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UNITY IN ACTION

THE problems of affluent Maharashtra must be different. Of course, despite the multi-storey prosperity, the existence of chawls in Bombay City cannot be ignored, and there can be vicious riots, arson and all that, as the February rampage of the Shiv Sena over the border issue with Mysore showed. For Belgaum and Karwar and the speeding car of the white-capped Desai, numerous South Indian citizens paid a heavy penalty. For a time the riots looked like an uprising even to bleary leftist eyes and quite a number of parties of the leftist variety almost veered round the SS. Wisdom, thanks to their leaders in Parliament, dawned later and there were some awkward gestures of disapproval of the SS: the cause was noble, the crusaders not so good. Later the leader of the Sampoorna Maharashtra Samithi, who is also the leader of the Peasants and Workers Party, declared that it was the SS which had taken up the border issue when others were silent and if it was not resolved, worst disorders would engulf the whole of Maharashtra, which in a way was condoning the SS riots.

The Samithi, not much of a force now, has again decided to start a movement over the border issue. Will the unity in action of the CPI, CPI (M) and the Peasants and Workers Party be able to arouse as much fervour as did the mighty Shiv Sena and recapture the base the Samithi had lost to the Sainiks? Even the Girni Kamgar Union, the centre of revolutionary hopes, is no longer what it was. South Indian leaders in the trade union movement have been replaced by sons of the soil and iron has entered the soul. And a most pertinent question is whether the border issue could or should be a rallying point. Communists in Mysore State do not profess solidarity with their counterparts in Maharashtra. Has affluent Maharashtra no other over-riding problem than the border? Are the leftist parties quite certain that the issue will not be used by the Shiv Sena for other purposes?

The fact is, the Sampoorna Maharashtra Samithi is not prepared to condemn outright the monstrous Shiv Sena for what it did between February 8 and 11 and for many other things also. The CPI (M), of course, has blamed Mr Dange and his party for their reluctance to do so; the CPI is of the opinion that for the sake of unity in action with the Peasants and Workers Party a severe castigation of the SS should be

avoided—the PWP does not want to annoy the large number of people—the ‘masses’—who swear by the SS. A Front Populaire, it seems, is a hunt for popularity.

In backward West Bengal, the United Front has become a microcosm of the unity in diversity that is India. However, to lessen the diversity the two communist parties have discussed whether they can work in closer co-operation. The CPI, egged on by Moscow, thinks that the ideological gulf is not so wide and there could be an all-India co-ordination committee, and the two parties could act as a bloc in Parliament and the State Assemblies. But the Marxists decry the CPI concept of a national democratic front of peasants, workers and a section of the bourgeoisie—represented by “progressive” Congressmen. But one can ask a straight question of the Marxists: Never mind ideology, since the road to Delhi is so important, what in practice will they do if Mrs Indira Gandhi offers an alliance with the left parties at the Centre? Will Mrs Gandhi be accepted as the midwife of a new order and the theory of unity in action for limited objectives be given a big trial? Already there is some feeling that if a former labour leader is elected President, that will hasten the peaceful transition to socialism.

The CPI(M) is still a great stickler against revisionism in the international field. But how? Its attitude towards the Soviet Union, which provides rest and recreation to the tired revolutionaries of the Third World, has undergone a change; no longer do we hear any comment on Soviet-American co-operation. The annoyance with China, on the other hand, is more vocal. It is indeed impressive that despite all the intra-party knifing—in the literal sense—that is going on in the struggle to fill the post-Congress vacuum, despite the big problems of fresh retrenchment, increasing unemployment, land hunger and hunger, the CPI(M) could devote quite some time to the 9th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party and find out, according to

Press reports, that the CPC has deviated from Marxism-Leninism. From Kerala to Ranaghat-Jalpaiguri-Ali-purduar (some of the scenes of intra-

party clashes) to Peking—the range is amazing. But our dull brain perplexes and retards, the air is thick, and we are waiting for something.

A Poet Apparent

Kazi Nazrul Islam burst on the Bengali literary scene with a bang; his whimper is less literary than physical. His seventieth birthday is still a reminder that none of us are getting younger and that it is still possible for a poet to transcend political frontiers. That the Kazi was born a Muslim no doubt endears him to many in East Pakistan; that he wrote in Bengali must be his main attraction to many in West Bengal. Taken together the two factors have made Nazrul something of a unique phenomenon, rather like Thomas Mann and Stefan Zweig in the German literary scene; but it is the fact of Nazrul's poetic genius which makes nonsense of Petrapole and underlies the unity of the republic of letters. Many in East Pakistan has made it equally clear to Islamabad that Tagore is as much East Pakistan's as West Bengal's. He wrote in the same language and echoed to the same birds, trees and rivers.

Nazrul Islam was a stormy petrel all right. There was a difference, though. The inherent plasticity of the Bengali character never left him, as can be seen from his lyrics which are very different in tone from his “revolutionary” poems. In the former he caught the right note of Bengal's twilight, even when the waking after the siesta seemed like waking up in the morning. The mixture of two entirely different ragas was superb. Then he brought into Bengali music something of the flavour of the Ghazal, with the more explicit stresses of the original converted to more sophisticated streams of Bengali feeling. Many of his songs, some made to order, are still exceedingly easy on the ear when well rendered. The blend between Indian, meaning Hindu, classical ragas and melodies imported from Persia, partly because,

one imagines, of Nazrul's association with the Bengali regiment in Mesopotamia, did Indian music no harm at all. It is equally true that Nazrul imported a lot of Arabic and Persian words into his Bengali poetry; and it is unproven that this has done the Bengali language irreparable damage.

Nazrul Islam the poet and composer is certainly susceptible of more than one assessment. The historic phenomenon remains. A few decades ago in Bengal his was undoubtedly the voice of revolution, a trifle strident and loud perhaps but the more effective for that reason. When he said that in his eyes women and men were no different it meant no sexual licence but a salute to the banner of equality. We may never know the source from which Nazrul acquired the attractive abrasiveness of his voice; but it was a sharp contrast to the plasticity introduced by Tagore and others. Nazrul was D'Annunzio only in small proportions; but he sang for no Mussolini. Alas, or fortunately, he stopped singing before a Mussolini was around in West Bengal—or East Pakistan. There has been much unpleasant argument between India and Pakistan in divisible assets. Nazrul seems happily indivisible; and both countries are the richer for that. A sick man of 70 may not know it; but there are not many Indians or Pakistanis who can claim a comparable achievement.

NOTICE

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Business Manager
Frontier

MAY 31, 1969

'Lasting Peace'

Nobody should grudge the new U.S. Secretary of State, William Rogers, the pleasure of a springtime trip to some of his fiefs in Asia. Nor need one be amazed if he says that the trip is in response to "kind invitations" from capitals like New Delhi or that he has come in the pursuit of a "lasting peace" in Asia. Other votaries of peace like the Director of the South-East Asia desk in the Soviet Foreign Office have also been hopping around the bastions of democracy in Asia. Everybody, it seems, is pining for peace in Asia except the Asians themselves—rebellious tribes and peasant guerillas in the jungles.

The kind of peace that would follow an American defeat in Vietnam can only disquieten men like Pak-Chung Hee and Thanom Kittikachorn. They have been busy devising their own kind of peace. Early this year South Koreans proposed the formation of a Pacific-Asian Treaty Organization composed of Asian ground forces financed by the Pentagon and U.S. naval and air force units. The idea is to use PATO forces in Vietnam or in a future Vietnam after the American pull-out. The agreement signed early this month between Bangkok and Taipeh following the visit of General Chiang Ching-kuo, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek's son and Defence Minister of Formosa, to Thailand, is a concrete step in this direction. Other considerations apart, SEATO has become too open, an organ to serve neo-colonialist purposes. As one circumspect SEATO Minister pointed out, it is necessary to "modify its tactics". Asian puppets and their native armies will take the stage with the master receding to the background. The Vietnam war after all has taught that the more

visible the American presence the less winnable is the war against guerillas. It is even better for Asian governments to pretend to help each other (consider the recent Malaysian request to India for arms) against 'subversion' than go directly to Washington. There is, however, no reason to ask the so-called non-aligned nations to shed their postures and join a new pact. In a duopolist world non-alignment, meaning dual alignment, is best suited to fight a people's war as well as to hoodwink the people. As Mr Rogers said in New Delhi, "the world's two largest democracies have many common interests" and New Delhi could very well serve these "interests" without going in for any pact. It is not strange that Bangkok and Manila have of late been making attempts to pass off as neutral. And Jakarta, ever since General Suharto took over, is a confirmed 'non-aligned' nation. The Russians too, as evidenced by their military aid to General Ne Win and Suharto, pledge of assistance to Tunku Abdul Rahman and overtures to Taiwan, are untiring in their search for peace and stability in Asia.

Mr Dinesh Singh, on his part, did not ask Mr Rogers for direct U.S. aid but assistance for economic development through the Asian Development Bank. The implication will be clear if one remembers the unusual encouragement recently given by Washington to the export of private American capital. And as ADB president, Tateshi Watanabe, said the other day in San Francisco, "the Asian Development Bank intends to play a vigorous role in promoting private investment in the developing countries of Asia".

Under the cover of sundry international organisations American capital will spread further, the Asian democrats will have more American and Russian guns to fight their own people and the way will be clear for the lasting peace Mr Rogers has been chasing around.

