

frontier

Vol. 2: No. 4

MAY 3, 1969

PRICE 35 PAISE

On Other Pages

COMMENTS ..	2
<i>View from Delhi</i> THREE-RING CIRCUS FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT ..	5
<i>Pakistan</i> AGENTS OF INTRIGUE? ..	7
GOA—THE REAL PRIZE MSP ..	8
<i>Uttar Pradesh</i> LEASE FOR C. B. GUPTA C. K. ARORA ..	9
CALCUTTA DIARY CHARAN GUPTA ..	11
<i>The Press</i> PLEA FOR DISMISSAL ..	12
LOOK STRANGER! G. G. ..	14
NATIONAL AWAKENING AND THE BANGABASI ..	15
LONG DAY'S JOURNEY INTO NIGHT BY OUR DRAMA CRITIC ..	16
GRAPHIC ARTS BY AN ART CRITIC ..	17
LETTERS ..	17

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

MAN'S FATE

DE Gaulle has looked upon himself as a man of destiny and the tremendous upheaval of last year served to stir his sense of history. Instead of abdicating he ordered a general election, and the fright of the lesser bourgeoisie at the upheaval combined with the pusillanimity of the Communist Party to give him a landslide victory. He could still act and behave thereafter like a lonely eagle under whose historic wings France was to be saved from anarchy and restored to greatness.

Perhaps it would have been more dramatic, hence better for his image, if de Gaulle had been forced to quit then—enabling M Andre Malraux to produce a minor masterpiece about the Old Man and the Seine. Instead he overplayed his role, without realising that the sure touch was no longer his. Ever since the shake-up of last year something has been missing in him. The crisis of the franc led to a crisis of confidence in the old magician; the economic recovery was erratic, uncertain. There was a general strike by workers demanding higher wages; and when some 800,000 small shopkeepers, who must have voted for the Gaullists last year, went on strike in mid-April it became clear that something was cooking in the minds of even the conservatives: de Gaulle or chaos, this no longer stirred the instinct for survival of the lesser bourgeoisie, let alone the bigger. Another alternative had emerged. They knew that the heir-apparent, M. Pompidou, was there, waiting for the mantle, and that the transfer could be effected without an upheaval.

For his Sunday debacle and exit de Gaulle has himself to blame. The referendum bill was such a long document—about 8,000 words—and cast in such legal language that even constitutional experts found it hard to comprehend and be inspired by it. The voters were asked to say 'yes' or 'no' to what amounted to several proposals: regionalisation, reform of the Senate, and the body which should exercise the powers of a president pending a presidential election. Many Frenchmen are still sentimental about the Senate though they might not have minded greater authority for the regions. But all the eggs were there in one basket and the voter had to choose all or nothing. And, the biggest blunder of all, de Gaulle staked his presidency on the outcome of the referendum. For a man who had led the Free French in World War II, forced a settlement over Algeria at the risk of civil war in metropolitan France

challenged U.S. hegemony in Europe, shaken Nato, built a nuclear force, preached detente with the East before it became a fashion, recognised China, it was folly to pay so much importance to reform of the Senate and the regions. It has forced the tall man to retire with a whimper, cutting a pathetic figure. But perhaps people are being wise after the event. Very few had the hunch, until a few days before April 27, that the wave which swept him to victory in 1968 would recede so soon. The number of retiring Presidents is rising.

After de Gaulle, what? Before the referendum the Gaullists had warned that rejection would mean financial catastrophe and a devaluation of the franc. They had raised the spectre of red chaos and disorder. Malraux had declared that rejection would lead to a situation in which either the non-communist bloc or the communists would have to crush the other. The French, however, know their communists too well to be scared out of their pants. M. Mitterrand thinks that after de Gaulle's defeat opposition to the government would snowball and that anything—victory for the left or a coup d'état of the colonels—would be possible. All this is in the womb of the future. What the Frenchmen will passionately discuss now is the presidential election, to be held between 21 and 35 days of the withdrawal of de Gaulle. The interim head of State, M. Alain Poher, made his mark in the television campaign over the referendum as president of the Senate, and M. Giscard d'Estaing of the right and M. Guy Mollet of the left were reported to have made overtures, before the voting, in his direction. However, M. Mollet, who had earlier said that the socialists would prefer an alliance with the centre to one with the communists, has now declared that he would back a communist candidate against M. Pompidou. Many think that M. Pompidou is a sure bet. Wasn't he the architect of last year's election victory?

Mr Menon

Even Mr Krishna Menon will find it difficult to lose the by-election for the Midnapore Lok Sabha seat. The prestige of the United Front is much too pervasive for such a debacle to take place, and, despite Rabindra Sarobar, Mr Menon can expect a comfortable majority on the morning following the polling day. But the question that keeps on gnawing is different: what does he hope to gain by returning to the Lok Sabha? In a way, it has been pathetic to watch him beg around for a safe parliamentary seat: his own tireless buttonholing of the United Front leaders in New Delhi, and Mrs Aruna Asaf Ali's lobbying in both New Delhi and Calcutta. Mr Menon would have been happy even to have been returned to that old sailors' club, the Rajya Sabha; but, very thoughtfully, the Lok Sabha member from Midnapore died at the right time, and Mr Menon can now hope to be back in the Lok Sabha itself, to match skill as well as venom with the other returning native, Mr S. K. Patil.

Even if Mr Menon wins by a thumping majority, it would not be quite the same as winning back North Bombay. In the present circumstances, no matter whether the candidate is a lamp post or a rolling stone, once he is presented with the markings of the United Front, he is going to win. But it will be an impersonal win, and almost anonymous victory, no part of the lustre of the success will be put down to the account of Mr Menon. What does he then want? Simply to be back in the Lok Sabha, the old entertainer, to reminisce on the golden days gone by, to indulge in reveries, while *in situ*, about the dazzling trophies won in the past? What, pray, is the making of Mr Menon's mind?

For it is difficult to believe Mr Menon can have much to contribute towards a crystallisation of a more coherent Leftist point of view in Parliament. On matters concerning national defence—the issue which was his Waterloo, even if not St.

Helena—, of his own volition he has decided to remain silent. Whatever marginal comments he has ventured to make on foreign policy during the last five or six years have sounded sordidly reactionary: after all, it was Mr Krishna Menon who invented the theory of a Sino-Pakistan joint conspiracy against India, the theory so gleefully lapped up by the Jana Sangh. In regard to planning and economic affairs, despite his past reputation as a Pelican socialist, he has been known to cut, all too frequently, inconvenient ideological corners, all for the sake of friendly princes, film-stars and money-rich journalists. Besides, he was a loner, and remains one. It will be next to impossible for him to join any particular group in Parliament, and to obey its whip. Leaving aside the rest of the considerations, even to be effective as a parliamentarian, Mr Menon will need to mesh in his temperament with that of the milieu in which he will be called upon to operate. This may indeed be beyond his capabilities.

West Bengal's United Front has done its gesture, and we have little doubt, next week Midnapore will add its own, graciously. Midnapore will prove that it is nobler of heart than North Bombay, and that the people at this end—whose loyalty every day in the week presents a question mark to New Delhi—are less bigoted than Mr Chavan's—and Mr Dange's—near ones. Mr Menon will once more be Mr V. K. Krishna Menon, MP, and have a government bungalow officially allotted in his name. But is that all this sour, brilliant man looking forward to?

Heart Of The Matter

A change of ministry is seldom unaccompanied by an upheaval. In our kind of non-participatory democracy the people retire after casting their votes once in five years. Between one general election and the next, their relations with the administration practically cease; each works in its separate, independent sphere, and the link is

maintained by what may be called the infra-structure of the administration. These intermediaries are local leaders of sorts; at best they are party functionaries with some concern for the people and at worst self-seeking touts who make sure that whatever relief the Government can manage to spare for the people dries up in the pipeline. To a large extent a government's reputation depends on them, especially when the party in power loses direct touch with the people; only a reckless government can ignore their role in snapping popular opinion about itself.

During its two decades of uninterrupted reign, the Congress party had built up such an elaborate network. Maybe, in the beginning, when the Congress could still boast of some sincere workers, the infra-structure had a few honest people. But with the decay of the party they were replaced by parasites and political hangers on bent on making hay while the Congress sun shone. The dependence of the party on them increased with its growing alienation from the people; official patronage flowed to them on a lavish scale for bullying and intimidating the people into submission. The Congress empire was split into innumerable satrapies where these touts ruled supreme. They became a new estate, utterly corrupt and anti-people, and the pivots of the Congress party. Many of them became formally associated with the Congress and perhaps donned khadi also. How many of them were members of the Congress party is, however, of little consequence, for their interests coincided with those of the Congress.

It is only natural that the United Front should try to demolish this infra-structure as fast as it can. Any non-Congress Government would have done so but the UF has to do a more thorough job of it because its opposition to the Congress is total. Many of the recent disturbances are nothing but clashes between these entrenched interests and the new forces that have been released by the UF victory at the polls. The opponents of the UF are unscrupulous, resourceful, and organised. All those who have shared in the loot of two decades have ganged

up; they will stop at nothing to defend their underworld empire; they will never miss an opportunity to convert their private feuds into communal clashes if the UF supporters in their areas happen to belong to a different State or believe in a different faith. The sudden eruption of communal violence in some parts of the State in the wake of the UF victory was of their creation; so are many other types of violence which provide basic material for the countrywide campaign that law and order is in jeopardy in West Bengal.

