *New Republic* Edgar Snow observed: "Marshal Lin Piao has emerged as the spokesman for the dominant view, which simply invokes all the experience of the Chinese revolutionary wars to prove Mao's old thesis, man is more important than weapons, the only kind of war China could fight and win, alone, is a protracted war dependent essentially on manpower, space, and resolute revolutionary leadership based on unrevised Marxism-Leninism".

Mao alone of all the leaders since Lenin interpreted how to handle the inter-relationship of leader, party, class and mass combining democracy and centralism, discipline and freedom. For the first time in any communist party constitution the right of the minority to reserve its views was included, thus admitting the possibility that the minority may not be necessarily wrong. Under the new CPC constitution party members have the right to criticise party organisations and leading members at all levels and make proposals to them. If a party member holds different views with regard to the decisions or directives of the party organisations, he is allowed to reserve his views and has the right to bypass the immediate leadership and report directly to higher levels, up to and including the Central Committee and the Chairman of the Central Committee.

If party building can be done on the model of Leninist methods tested in Russia why should it be wrong in principle to do the same on the Thought of Mao Tse-tung? Mao's great ability to sloganise and reduce complex matters to simple formulas has been a key asset to the revolutionary masses. The 'thought' is simple as truth is, as science is. In science, one tries to tell the people, in such a way as to be understood by everyone. Elevation of Mao's writing to 'canonical' status with memorisation and constant quotation is necessary to unite and organise the Chinese to forge the wills of millions

and hundreds of millions of people disunited and scattered over the territory of a huge country into a single will, without which defeat is inevitable. The task is to liberate the slumbering genius in each man's mind.

In a class society needing revolution the role of the leader comes out more poignantly. Lenin very correctly observed that 'not a single class in history has achieved power without producing its political leaders, its prominent representatives able to organise a movement and lead it.. He calls for unity and poses, 'But how can strict unity of will be ensured?' and answers—"by thousands subordinating their will to the will of one'. He further says, "we must learn to combine the 'public meeting' democracy of the toiling masses—turbulent, surging, overflowing its banks like a spring flood—with iron discipline while at work, with unquestioning obedience to the will of a single person, the Soviet leader while at work"

As for the CP(M) comment on Liu Shao-chi, he was not arbitrarily punished. An investigation committee with full rights for him to represent his case was formed and on the basis of the report of the committee the CC of the CPC unanimously expelled him.

Denouncing the past follows from later investigation. It is only natural for a serious student to trace the source of error, the origin of treachery, and thus 'How to be a good Communist' comes under closer scrutiny. What was once overlooked or given insufficient attention comes under closer look and becomes meaningful. Karl Kautsky was once more read in Russia than in his native Germany. Besides his popularisation of Marxism he was particularly known in Russia for his controversy with opportunists, with Bernstein at their head. Lenin quoted approvingly some of his observations in 1904. But with the sharpening of crisis Kautsky more and more revealed his revisionist tendencies and Lenin found him out, traced his opportunism, mercilessly belaboured him and broke off with him. Kautsky's book *Bernstein and the Social-Democratic Programme* published in 1899, once

an approved text for the Russian Bolsheviks, came under sharp attack from Lenin in 1917. Quoting certain passages from that book Lenin remarked, "this is not an argument again Bernstein but in essence a concession to him, a surrender to opportunism...." What was once known as an anti-revisionist handbook turned out to be a revisionist book. Strange, is it?

#### "Division of Labour"

The CP(M) needles Khrushchev's theory of 'international division of labour', China's efforts at self-reliance are denounced as anti-internationalism. The CP(M) wants China, with all her bitter experience of Soviet withdrawal of aid and technicians, to remain dependent on 'socialist' countries. A viable economy in the sense of one which has ensured that it cannot be held up to ransom by another is the only real basis for effective partnership in any system of international co-operation. China wants to ensure just that.

Paradoxically, it is these 'true' internationalists who hold that the revolution of a country cannot be 'gained' by the leading theory of another country and the leading theory of each party is of significance only within the bounds of that country. Is it not an anti-internationalist, anti-Marxist insular attitude to hold that the application of Marxism in one country is not significant for others?

If one closely reads the arguments that have been set forth in the brief 'statement', one will find one thing amiss—concrete and precise formulation, a positive yes or no. Why does the CP(M) pursue such a policy? "An opportunist by his very nature will always evade from formulating an issue clearly and decisively, he will always seek a middle course, he will wriggle like a snake between two mutually exclusive points of view and to 'agree' with both and to reduce his difference of opinion to petty amendments, doubts, good and pious suggestions and so on and so forth".

This is how Lenin draws the portrait of an opportunist.

## The Unsettled Centre

READER

AFTER the Congress Parliamentary Board's election of Mr Sanjiva Reddy as the party's candidate for the Presidential election, the Prime Minister was reported to have told the Syndicate at Bangalore that it would be prepared to face the consequences. Immediately after came Mr Giri's announcement that he intended to contest the election. That was on July 13. Three days later came the dramatic announcement from New Delhi that Mrs Gandhi has relieved Mr Morarji Desai of the Finance portfolio. Mr Desai, a new member of the Syndicate, resigned.