The Fighting Goes On

When the Israeli Prime Minister, Mrs Golda Meir, says that Israel's new frontiers must not provide any natural advantage to her Arab neighbours, it means in strategic terms that Tel-Aviv has no intention of giving up the conquered territories which extend from the Golan Heights, along the Jordan River, all the way to the Suez Canal. Israel's obduracy has impeded the prospect of a diplomatic settlement with the Arab States. Meanwhile, both sides go on accumulating new scores to settle. The Big Four, now huddling for seven weeks in New York, have made little progress in evolving a compromise formula which they intend to offer to Israel and the Arab States. Although America would be jealously guarding the interests of Israel and Russia is said to represent the Arab States by proxy, both the Israelis and the Arabs are contemptuous of the Big Powers' role. Any peace settlement that does not offer a just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem will certainly be challenged by the commandos, considered by many as the most effective political force in the Arab world.

The Palestine problem is essentially the problem of the Arab majority of Palestine, expelled from their homeland to facilitate the establishment of Israel. Over the years the Palestinian refugees looked to the UN for redressing their distress. But many UN resolutions asking Israel to allow the refugees to return to their country of origin or give adequate compensation were never respected. The frustrated Palestinians have organized themselves in a dynamic liberation movement. Al Fatah is no longer operating clandestinely. It has taken to overt guerilla activities sabotaging Israeli military and strategic installations. It emphasizes that the liberation movement is not directed against the Jewish people, but against the "Zionist-military and fascist regime" which has suppressed over one million Palestinians. There are three main ways of govern-

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ing the Arabs in Israel: (a) summary arrest; (b) blowing up of any home in which a suspect may be living; and (c) quick in-and-out raids by the army and police to crush any anti-Israeli demonstration. But these tactics may not be enough in the near future, as, according to Western Press reports, China is making a major contribution to the Palestinian guerilla movement. She has offered Al Fatah "full and unqualified support" and "volunteers" if needed. Alarmed by this development, the Lebanese Government has appealed for a summit of the Arab Governments which are disturbed by the political challenge from the guerilla movement. On the other hand, disenchanted with the Russians, the Syrian Government has now moved toward Peking.

Mr Nasser is in a sad predicament. While he must maintain a posture of militancy, authorise artillery barrages against Israel and send Egyptian commandos across the Suez Canal to satisfy the sentiment of his people, he is under pressure from Moscow to tread a line of caution and seize every opportunity to settle with Israel. This explains why Russia stopped supplying the wherewithals for an offensive strike after the 1967 war. Mr Nasser is also against a big boost in people's morale as it might engender an "unwise" military action. In case of an Israeli pull-back he is willing to offer the following quid pro quo: (a) a declaration of non-belligerence; (b) recognition of the right of each country to live in peace; (c) the territorial integrity of all countries in the Middle East, including Israel, in recognised and secure borders; (d) freedom of navigation on international waterways, that is, the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba; (e) a just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem. Similar offers were made by King Hussein of Jordan when he visited Washington last month. But thereby the King has further alienated the Palestinians and his authority among the Jordanian Bedouins has declined. Mr Nasser may be facing the same prospect in his country.

Uncertain Currencies

Speculators have been allowed to run their course, but, in the event, neither France nor West Germany has dared to revalue its currency. The care-taker government in France cannot but sit it out till the new President is installed. West Germany too has an election-bound problem. The federal polls are due in September and the major party in the ruling coalition, the Christian Democrats, will not commit the folly of scaling down officially the value of the Deutsche Mark. To revalue one's currency is almost like an exercise in the voluntary surrender of national sovereignty. Even if, as in the case of West Germany, the proposed revaluation is in the upward direction, the national ego is still directly involved. There is a certain built-in advantage in the international market in having an under-valued currency: it makes it so much easier to earn extra incomes from abroad. The danger is of course obvious: easy money flowing in from abroad can be spent on the narrow domestic base of goods and services, including an inflationary spiral. But, up to a point, this can be taken care of with a careful management of the nation's fiscal and monetary affairs. The bridge of inflation can always be crossed once you arrive there, but meanwhile, why abdicate the superior economic position brought about by hard labour over the years on the part of your workers, and frugality on the part of your consumers at large?

For France, the circumstances are somewhat more desperate. Monsieur Pompidou could put down last year's insurgence only by a generous dose of bribing of the working class. The resulting rise in prices has not really been obtained, and the balance of payments has continued to skid. Besides, once outsiders get into the idea that, in the near future, you might be forced to devalue your monetary unit the so-called hot money gets the itch to move out into a safer currency. Thus every rumour of a

possible devaluation makes such a devaluation still more inevitable. Particularly since the dethroning of the franc might be accompanied by a revaluation of the West German mark, the pill would be a bitter one for Frenchmen to swallow. If they, obstinately or otherwise, decide to hold out, it is the poor British who would be the ultimate and worst victim, for speculative money is then likely to keep knocking against sterling. Despite the cataclysms experienced during the last fifteen months, France can still claim a fairly viable economy, with an expanding rate of growth for labour productivity. In contrast, in the United Kingdom, it is not just foreign exchange reserves that are as good as non-existent, and bounty organised by the International Monetary Fund and the Bank for International Settlements keeps the economy floating. The malady is much more severe: a ruling party which has lost the capacity to govern, the trade unions on the warpath, a general deathwish amongst large chunks of the population, whose horizon in any case does not extend beyond the telly and the Wimpy bars.

There is a moral tucked away in all this. The periodic imbalances which manifest themselves in international currency arrangements can to a large extent be pinned down to the discriminatory trading practices that have been followed. Artificial restrictions between countries and blocs have prevented the free forces of international trade from asserting themselves. Till so long as somebody does not take a sledge-hammer and does a thorough demolition job of these barriers and rigidities, the story of currency malaise will be repeated over and over again.

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Search For A President

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ARE there no takers? Mr Jayaprakash Narayan, India's man of destiny and already a jeevandan when he should have been the logical successor to Nehru, is not in the running. Mr Jagjivan Ram, who had a crash campaign for himself, has backed out, leaving a colourless V. V. Giri the sole contender and with an equally colourless Swaran Singh having the outside chance. Even political bookies are puzzled because a weird pattern is emerging amidst talks that smack of palace politics. Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad was angry over the report in a Calcutta daily which had claimed that he had suggested Mr V. V. Giri as the next President when he met the Prime Minister. There is another version current here about the Namboodiripad-Indira Gandhi talks. It is that he just told the Prime Minister that his party would be obliged to oppose any Congressman if set up as the Congress nominee but would support any nominee of the Prime Minister (if he were not a Congressman). This amounts to offering support to Mr Giri's candidature. The two communist parties being closest to the palace, it is almost certain that the Prime Minister would get a name cleared from both informally and try to get the non-communist parties round, as many as possible, through formal talks. Both Mrs Gandhi and Mr Kamaraj are believed to favour even a formal approach to the communists in the first instance but if there is opposition to the move from other Congress leaders, an informal approach (there are so many ever-busy emissaries keeping liaison between the palace and the communist parties) would be made before long.

The behaviour of some of the communist leaders has always been a puzzle. For instance, where was the need for so much secrecy about Mr

Jyoti Basu's dash to New Delhi ostensibly to discuss with the Centre the take-over of Saxby Farmer? Even the Bengali correspondents here could not track him down and his programme here for the day is still a mystery. Why was Mr P. Ramamurti so touchy about Mr Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri's eloquent demand in the Lok Sabha for the abolition of the West Bengal Council? And why was Mr Bhupesh Gupta absent at the Rajya Sabha Business Advisory Committee meeting when it decided the agenda for the last day of the session? True there was very little time left to pass both the important bills—one to ban company donations to political parties and the other to abolish the West Bengal Council. The Swatantra Party would have liked to force the second bill because that would stall the first. The communists ought to have pressed both and demanded extension of the sitting by a day or a late sitting on the last day. When it was not on the agenda paper on the last day, it was clear the communists were not terribly keen on it. So the poor Mr Jatin Chakravarty's visit to Delhi and all his long-distance telephone lobbying did not achieve the purpose and the harried MLCs will have another lease of life.

The West Bengal Government's dripping solicitude for the British and Indian wagon-builders has a justification. As Mr Jyoti Basu told us at the Press Club here, he was interested in the economy of West Bengal. That is credible enough. But the argument that the poor wagon-builders are not getting orders is misleading because information furnished in Parliament disclosed that the big wagon builders who got orders in the recent past did not fulfil them.

The private sector is quick to begin sniping at any proposal for a public sector project. Seamless tubes, for

instance. The Government of India found that those who took out licences never began production and the country is still importing Rs. 1 crore worth of tubes every year. So the plan for a public sector unit with Hungarian collaboration was mooted. A correspondent was quick to ask the Industrial Development Secretary the other day why the proposed plant should not be attached to the Tata steel plant at Jamshedpur. (Tatas control the correspondent's paper). Quick came the reply. The Tatas had had taken out a licence long ago but would not produce the tubes.

Foreign Money

Mr Chavan's statement in Parliament on the role of foreign money in the 1967 elections was rather enigmatic. But it is obvious that every major political party has been receiving such assistance in some form or the other. If Mr Chavan declined to give details, there is a very valid reason for it. The famous China Bank report of 1964-65, for instance, is still an unpublished document. But if published, it is certain to damn not only certain prominent personalities of the present-day CPI(M) but it would go more against certain CPI leaders and some of the Congress Ministers of the Centre of those days.