The UF has to win this battle, for it cannot hope to function efficiently without a bridge of its own between the Government and the people. Its task is likely to be more difficult than that of a single-party government, for it is useless to deny that even in their opposition to the Congress many UF parties cannot exclude a careful weighing of how the measures are going to impact on themselves. At times, the main task is forgotten and before the Congress racket has been cleaned up the parties start fighting over the inheritance. This is not merely delaying the process but also weakening the UF onslaught. Many of these touts, who were, until a few weeks ago, champions of the Congress and ever-ready to break UF heads are trying to curry favour with one UF party or another. It cannot be said that they are not succeeding at all; they have quite a few choices, and if one does not click another may. There is no reason to think that they have lost their contact with the police. They could not have operated in the past with impunity but for their collusion with the police; maybe, because of their link with the party in power they could work under police cover and a kind of working partnership of the two was established. The partnership may have fallen on evil days, but it persists; the anti-social elements are not being apprehended not because they are supporters of the Congress but because they are said to have become admirers of the UF overnight. Mr Jyoti Basu has done some plain-speaking recently, but some policemen are adept in ingratiating themselves with people who count. The periodic

convulsions will linger unless the policemen are made to realise that the tricks which succeeded with the Congress will not be countenanced by the UF and they have to be a willing tool of the Government in destroying the Congress infra-structure.

Divide And Learn

The attitude of Calcutta University towards the study of English can be briefly but adequately summed up in one though compounded sentence. Those who want to learn English shall not be allowed to learn it and those who dread it shall be forced to learn it. That is the gist of a recent decision of the Academic Council which bans, from 1970 onwards, Alternative English as a subject for the B.A. examinations. The Council however retains English as a compulsory subject for all, including even those who specialise in other subjects, e.g., Geography, Mathematics, Ancient Indian History.

Was the decision made for administrative reasons? Most colleges, barring half a dozen, within the jurisdiction of Calcutta University find it difficult to arrange classes for students who want to read Alternative English. For lack of teachers? No. The decision was taken by the Council without consulting the constituent colleges, let alone students. The desire was to promote love for Bengali and Hindi.

Whether the study of English literature in present-day India is anachronistic or not is a matter of debate for future historians. There are however reasons, known to about all, why the standard of English has fallen in India. In fact, Madras University has uniformly refused to admit any student to a Ph.D. in English, for it does not think that any Indian can think in an original way about say Langland or Ezra Pound. To think that any Indian professor can determine if such a treatise is original or not is equally preposterous, according to its view.

But, of course, that is a view

stretched to the extreme, though wise, limit. The study of literature in a way may be absurd in any university, Indian or foreign. English has been accepted in India as inescapable. The study of literature is to an extent essential for the study of the language. And Indians are encouraged to learn English, not for the sake of literature but as aid to learn other things. Vide the invariable metaphor of a window in any discussion on the issue. Why should then Calcutta University forbid those who are somewhat competent, for example those who take up Alternative English, to take advanced courses? Even though class-rooms generally fail to stimulate, one or two students always manage to scrape through the ordeal and develop a genuine taste for the language.

The decision of the Council was hardly a week old when the Union Education Minister deplored at the Vice-Chancellors' Conference in New Delhi the hasty act of switching over to feeble regional languages as media of instruction, or education as he called it. He wanted the standard of English taught to be improved and thorough. He said that references were to be given in every text to enable students to study original books in English. The University Grants Commission, he announced, was going to formulate concrete proposals.

The fate of the proposals is of course pre-ordained. Education being a State subject, no Vice-Chancellor is likely to pay heed to what the Union Minister says. The UGC proposal, for instance, to throw open academic institutions for admission on an all-India basis, for the sake of national integration, has been neatly cold-stored. The former Union Education Minister, knowing the ineffectiveness of his enquiring power, requested the Prime Minister to ask about the follow-up of the proposals. The Prime Minister asked the States. No one replied except Mysore which refused to comply with the request.

In the Vice-Chancellors' Conference the Union Education Minister

came out with what he called an eight-point programme, which in reality should be called an 8½-point programme, incorporating, as it had, a point on student participation in academic process. The point was a nebulous one; even then it was called dangerous by Dr Gajendragadkar. People who deplore the absence of humour in Indian literature are increasingly looking forward to these conferences and programmes as compensatory allowance.

The Ninth Congress

A correspondent writes:

The talk of convening the Ninth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party had been in the air for at least six months after the formation of the last of the revolutionary committees, in September 1968, in Tibet. The rumour-mongering, the guessing games, and the prognostications of China-watchers were at last put to an end when Peking announced on April 1 that the Congress had been convened on that day. A short announcement by Peking's official NCNA said that "the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China is being held at a time when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao has won great victory. This great revolution has prepared ample political, ideological and organisational conditions for the Congress." The announcement also mentioned the agenda adopted by the Congress. Besides the political report by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao, Mao's "closest commander-in-arms", it also included the business of revising the constitution of the CCP and the election of a new Central Committee.

Compared with the attendance at the Eighth Party Congress, the number of delegates attending the 9th was large. The 1,512 delegates elected to it included a large number of "advanced elements" from the party, Red Guards, revolutionaries of the older generation, party members from industrial, mining, and other enter-

prises, representatives of lower middle peasants and poor peasants, women party members, and proletarian revolutionaries from the PLA. They had been elected, according to the announcement of NCNA, by "democratic consultation" and "this signifies that the current Congress is a congress of vitality, a congress of unity and a congress of victory. It will have far-reaching influence on the history of the party." The announcement also gave the list of persons elected to the presidium of the Congress.

The list provides a clue to the possible structure of the new Central Committee. In the earlier Congresses those elected to the presidium used to be invariably inducted as members of the CC. In all probability this procedure is likely to be adopted, although one cannot rule out the possibility of delegates who are not members of the presidium also finding a place in the Central Committee.

It appears that Mao's theory of a three-way alliance of cadres, revolutionaries and PLA men, has been one of the guiding factors in the process of electing persons to the Presidium. The presidium has 176 members.

A preliminary analysis of the background of the majority of the members of the presidium clearly refutes the widely held view that a military rule has been imposed on China. It is a typical feature of Chinese society that many of its leaders have had both civil and military experience; they are "all-rounders". It is these "mixed-type" of leaders who continue to be in the forefront today. Even among the second-rank leaders, the majority belong to the "mixed category".

There is also no "professional" army in China in the sense in which the non-Chinese understand "professionalism". The Chinese army is a highly politicalised group and has to play both a military and a social role. And many PLA members have been elected to the presidium because they happen to be among the leading upholders of Mao's "proletarian revolutionary line". They do not owe their elevation to their military role.

The same principle is applicable to the other category of persons who have been elected to the presidium. In short it is the degree of adherence to the revolutionary principles of Maoist leadership that has determined the election of delegates and the presidium members. Under these circumstances, it makes very little difference whether a member belonged to the military or the civil category.

Trudeau's Plans

The Canadian Government's policy announcement of a planned and phased reduction of its 9,000 strong ground and air forces from West Germany to begin in 1970 while retaining its seat at the NATO Council conforms to the French precedent. France has withdrawn from NATO's integrated military system but decided to continue membership for diplomatic and political considerations. When the foreign and defence review began last summer, Mr Pierre Trudeau received considerable support from the Liberal Party for a pull-out from Europe. But the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia hardened the allies' attitude towards the alliance; even within the Ottawa Cabinet there developed a resistance to any radical change in the priorities for defence forces. Although Mr Trudeau has settled for a compromise formula, it has left Bonn bewildered and there are rumblings of disapproval from some sections of the Liberal Party. One of the most influential members

in eastern Canada, Senator John Aird, has resigned as chairman of the Canadian NATO Parliamentary Association because of his disapproval of the proposed changes in Canada's participation in the alliance. The younger politicians in the party are also not happy. They have been pressing for withdrawals for the simple reason that dissipating resources on the alliance serves only U.S. interests. As in economic fields, Canada is here subjected to the U.S. domination and she will be better off disengaged from the alliance. Any savings that would accrue from the withdrawal should be diverted to foreign aid. This would improve Canada's image in the Third World. They dismiss the misgivings in certain quarters that the urge for an independent and distinctive Canadian foreign policy will lead the country to passive isolationism. Mr Trudeau has also linked the amount of foreign aid with defence spending. The financial savings from the phased withdrawal would be considerable; but if Mr Trudeau is serious about developing the best trained and best equipped mobile force in the world, little will be left for additional aid spending after paying for new hardware and logistics equipment. When the troops start returning in 1970, it will further strain the already acute housing situation in the country.

Whether Canada should have nuclear forces and face the impact of the anti-ballistic missile system on her security will be taken up during the Cabinet review of the new priorities for the defence forces. The Canadians are apprehensive of President Nixon's decision to build an ABM system south of their country's border. In reply to the Opposition complaint that missiles might explode over Calgary and Vancouver, Mr Trudeau has said that Canada will look to the ABM system not from the angle of danger to a few cities but from that of their effect on world peace. What is uppermost in his mind is to give priority to North American defence by dispensing with a small but expensive military presence in distant Germany.

View from Delhi

Three-Ring Circus

FROM A POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

IT is moot if the Faridabad session has helped the Congress overcome what Mr Y. B. Chavan called the "complex of political suicide". The only tangible outcome of the expensive show was the party's resolve to go it alone in an anxiety to project for itself the image of a going concern which does not mean soliciting alliances. The Right Communists who have been fondly hoping for a polarisation in the Congress and trying to sell it a coalition formula might be the only people to feel disappointed at the decision.

The middle-of-the-road proclaimed by the Prime Minister and tacitly endorsed by the rest of the leadership is nothing but political opportunism of the worst kind. At every Congress conclave in the last two years, Mrs Indira Gandhi has been the target of attack by one faction or the other. This time she warded off any attack on herself by wriggling out of the assignment to preside over the panel on social and economic programme and leaving the task to Mr Morarji Desai. Soon after the Dharia-Morarji Desai clash, she intervened in the discussion to rap the party cadres and the organisational wing in general for their share of failure in the implementation of the ten-point programme. While Mr Morarji Desai would not admit any lapse on the Government's part, Mrs Gandhi went a step further by admitting the Government's share of the blame.

The three-panel exercise was something like a three-ring circus. Only one of the panels could produce a statement acceptable to the leadership. The statement on the political situation had nothing important to say beyond rejecting the coalition idea. Its formulation on the Centre-State relations had to be toned down under pressure from the "hawks" in

NOTICE

Articles cannot be returned unless accompanied by return postage.