Thus things certainly did move fast in New Delhi. At first sight it does appear that Mrs Gandhi has decided to be firm, that Nehruyana still lives. Indeed she has never before been more popular in the three and half years of her Prime Ministership; those who had previously called her weak are now in a mood to change their opinion. The leftists have been particularly impressed. Conscious of their own limitations, of the fact that, bogged in parliamentary politics, they pose no real threat to the other camp, the leftists seem to have seen in Mrs Gandhi's action something they themselves have not been able to perform so far, namely a direct confrontation with the Rightist camp. Not only that. Communist statements indicate a desire to be in power at the Centre with Mrs Gandhi as a feminine Ajoy Mukherjee. If there can be a Bangla Congress at the State level can't there be a Bharat Congress at the Centre? The call to democratic forces to take advantage of the situation seems to be just an appeal for another parliamentary election, a new Lok Sabha and perhaps a new United Front.

The leftists also seem to have anticipated these events, not due to any foresight but perhaps to their know-

ledge of a blueprint. For it is quite certain that Mrs Gandhi has taken the step on an assurance from the left camp that they would help her (if things come to that) form a coalition. The Russians have been wanting such a coalition for quite some time.

Mrs Gandhi is also not without powerful friends at home. Press comments show that the Birlas are still with her. In a long editorial last week, written not without cleverness, the *Hindustan Times* said, the Prime Minister's dramatic decision has precipitated a crisis which many have long seen coming with hope and which will basically change the character of the Congress. If Mrs Gandhi has decided to chalk out and implement an economic programme that will give greater meaning and substance to the Plan, it is a development that should be welcomed and which must ultimately strengthen the party and the Government. Mr Desai who may legitimately be aggrieved at the manner in which he has been relieved of his portfolio is also right in quitting the Cabinet since he has forfeited the Prime Minister's confidence. Organisationally, however, the Congress leadership is on trial and wisdom demands an honourable reconciliation between the two camps. Violence and economic frustration threaten India's democratic experiment and the Congress will be betraying its ideals and its trust if it cannot act more responsibly than deliver the country to chaos.

### "Self-Willed Lady"

The *Statesman*, which agrees that the constitutional right of the Prime Minister to reshuffle the Cabinet is indisputable—not being able to forget the past it refers to Mr Wilson's Cabinet changes—finds it difficult, however, to see Mrs Gandhi's relieving Mr Desai of Finance as an exercise of that right which must necessarily have some purpose behind it. The timing of Mrs Gandhi's action makes it look like that of a self-willed lady against colleagues who will not bend to her wishes. That Mr Desai was not even shown the courtesy consultation before Mrs Gandhi took the drastic step

aggravates the injury done to him. Thwarted in her attempt to make the question of her primacy appear as a vital issue of principle, Mrs Gandhi has not hesitated to precipitate a crisis and risk a split which can but have grave consequences. Her action confirms the doubts about her capacity to provide the mature leadership which the country needs at this hour and misgivings are likely to arise whether Mrs Gandhi or the small coterie around her on which she will rely even more in future will be guided by catchwords and slogans which have little relevance to the complex tasks ahead. The only thing that *The Statesman* did not call Mrs Gandhi was a crypto-communist as Mr Masani did.

The *Times of India* also has much the same things to say. It points out that in the present situation the Prime Minister can exercise effective authority only in concert with three or four of her senior colleagues. Seen in this perspective Mrs Gandhi's decision is not only ill-timed but also ill-advised. The unity of the Congress Party, the only viable instrument today for ordered change in the country, is much more important than the personal predilections of any of its leaders. A showdown between Mrs Gandhi and her senior colleagues will render the implementation of the very policies that she has recommended to the party more difficult. The crisis has not been provoked by any serious difference of opinion on policy matters which makes it more deplorable.

The Press has thus taken sides. Unlike other occasions the editorials are not marked by any ambiguity. The Indian bourgeoisie have felt the need to adopt a strong line at present presumably more to throw a challenge to the leftists who might think they are crumbling, than to force a final division if need be. For while the bourgeoisie will have their papers talk of a division, they will engage themselves in some hectic backstage manoeuvring to prevent a division. It is the system that is important and if necessary they will not hesitate to see a few Morarjis out and to have

a Government even with leftist support provided the basic framework is not altered. And it seems unlikely at this stage that the leftists themselves will be averse to such a situation. Let us wait and see. In any case it is difficult for a weekly which goes to press in mid-week to catch up with events.

By the way, the moon seems to have something to do with whisky, gin and rum. *Hindusthan Standard's* moon supplement carries quite a few unusual advertisements of these products, including two full-page ones.

## Paintings of Paritosh Sen

BY AN ART CRITIC

**P**ARITOSH Sen is a painter of firm convictions. He thinks it is futile to be involved in formal and technical problems only. Personal philosophic questions are immensely important to him. He is concerned about the present human situation and he wants his paintings to mirror this concern and to communicate it to the viewers emotionally, aesthetically and intellectually.