Mr Chavan's concern over the subversion of our academic and other institutions is understandable. But the Government as well as the CIB inquiry seemed to have missed a vital point. Foreign assistance and inducements have been subverting even Government organisations like All India Radio. We find an AIR official who was the brain behind the crude "India and the Dragon" hysterics being described by an academic journal specialising on China as the chief of All India Radio's "Counter-propaganda Division" and at the moment a fellow at one of the American universities. One did not know that a Counter-Propaganda Division existed in All India Radio. But it is common knowledge that the material for the anti-China campaign came from foreign sources because AIR boys were not in a position to turn

out their own copy. The CIB ought to have known this if it is really keeping track of things in the country.

No less undesirable is the subversion of other institutions by our own Government through clandestine patronage. Last week, the Information Ministry called in an editor about to retire, another editor who has switched from a daily to a fortnightly and a semi-amateur, semi-professional former journalist now heading a newspaper proprietor's outfit to discuss plans for a weekly journal aiming at national integration. If the Government has the honesty to launch a journal and own it as its own, there could be nothing objectionable in it. But the plan is to get some known name in Indian journalism to launch it and the Government would underwrite it. The decision on principle has been taken and only the mechanics need to be worked out.

National Integration is big business in New Delhi, with the Prime Minister and the Home Minister as the patron saints. But there has been a sharp rise in the curve of communal violence after the Government began talking about national integration and went about resurrecting the Integration Council. "Let us integrate" is the slogan of political charlatans and slick small-time operators, all with the Government's patronage. Many sputniks have been launched into the orbit and one only hopes the Bengal journal launched recently in New Delhi for the edification of the capital's Bengali population is not in any of these dubious orbits.

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Racing To The Elysee

BIBEK RAY

THE race to the Elysée Palace, the residence of the French President, has begun in all earnest. To all appearance this is not a phoney affair as it is in most Anglo-Saxon countries. A wide spectrum of parties has entered the ring with a gusto. At one end stands the very youthful 26-year-old Alain Krivine, put forward by the newly formed Trotskyite League of Communists. Krivine's role in the turbulent events of May-June last year was by all accounts glorious, hardly less brilliant than that of the all-too-familiar Daniel Cohn-Bendit. Yet there is a huge gap between the barricade and the ballot box; not even a Krivine can perform this great leap backward. It is doubtful whether many of the student revolutionaries will care to line up behind their last year's hero; that the outsiders will choose to condemn him to the limbo is all but natural.

Michel Rocard of the Parti Socialiste Unifié is only marginally more serious as a contender. Like his party he would like to capitalize on last year's revolt; at that time the party had merely joined the bandwagon, without having provided the movement any initial thrust. Nevertheless, its role was on the whole clean, its student cadres had also played it clean and the party received a fair number of bricks from the CP for its alleged opportunism and adventurism. The back-handed compliment from the communists, however, helped them to earn some more support from among the youth. Yet all this would not bring Rocard more than a mere 5% of the votes.

The most reluctant contestant of all is undoubtedly Jacques Duclos, the retired communist leader and at one time the closest comrade-in-arms of the quasi-legendary Maurice Thorez. Despite an impeccably Stalinist past, Duclos like most of his fellow comrades has taken to destalinization. Fervently attached to the Popular Front formula, the septuagenarian

leader was foisted upon the electorate by the CP as an angry retort to the socialist candidate. The communist dream lies in ruins at this hour. Despite their doctrinaire refusal to capture power last May, despite their vehement critique of Russian occupation of Czechoslovakia, the alliance between the CP and the Left Federation comprising the socialists and the radicals broke up last December; the Federationwallahs, particularly the socialists, were apparently still dissatisfied with the CP's stand over Czechoslovakia. But this was no more than an excuse. The truth is that the French capitalists had become panicky due to the persistent weakness of the French franc; they are specially apprehensive of West Germany's economic expansion. The old Gaullist policy of proud independence vis-a-vis the Anglo-Saxons had reached its dead end; the meeting between President Nixon and de Gaulle early this year was one of the warmest between the heads of these two States in the recent past. Without sustained help from Washington and London the French franc could not maintain its par value; if the franc were to be devalued, de Gaulle's pride would be gone for ever. Finally, French industry has in fact been increasingly penetrated, covertly or overtly, by American capital notwithstanding the grandiose Gaullist talk to the contrary. Thus the economic and political premises of Gaullism have all but collapsed in the last one year. The May revolt showed that de Gaulle stood at the head of one part of the nation only. The Russian action in Czechoslovakia brutally brought to the fore the underlying power equation in Europe that de Gaulle was trying hard to rewrite. Economically, French capitalism could not keep floating all on its own; it had to borrow foreign oars sooner or later. Like capitalists everywhere, the French *patron* class was all for national independence so long as it

did not hurt its interests; when the purse is at stake independence is a luxury that could be easily dispensed with.

It is this new spirit of the French ruling class that explains why Gaston Defferre, the famous Mayor of Marseilles, has at last managed to get into the Presidential race. In the true Kennedy style Defferre has tried to follow his American model closely. An assiduous Press campaign was mounted over six months in 1963 to project the image of a progressive, forward-looking, super-efficient Mr X, the candidate of the 'Left' for the 1965 election. This Mr X turned out to be no other than Mr Defferre. In 1964 he nearly got himself nominated by his party, the SFIO. But with the creation of the Left Federation and its alliance with the CP, he had to step down in favour of François Mitterand. Although paying lip-service to the alliance he never missed an opportunity all these years to air his own views on the affairs of the world in general and of France in particular. Of course, there is nothing new about his politics: he is perhaps the most compleat Harold Wilson of France. He has a lot of sympathy for the poor and the down-trodden, is scandalized at the housing shortages, but above all else he is tired of 'socialist phraseology'; in the modern era, communism is outdated, America is the sole guarantee of the Free World, and France's prosperity lies in the Atlantic Alliance and the Common Market enlarged to accommodate Great Britain and her EFTA partners. French capitalists by and large think the same way and were therefore determined to prevent the re-emergence of the 1965 alliance where the communists would have some say and which could possibly win this time. Defferre's candidature finally destroyed all prospects of such an alliance.

Although Defferre thinks that he is the most important person in the field, he is unlikely to come up among the top three. Apart from about two-thirds of his own party and the person of Pierre Mendès-France, his Premier-designate, he is getting no

support from the Left. He is expected to trail way behind Duclos and has already asked his followers to back Alain Poher, the Centrist interim President rather than Pompidou in the second ballot. Poher is currently the favourite. He has only two things to his credit. He had voted 'No' in the last referendum and has said practically nothing about his future policies that could offend any of the anti-Gaullist parties, including the CP. It is not altogether impossible that the CP will take advantage of this golden silence and ask its supporters at the second ballot to come to the aid of Poher; this could be justified by the need to forge the unity of all republican and democratic forces against the Gaullist reaction personified by Pompidou.

Poher's Party

If Mr Poher has managed to keep quiet, the record of his party—originally, the MRP which is now fused in a so-called Centrist but actually Rightist grouping—is much too eloquent. The party resembles the Christian Democrats of West Germany and Italy in all matters, domestic as well as foreign. Even in the heyday of the united front against de Gaulle in 1965, it steered clear of the Left Alliance and put up an independent candidate who preferred de Gaulle to the communist-backed Mitterand. Earlier still in the days of the Fourth Republic it was a constant factor in all the Cabinet coalitions that helped to put French capitalism back on its dithering legs, sold the country to the Americans, waged colonial wars in Indo-China and Algeria, and finally ushered in de Gaulle after the virtual collapse of the system. There is not the slightest indication that a change of heart or of mind has taken place on their side. Recently their main grouse against de Gaulle had been that the latter was too much of a social reformer and was lacking in fidelity to the U.S.A. Hence the pattern of policies that can emerge from Mr Poher's regime is much too clear to delude anyone but the most intransigent daydreamer.

By contrast, the other main contender, Pompidou, has been more explicit. The mantle of de Gaulle, he considers, fits him best. In the true Gaullist tradition he launched himself, the UDR merely endorsed it later; many 'left-wing' Gaullists outside the UDR have since paid their homage to the ex-Premier. Pompidou has pronounced that a change in government policy is necessary; as for the direction of change he is as apocryphal and ambiguous as his erstwhile master. Thus France, according to him, must help build an independent Europe, but she must also remain loyal to the existing alliances, i.e. NATO, Common Market, etc. Our belief is that the Gaullist concept of national independence is in contradiction with the present exigencies of capitalist development. Hence Pompidou, whatever be his own private desire, would be impelled to move closer and closer to the American position. On the domestic front he would probably push through some limited reforms that might eventually anger the Left and frighten the Right. In the meanwhile, he enjoys a high reputation among the conservatives for his skilful handling of last year's revolt.

Despite the multiplicity of candidates, the effective choice before the French nation boils down to two only: Poher and Pompidou. In real terms, therefore, the alternatives are anything but distinct. France is inescapably sliding back into the cobweb of the Fourth Republic from which only one victor is likely to emerge, namely, Uncle Sam. Should we not cry: What a Shame?

For those who want a prediction: the chances are 60-40 for Pompidou as against Poher in the final ballot to be held on 15 June if no one wins an absolute majority on 1 June. Latest public opinion polls, however, indicate a victory for Poher. My guess is based on the assumption that the CP may not finally back Poher; even if it does, the communist voters may not carry out the party directive. In any case, I am not encouraging anyone to indulge in the bourgeois vice of betting on the results.