Business Manager
Frontier

FRONTIER is available from
CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY
23/90 Connaught Place
New Delhi-1

MAY 3, 1969

the Working Committee who opposed any dialogue between the Centre and the States on the political plane—by implication, towards redistribution of powers. Even Mr Chavan had to relent after the Working Committee stage and now all that the Congress wants is an innocuous dialogue on what the States could do towards greater economic development.

In the other two panels, it was confusion from beginning to end. The Patil report on reorganisation ran into rough weather and it is doubtful if the AICC would be able to clinch the issue even at some future date. In the panel on social and economic programme, the Young Turk assault on the old guard leadership was but expected. The demand for nationalisation of the top six banks caught the Prime Minister in a dilemma while Mr Morarji Desai's own views were well known. Earlier, Mrs Gandhi is known to have told a deputation of Gujarat Congress MPs that she was not for the take-over of these banks because the Government was not in a position to run them efficiently. At the panel meeting, she said she had been misquoted on this but in fact tried to rationalise what she had said earlier. She was not opposed to nationalisation as such but wondered if it was really time to attempt bank nationalisation. This was designed to keep every one guessing even as it kept her "leftist" image alive. Subsequently at the Working Committee meeting, she is understood to have called for rethinking on the social control of banks to widen its scope to cover nationalisation.

Social control is indeed a charlatan phrase, innovated out of expediency by Mr V. K. Krishna Menon at the Ernakulam session of the AICC in October 1966 when the Congress election manifesto was approved. Mr S. K. Patil was leading the opposition to bank nationalisation while the "left" led by Mr Krishna Menon was demanding it. The deadlock was resolved by substituting the term "nationalisation" by "social control". Mr Krishna Menon at the Ernakulam session expounded the mythical virtues of social control which he claim-

ed was nationalisation and much more. But Mr Morarji Desai now contends that the 10-point programme as well as the manifesto envisage social control of banking and nothing more while the reference was more clear in the case of general insurance—nationalisation. Later, the party decided to settle on social control of general insurance instead of nationalising it. Both banking and general insurance are now supposed to have been brought under social control.

So the sniping at the leadership by the angry young men looked pointless. All the more so at Faridabad. When the two communist parties seem to have arrived at a detente with the Birlas and the socialists are not terribly keen on fighting such issues and the Congress considers itself too respectable an organisation to demand an inquiry into the Birla empire, the few firebrands in the party look a pathetic lot of martyrs content to render the season's slogans to no real purpose. The Chandrasekhar episode did not split the Congress as expected. The Prime Minister seems to have used it for her own factional ends, to bring Mr Morarji Desai under full control. The Patil faction utilised the episode to weaken Mr Morarji Desai's position by supporting him and making him look a little ridiculous. Now it is immaterial if Mr Chandrasekhar is ditched by his erstwhile supporters, in the Prime Minister's view.

The fact that the panel on social and economic policy was deadlocked over many issues is also inconsequential now because the party is clearly committed to a middle of the road policy and all the details can be sorted out shortly.

Non-Congress Governments

What one could not help noticing was the divided attitude of the Congress leadership to non-Congress governments. Mr Nijalingappa, who at Hyderabad declared an all-out war on all the non-Congress ministries and set the party on the job of toppling them with the enthusiasm of a demolition squad, has now limited his war to the two United Front Ministries of Kerala and West

Bengal. But the Government leadership is for a softer line. The scare raised in some of the left establishment papers about an imminent Central plot to topple the West Bengal Ministry appears to have been inspired by interested quarters. The Centre has no reason to think of a plan to topple the Ministry because the "confrontation" phase is over and the United Front leadership has become very respectable in New Delhi's eyes. While Mr Nijalingappa's speech suggested a hard line towards the two communist parties (whom he has termed the "non-democratic" parties) the Centre's thinking appears to be different.

The fact that the Congress session could not clinch the issues of social and economic policy is proof that it has lost all sense of direction and the leaders have begun to speak in many voices. By rejecting the coalition idea and decrying the talk of polarisation, the leadership thought it would hold the following of various factions together. But factionalism has a logic of its own in the Congress.

"I Met Basu"

In New Delhi's cocktail circuit, the most fashionable thing to say is "Yes, I met Mr Jyoti Basu". This is after the largely attended lunch-meeting at the Press Club of India. To be sure, public relations officers and professional contact men outnumbered working journalists and the admiring audience included the same elements which comprise the anti-communist circuit in the Capital. And everyone went home with the happy impression that Mr Jyoti Basu is too much of a gentleman to be fighting the Centre. The young correspondent who directed two rather uncomfortable (and therefore unreported) questions at the Deputy Chief Minister invited the wrath of the entire Press Establishment. The first question was whether his visit to New Delhi to plead the case of West Bengal's wagon-builders was the first instalment of the proletarian revolution he promised when the CPI split into two in 1964. Mr Basu said he had

not come to plead the case of the wagon builders but these builders had come to New Delhi on their own. Yet he was interested in the economy of West Bengal. The logical corollary to the first question in the light of the answer was whether the economy of West Bengal did not also depend

on the jute industry which the Birlas controlled legally. Mr Basu had no answer. The immature young man did not know the Establishment etiquette for correspondents: ask no awkward questions and no lies will be told.

April 28, 1969

red flags flying at workers' meetings plus that dangerous Maulana who doesn't show any sign of passing out even at 86 appeared to put them off balance. They gathered most of their information (information which they considered reliable) from the panicky foreign community of the city who practically have no social or political link with political beings who matter. On the other hand, they took cognizance of the interpretations of those Pakistanis who did not hide their right-wing leanings.

The interest of the Western press in East Pakistan is indeed ominous, according to some political observers. It is rumoured that East Pakistan has been ear-marked for eventual transformation into an US bastion against Peoples' China. The US is now seeking an outlet to get out of Vietnam. It is quite probable that this journalistic invasion is only a prelude to that and is the forerunner of the campaign to mould Western public opinion in favour of an 'intervention' in East Pakistan.

From *Holiday*, Dacca. Abridged.

Pakistan

Agents Of Intrigue ?

SINCE about the middle of February Dacca has been experiencing a rather unique journalistic phenomenon. For the first time in its history, the city had the unusual honour of receiving a very substantial number of foreign journalists representing almost all the major newspapers, radio and television networks of the West.

A survey of the reports published in the London and New York press based on the despatches sent by these correspondents should give a clearer picture of their or their employers' real motives. One should, however, keep in mind that all these correspondents represented well-to-do establishment papers; 'radical or independent left-wing papers' resources do not permit such latitudes as sending special correspondents ten thousand miles away when there is every doubt that the ventures may not prove worthwhile.

A glance at any of the reports picked at random should reveal that the contents are downright insulting to the people of East Pakistan. London's *The Times* made Dacca the first lead (probably for the first time in its history) sometime in March with a report sent by Peter Hazelhurst and crowned

it with a heading "Dacca in the grip of pay bandits". "Pay bandits" are the workers who "gheraoed" many commercial concerns of East Pakistan for better pay and working conditions. The cause of Mr Hazelhurst's heart burning appeared to be the workers' siege of the Motijheel British firm, Louis Dreyfus & Co. Ltd. In blistering language this journalist passed his crude verdict of banditry on the poor workers.

Reports published in other London papers gave fantastic details of the "uprising" in East Pakistan. Some went so far as to compare it with Biafra. Many gave completely distorted versions of the movement. The show thus put up had been amusing and frightening at the same time.

This correspondent met many of these journalists and some of them at least, as appeared to him, were up to something more than facts. They had political opinions — opinions they thought were suitable for East Pakistanis unless they want to be swamped by the yellow peril. All of them, invariably, were passionately inclined to believe that Maulana Bhashani was a Mao in the garb of priest and thought that the USA must be convinced of that fact and must be made to do something about it. And what is that something? "US should pass on some Vietnam expenditure to East Pakistan", suggested a colleague from New York. A communist-led government in a neighbouring province of India and armed uprising in a red-red place called Naxalbari (also in India),

OIL FIRED PACKAGE BOILERS
OIL FIRED PACKAGE BOILERS
OIL FIRED PACKAGE BOILERS

COAL FIRED BOILERS
COAL FIRED BOILERS
COAL FIRED BOILERS

NU-WAY/NESTLER BURNERS
NU-WAY/NESTLER BURNERS
NU-WAY/NESTLER BURNERS

OIL FIRED PACKAGE BOILERS
COAL FIRED BOILERS
NU-WAY/NESTLER BURNERS

**NESTLER BOILERS
PRIVATE LIMITED**

Love Lane, Cross Lane
Byculla, BOMBAY-27 DD

For FRONTIER readers in
West India can contact
S. D. CHANDAVARKAR
10, Kanara House
Mogal Lane, Mahim
Bombay-16

MAY 3, 1969

Goa—The Real Prize

MSP

READING the public statements, particularly by the leaders of Maharashtra and Mysore, on the boundary dispute between the two States, one would imagine that the real 'bone of contention' (the metaphor is used deliberately) is the city of Belgaum and its surrounding villages, and to a lesser extent, Karwar. In a sense, of course, it is true; the bickering revolves largely round these two towns. But in actual fact, these are only excuses, and the real prize which the parties want to grab is Goa. The sheer cultural chauvinism displayed by Maharashtra towards Goa and its Konkani and Portuguese speaking people is only matched by the greed shown by Mysore, especially for the first class harbour there.