How does his present exhibition (Birla Academy, open up to July 31) strike a viewer when judged against the background of this artistic credo? The paintings, mostly large oils, drawings and gouaches, have a unifying physical theme: human forms and faces, semi-abstract in treatment. Human form ascending, descending, seated, standing, wriggling, writhing and sometimes foetal and animal-like. Faces contorted, distorted, battered and swollen. At first glance, the dominant mood of the exhibition seems to be one of agony. But a closer look does show, particularly in some of the oils a note of defiance and violence expressed as much through formal distortion as through a luminous intensity of colours.

Purely visually, I found the least "concerned" paintings, such as the two large floating figures, the small Head in Red, and the Portrait, the most satisfying. Some of the gouaches

were striking. But, taken as a whole, the most attractive feature of the exhibition were the many drawings in flowing lines of ink. Amidst so much violence and protest, the portrait of a girl in bold black masses and lines, (drawing No. 4) stood out for its mood of serenity.

Talking about portraits, two outstanding pieces were the 'Family Portrait' and 'Portrait of MR H', both realistically drawn in warm colours. The large 'Family Portrait' with its interesting triangular composition, includes no less than five figures. The fact that each face has its characteristic individuality is a high tribute to Paritosh Sen's technical virtuosity.

The exhibition also includes a huge mural commissioned on the occasion of the Gandhi centenary. Still unfinished, it will be displayed at Rajghat, Delhi.

I am not sure if I found the exhibition, as a whole, very enjoyable but I did find it disturbing. This is surely a tribute to Paritosh Sen's artistic ability to communicate his protest against the brutality and inertness of the technological age. The fact that it is also possible to communicate the less sombre moods of the technological is, of course, another matter. However, there is no doubt that all those who visit the exhibition will find the size, colour, vitality and the content of the paintings overpowering in their impact. There are not many painting exhibitions about which one can say this.

### Letter

## Marxist Intellectuals

Sumanta Banerjee in his article 'Marxist Intellectuals' (July 5) wrote that when a small group of teachers from Delhi University canvassed support among Marxist intellectuals in favour of a resolution against U.S. penetration in India, no one "not even the firebrand Left Communist college teachers of West Bengal had the guts to support such a resolution."

Mr Banerjee, a participant, intro-

duced to West Bengal participants some of the teachers belonging to the group from Delhi University. One of them, who is the convener of the 'Front against U.S. Imperialist penetration, Delhi University', distributed among us a booklet titled "U.S. facts speak about aid and education", Document No. 1, We, the West Bengal participants, welcomed his move and promised to canvass the document and even requested him to send us Document No. 2. Can the convener deny it? On June 8 night the convener came into our room and spoke appreciatingly of the synopsis (read in the session by one of us) which strongly criticized the infiltration of U.S. culture into Bengal and gave a call to fight out the danger. He then showed and read to us a draft resolution against U.S. penetration in India and sought our signatures. We present there again welcomed his move and readily put our signatures to it. The Delhi teacher wanted us to move the resolution at next day's session. We wondered at his hesitation. He avoided our queries and this behaviour made us smell a rat. The gentleman saw it and solemnly declared that he would fight all obstacles and place the resolution the next day (though, we think, there could be no obstacle to moving such a resolution). But next day no resolution was moved by Delhi teachers against U.S. penetration. The convener was amazingly silent.

Are we to believe that Mr Sumanta Banerjee did not know the facts regarding the resolution? If not, he should know that a good section of West Bengal college teachers and of course the West Bengal participants in Trivandrum have taken it to be one of their tasks to unequivocally and strongly fight against U.S. imperialist infiltration into India's economic and cultural life and they have the guts to support unconditionally any such attempt and move.

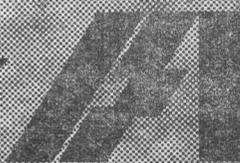
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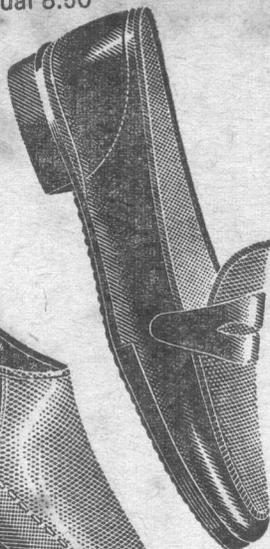
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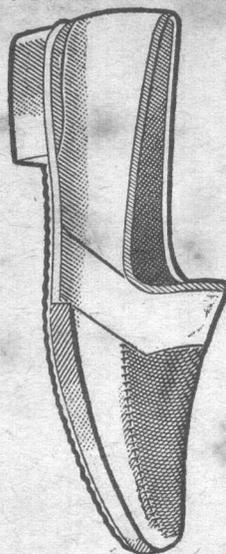
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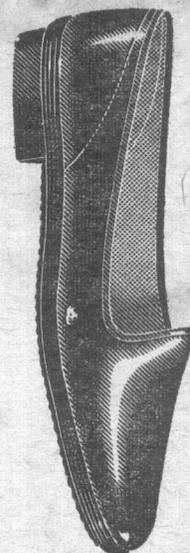
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