Wanted A Health Programme

GOURI PADA DUTT

MANAGEMENT of people's health in West Bengal involves many problems: making health facilities available to the vast rural population, implementing these programmes by inspiring participation of the masses, changing from the big-hospital based medicine to preventive and public health medicine, and, more than anything, introducing concrete measures for a basic overhaul of the character of the service and the concepts of those who serve.

During the British Raj, the legacy of which continued during 20 years of Congress rule, the Government's health policy, like all its policies, was meant for those who knew Western science and education—the elite and the rich. The rest of the population faced an invisible fence which they could not pass. This explains why all health policies were divorced from the crying needs of a dying population, why they were bureaucratised to the hilt and person-oriented. Such a health service came to be dictated by powerful moneybags of the medical profession, for their coterie interests.

In spite of the operation of these factors in the Secretariat buildings, new forces came into operation that demanded a change; the ever increasing class of young, technically competent, not-yet-corrupt medical men made their impact on the health policy. Despite the anti-people attitude of the Congress Government an effort was made in 1958 to carry out an ambitious plan to convert the health service structure into a large organisation. The plan recognised some basic facts of peoples' health requirements and within the limits of a bureaucratic set-up, some of these were partially met. The vested interests of the medical moneybags were checked considerably by taking in a large number of talented young doctors on a non-practising basis, without allowing them a chance to develop a 'taste of blood'. The popular character of the health policy became evident soon

and its benefits reached corners of the country which were so long out of bounds.

But the process was halted halfway through. The then Government began to lose interest in it, because its friends complained that the old glamour and charm of medical practice was vanishing under the impact of the new policy. Historically too, such a health policy appeared lop-sided and incongruous in a social and governmental system which hated the poor, was corrupt to the core and hostile to any change. Within five years of its initiation, it degenerated into just another Government department with the usual accompaniment of stagnation, bureaucracy, nepotism and corruption.

Present Tasks

As it stands today, the health service is doctor-oriented. It is a service which has sealed off the entry of bright men but pretends to create its own. The young honest entrants of 1958 have been seasoned in a cynical and dehumanising atmosphere all these years. The honest and the dedicated feel that their silent hard work is not appreciated, and that their unscrupulous counterparts who adopt flattery and chickenary are rewarded handsomely by the bureaucracy. There is also a strong feeling that this unscrupulous group can take on any colour like a chameleon, depending on the complexion of the Government although the colour they actually have is known best to people who work with them.

And where are the funds to come from which can sustain a new public health policy?

The question of acquiring huge funds from extraneous sources for nationbuilding work (including health, education, agriculture, industry, housing, irrigation etc. is mere baby-talk. Even if West Bengal could retain all the wealth it now parts with, funds will still be inadequate. The

history of development of contemporary socialist economies proves that for countries bent on rapid transformation, money and capital can be raised by releasing the vast human labour potential and by organising them to work under patriotic inspiration. This is an inescapable duty of all political parties and any Government that fails to mobilise the masses will meet with doom. They will have to be involved in the implementation of the health programmes, they have to be taken into confidence whether it is the mosquito eradication programme, family planning, construction of a health centre or the roads leading to it. This participation will serve as a check on the quacks and drug addiction and prevent the spread of spurious drugs, as well as ensure vigilance and precaution against communicable diseases and disciplined conduct in the hospitals.

The main emphasis in future development has to be on public health and preventive medicine, followed by expansion of the curative side in the rural areas. Public health and preventive medicine should involve war against communicable diseases, and control of other endemic and epidemic diseases among various sections of the population by such means as mass miniature radiography etc. for the early detection of diseases. A string of public health laboratories has to be opened throughout the State and the status of the laboratories and the personnel made higher than that of teaching and research institutions. The best brains should be inducted.

The centre of activity has to be taken out of the cities. To start with, all honest medical men along with sympathisers and members of political parties among doctors should be called upon to lead and organise a movement for service in the rural areas. The Government has to make it obligatory that all future promotions will depend on an officer's length of service in a rural area. This will be an acid test of the capability and earnestness of the United Front Ministry in carrying out the task of guaranteeing the health of the masses.

The artificial set-up of the West Bengal Health Service can be changed considerably and the flocking together of the doctors in different city hospitals discouraged if the Government prefers rural doctors to those exuding knowledge from inside air-conditioned cubicles. The process may be further helped if stay in teaching and research institutions and big hospitals is made non-lucrative by having only a strictly non-practising cadre, so that those who decide to stay do so for strictly academic reasons. The polyclinics should be separated from the existing hospital administrations and run by full-time salaried officers for profit by the Government. The money should be utilised for other purposes and not distributed as spoils among the avaricious. Furthermore, the academic bona fides of these doctors should be checked, their curriculum vitae should be scrutinised by outside scientists. The Government should take particular note of doctors who, being in a position to teach and do research work, did not give a worthy account of themselves, and no hat, however highly placed, should be spared.

Teachers and Healers

This will also sort out the question of having separate cadres of 'teachers' and 'healers'. A person who has proved his worth in rural work should be given an opportunity, if he desires, to work in an academic atmosphere. As a working hypothesis it is suggested that a merit list of personnel employed in academic institutions should be periodically prepared by outside experts. The top half should be retained in academic institutions and the less worthy half replaced by people who have served in the countryside. These will help to locate those who have the will, merit and dedication to live an academic life from those who wish to crowd these places by resorting to unfair means and yesmanship. Different medical institutions should be graded, and the academician offered a position according to his rank. This will lead to

better teaching and research and do away with the present 'permanent settlement'. If after elimination of the non-academic type, there is a dearth of suitable personnel, academicians from outside the services should be admitted on an all-India basis. The most important thing is to make academic institutions unusable and unprofitable for self-seekers and money-makers.

It is certain that these measures will be opposed by the interested. In that case, the Government should open every academic post to competition by advertisement through the Public Service Commission.

Trying to do all these will lead to clashes with the privileged vested interests but there is no alternative, for if the Government does not overcome these elements the evil will grow.

Planning For Urban Growth

M. ISHAQUE

FOR analytical purposes it is necessary to distinguish between two categories of urbanization. The net addition to urban population is not the same as the total volume of urban migration. A substantial part of urbanization is a manifestation of the fairly simple phenomenon that small communities blossom into big ones, a small village grows into a big village and further on into a small township, a number of communities next to one another join up over time, and so on. Without going into the particular elements that bring about these changes, we can still say that in each of these cases there is no migration involved and urbanization is the result of mainly an autonomous growth process.

Contrasted to this, there is the problem of a big city growing still bigger through a new transfer of people from the countryside, or a relatively small town expanding through an influx from neighbouring areas. This too is happening all the time, and in so far as this process is accentuated we get increasingly involved in the complex problems of transfer costs, such as problems of transport, sanitary and housing facilities, the problem of consumer supply, and all that.

It is desirable that we try to keep separate these two facets of the problem of urbanization—one of which involves migration, and the other which does not. The per capita social costs will be very different for the two types of urbanization.

There is no question that a growing

volume of urbanization is inevitable with economic growth. Prognoses and quantitative forecasts are, of course, somewhat hazardous in this area, and more so in the case of India where basic data are shaky and where at this stage it is difficult to envisage the rate and pattern of economic growth in the next few decades. Nonetheless, whatever preliminary figures are available are frightening. One has only to glance at some of the more recent demographic projections to realize the extent of the problem which India will soon have to face as the Five-Year Plans succeed one another.

Of course, for urbanization not involving migration, many of the elements of transfer costs will be absent. By and large, there will be no problem of transferring population from the countryside to the cities, although the problem of transferring food and raw materials will possibly still be there. It is conceivable that many centres which formerly used to raise agricultural crops would stop doing so and go over to manufactures and service industries. Even when we grant this, the problem of food supply is likely to be less here than in the case of migration-based urbanization. Moreover, there will be a lesser element of burden in the case of social overheads. Since these new urban areas will evolve slowly and will not immediately assume a congested look, some of the more complex problems present in the big cities will be absent here. For one thing, tension will be

less; the traffic problem will still be some years away. Not only that; whatever additional social investments are called for, the per capita cost on account of them will be relatively low, since, at this stage, marginal improvements can do a lot. It is also possible that these outlays would be recovered in the short period through increase in efficiency.

The problems are much more serious for urbanization involving migration. The transfer costs will assume immense proportions. This will be so not only because of the need to transfer food and materials. In big cities the enlargement of basic public facilities is a much more complicated affair. One has to think in terms of indivisible investments every time the question of an extension in social facilities comes up. The degree of this indivisibility goes up as the size of the city goes up. This means that the per capita fixed cost of investment will be very high, although, in the long run, the per capita fixed and variable costs considered together may be low. That is to say, such investments will not be paying off in the short run. This, therefore, raises a big question in regard to allocation of scarce economic resources. Given India's scarcity of capital, can she afford to lock up money in such forms of relatively less important investments as creation of recreational facilities in Calcutta or Delhi or underground traffic tunnels in Bombay, so long as there are some other ways out?

Pull-Factor

But are there any ways out? It is here that the factor of economic planning comes in. There must be some advantages flowing out of detailed chalking out of the development pattern over a perspective of 25 or 30 years even in the area of urban planning. Urbanization takes place because economic growth calls for an urban-based working force. We need workers for factories and ancillary service industries, for government offices and all that. This is thus the pull-factor of urbanization. Cannot economic programming do something to soften the impact of this pull-factor

for the next two or three decades? A couple of elements, which might indicate that the problem need not assume a gigantic proportion if we try to influence it in advance toward some specific directions, are suggested.