What are the facts? The States Reorganization Commission fixed the present boundaries between Maharashtra (then bi-lingual Bombay) and Mysore in 1956, before the liberation of Goa. Among other considerations, the taluq was considered the basic unit in determining the boundary. Maharashtra demurred, but not too loudly, and the 'border dispute' if any, was dormant, the leading role being played only by the representatives of the people of the city of Belgaum. Came 1961, Goa was liberated, and suddenly, the border became alive. A new formula—the Pataskar formula implemented successfully, to settle border disputes between Andhra Pradesh and Madras—was sought to be applied to this border as well. This formula, among other things, considered the village as the basic unit in determining boundaries. Mysore indignantly rejected the validity of such an application. There followed further bickerings, fasts and counterfasts, faintly veiled threats uttered in Bombay and Bangalore, and the appointment of the one-man Commission consisting of Justice Mahajan in October 1966. When the report was submitted in November 1967, Maharashtra, which had all the while agi-

tated for the setting up of such a Commission, suddenly found that it had got more than what it had bargained for; and Mysore which had tried its best to obstruct the appointment of a commission found itself sitting pretty. Belgaum and Karwar (to hell with the large number of people in other areas) would remain very much in Mysore, even if one accepted the Mahajan report.

The former Portuguese colony of Goa, while still a great attraction for rich playboys from Bombay and other remote places, remains a very poor, underdeveloped State. The best of its people regularly migrated to Bombay and further afar; but even in Bombay, the Goan immigrants were a force to be reckoned with, when Goan issues were considered. The colonial government almost as a rule tried to isolate Goa from Bombay, for the large number of Goan emigrants, politically conscious, were always considered a possible threat to Portuguese colonialism. You can't, of course, suddenly discard hundreds and thousands of people; but you can at least make it physically difficult for them to keep in close touch with back home. So, the only links with the hinterland were through Belgaum and Karwar; the road to Ratnagiri, past the border post at Pernem, was sparsely used even in the best of times; and of course, for many years before liberation, the only official point of entry into Goa was via the Sadasshivgarh outpost in the South, near Karwar. The Maharashtra Government, with all its talk, never did anything to improve surface communications between Goa and Maharashtra, because to do so would heavily cut into the extremely profitable shipping service between Panjim and Bombay, a service monopolised by one of the biggest capitalists of Goa and a powerful supporter of the movement to merge Goa into Maharashtra.

So, even now, the only viable surface connection to Goa is through Belgaum and Karwar, and no wonder Maharashtra wants to secure them. Mysore of course has its own reasons to keep the two towns under it, and these are not exactly a great concern

for the 55% non-Marathi speaking people of Belgaum city. Later, whenever the question of Goa's future is going to come up, Mysore can play its card of 'geographical contiguity' and at least spoil Maharashtra's chances of incorporating Goa.

Larger Questions

This raises two larger questions: First, is it possible to have minorities at all in a State? The question of linguistic minorities might sound ridiculous for right now, people ostensibly speaking the same language are murdering each other in Andhra Pradesh. But assuming that this problem of sub-regional nationalism is somehow going to be resolved, the larger question of linguistic minorities will still remain. Mysore which shows such concern for the linguistic minorities in the border areas of Maharashtra and is equally loud in its assurance of security to the Marathi-speaking minority within its own boundaries, is utterly callous about a border people at the other end of the State. Mysore protested strongly against adopting the village as the unit and insisted that the taluq ought to be the unit. On this basis, Belgaum and Karwar would remain in Mysore, presumably because of the fact that outside the city of Belgaum, the Marathi-speaking population is concentrated in the villagers. But by the same token, Mysore would lose a district like Kolar because whatever the basic unit, be it village or town or taluq, this whole district has a clear Telugu majority and nine of its eleven taluqs also have a clear Telugu majority. But Kolar is no Belgaum; no roads lead from Kolar to rich ports on the Arabian Sea; Kolar district borders on Rayalaseema of Andhra Pradesh, and shares with it its perennial famine economy; and there are no takers.

The second point is the obsession with 'geographical contiguity'. For all practical purposes, the various States in the country are already acting like sovereign States, though the assertion of an independent spirit by a State with a 'non-Congress' government is seen as amounting to treason. But that apart, we nowadays seem to be

terribly concerned with geographical contiguities. In the old princely State of Mysore, there used to be a taluq called Pavgada, almost entirely surrounded by the Presidency of Madras, and there were never any reports of insecurity in that region. Come to think of it, where is the surface link between North Bengal and Calcutta, all through Bengal territory? Maharashtra's anxiety to secure Belgaum and Karwar and so really surround Goa completely (their only exit would be the Arabian Sea then) is symptomatic of a new trend. It is part old-fashioned imperialism, but here, a situation is sought to be created when further manoeuvres could be justified on grounds of geographic contiguity. It also betrays a certain insecurity—as imperialists, we are still to learn a lot—almost as if Maharashtra's claim on Goa would be less than perfectly legitimate if no surface links are shown to exist between Goa and Maharashtra. One of the arguments seriously put forward by those who are opposed to the 'dismemberment of Assam' is that in the event of a Hill State being formed, the surface links between Gauhati and Upper Assam would be cut. It is of course nonsense; it so happens that a very short stretch of the Assam Trunk Road falls in the Khasi and Jaintia district, and there are no indications that road blocks are going to be put up there as soon as the Hill State is created. Perhaps the fear is not very genuine; but it is nonetheless a pointer. With so much of 'trust' existing between people, with Mr Naik feeling insecure about laying claim to Goa without first having physical access to it, one might even ask if indeed we are 'one' people; but that, I fear, is going to be an act of treason.

Our agent at Varanasi
MANNALAL DAS
D-35/321A Jangambari

For FRONTIER contact
S. P. CHATTERJEE
Statesman Office
Steel Market
Durgapur-4

Uttar Pradesh

Lease For C. B. Gupta

C. K. ARORA

WHEN the U.P. State Assembly adopted by voice vote the motion of thanks to the Governor's address, Mr C. B. Gupta's Congress Government escaped the fate it had met in 1967.

The opposition parties, including Mr Charan Singh's BKD, did not dare to demand division when the motion was put to vote, though they had been disputing the Congress claim of majority and its right to instal a Ministry.

Whatever the future may hold for Mr Gupta, that he will remain in power at least for the next four or five months is a sure bet. Before the termination of the session, the Government got passed five months' "vote on account". This gives Mr Gupta the right to be at the helm of affairs of the country's most backward State—economically and otherwise—for the period. The five-month lease will help Mr Gupta's henchmen who are busy augmenting the numerical strength of the party in the Assembly.

The most powerful weapon in Mr Gupta's armoury to contain some ambitious and power-hungry party MLAs is the ministerial posts that he has purposefully kept vacant. The expansion of the 16-member Government, all Cabinet ministers, is possible any day. Mr Gupta is dangling the carrot of Cabinet expansion too frequently. Not a single day has passed since the adjournment of the Assembly when he has not made a statement about the possible expansion.

It is a well-known fact that Mr Gupta is bereft of all those virtues which had kept Mr Sukhadia in power in Rajasthan. He will not do anything that will endear him with the masses. But he has a tremendous capacity to do things against the public interest. Besides, there are signs of his retaining power for a period more than he

and his well-wishers had expected. To his good luck the opposition in UP is not only thoroughly incompetent and unimaginative, but bitterly divided. If the performance of the opposition in the recent session of the Assembly was any guide, the possibilities of Mr Gupta's flabby establishment dragging on for a full five-year term are high.

On every issue, however insignificant, the opposition was divided. The trend was more marked on two issues—the election of the Deputy Speaker and the demand for taking the oath in Urdu. On both issues, Mr Charan Singh, leader of the opposition, belied the hopes of his well-wishers who had left no stone unturned last year in proving that his defection was not motivated by any lust for power but was a revolt against the establishment.

Mr Charan Singh adopted an escapist attitude on the oath issue. He did not say a word inside or outside the House on it, though most MLAs who wanted to take the oath in Urdu belonged to his party. The central SSP leadership did not want an SSP member to accept the office of Deputy Speaker. Mr Charan Singh went out of the way to make the SSP member, Mr Basudeo Singh, defect from the party to accept the deputy speakership.

The opposition, never known for any good work, presents a strange spectacle this time. The SSP, which was always looked upon as the "genuine opposition" in U.P., is busy fighting the BKD, the "B" team of the Congress". The CPI (R), cut to only four seats this time from 15 in 1967, is debating the reasons for the mauling it had received. The party chief, Mr S. A. Dange's services were also requisitioned at one of the marathon sessions of the State Council for the purpose. But the "causes" eluded the poor Right Communists of U.P. Frustrated on its performance in the mid-term poll in which it had been reduced from 98 Assembly seats to only 49, the Jana Sangh is anxiously waiting for the BKD to get disillusioned with the Congress and turn to Mr Nanaji Deshmukh for a joint strategy. Mr Charan Singh and Mr Deshmukh are known admirers of

FRONTIER

each other. The PSP, undoubtedly an insignificant party, will have no truck with the BKD. Its leaders say it is a matter of principle. The argument of "principle", and that too in U.P. politics, does not convince anyone.

Soft-Pedalling

Mr Charan Singh was keen to topple the Congress Ministry at the beginning. But the threat of defections from the party MLAs on the subject made him recant. It was here that the Jat leader embarked on a policy of soft-pedalling his main adversary in the State's politics, Mr C. B. Gupta.

The policy of reconciliation was evident when on March 26, while replying to the discussion on the motion of thanks, Mr Charan Singh did not utter a word against Mr Gupta and instead concentrated his fire against the Deputy Chief Minister, Kamalapati Tripathi, and one of the much ju-

nior Ministers, Mrs Vidyavati Rathore. He charged Mr Tripathi with seeking "police help" in the election and Mrs Rathore with securing the release on parole of a convicted dacoit, Tehsildar Singh, son of the dacoit Man Singh, to canvass support for her. Both the Ministers immediately denied the charges on the floor of the House.

The greatest disappointment for Mr Charan Singh came on March 21 when his BKD's legislature party refused to endorse a resolution of the State executive of the party authorising him to explore the possibilities of toppling the Congress Government. About 30 MLAs argued at the meeting that there was no need for such an adventure when the other non-Congress parties were averse to coalescing with the BKD. They felt that the toppling of the Congress Government without an alternative would be a dangerous step, quite against the democratic traditions. This

made Mr Charan Singh give up his hostile attitude towards the Congress which, in his own words is the cause of all that is bad in U.P.