It may sound paradoxical, but the fact that there exists in the current period a substantial volume of urban unemployment is in one sense a positively hopeful factor. Data that are available are scattered and not very reliable, but it would seem that anywhere between 10 and 20 per cent of Indian's present urban population is unemployed. This is the excess capacity the country is carrying in the urban areas and should be fully utilised before we think in terms of injecting more workers from the countryside. A large number of intricate problems will of course have to be tackled before we finally succeed in fully absorbing the backlog of urban unemployed. There is, for one thing, the question of detailed matching between the demand for and supply of working force in each urban occupation. This calls for special types of educational programmes and for a considerable realignment of skills. But the marginal investment that such a re-education programme would involve ought not to be grudged, since it is a big economic waste not to make use of the pool of workers already available in the towns and cities, quite apart from the fact that this is one fairly easy way of reducing the pressure of urbanization.

A second way in which we can plan to regulate the flow of urbanization and at the same time meet the demand for additional workers likely to follow from the acceleration of the economic development programmes is to widen the base of the existing urban working population and to activate the potential labour force in the urban areas. The biggest element in this potential labour force is represented by urban women. Women must be encouraged to take up professions and jobs to an increasing extent in the next couple of decades. In this connection, it is no use to talk of traditional values. Because of impelling economic reasons, in all the big cities in India more and

more women are coming out to take up jobs. Instead of allowing this process to take a haphazard form, it is infinitely better that we try to plan it ahead. It is not being suggested that women should necessarily join the factories as manual labourers, but they can certainly take up many of the service jobs in, for example, government offices, banking, transport, trade etc., thus releasing more and more men for the more types of onerous work. There are three separate advantages that one can see from thus deploying women: (a) Since this will help regulate the flow of urbanization, we will be in a position to economize on additional social investments in the urban areas; (b) at the same time, we will cut down to a considerable extent the cost of transferring food to the towns and cities, and, finally, (c) the entry of women into employment will substantially raise urban family incomes; as a result, it is possible that there will be more funds available for ushering in urban improvements.

What, however, about the push factors of urbanization? In the case of India, this perhaps constitutes much the bigger problem, and people are not so much pulled by the positive attractions of towns and cities as pushed out from the villages because of the lack of employment opportunities. The trek of refugees across the border has been an additional factor. This is thus another sense in which the problem of urbanization is linked up intimately with the entire problem of economic growth and the economic evolution of the countryside. Punitive measures, such as regulating the flow of travel to urban areas, are unlikely to succeed beyond a point. It is always difficult to organize such measures. Also, in a democratic set-up, such solutions are not desirable. What is needed is a series of positive steps which may induce the villagers to stay on in the villages—or, at the least, to postpone their migration to the towns and cities by a certain number of years.

Agricultural Output

Much of what can be suggested here will be parallel to the broader

Calcutta Diary

CHARAN GUPTA

suggestions made for the economic improvement of the villages. The first problem is, of course, a planned effort for raising agricultural productivity. By now, however, this is merely a cliché, and it is possible to foresee situations where a significant increase in agricultural productivity, instead of discouraging, might actually further aggravate the flow of population from the villages to the towns. This might happen if, along with the increase in agricultural productivity, the pattern of income distribution in the countryside gets more and more uneven. Whatever rudimentary data are available indicate that roughly half of India's rural output goes to the top 10% of the agricultural population. At the other end, almost a quarter of the cultivating class are without any land. If increase in agricultural production is not accompanied by a reduction in income inequalities, there will be no objective ground for arguing that improvement in productivity by itself would stop the outward flow of rural labour. This consideration would suggest that even for implementing a regulated scheme of urbanization, it is essential to push through a programme of land reforms as rapidly as possible.

Part of the reason why rural labour is pulled towards the towns and cities is the abominable housing and sanitary conditions in the villages and the illusion that these things are infinitely better in the urban areas. To hold the people to the countryside, it is therefore necessary that a certain quantity of money is set apart year by year to foster health, educational and recreational facilities in the villages. One would here like to go beyond the community development and national extension services, and would plead for direct government intervention for a phased scheme of improvement. If such a programme could be put into operation in a certain area, in the end we might even discover that the total burden on the government's budgetary sources was only a fraction of what would have been the case if labour from this area had decided to migrate to the towns making it necessary to make additional investments in urban

facilities. This is merely a reflection of the very simple notion that the horizon of expectations is much lower in villages than in towns.

Finally, of course, we must support the policy to develop a chain of small industries in the countryside to provide subsidiary and additional employment to the unemployed and underemployed people in the villages. True, this again is a cliché, more easily said than done. A programme of fostering small industries through government intervention is a most difficult undertaking, and success cannot be assured beforehand. It is however possible that the government might adopt a policy of subsidies and other forms of indirect encouragement to induce private entrepreneurs to organize industries of this nature in the countryside. In certain circumstances, the government may think in terms of special tax holidays and also special transport concessions for the despatch of both raw materials to and finished goods from such industries.

The importance of careful planning of food production in the country aligned with the pattern of evolution of urban growth is crucial. Irrespective of whether the major element in urban growth over the next two or three decades is characterized by migration, there can be little doubt that there will be a tremendous increase in the problem of transferring food for meeting the consumption needs of the fast growing urban population. For at least another generation to come, the transport capacity in India will be strained to the limit. It thus becomes necessary to ensure that the geographical distance between the source of food production and its final destination is never very wide. This implies that food production must be sufficiently dispersed all over the country so that no urban area is more than a few hundred miles away from its granary. Once this proposition is accepted, it will also then be seen that proposals to concentrate efforts for increasing food production in a few limited regions in the country are fraught with great danger.

I am afraid I am providing more grist to the ego-mill of the United Front. But it continues to march on, or at least such is the conclusion one is forced to reach after looking at the returns of the Corporation election and the by-election at Midnapore. There was of course a marked falling off in the actual votes cast in the election for the Corporation compared to the voting in the mid-term poll: while nearly 11 lakh voters stirred themselves in February to vote in the 23 Assembly constituencies, this month barely more than 7 lakh people bothered to vote in the Corporation election. The difference stands out even when allowance is made for the fact that in five wards, there was no contest and therefore no occasion for voting; after all, these five wards will, in terms of electoral size, at most be equal to one Assembly constituency. But, while the United Front vote has gone down by about 28 per cent—from 576,989 to 415,003—the Congress vote has more than halved within a bare three months. The march of times is reflected in another statistic too: in the Fourth General election, the different parties and groups which now constitute the Front had obtained 47.5 per cent of the total votes cast in Calcutta; in the mid-term, the proportion of votes cast in favour of the United Front went up to 52.9 per cent; in the Corporation election, it has further gone up to 57.9 per cent. In contrast, as Table 1 shows, the Congress share of the poll has slid down from 44.2 per cent in 1967 to 43.8 per cent in the mid-term election, and now to an ominous 31.9 per cent in the Corporation election.

The story is no different in Midnapore. In the Fourth General Election, the Bangla Congress candidate had secured 56.6 per cent of the total votes cast in the Midnapore parliamentary constituency; the combined votes in favour of the constituents

of the present United Front in the seven Assembly constituencies covered by the parliamentary seat added up to a somewhat small percentage, namely 52.4. In the mid-term poll, in these seven constituencies, the performance of the Front was a shade worse: the Front candidates together could get only 51.2 per cent of the votes cast in Midnapore, Kharagpur, Kharagpur Local, Dantan, Pingla, Narayangarh and Patashpur Assembly constituencies. There has however been a dramatic increase in this percentage in the parliamentary by-election: Mr Krishna Menon has been able to garner as much as 67.9 per cent of the total valid votes cast. What is perhaps even more remarkable, the actual number of votes obtained by Mr Menon is some 6,000 more than what the seven UF candidates had chalked up in the mid-term poll.

Once more in glaring contrast, Table II indicates that the Congress vote has more than halved, and the party's share of the aggregate votes cast has slumped from 47.9 per cent in the mid-term polls to a paltry 29.4 per cent. How the mighty has fallen; one can only numble, ah, well.

* * *

And the tale of the Congress debacle is unlikely to end quite here. Irrespective of what might be happening in the other States, it is my hunch that the Congress base will keep on shrinking and will finally get stabilised at around 20 to 25 per cent of the electorate. This is not to contest the proposition that anything might happen if, at the national level, the party breaks up. For the disintegration of the party would mean several images instead of

one, several pairs of bullocks instead of one, and a cessation of the flow of ready cash which can keep an organisation at a certain level of vitality even when the impulse for living is non-existent.

Which means that, despite the seasonal dissonances and occasional intra-mural knifing and practising of archery, the United Front will, conforming to the cliché, grow from strength to strength for the next few years. That alphabet party, CPI(ML), will prove an irritant, but not to any extreme extent. The situation will be close to a football match where there are in the field only the eleven from one side, and the opposing team missing: you keep on scoring goals, and beyond a point nobody bothers about the total tally.

The unfolding of such a circumstance is more to be worried over than gloated over. For, if the developments over the past three months

people from all strata have built up for the Front: engineers, doctors, economists, sociologists, lawyers, men of letters, accountants, and many more, will gladly give of their time and knowledge to help out the Front Government in sorting out problems and issues directly relevant to their respective fields. I remain ensconced in my cynicism that patch-work solutions will be neither here nor there; without a total re-ordering of the social structure, very little can be done for West Bengal, the type of *ex-cathedra* solutions which B. C. Roy, for example, had in mind is already obsolete in today's context. The United Front as a whole does not think so, even the CPI(M) holds the view that, up to a point, temporary economic palliatives can help in the task of cadre-building. But if that is the way they want the cookie to crumble and the Front is anxious to make a good job of running the administra-

TABLE I
Voting Pattern in Calcutta

	1967	Mid-term Poll	Corporation Election
United Front ..	510,919* (47.5)	576,989 (52.9)	415,003 (57.9)
Congress ..	475,731 (44.2)	476,931 (43.8)	229,025 (31.9)
Total ..	1,075,811	1,090,213	717,174

Figures in bracket indicate percentage of total valid votes polled.

*Votes polled by constituents subsequently forming the United Front.

are a proper indicator, there is a real danger that such a tranquil situation will render the leadership utterly impervious to honest suggestions and friendly criticism from outside. The philosophy of daddy-knows-best has an infectious growth. What particularly amazes me is the utter lack of intellectual curiosity which the Front leaders are demonstrating. There is no question of the immense reservoir of goodwill which

tion for the next five years, certain things have to be done beyond the ritual repetition of the thirty-two points. These by-now-famous points by themselves mean little; they are a jumble of contradictions, and often more an expression of heroics than of a systematised logic. The way the Front Government has proceeded till now is at best haphazard: pick out those of the catchier items which could be implemented without tears,

TABLE II

Voting Pattern in Midnapore

	1967 Assembly Election	1967 Parliamentary Election	Mid-term Poll	By-election
United Front	166,704* (52.4)	185,460 (56.6)	181,669 (51.2)	187,580 (67.9)
Congress	144,575 (44.6)	142,124 (43.4)	170,285 (47.9)	81,083 (29.4)
Total	318,444	327,584	355,006	276,039

Figures in bracket indicate percentage of total valid votes polled.

*Votes polled by constituents subsequently forming the United Front.

slur over for the present those other ones which sound difficult, and let future take the hindmost. And let nobody, however well-meaning, dare to do any backseat driving for the Front. There is of course a certain method in the manner in which the different party leaders, installed as Ministers in the various departments, are going about: their strategy is to placate the cadres by doling out marginal benefits, such as salary and wage increases for Government employees, while sticking unswervingly to the advice of the civil servants whenever the terrain appears somewhat more difficult. Instead of 'revolutionary' Ministers radicalising the bureaucracy, what is happening is exactly the other way round. Will the United Front Ministers care to tell us what they propose to do regarding the promise for the nationalisation of the rice mills, or for the enforcement of a stricter producer levy on the bigger landlords, or for the supply of cheaper wheat, or for that matter, for a tax on urban property? Certainly not all these things can be done overnight, and together. But till now there has been no inkling that any parliamentary steps have been taken toward the implementation of the proposals or any spadework set in motion. What indicators have been thrown out suggest that the movement is in the reverse direction, toward a quiet burial of the more radical of the Front's proposals, perhaps because the civil servants have since warned the Ministers on the imprudence of trying to carry them out.

No hard decisions will be taken,

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because the civil servants are reluctant. The most common expression in the vocabulary of the bureaucrats is "This cannot be done". To try to do something new is to venture into the unknown, but this is against the grain of the bureaucrats. Even where their own class interests are not directly involved, they will always be against innovation and for caution: why - disturb - the-tranquil-waters - when - everything - is-going-so-fine is the dominant attitude. To this must have been added the other admonition, touching a chord in the heart of many a United Front Minister, why bite more than you can chew? Why not go slow, consolidate the gains of the mid-term poll, stick it out for five years, rather than be overtly aggressive and rush headlong into commitments which you cannot subsequently fulfil? Nothing else will explain the curious meanderings over the proposal for taking over Saxby Farmer. Mr Jyoti Basu is feeling diffident because his bureaucrat advisers are feeling diffident otherwise there can be no earthly reason why, once orders on a regular basis are promised by the Railways and the firm's liabilities are scaled down by its creditors, the State Government should still hesitate to take charge of the concern. There may be outsiders—friendly outsiders, sympathetic outsiders—who could have tried to cure the State Government of their fear complex, but daddy and his bureaucrats and police chiefs know best, and would-be visitors are advised to stay out.

To all this has been added chicanery, and of the most degrading sort. The episode over the Legislative Council and the finding of berth for the non-member Ministers is a revelation of crudity at its nakedest. All moral scruples have been thrown to the winds. But let me watch out, who am I to say such uncharitable things about the United Front? Has not it captured 68 per cent of the votes in the Midnapore by-election and 57 per cent in the Corporation election? It has, and, this, unfortunately, has gone to its head.

The Press

Again To The Fore

COMMENTATOR

AFTER Kerala, West Bengal. It would appear that nothing worth reporting is happening anywhere else in the country. The monotony is broken only when nature intervenes as in Andhra Pradesh; but the digressions are grudging, and the newspapers are losing no time in returning to their favourite topic. When the Prime Minister goes to Bombay, it is not the Maharashtra-Mysore boundary dispute that gets highlighted, though the indefatigable Mr Pataskar manages to hand to the Prime Minister a memorandum on how the problem can be solved. Women demonstrators of the Shiv Sena and the Jana Sangh walk away with the cake for they were protesting against the alleged molestation of women at Lake stadium in south Calcutta last month. Three separate deputations of women's organisations in Bombay later wait on the Prime Minister on the same subject, and she assures them that impartiality of the current inquiry into the allegations will be ensured. Probably a fit case for contempt proceedings against those who doubt that the inquiry will not be impartial and also those who promise to see to it that the inquiry is impartial. But such niceties are dispensed with at the moment. The UF leaders are having a fair share of this publicity. The most fortunate among them is Mr Jyoti Basu whose impromptu observations on every subject on earth have suddenly become good copy. In Calcutta papers Mr Basu is certainly getting wider publicity than the Prime Minister herself; perhaps this is true of some outside papers also. The papers are publishing prominently not merely what he says and does but also what he says he does not say or do. Even Mr Krishna Menon has started shining in the reflected importance of the West Bengal UF. Newspapers have salvaged him from oblivion and devoted considerable space to a news agency interview with him. Journalists from all over the

country and outside are descending daily on Calcutta to see for themselves the predicament of the people of West Bengal under the new regime. They have tall orders: they want to see Naxalites in action, tribal wars among UF parties, or gheraos in progress. What they see is not known, or whom they interview. But they seldom fail to prove on return that the visits have been quite fruitful.

The Hindustan Times has started a series on "West Bengal Prospect" by its editor, Ajit Bhattacharjea. He has spotted a two-dimensional conflict in West Bengal—one between the CPM and the smaller constituent units of the UF which are struggling to survive within the Front knowing they face extinction if they leave it and the other between the ministerial and organisational factions of the UF parties, especially the CPM. At the lowest level, gnawing away at the foundations, are the Naxalite Communists, waiting to capitalise on the chaos they hope will follow if the entire shaky structure collapses. It is this many-layered struggle for power and survival, rather than any specific aspect of official policy, that is creating uncertainty and misgiving in the State. The economy is beginning to suffer; the post-recessionary upturn has sagged, increasing the pressure on employment and living standards. The prospect is further dimmed by a political vacuum outside the Front and increased suspicion of the Centre which inhibits New Delhi's ability to influence or intervene. Conflicts within the Front have tended to polarise into CPM *versus* the rest, especially those minor parties whose survival depends upon the control they have traditionally exercised on certain labour unions and organisations. While contributions to CPM party coffers have swelled, widespread awareness that control over the Home department means that it has access to police information has inhibited traditional supporters of rival parties from continuing their assistance. The minor parties fear that once their pockets of influence have been eroded, the CPM will manoeuvre an early election to

improve its position in the Assembly at their cost. The conflict has sharpened into armed clashes between rival workers and a rash of stray assaults on party functionaries.

Tension between ministerial and party factions, Bhattacharjea says, is most evident in the CPM which, as the dominant party in the Government, is most exposed to the conflict between administrative need and party purpose. Its commitment to ideological purity—the justification of its separation from the CPI—is increasing the strain. The conflict is also heightened by the personalities involved. The senior CPM representative in the Cabinet, Deputy Chief Minister Jyoti Basu, is an able, intelligent, experienced communist who virtually heads the Government. (The Bangla Congress Chief Minister is a respected, well-meaning but tired old man.) Mr Basu has successfully promoted the impression that he is genuinely interested in utilising the administration to achieve evenly-distributed economic progress in spite of what he regards as the limitations imposed by the Constitution and the Union Government. The ideological chief, party secretary Promode Das Gupta, is equally articulate and intelligent but dedicated to ideology. He makes no secret of his conviction that West Bengal's problems cannot be solved or even mitigated under present circumstances. His justification for allowing the CPM to enter Government is purely tactical: it helps the party to extend its influence among vital groups and organisations. Whether the apparent difference between Mr Basu and Mr Das Gupta itself represents a temporary tactic or goes deeper is a subject for speculation. In any event, party pressures proved a reason (or excuse) for Mr Basu's performance frequently to fall short of his promises. On the other hand, many qualified observers believe that continued administrative responsibility will further convince the Deputy Chief Minister of the impracticability of ideological rigidity, and that he represents the only hope for constitutional government in the foreseeable future. Another recourse to Presi-

dent's rule, unless justified by unimpeachable evidence, will only serve to strengthen anti-Centre parties in subsequent elections. Dealing with West Bengal requires sensitivity and sophistication; the ability to encourage change through internal process rather than external pressure.