The frustrated Jat leader is now looking for an "honourable opportunity" to sneak back into the Congress. He told Pressmen, though off the record, that the BKD would return to the Congress fold if the Congress Working Committee made a formal appeal.

His emissary, Mr Udit Narain Sharma, has already been shuttling between Mr Dinesh Singh and Mr Charan Singh in this connection for the last four months. But the difficulty is that Mr Dinesh Singh, howsoever strong he may be in New Delhi politics, is a non-entity as far as Congress affairs in the State are concerned. In U.P. affairs, it is Mr Gupta whose writ runs.

indec

Manufactured in India to **PETTER** designs under license from
Hawker Siddeley Industries Ltd. U.K.

by

Indian National Diesel Engine Co. Ltd.

Type—PH 1
Single Cylinder
4—8.2 BHP
1000—2000 RPM

Type—PH 2
Twin Cylinder
8—16.4 BHP
1000—2000 RPM

AIR COOLED DIESEL ENGINES

Special Advantages

1. Fixed or Variable Speed and Clutch Assy at choice.
2. Additional Half Speed Shaft for Slow Drive.
3. Conforms to BSS 649/1958. Also ISS 1601/1960.

Sales Office : 5, Fergusson Road, Worli, Bombay-18.
Regional
Sales Offices : 6, Little Russel Street, Calcutta-16.
175/1, Mount Road, Madras-2.
8, Parliament Street, New Delhi.
Regd. Office : Hall & Anderson Building, 31, Chowringhee Rd., Calcutta-16.

Calcutta Diary

CHARAN GUPTA

OLD man de Gaulle chose to make the referendum an issue of prestige. He has lost and resigned and the Fifth Republic may be thrown into another first-rate political crisis. Which also reminds me that this, the first week of May, was the time last year when the brash young students were on the point of bringing about, all by themselves, a new French Revolution. That they did not quite pull it off was not their fault. I still think it is all bosh to suggest that the 'objective' factors were not right for a proper insurrection, and that is the reason why the students failed ultimately. If by 'objective' factors are meant such phenomena as communist functionaries developing cold feet, certainly the assertion would be correct. But very few revolutions round the world have been made by communist functionaries. Especially by remaining too long as functionaries, they often tend to lose touch with the dominant passions of the populace. This certainly had happened with the gentlemen of the Communist Party in France last year.

I won't for a moment say that imported models will fit in snugly for analysing the political situation here. But analogous problems do arise. Take our two communist parties. One of them still retains the *apparatchik* of the politbureau as the highest policy-making and policy-enforcing body; the other, I understand, has evolved the concept of a central secretariat, which however in practice operates very much like a politbureau. Anyway, there are roughly one score gentlemen constituting these highest bodies in the two parties. At least three-quarters of them, I am more or less certain, have been there, for donkey's years; and they are there not on account of any historical inevitability, but because of historical inertia. Non-dialectical reliques from the past, many of these

communist functionaries are without any mass base of their own, their constituencies having slipped beyond their charm. They have been overtaken by history; in some cases, they have been victims of their own incompetence. Meanwhile, the movement has grown in other areas, new cadres have come; at the middle and down levels, several workers of proven competence have emerged, capable of providing purposeful leadership; new ideas keep simmering. But all this is anathema to the established leadership. The gentlemen at the top make cynical use of the movement's expanding base to which expansion their own contribution is nothing. But they will not allow new men to come up from below and contribute to the processes of policy-making. Thus while the movement grows, the leadership remains moribund.

And the leadership also remains self-perpetuating. There is a great danger in having such a perennial bunch of leaders who have lost their mass base. Since the bother of working on mass fronts is no longer there for them, these gentlemen blossom forth as great theoreticians. Leaders who are otherwise unemployed find sublimation in the preparation of theses. Besides, theses invite countertheses and alternative theoretical formulations multiply in direct proportion to the number of leaders who are without any personal mass following worth the name. Like Marx's famous philosophers, these Marxist leaders keep on interpreting the 'objective' Indian situation. Ego clashes with other egos; what in plain language will be dubbed pettifoggery is enshrined with holy footnotes; meanwhile the world outside changes on its own without waiting for the communist functionaries.

The disease spreads. Indian conformism gets enmeshed with the

abracadabra of democratic centralism, the big leaders consider themselves incarnations of Lenin and Mao Tse-tung; they prepare pompous tracts in execrable, learned-sounding language; the middle leadership catches on to the idea, the multiplier process is set to work, and cadres, who could have better utilised their time by going to the fields and factories to strengthen the movement at the grassroots, get themselves bogged in ethereal debates over whether they have arrived at the stage of national democratic movement or popular democratic movement or what-have-you.

The trouble is, in this debilitating game, nobody can really win; ultimately, what clinches issues are one's judgment and scale of values. For if you quote Lenin at me, I can bark back at you another quotation from Lenin; a passage from Mao Tse-tung can be countered by a different passage from Mao Tse-tung. Statements can be torn away from the context, interpretations can be so managed as to shed a relatively favourable light on my dogma as against yours, polemics revolve round what can only be called rigid, absolute positions. No quarters are given, just as none are asked for either. Right, Left, adherents of the Naxalbari line: it is the same virus everywhere. A while ago I mentioned about imported models; none have more blind faith in such models than the theorem-mongers amongst the communist functionaries. I say this only in half-jest: the Left movement in this country would have grown much faster and much more effectively if somehow the volumes depicting the history of the communist parties in foreign countries could be stopped from coming to our shores. Historical situations differ, the conglomerations of events leading to substantial developments of one sort or another are never identical between country a and country b, the coincidences can be the same or similar only in the rarest of circumstances, the personalities involved often have widely divergent characteristics, so that one perhaps is

able to learn very little of revolutionary strategy by gulping down the history of communist movements elsewhere. But one does get round to making acquaintance with the formal trappings mentioned in the narrative; one gets to know about the purges, the liquidations, the violent mutual recriminations. There may be no revolution around, let us then at least get ensconced in ersatz pleasure: let us at least call one another names.

* *

Of course, in recent months it has been going beyond calling one another names. There has been much sporadic violence. This, I submit, has nothing to do with the tradition of revolutionary movements, but is very much a part of the Bengali heritage. Gang warfare is not just the story of Manhattan's West Side; from our childhood days, we have been witnessing the explosion of youthful passion into utterly senseless forms of individual as well as group violence. The only difference between the happenings today and those during our times is that when we fought with hockey sticks and acid bulbs, we would not quote Lenin, Stalin or Mao Tse-tung, nor would the politbureau pass pontifical resolutions on the dialectical merits and demerits of particular street fights.

* *

This is then the gravamen of my charge against the ideologues in this city: they are incapable of organising a revolution, they are incapable of organising even a dress rehearsal of a revolution, all they are capable of organising are make-believe farces. Too many revolutionary cooks have

For FRONTIER contact
 Shri PABITRA KUMAR DEKA,
 Assam Tribune,
 Gauhati-3
 Assam.

already spoiled the broth here. If, on this anniversary of their insurgency, I feel differently about the French students, it is because they did not allow oral fulminations take precedence over their specific acts; all the greater shame that they were betrayed in the manner they were. Similarly, Kanu Sanyal and Jangal Santhal and their immediate colleagues will remain as heroes with us because they took several steps beyond the ideologues and attempted to convert an idea into an act: those whose known exploits until now have been confined to air dashes to New Delhi are hardly in a position to label such men as adventurists. No, hail to the adventurists, but then that does not mean that one's approbation has to extend to the adventure-mongers who breathe revolutionary fire while cosily camping in Calcutta—or, for that matter, in Siliguri.

* *

Between the Scylla of careerism and the Charybdis of adventurism, for the present I can discover very little difference: the same cross-section of leadership; identical invocation of sterile theory; the same techniques of agitation; parallel sets of journals, but written more or less in the same manner; the hurling of more or less the same set of invectives. It could not be otherwise: the party functionaries have raised and trained as much the people who are the believers in Theorem X as the people who believe in Theorem Y. The slogans may vary, but the clichés do not, so much so that often one gets the eerie feeling that Shri A is politically arraigned against Shri B not because he hates the latter's theory, but simply because he hates the latter's guts. Besides, just as when the grapes are sour, some people turn revolutionary, similarly there are others who urge caution when their own class interests are in danger of being affected.

But—and this is the clincher—all of them will want us to go and jump in the lake, alias Rabindra Sarobar requiem for dissent, requiem for fun-poking.

The Press

Plea For Dismissal

COMMENTATOR

THE United Front Government cannot complain of neglect from newspapers, though the nature of publicity cannot be to its liking. For days before the visit of Mr Ajoy Mukherjee and Mr Jyoti Basu to New Delhi the newspapers were full of their version of what was happening in West Bengal. These were meant as curtain-raisers of sorts and guidelines for the Centre. The actual talks were reported with elaborations generally reserved for visiting foreign dignitaries. After the visit an assessment has started of what the UF intentions are. Some papers have reported with gusto the women's demonstration organised by the Jana Sangh against Mr Basu over the alleged incidents at Rabindra Sarobar stadium. That the demonstrators arrived in trucks was mentioned by all papers; perhaps they overlooked its implication that the demonstration was planned and not spontaneous. The demonstration was a part of the attempt to put the UF leaders in the dock. Graver charges were levelled against them, and some columnists went to the length of suggesting that the UF Ministry should be dismissed by the Centre without any further delay.

The first shot was fired by Nandan Kagal in *The Indian Express*. The article has been much talked of because Kagal has given a new interpretation of the UF's so-called confrontation with the Centre; he has accused the UF Government of adopting the "tactics of alienation" which is a euphemism for playing upon Bengali chauvinism. Kagal says Dacca's slogan, "Awake Bengal, Arise Bengal", has not yet been raised in Calcutta, but what Mr Jyoti Basu has been saying is not very different. Mr Basu knows the strength of regionalist prejudices and passions and is exploiting them in the most outrageous manner. The purpose is to make the people of

Bengal feel that whatever difficulties they have are the results of deliberate neglect by a Union Government alien to the people of Bengal. Having assumed the mantle of West Bengal's saviour Mr Basu has promised the people of the State that he will soon make certain demands on the Centre on their behalf. If these demands are not met, the UF Government might have to launch an agitation to bring the Centre to its senses, and in this high task Mr Basu will expect every Bengali to do his duty. Mr Basu might as well have ended his demagogic speech by shouting "Awake Bengal, Arise Bengal". According to Kagal, Mr Basu's main task is to subvert the authority of the Centre, alienate the people of West Bengal from the Union Government, and generally create conditions inimical to economic growth and progress. If the economic crisis consequently deepens in West Bengal, this, too, will suit Mr Basu and his Communist colleagues. After all, Marx prophesied increasing pauperisation of the masses and Mr Basu cannot let Marx down by helping to falsify the prophecy. Moreover, what is bad for the people is good for the party, since increasing pauperisation will radicalise the masses and create the objective conditions for the Communist revolution. Kagal asks the Centre not to forget that it has a superior mandate from the people of India. Among other things this mandate makes it the duty of the Centre to repress any overt or covert threat to the country's system of government. The proper response to a State Government which refuses to fulfil its constitutional obligations to the Union is "to remove it from office". Whether such a step would be popular with the people of West Bengal is not really relevant. Neither Mr Basu's United Front nor even the people of Bengal can be allowed to dictate to the Union or destroy its constitutional discipline.

By some coincidence Asok Chanda writing in *The Times of India* has also brought in East Pakistan while dealing with the problem that is West Bengal. Though he says that the dominant position of the CPI(M)

in the West Bengal Government and its known sympathies for the liberation movement in East Pakistan do not lead to the conclusion that a united Bengal is imminent, the stakes, in any case, are much too high. If by any mischance, a united State came into being outside the Indian Union, it would pose a grave political and economic threat to the whole country. For one thing, it would isolate the territories beyond and expose them to surrounding eddies of communism, difficult to withstand, and for another, it would deprive India of the foreign exchange the area contributes from exports of tea and jute goods, the heavy engineering complex in Calcutta and its environs, and the steel mill and coal mines in West Bengal. All this is said by Chanda by way of introduction. His main thesis is that the people of West Bengal chose the UF as the only party other than the Congress which could give political and economic stability. They would go by results and not bother how it was brought about — whether due to the indifference of the Centre or ineptitude of the State Government. This loss of confidence would inevitably react on the law and order situation. Its loose bonds would become further loosened. Maoism is spreading its roots unhindered deep into the receptive soil of West Bengal and in the minds of young intellectuals, educated unemployed, the deprived and the disenfranchised. Mr Jyoti Basu finds himself in a cleft stick; neither can he disavow his revolutionary faith nor refrain from using the police to contain the situation. The expedient of deploying party volunteers instead has taken the dispute to the streets of Calcutta and the university campuses, resulting in violent clashes between the votaries of the two parties, reminiscent of tribal warfare in the North-West Frontier. Whatever be the dilemma of Mr Jyoti Basu, would the country view with unconcern the happenings in West Bengal, the "undeclared war" as Mr Jyoti Basu says? These may well be diversionary tactics to draw attention away from internecine party troubles; or, it may

be, to demonstrate CPI(M)'s contempt for established order. Nonetheless, they are serious. "It is time now for the Centre to act resolutely and scotch the move to bring its authority into ridicule." Were the UF to stumble and fall after a time, having countenanced meanwhile lawlessness and violence, what turn would politics in Bengal take? Would the Maoists attempt a takeover or would there be a possibility of reinstating a constitutional government? And would such a government be then able to restore law and order and recreate a feeling of security in people's minds? What could be the alternative? This is the 64 dollar question.

Which People ?

The Hindustan Times has noted that besides raising its employees' pay scales the West Bengal Government has so far displayed little initiative in constructive projects. There is tireless talk in the name of "the people". Which people? Those who lost a day's earnings in a fatuous *Bandh*? Or those, including women, looted and molested in the Rabindra Sarobar Stadium incident respecting which the State Government has tardily and reluctantly been pushed by an angry public opinion into ordering a judicial inquiry? Addressing a teachers' conference a few days ago the Deputy Chief Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, talked of the people being the State Government's source of strength when referring to its demand for more powers and resources. Mr Basu also asked the teachers for help and co-operation against the Centre. This was an open invitation to them to abandon their class-rooms for more adventurous pursuits. Now the State Information and Public Relations Minister has declared that the Government intends to arm "conscious, responsible, and organised" students during emergencies. If the UF Government is planning to encourage anarchy or subversion or confrontation with the Centre through extra-constitutional means, the sinister significance of the State Minister's statements should not be lost on anyone. This sort of talk is not merely irresponsible,

it is dangerous. The country has been duly warned. Let the West Bengal Government know that no kind of "red guardism" or cultural revolution will be consistent with its responsibilities and obligations under the Constitution.

The Statesman has found a credibility gap regarding the UF Government's intentions or policy. The paper has accused the Government of adopting double standards in ordering an inquiry into the police action in connection with the communal trouble near the paper's office in January while declining, "and rightly", an inquiry into the police firing at Telinipara. The Durgapur record will hardly justify Mr Basu's insistence on the point that the Centre should trust the State Government entirely for maintaining security and order in public undertakings and stop stationing or using other forces of its own to protect its personnel and property. Apart from the legal or constitutional aspects of this demand, the public is anxiously watching the apparently changing role and responsibilities of the guardians of law and order. Rowdiness has been on the increase and there are daily reports of clashes among rival groups in and around Calcutta resulting in daylight murders and lawlessness. Basing its comment on a report since contradicted by Mr Basu the paper says, if rowdies pose themselves (as they invariably do) as workers of political parties, Mr Basu's advice is that police should, on the basis of their own reports, consult the parties before taking action. Apparently only senior Central officers can be promptly arrested and handcuffed without any such consideration being shown to them. The introduction of this extraneous element would hardly be conducive to the preservation of morale or effective exercise of authority on the part of the police, even if there was a unified political party at the helm; with the internecine quarrels among the constituent units of the UF, which can sometimes be carried to bitter extremes, it is not surprising that the police and other local officials feel paralysed by uncertainty about their duties.

Look Stranger !

G. G.

TOURISTS tend to sum up the reality of a country after sight-seeing the places "to see" listed in a guide-book. Tourism enables you to assert that you know India—for example—just because you have seen the Taj or the big banyan tree. These days' knowledge is not sought for itself but for the social consideration to which it may lead. The important thing is not to know but to pretend to know or convince others that you know. It is not necessary to search for details; to catch a glimpse of generalities is enough. So the tourist is involved in a race to see as many things as it is possible to see in the short time at his disposal. He may not know anything about architecture but he must see monuments; he may be as materialistic as one can be but he must visit temples, etc. It becomes so boring. But then there is the consolation offered by his acquaintances at home gaping at him when he tells them his "adventures" and show them his slides. The tourist does not know any more how to see. He knows only how to take photographs.

Coming to India through an official technical scheme, I was in fact kept away from such behaviour. My outlook was quite different.

But, first, remember : France, last May-June : the country shaken to the foundations by what was originally a turmoil started by a handful of students. The image of stability that Gaullism tried to achieve vis-a-vis the entire world and for posterity was suddenly crumbling. Like gas compressed for too long the people (mainly young ones) released all their repressed energy in a genuine democratic bacchanalia. Freedom of speech, freedom of gathering ! On the walls of the Sorbonne one wrote "Imagination takes the power". Euphoria was in both the hearts and minds of men.

You remember all that because you have been told about the evolution of the crisis and its deep meaning, how the industrial pattern of society leads

to unhappiness. You must have all read many an article for and against the "consumption society".

Just imagine how boundless our hopes could be. We were sure, for a while, that this romantic festival of youth, this marvellous intellectual communion was the beginning of the new era we had been waiting for. We got the idea that a socialist movement had started and that it was likely to be successful.

You know that it failed. But not only that. Some of us realised that socialism in itself was no more the solution of our problems, that, for solving them, it was not more adequate than capitalism, because these problems were actually not of economic contradictions only. They were philosophical.

One has to find a new way, a new socialism, we can say, which should not be only along political or economic patterns but should open on to a humanistic vision of society. In my opinion, this discovery, if any, will not take place in the Occident, in a Western mind. Conditioned as we are already, we have lost the purity necessary for its achievement. It seems that Western people can do nothing but bear the fate of their civilisation which leads them towards a decadence comparable to the decline of the Roman Empire.

"If there is a hope, it lies in the proles", wrote George Orwell in his analysis of an eventual—if not possible—society occurring in "1984".

The same for us : if there was a hope for this world, it also lay in its proles which are the so-called underdeveloped countries. Not yet crushed by the burden of modernity, it seemed it was still possible for them to achieve it, thanks to the strength of their own culture.

The two assets required are the existence of this culture and the will power and the possibility of opposing it to the invading Western way of life.

I thought a good example of this kind of test was to be found in India, so famous in Europe for her culture. I expected from this country a shower of creative mysticism which should

pervade my mind and bring some water into the well of my hopes.

I was sent to an industrial area. I found there the same people I had fled from in my country. They were the actual reproduction of their French colleagues. Equally dried up, they also think of the world in economic terms: growth, productivity, management. They do not think of the nation, for which in fact they do not care—it is nothing but an alibi to plea their own economic quest. They have already entered the era in which what one "has" is more important than what one "is".

One may be tempted to object. "Don't look only at these people, they are a very small part of India. They don't give the exact picture of the country". True. Judging from their salaries they form only two per cent of the whole population. But in spite of that they are typical of the evolution—aren't they the vanguard of the country? I mean the economic vanguard, but nowadays it is the only one which deserves notice. The world is no more led by men but by processes which are upon them, though originally created by them. This phenomenon precisely is the negation of culture (by which man may rule his environment). This is the no-culture which has already been put into practice in the West.