The Times of India has taken hold of Mr Jyoti Basu's plea for preference to Bengalis in jobs in West Bengal to point to the dangers of chauvinistic demands. The paper says that Mr Basu's anxiety to convince others that he is not adopting a sectarian approach shows that he is not unaware of the hazards involved in championing the cause of the "sons of the soil". Apparently, what made him issue the warning was the fear that some industrialists were bringing in people from outside in order to "disrupt" the trade unions. On the face of it the fear is baseless. The trade union movement in Calcutta and other places in the State is so strong that it cannot be put out of gear by "importing" a few people from outside. Mr Basu also knows that if the unions are strong today it is as much due to the efforts of "outsiders" as of Bengali-speaking workers. In any case the United Front regime in West Bengal is not the only one to have reason to worry about the unemployment problem. Every State Government is justly concerned over it. It is only natural for people to expect some preference in the recruitment for jobs in their own State. But, as Mr. Basu readily admits, every Indian has the right to work anywhere in the country. The problem is thus one of reconciling State needs with the rights enshrined in the Constitution. Merely to say that there must be a limit to the recruitment of staff from other States is not of much practical help. Since such sentiments are now being voiced in almost every State, attempts should be made to evolve what the Chief Minister of Maharashtra has called a "national decision" on jobs for local people. All this is not to say that deliberate discrimination against local people should be condoned where it exists but only to point out that in a complex society like

ours it is only too easy to raise new walls in the name of redressing local grievances.

THE TWO CPI'S

In *The Hindu* G. K. Reddy has reported that the Soviet Union is making certain moves to bring about some kind of rapprochement between the Right and Left wings of the Indian Communist Party in an effort to prevent the spread of Chinese influence through the Naxalite elements who have committed themselves to the Maoist doctrine of armed insurrection. As a first step towards such a reconciliation between the CPI (Right) and the CPI (Marxist), it has been suggested by the Soviet Communist Party that Mr S. A. Dange should retire from the scene for the time being by accepting the presidentship of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Prague. It is felt that with his virtual retirement from the Communist Party politics in India, the decks will be cleared for a reassessment of the political and ideological position by the Right and Left wings in the light of the common threat to them by the pro-Peking Naxalites. The Soviet theoreticians are said to be of the opinion that since the Left Communists have chosen (for tactical reasons, to exploit the constitutional machinery in the country for capturing political power wherever possible without prejudice to their ultimate objective of a revolutionary transformation of the Indian society, there is now no basic conflict between the two wings of the CPI in regard to their ideological objectives and actions. An effort is, therefore, being made to persuade Mr Dange to accept the presidentship of the WFTU so that the ugly personal animosities that had developed inside the Indian communist movement in recent years could be smoothed out as a prelude to an ideological—and tactical—rapprochement between them. But there is no indication yet whether he is prepared to make this big personal sacrifice of virtually exiling himself from the Indian political scene in the larger interests of Communist unity.

Not Much Different

MRIGANKA SEKHAR RAY

ASIT Sen's *Anokhi Raat* is a shining example of the unhappy blending of pretentiousness with commercialism. The director attempts to say something but somehow his effort becomes just a pose and all the familiar elements of the usual Hindi film start creeping in. After a silly prologue depicting the love affair of a simple dak-bungalow chowkidar, we are led into a totally different milieu. The action concentrates on the big mansion of an impecunious aristocrat. A moneylender, the villain of the piece, his accomplice, a crooked lawyer, a lecherous old millionaire and his young wife, a bohemian painter and the inmates of the house are marooned inside during a stormy night. A bandit appears to give a new swing to the story and as the night of judgment approaches its end, everybody seems to have a story to tell and we are treated to a series of hoary flashbacks providing a scope for songs and dances. The material, to be properly exciting, calls for a complex and intelligent treatment which is beyond the director and the direction is generally static and unimaginative. The photography has a superficial gloss and Asit Sen's irritating fascination for weird angles is always in evidence. The acting is stale and listless and the dialogue just meaningless bombast. In future, it would be advisable for Asit Sen to go in for straight commercial things without trying to be different which he has neither the guts nor the temperament to be.

Similarly, Govind Saraiya's feature debut *Saraswati Chandra*, advertised as breaking new grounds in Hindi cinema, is nothing but cheap commercial melodrama. The love-story, a watered-down Saratchandra material, is fossilized sob-stuff and the conflict between social duty and love has been ridiculously overstretched. The documentary training of the director is, of course, somewhat marked in

his exploration of the locale, but the dramatic build-up is absolutely stodgy. As for the acting, matronly Nutan never excites me and Manish as the hero looks totally dull with his expressionless face.

More Thoughts On Goopy

KARUNA SANKAR RAY

THE one unique quality of a fantasy is that it is liberated from time and place, it does not remind one of a particular period or a distinct people or a particular country; it is marked by a most remarkable timelessness and universality of emotions. Realism, as commonly understood, is therefore out of place in the treatment of fantasy. But this poses a much subtler and much more difficult task for the artist. Though freed from the requirement of adhering to the realistic norm of a country or a period, he faces the challenge of rendering universal ethos viewed through a timeless spectrum. The task then in a fantasy is in a sense of much greater magnitude. The artist has to work on a broader canvas and evolve a much subtler integration of his material. Again, to do this in a film is far more difficult than in a literary presentation. The film being primarily a visual medium, the task of reproducing the nuances, the speech-rhythm and the sartorial mode suited to a timeless universe and the backdrop of a society perennially true is difficult. Indeed, while even a Chris Marker, the high priest of documentary realism, has no more than to evoke the peace-loving, culturally open city of Paris of the sixties in *Joli Mais* or the sleeping beauty of the deserted sea-shore dotted with flocks of screeching sea-gulls of contemporary Valparaiso in *Valparaiso*, Satyajit Ray is called upon by the mere choice of his ^{title} theme of *Goopy Gyne and Bagha Byne* to achieve a fair subtler realism. And his treat-

ment of the fantasy in *Goopy Gyne* has been a resounding success. The film starts with a long shot of a peasant ploughing the land in the traditional Indian manner, followed by the sequence depicting a cluster of village elders under a banyan tree—again a very traditional Indian scene. Goopy uses a *tanpura*, a traditional Indian instrument, for songs, and Bagha, the traditional drum. The palace of Amlaki, the apparel of its king, or later the palace of Shundi or the milk-white robe of its ruler (symbolic of the purity of his realm?), or the bejewelled turban of the king of Halla or the Ustads singing with obvious gusto have all been presented in the traditional Indian manner. And yet there is something, something which endear the yarn to even an run-tutored Westerner or a taciturn Japanese quickly and spontaneously. At the same time a distance in terms of time has been created partly by dovetailing strands of pastoralism and the idyll in the story, the chaste form of Bengali in the conversation of the Raja of Shundi and the verse-forms in conversational speech which have been put to music. Ray's triumph in this respect has been complete, almost more striking than what one has seen in the cinema so far. Albert Lamorisse's *Ballons Rouge* was made of material needing no orchestration of comparable complexity and

The Wizard of Oz was unashamed fairy-tale without the life-like relevance of fantasy.

Goopy Gyne starts off in the grand manner of the pure fantasy and is pure fantasy till the anti-war theme is first suggested by the stylized introduction of Jahar Roy as the minister of Halla. Thereafter gradually moral fable takes over and Goopy and Bagha, originally characters of pure fantasy, by implication deliver Ray's diatribe against war, inequality and other evils. With the intrusion of the anti-war posture and the trappings of a moral fable *Goopy Gyne* perhaps loses some of its incandescent beauty of the beginning. Nevertheless it may be contended that though perilously close to propounding a thesis, Ray's film has actually skirted the disaster at the end by a brilliant tactical manoeuvre. He has not allowed the belligerent Minister of Halla to run the film to the ground by reducing him to a the stature of a poltroon in a burlesque at the end. One does not cavil against the Minister's predatory intensions, because one cannot just take him seriously. Strutting comically before the camera, speaking while gesticulating, he is allowed to perform his antics, till in the end, after the hopes of victory over the peaceful kingdom of Shundi are shattered, the comic plight of the basically small man is

revealed in a fantastic shot showing him sprawling on the ground, desperately clinging to a bowl of sweets in a futile attempt to salvage part of his fortune. An equally comical rendering of the commander-in-chief of Halla keeps alive the comical undertone and prevents the degeneration of a fantasy into a serious anti-war document. Indeed a unique quality of *Goopy Gyne* is the uninhibited and limpid flow of the comic spirit from beginning to end.

IN some of the highlights of the sophisticated technique used in this film are the mode of the instant transportation of Goopy and Bagha from one kingdom to another, the use of a 'freeze' shot in the context of a prowling tiger, the mesmeric dance sequence of the ghosts culminating in the King of Ghosts giving three boons to Goopy and Bagha on a booming sound-track. The last one is surely unsurpassed in terms of technical excellence.

It is not the first film where Ray has written the musical score. But certainly for the first time Ray has composed music for a film where music is not a back-drop and where neutral support from music would have been inadequate. In *Goopy Gyne* the music goes into the inner fabric of the texture. And what music!

The success of *Goopy Gyne* is one of perfect orchestration, of music, fantastic photography, decor, some superb sets and some first class acting (particularly by Robi Ghosh and Tapen Chatterjee) within the framework of a remarkable script. There may be reservations about certain sequences. It may be said that the suggestion of economic inequities in the kingdom of Halla could have been avoided. Or that in the dazzling sequence of the dance of the ghosts the rendering of the sartorial norms of a particular period and the conflict of cultures is perhaps a little too forced which somewhat sticks out in the context of the anonymity of the heroes and their timelessness. But these are minor blemishes.