New Invader

It is spreading all over the world, it is the new invader of India. But it cannot be compared with the invaders of the past because of its super-power. Even if English culture, for example, has damaged the Indian one, the latter was strong enough to try at least to achieve a synthesis between the two worlds. But such a synthesis is no more possible in the present conditions. In the long way there is no choice of values. Indians have to accept Western "imperialism", then disappear. It will be easier, as they are already dying. For what remains of Indian culture is only a stump of past glory, a dead body of traditions imposed by society rather than accepted by the heart of the individuals.

I spent a very bad moment, one

night, here. I went to see an English film which happened to deal only with sex, gadgets, paradise of Western consumption and so on. To see in that dark house, people of a country which begot the Vedas, Upanishads and aesthetics, enjoying this awful movie was for me an intellectual explosion. I was attending the murder of the past. At the same time a terrific monster was being born—an ugly future. There is much to say about the "colonialism" of Indian minds by movies.

The reality of India is at present political. It is in that field that something may be built up at least in the short run. So for the Indian intelligentsia, it is a field in which hopes of a revolution lie embedded, a revolution that may take place in a few years, setting up what one may wish to be a genuine socialist regime, neither Russian nor Chinese but an Indian one. But once this stage is achieved, the true problems of the modern world will come, the same problems one faces when one gets comfort and amenities which are already seen in Western countries (not yet for everybody: that is why a social change is required in the first stage). It is true that ownership of cars, houses, washing-machines may be accompanied by alienation, but one must at least get them before, to understand it.

We may imagine, hoping for the best, that it will be realised everywhere in the world. The first consequence will be to change our vision of this world. It will be no more an earth where conflicts between different cultures will take place. So far as culture is concerned, unity will be there. Unity is nothingness. Everybody will worship the same gods, growth, productivity, consumptions.

However, and it is perhaps one of our last hopes—this process of uniformity may be strong enough to constitute a potential velocity of contestation. Either it will be stifled by conditioning, or it could be the seed of a new way of life, of a new man.

The aim of revolution is to set up, as far as possible, more social justice in countries where it takes place. The problem they have to solve is quite simple, at least in its statement. It is

a matter of redistributing wealth and it may be necessary to resort to violence for solving it. But the difficulties which come afterwards are far more stiff. At that stage the questions which will be asked are philosophical ones: How to avoid the fatalism of the economic laws which bind us to growth and productivity? How to avoid the excessive urbanisation which emphasizes the human conflicts? How to preserve, besides the so-called progress which is a grinding-mill of human values, the basic spiritual heads of man? How to restore the individual values in a mess? And so on.

From that viewpoint the revolution of the future will not be a matter of guns and armed struggle. It may take place at the level of the brain. We shall need a new ideology. Many Western intellectuals have lost faith in it. They think that no answer is to be found to these questions. They think the only way would be to end this race towards progress, to come back to the sources, to look for recession. But even that is impossible. For we cannot wipe out our memories.

The example of India has demonstrated what can be taken as a general law. There is essential inconsistency between the necessities of "progress" and the cultures of the past which have to be sacrificed at the altar of industrial-age glory.

If all this is true, we are gradually sliding towards the abyss of nothingness. And we cannot avoid it. We can do nothing but dress our death.

National Awakening And The Bangabasi

By Shyamananda Banerjee
Amitava-Kalyan Publishers
Calcutta 1968. Price Rs. 25

IN the last quarter of the nineteenth century, *Bangabasi*, a Bengali weekly, was so popular in Bengal that it became practically synonymous with newspapers and periodicals. Its circulation reached 30,000—an unheard of figure those days. Despite its rather conservative stand on Hinduism, *Bangabasi* understood the popular

feeling and gave expression to it. It fought a sustained battle against the British for our political, economic and spiritual freedom. Predictably, the paper had to face the wrath of the British and the case in which the proprietor, editor, printer and others were charged with sedition became a cause célèbre throughout not only India but also found its echo in England. Eventually, the government was forced to withdraw the case.

The golden period of *Bangabasi* was from 1883 to 1898 when Krishna Chandra Banerjee edited the paper. He was a man of inflexible principles, fearless in his convictions and an able writer. His contributions to the cause of Indian journalism and the freedom struggle were considerable.

Unfortunately, both *Bangabasi* and its editor are unknown to the present generation. A recent book on Indian journalism mentions the *Bangabasi* case in passing, refers to the name of the proprietor, Jogendra-nath Bose and makes no mention of Krishna Chandra at all. It is most welcome that Mr Shyamananda Banerjee, son of Krishna Chandra, has come forward to rescue *Bangabasi* and its editor from oblivion. The really interesting and valuable part of the book, in fact the bulk of it, is concerned with the *Bangabasi* case. The author has given a blow-by-blow account of the case and the stir it created from court proceedings, reports in the leading Indian papers and in British papers like *The Times*, *St. James Gazette*, the *Globe* and other papers.

The real value of the book lies in the fact that it throws light, as Dr Sunil Kumar Chatterjee has said, on one of the neglected byways of the freedom struggle. Its value would have been greater if the author could have handled the material with greater competence and made its prose succinct and readable. Certain grammatical solecisms, which could have been eliminated with a little care, also irritate the reader. While the effort to insert an index could not be more welcome, the publishers should have done a better job of it.

P. R. G.

Long Day's Journey Into Night

BY OUR DRAMA CRITIC

THE irony of the theatre is that although it is make-believe it demands total conviction from those that work in it seriously. It is for this reason that great moments are achieved not by voice or gesture, lighting or music but by flashes of understanding and belief. It was thus that David Algar's *Jamie*, despite his unconvincing drunkenness, provided the most moving scene in the dying moments of the play. He understood what he was saying and having understood conveyed what he felt.

If an actor has played Torvald Helmer in *A Doll's House* and the Father in *Six Characters in Search of an Author* he would feel that James Tyrone is not beyond his measure. But if an actress has made a success of Madame Alving in *Ghosts* and scored with Nora in *A Doll's House* her approach to Mary Tyrone would still be fraught with anxiety; for Mary Tyrone is a study in shades and the shades are ever so delicate—like fleeting clouds across the sky with but a glimpse of sunlight right at the beginning of the play.

Long Day's Journey into Night reads like a prose poem and sounds like a piece of music. Its sad beauty lies in its fidelity to art and proximity to life. It is earthy without being mundane, it is daily experience and yet not commonplace. It is a sweet song because it tells of sad thoughts.

James Tyrone is an ex-matinee idol whose current occupation is dealing in real estate. His wife Mary Tyrone was once an aspiring concert pianist who dreamt of becoming a nun. Jamie, their older son, is an actor through his father's influence and a drunkard through his own frustration. Edmund, the younger boy, is a consumptive partly due to his father's stinginess and partly due to his own dissipation. The men of the family are all self-willed and nurse their own personal predilections. Because she feels for them all, the mother (Mary

Tyrone) is careworn and nervous as feels she is unable to cope with the buffetings of a stormy household. She is forced to take refuge in morphine.

The play begins with Mary Tyrone's return from hospital, fully restored in health. Seeing her thus recovered from her drug addiction the rest of her family is relieved and happy. But Mary Tyrone herself fails to reflect the feelings around her. There is evidence of tension and worry so that her journey back into the fog is almost to be expected. The action begins with breakfast and ends that same night with Jamie returning home totally drunk and Mary taking an extra strong dose of morphine to kill "all the pain."

Coming to the Amateur's production staged in the basement theatre of Kala Mandir one was taken completely by surprise at the casting of the play. Unlike other arts which are expressive the theatre is an interpretative form. It is difficult enough to make words express one's own thoughts accurately. How much more difficult does it become when we try to interpret those of some one else? O'Neill knew the magnitude of the task he was setting anyone who wanted to produce *Long Day's Journey* and therefore provided detailed information. It was unfortunate that the Amateurs chose to disregard the author's indications and instructions.

Let us examine James Tyrone. He is 65, looks 10 years younger. John Clapham who took the part looked 70 and acted 80. James Tyrone has a military bearing. John Clapham looked asthmatic and gasped throughout the play. James Tyrone shows the actor in speech, movement and gesture. John Clapham shuffled and often muffled his words. With so much contrariness between producer and author it was to be expected that the play would suffer, for suffer it did. John Clapham is an intelligent and experienced actor and to suit his own interpretation he set a pace which forced others to follow, thus completely slowing down the tempo of the play.

Although Pamela Perks is perhaps the only actress available experienced

MAY 3, 1969

enough to take on Mary Tyrone, the extended apron stage brought her so close to the audience that looking at her face one overlooked her hands. There is considerable business with the hands and the author has specifically mentioned Mary's "inability to control the nervousness which draws attention to them". Pamela Parks was closest to the character she was portraying in her last speech partly because she was placed at a distance from the audience and partly because she was able to catch the child-like innocence so essential for playing Mary Tyrone.

It is not the intention of this criticism to foist a slavish adherence to the author's script. A producer is well within his rights to interpret a play but not to an extent where the author's meaning is befogged. Mary is the central character of the play and the production should have been moulded around her. It is the tragedy of the helpless mother resulting from a father's undue emphasis on money or land or future security. This is the social symbolism involved and O'Neill's artistry consists in avoiding detail yet drawing an accurate picture of the American scene. The obsession with social security, taken to its logical conclusion, is responsible for the sacrifice and revolt of American youth and the landing of America in Vietnam.

Although David Algar was the closest approximation to Jamie of the play, some trace of Jamie's theatrical background in his interpretation would have enhanced the quality of his performance which was perceptive, vigorous and sustained. By contrast Vijay Krishna's Edmund suffered for two reasons: first visually it was difficult to believe that he was seriously ill and secondly he failed to convey the poet and "the quality of extreme nervous sensibility" which likens him to his mother.

Cathleen, the second girl, need not have been so formally dressed as a maid. The part played by Phyllis Bose made up in verve what was lacking in size. Providing the only relief in the play, she struck the right note and even though her part was small she left a pleasant impression on the

mind. One missed the significance of her sitting on the steps through Mary's long speech in Act III.