পাভলভ ইন্সটিটিউটের

* মানব মন *

মনস্তত্ত্ব ও বিজ্ঞান

সম্পর্কিত

॥ ত্রৈমাসিক ॥

মূল্য প্রতি সংখ্যা ১০২৫

(সব স্টলেই পাবেন)

পত্রিকাটির সত্ত্ব - প্রকাশিত

সংখ্যায়,

“দেশে দেশে ছাত্ররোষ”

“গুরুদ্রোহিতা ও

অনুগামিতা”

এবং

“সোনার তরীর জন্মকথা”

গতানুগতিকতার বাহন নয়।

পাভলভ ইন্সটিটিউট

১৩২/১৫ বিধান সরণি : কলিকাতা-৪ : টেলি - ৫৫৩২১৯

নাট্যসংস্কার—

* কল্যাণসপাদ নাটক *

অপসংস্কৃতির সংগঠকদের

অমিল, মেকিমিল ও

গোঁজামিলের বিরুদ্ধে

প্রযোজিত

—মুক্ত অঙ্গনে—

১০ই জুন মঞ্চস্থ হবে

সন্ধ্যা ৬।০ টায়

প্রবেশ নূ্য : ৩.০০ : ২.০০

The Other Liebknecht

The other Liebknecht? Yes Sir, I know about him too. He was an outstanding leader of the German international working class movement who called upon the workers and the soldiers to rise in revolt against the then German government. But he did it from the rostrum of the Reichstag. He was not *alone*, but had with him Otto Rühle. He had also a great supporter in Rosa Luxemburg, another member of the Spartacus group. And, like Rosa Luxemburg, Liebknecht was murdered in 1919 by the counter-revolutionaries. Notwithstanding the fact that Karl Liebknecht fought against the chauvinists and the centrists of his time and that Lenin was all praise for this outstanding revolutionary, one fails to understand why he should be treated as a 'lonely' traveller on the path of revolution. "He is now serving his term in a German convict prison, like *hundreds*, if not thousands, of other *true* German socialists." (Lenin)

All these points about Karl Liebknecht were known to me when I wrote my rejoinder. But what prompted my *deliberate* reference to Wilhelm Liebknecht was Mr Dutta's prescription for remaining "alone" like Liebknecht. Neither of the Liebknechts was "alone", whether Mr Dutta admits or not. It will be interesting to know in this connection *our* Liebknecht who will call upon the workers and the soldiers from the rostrum of *our* Reichstag to rise in revolt. Well, he has to go to Parliament or to the Assembly first to do

this! If Mr Dutta permits me to "quote correctly" I do it here from Lenin, "In the first place, *contrary to the opinion* of such outstanding political leaders as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, the German 'Lefts', as we know, considered parliamentarianism 'politically obsolete', *even in* January 1919." (italics mine). Lenin, with his usual chagrin, described these "Lefts" as "not a *party of the masses*, but a group of intellectualists and of a few workers who ape the worst features of intellectualism."

ABHEEK DAS GUPTA
Jadavpur

Calcutta Diary

An article or a feature in a magazine. Points of view put forward. Literary cudgels taken up, Some wit, some hard-hitting facts, some 'risque' coinages. Good causes championed. Bad ones lampooned. Or may be it's a compendium of everything. Good bad. Right and wrong. Causes worthy and causes unworthy. The writer presents both sides of the issue under review. Ends posing questions. Or posing in the light of his own findings.

An article or a feature in a magazine. A collection of sentences. Thought expressions as sentences. Loose thoughts strung together with a view to communicate. In the pens of illustrious ones, such thought expressions sparkle with a scintillating brilliance. In lesser ones, a pattern emerges, at least. A coherent meaningful message. The message is the main thing.

What then Calcutta Diary of May 17? Thought expressions of a lost

revolutionary in post-Gutenberg millennium? Or Charan Gupta springing a gimmick? Like, say, Samuel Beckett in *Encounter* sometime ago. Ping was the title of that non-what? Remarkably similar. In effects, as well. Very boring.

SOUMYEN BANDYOPADHYAY

Uttarpara

Poetry Across The Border

It is difficult to accept Mr Arjun Bandyopadhyay's opinion that my article "Poetry Across The Border" (May 10) was a "pointless literary and cultural discussion". He is perhaps not aware of the fact that lots of people today are thinking seriously of the trends in East Bengali poetry but only a few have taken the trouble of writing about them. My aim was to point that many of the East Bengali poets are as much part of the Bengali literary tradition as those on this side of the border. It was with this end in view that I selected four East Bengali poets and discussed their merits and the demerits. I dragged in Rabindranath and Jibanananda because they appeared to have influenced the four East Bengali poets to a greater extent than others. Of course, Nazrul and Bishnu De, have also influenced them. So have Samar Sen, Subhas Mukhopadhyay, Mangalacharan Chattopadhyay and Birendra Chattopadhyay. Allow me to mention that Samsur Rahaman's "Mongoose's Carol", a part of which was translated by me, is nothing more than a paraphrase of Birendra Chattopadhyay's "Mukhash" which is in collection of poems edited

by Buddhadev Bose. I chose to keep quiet about all these poets because they were not necessary in my discussion.

What appears strange to me is the fact that Mr Bandyopadhyay raises a cry over nothing while there is so much to write about. He could have pointed out that there is a change in the atmosphere across the border, that repeated linguistic movements have enabled the poets there to cry for justice and freedom. It has been pointed out that the poets there have repeatedly gone out with sticks to fight against the breakers of communal harmony, that, unlike their counterparts on this side of the border, most of the East Bengali writers have taken an active part in all anti-dictatorial movements. Needless to say, they have all written about their feelings and aspirations. I could not mention this trend in my article simply because I do not have enough material. I have heard of a collection edited by Mr Mihir Acharya and two or three bulletins published in East Pakistan. But I have not yet gone through them. As a matter of fact, I do not have the money to buy them.

It appears from Mr Bandyopadhyay's letter that he has failed to find out a link between Tagore and Das. He must admit that it is his ignorance, not mine, for, in the ultimate analysis, Jibananda is as much a poet of the tradition for which Tagore showed his fascination as many others.

RATHINDRA CHATTOPADHYAY
Calcutta

Physicians

Your comment on the doctors' strike (May 24) loads the scales against them. Perhaps you do not

appreciate their role in the present society. A doctor's duty and profession is to treat his patients. Where he is free to choose his patients and vice versa and where the access of the patient to his doctor is direct there is little misunderstanding between them. There are still very few complaints against established private practitioners. But where society chooses to tear asunder this direct relationship between patient and doctor by placing a host of intermediaries between them, complications follow.

In hospitals there are many go-betweens before the doctor meets his patient. From the ambulance to the operation theatre is an Odyssey, for it involves the stretcher-bearers, the receptionist, the emergency doctor, first aid and the documentation, dispatch of the patient to the wards by the wardboys, the attendance of nurses, the sending of the call-book to the patient by a peon, his contact with the former, history taking and other formalities, prescription, serving of the prescription by the pharmacist, administration of medicine by the nurse, call to the visiting staff, his arrival, further examination and treatment, execution of the treatment which may involve operation. This again may call for stretcher-bearers, trolley-bearers, information to the theatre sister, anaesthetists, attendants, blood transfusion, i.e. grouping, cross-matching, collection and transfusion, anaesthesia and operation. In addition, X'ray, bio-chemistry and pathology must be provided for.

Such an elaborate arrangement needs perfect co-ordination and discipline. And since execution of every step involves participants, it is unfair to make a scapegoat of the doctor. Just because he is the last rung in the ladder it is easy to blame him. The fallacy can be compared to an iceberg—the danger emanates from the concealed portion which is more extensive than the visible one.

Actually a doctor is a skilled worker, no more and no less, and if the ancillary staff which is the product of the society is deficient, the doctor's plight can be likened to a

pilot with a defective machine. Actually, it is worse, for the doctor has no administrative control over the inferior staff.

Things have come to a pretty pass when a fourth class employee—an unskilled worker assaults the chief surgeon, a specialist. People whose concept of a garden is weed raising may not feel sorry for the choking of roses but a society which cannot distinguish between the usefulness of a surgeon from that of a ward boy is in for bad times. Therefore, I cannot sympathise with your anguish at the nurses preferring the gentlemen. Skill and capability should be the guiding principles in choosing.

P. BHATTACHARYYA (Mrs)
Kenduadihi, Bankura

A Request

I am engaged in research on the life and works of Harisadhan Mukhopadhyaya, a popular and prolific writer (1862—1938), some of the very popular and important among his books being: Panch Pushpa, Rang Mahal, Shish Mahal, Moti Mahal, Noor Mahal, Kalikata: Sekaler O Ekaler. I would be grateful if his contemporaries, relatives and descendants help me with information, references, journals and books. Sri Rajendranath Bandyopadhyaya had once recommended the publication of his complete works. I am, in my modest way, working towards this end. All help will be duly acknowledged.

I have dedicated to his sacred memory my recent research work *Kumbhilopakhyan* dealing with brazen plagiarism in Hindi from English and Bengali literature. I had occasion therefore to write on him quite substantially in this book.

I am living in a region where paucity of old Bengali magazines and books makes my task much more difficult than it otherwise would have been.

INDUKANTA SHUKLA
D48/151, Misrapokhra,
Varanasi

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