Speaking of missing the significance, it was difficult to fathom why the drunken scene between Jamie and Edmund was enacted on a plane higher than the main acting area.

As a production *Long Day's Journey into Night* moved, albeit slowly, without hitch or hindrance. But for the effect on Mary's role, the set was exceedingly well done and a welcome break from the three-wall concept.

The music was apt and well timed and the lighting adequate, although the closeness to the audience should have prompted the use of spots for highlighting dramatic effects, particularly through the long speeches.

Still the Amateurs must be commended for their courageous enterprise. The *Journey* was a difficult one and they reached near enough to the destination for which they set out.

Graphic Arts

BY AN ART CRITIC

IN our country rarely do we have the opportunity of seeing even stray examples of contemporary graphic arts of a country like Czechoslovakia. The Indo-Czechoslovak Cultural Society (West Bengal) are, therefore, to be congratulated for organizing the current exhibition of contemporary graphic arts of Czechoslovakia on a representative scale.

There are 138 items on show: sketches, woodcuts and illustrations in the woodcut technique, lithographs, prints etc., in monochrome and colour. Not all the items are of a high excellence but the best ones have both power and beauty. Apart from those with political and social content, the illustrations cover a wide variety of subjects: landscapes and city scenes, men at work and play, animals and human figures, a few abstracts and at least one surrealist piece: 'Show in Black' by Rappensbergerova

Some of the outstanding black and white and monochrome items are Dubai's geometric 'Game', Gruberova's abstract 'Dancer', Szabo

Julius's powerful 'Weeping For the Partisan', Dallosova's beautiful woodcuts of the houses and streets of Bratislava, Stubna's 'With Manure' and Strba's delicately sketched figure of a woman called 'Breeze.'

Among the coloured illustrations, Fulla has three beautiful pieces, gay and playful. Among the others, mention should be made of Kelenberger's black and yellow seascape called 'By the Atlantic', Pavlickova's 'The Grandmothers of Our Grandmother', Zmetak's 'By the Fire', and Lebis's picturesque 'Night' showing foresters relaxing beside decorative trees under the starry sky.

The art of glass-making in Czechoslovakia is among the best in the world. The few specimens of glasses, plain, decorative and enamelled, displayed show that this traditional art flourishes in all its excellence.

Before ending, the reviewer should like to point out that in mounting the exhibition, the sponsors have done a half-hearted job. The display of the exhibits of graphic arts is so shoddy that it could have killed an exhibition of a lesser merit. Besides, the sponsors owed it to the visitors to provide some background information on contemporary graphic arts and on the artists represented. Such relevant details would not only have helped the visitors in understanding the exhibits but also in enjoying them.

Letters

'Our Commonwealth'

The Editor, Current Affairs (BBC) is reported (*Frontier*, April 5) to have said that the escape, in the next train, of culprits who beat up and humiliated an Indian couple on a North London underground station made it impossible for the police or the station authorities to take any action.

The trains on London underground stations on Saturdays and Sundays which are closed days have a time gap of 20-30 minutes and an instant affray cannot be said to be beyond the reach of the police or station authorities. The police are highly prejudiced and partial where Indians are involved. When I

took a stranded Indian boy to a London police station at his request, as an interpreter for English, to lodge a report for the theft of his purse, the constable at once said, "it could drop, why say stolen?" as if it could have not been pinched in England. When I visited another police station to present the documents of my car, the constable, as soon as I entered the room shouted, "Are you from Pakistan? We are getting sick of you. Have you come in connection with last night's Pakistani affair?" The flat of an Indian diplomat remained under siege in 1965 for many hours by hooligans without any police help and the diplomat in protest sought immediate transfer from London. Another, Mr N. Chatterjee, of the same Mission, was beaten while walking with his wife on a north London road. There were no arrests. The son of the ex-Indian High Commissioner, Mr Dhawan, was publicly beaten in his college in March, in protest against his father's speeches advising our people to settle down in England to avoid the Kenyan situation. Once three English young men spat on my face without provocation. Three times my clothes were spoiled with rotten eggs.

Do our young men interested in 'Our Commonwealth' read articles on foreign investments in India, trade deficit figures, the amount of foreign loans which India owes to world money-lending agencies, the collaboration agreements of our capitalist

Please Contact

ELECTRO PRODUCTS

for

Electrical Switch gears, Switch boards, Transformers, Welding sets, Trunking Busbar, Tapping Boxes, Cable Boxes and other factory equipment.

Consulting Electrical Engineers,
Licensed

Electrical Contractors & Order suppliers
Office : 2, Clive Ghat Street,
Calcutta-1

Works : Kankinara, 24-Parganas.

Phone : Works: Bhatpara 86
Office : 22-3945

Gram : 'SUBIKRI', Calcutta

government with foreign sister capitalists in our industrial projects, the outflow of Indian silver and gold and the brain drain, the export of Indian raw materials on throwaway prices, the impotency of our national government to tackle the economic affairs of our so-called Republic and the presence of thousands of foreign people owning our mines, tea plantations, insurance business and banking affairs that govern the price structure of our currency and consumer goods? If they read them they would be convinced that it is not 'Our Commonwealth', it is 'Their Commonwealth'.

A THAKUR
London

The Night Was Sad

The Rabindra Sarobar atrocity stories reported in language dailies seem concocted. Calcutta has got its filth, its dirt, its cruelty; Calcutta has seen the worst communal clashes during the British days, but raping is not Calcutta's record. In the worst communal rioting cases of raping were not reported. There were cases of molestation—which also none would support—but raping, no.

About the police, Mr Jyoti Basu must have seen how they work. Some bit of antipathy to the people, inefficiency and some association with anti-social elements are factors which resulted in the rowdiness at Titagarh, Telinipara and Cossipore. It is also an open secret that every shop in the Lake area sells liquor and female flesh is available in the most respectable areas of South Calcutta. The debaucheries and orgies in the airconditioned bordellos south of Park Street are public knowledge. Middle-class girls sell their bodies to support their families; educated unemployed young men turn into bootleggers, tricksters and paid hooligans. Literature and the cinema fill us with a wave of sexuality. Panshops sell contraceptives.

The Lake incidents—cases of molestation, snatching etc.—are a manifestation of the transition period we are passing through. The role of the police is vital: a polo-playing Police Commissioner may be

a mighty fine guy at the Calcutta Club but he is not the man to help bring the new order. The upper hierarchy of the police is filled with nepotism, jobbery, corruption whereas the lower ranks are ill-paid and ill-treated. If in England a constable after ten years rises to become an inspector, why can't the same opportunity be given here? Brilliant graduate appointees rot among the filth and dirt of the rural police outposts for years whereas a six-month wizard from Mount Abu becomes the police boss of a district. When the Defence Services give opportunities to jawans and ratings to sit for an examination to become officers, why should not such chances be given to ordinary policemen? The average citizen is more in contact with the constable and the junior police officer. They should be compelled to reorient their thinking. Vague rumours of top police brass hats building palatial houses are never confirmed but the hafta taking havildars are seen openly.

Mr Jyoti Basu—as someone told me, Kayastha's make the best administrators, look at Todarmal, Lalbahadur Shastri and now Bose and after all he is "foreign returned"—will do a great service if he appoints a Police Reform Commission and reforms the bastardised Anglo-Congress tradition.

There must be a special cadre for Calcutta Police. Officers with ten years experience in Maldah or Cooch-behar would hardly do for Calcutta, as each big city has its special problems. Calcutta Police must have recruits from a special college and sectional officers must be maintained to look after the criminal elements of the 30% non-Bengali population. Bombay Police had a Pathan Branch. London is policed by two separate forces, the Metropolitan Police and the City Police. The Metropolitan Police have jurisdiction over an area of 800 square miles and a population of 8,700,000. The total strength of this force is 15,500 men. The city of London, an enclave of one square mile, has a police force of its own of about 700 men. The analogy can be applied to Calcutta.

Berhampore, W. Bengal. ABU GHATAK

PLACE A REGULAR ORDER FOR YOUR

FRONTIER

Subscription Rates

INLAND

One year : Rs 16.50 Six Months : Rs 8.25

Five Years : Rs 75.00 Seven Years : Rs 100.00

Foreign AIR MAIL Rates (One Year)

Europe : Rs 120 or 15 dollars

Asia : Rs 88 or 11 dollars

America : Rs 168 or 21 dollars

By Surface Mail

All countries : Rs 40 or 5 dollars

Long-term subscriptions will
help the new weekly



FRONTIER

61, MOTT LANE, CALCUTTA-13

Please supply the FRONTIER for
Six Months/One year/Five Years/Seven Years

I am sending Rs.....

by cheque/money order*

Name.....

Address.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Signature

* Cheques should be drawn in favour of *Frontier*.



t
s
s
t
t
l
t
y
n
a
l
r
t
r
l.
a
e,

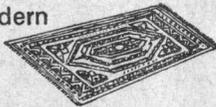
RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT GIVES VERSATILE JUTE BIG EXPORT BOOST

Throughout the wide range of jute's applications certain qualities stand out: **toughness, lightness, resilience, economy.**



That's why jute is used for wrapping and packaging, for providing tough backing for carpets, for reinforcing laminated boards.

But that's only part of the jute story. **RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT,** key words in the modern industrial world, are leading to exciting end uses for the versatile fibre. Jute is now woven as a fine fabric for the glamorous world



of fashion and furnishings. Jute is used for strength in PVC-coated pipes; it adds rigidity in the making of small boats; it is endlessly versatile. The **BIRD-HEILGERS GROUP** is in the forefront in winning new markets for jute—the versatile fibre—both here and abroad.



The Auckland Jute Co. Ltd.
The Dalhousie Jute Co. Ltd.
The Kinnison Jute Mills Co. Ltd.
The Northbrook Jute Co. Ltd.
The Union Jute Co. Ltd.
Bird's Export Division.
Chartered Bank Buildings, Calcutta-1