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On Other Pages

COMMENTS	..	2
<i>View From Delhi</i>		
REBUFF IN MOSCOW		
FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT	..	3
OBEYING MOSCOW		
KAJAL SEN	..	4
GIRI AND THE WORKERS		
R. P. MULLICK	..	5
<i>Bombay</i>		
WHAT PRICE VEGETARIAN POLITICS?		
FROM A CORRESPONDENT	..	6
A REVOLUTION TAMED		
LAJPAT RAI	..	7
<i>Clippings</i>		
VIETNAM IN JAPAN		
KITAZAWA YOKO	..	12
LETTERS	..	14

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WHAT NEXT

THE mock-militancy of the Marxists has encouraged the Government to wield the hatchet again—this time with a greater ferocity. The pre-Puja gesture of goodwill of the bureaucrat-Governor of West Bengal, Mr Dias, to his staff was an arbitrary dismissal of thirteen employees for reasons which could not be disclosed in the interest of the security of the State. Reluctant to lag behind the Centre has made a similar pre-Diwali gesture by terminating the services of thirty-two employees of several defence establishments in the State. In both cases the victimization has been selective ; the blows have been directed against leaders and activists of CPM-dominated unions. For a truly leftist party—this should have been a matter of pride, this distinction of being singled out for repression from a host of parties claiming to own allegiance to various shades of leftism and pseudo-leftism. It should have been a shot in the paralysed arm of the CPM which has been talking of massive movements for nearly two years but not launched any so far.

The familiar rants in its journals against the semi-fascist trends at the Centre apart, the CPM has done little in aid of its sacked supporters. The flutter in the party has been less this time, perhaps because Mr Jyoti Basu's revolutionary effort to persuade the Governor to withdraw the dismissal orders on the State Government employees did not succeed last month. The employees have been left to fend for themselves, and they, in their desperation, called a bandh, which will have been over by the time this piece appears. Bandhs have long ceased to register as a meaningful gesture of protest, for they always succeed whoever be their sponsors. Whenever a bandh is called the only question that causes concern is whether it will remain peaceful ; this time has been no exception, either. Mercifully, other left parties have also fallen in, reluctantly though, and issued separate calls for a bandh on the same day in spite of their barely concealed glee over the drubbing the CPM is receiving from the Government. Unless the Government decides to translate the confrontation into a bloody clash, innocent lives may be spared.

But after the bandh what ? The employees' organisations have no programme, nor has the CPM, though the party is supposed to give the lead. A bandh will not change the heart of the Government, nor mass squatting, mass petition, and mass deputation which add up to what has

come to be known as massive movement in this State. Obviously, the CPM wants to avoid a confrontation on this issue regardless of what may be in store for white-collar supporters. It is still counting on an early election in the State, and its leaders are not prepared to risk incarceration lest that should come in their way. Mr Promode Dasgupta has said that they will not go to jail with garlands round their necks. But there are other ways of jail-going with which he and his colleagues in the party must have been familiar in the past. Those were extra-parliamentary days when the party had not tasted the forbidden fruit of office. Now mass movement can advance, class struggle can sharpen only when the party is in office to provide cover. The party is, therefore, conserving its energy for the electoral battle, and it is determined not to resort to any course which may provide the Government with a plea to withhold the election or to come down hard on it and its leaders. On the contrary, it may try desperately to furnish further evidence of its faith in the parliamentary path, if necessary by holding in leash its restive supporters. The CPM does not seem to realise that it is set on the course of not growth but self-immolation.

Prices And Planning

The Planning Commission, meeting last week to discuss the nature of the Fourth Plan, has drawn an uncertain future for the country. The meeting by itself was incomplete and the participants left it without being able to make a definite commitment for the Fourth Plan. Appraisals of past progress were also incomplete. But even the tentative findings tabled for discussion indicate that the Government has done badly. It has failed even to use the allotted sums (the shortfall in expenditure in the past two years is as large as Rs 200 crores.) Persistent bungling by the authorities have led to a serious im-

balance in the economy and spots of stagnation have appeared in crucial sectors. And despite the ballyhoo about efforts to boost the industries from their spell of recession and speed up investments, it is in on these two counts that the achievement has fallen behind target. Even the scanty data available confirm the bleak picture. Again, when financial targets are reached, the real picture is serious, for one will have to discount the financial figures by at least 15% to get at the achievements in real terms. Only food crop production has gone according to schedule (it is claimed to have achieved the targeted growth rate of 5.51% per year rise). Production of cash crops which include important industrial raw materials like cotton have, however, performed poorly.

This uneven performance has put a serious pressure on prices. Prices have seldom stayed stable ever since the Indian bourgeoisie began its planned rehabilitation two decades ago, but in the past two years prices have cantered. Even the Reserve Bank of India has noted with concern the possibilities of a runaway inflation if things are allowed to go on in this way any longer. According to the Bank, the increase in money supply that is taking place "largely as a result of the budgetary operations of the Government sector" is the arch villain in this sphere. And it warns that unless a reasonable degree of balance is achieved between this increase in money supply and the increases in real income, there is likelihood of the price situation getting out of control once again.

But the options open to the authorities in this regard are few. With bank credit squeezed to the utmost, control of deficit financing means a cut-back of the plan outlay. But for obvious economic and political reasons, the Government cannot go in for such a reduction. And, in fact, the Planning Commission has decided to maintain the same outlay in the current year and to increase it in the next. To this is added the cost of Bangladesh. The World Bank has estimated

the cost of refugee relief at \$700 million for the current financial year. Though Mr Chavan is said to be hopeful of getting the money from outside, there is yet no positive commitment. Partly at least, this explains the lack of a definitive character of the discussion at the Planning Commission meeting. Given the rigid nature of non-plan expenditure despite the official plea for economy, all this means that the pressure on prices is likely to continue.

Much less effective are the price control measures. The RBI's failure to curb credit on sugar exposes the laxity of the control system. Before decontrol the consumer got sugar for Rs 1.62 a kg. But after decontrol he has to pay about Rs 2.05, per kg or more unofficially (almost a 24 per cent rise) though the country's sugar stock is not that inadequate. Such instances can be multiplied. And though the Indian rulers have never been chary of promising a smoother life for the people, they have been bled to control the pressure points in the economy repeatedly and the official resolutions have ended in hoax.

Sanctions May Go

In Britain it often helps to be in the opposition. While there is no illusion about Mr Harold Wilson, the leader of the shadow Cabinet, among the Rhodesian blacks, he might raise a storm in Parliament at any settlement that the Heath Government may reach with the white supremacist regime in Salisbury. But such political gimmickry is unlikely to win him friends among the Africans who are bitter at the role played by the U.K. throughout the dispute. There is now a lot of kite-flying on the report that Lord Goodman made to the Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home. Even though the Foreign Office has not allowed anything of the dialogue between Mr Ian Smith and Lord Goodman to leak, senior members of the

U.K. Cabinet see a 50-50 chance of a politically practicable settlement with the Rhodesian regime. The pressure of time has apparently forced the Heath Cabinet to cover a long way since July when the Foreign Secretary observed that the Rhodesian imbroglio could only be settled by a near-miracle. The Tory Cabinet no doubt stands by the five principles within which a settlement must be reached but at the same time hedges its position by announcing that no single absolute formula emerges from the stand announced in October 1964. Anyone who remembers how obstinate Mr Smith was aboard HMS Fearless will find it difficult to believe that Salisbury will agree to a settlement which permits unimpeded progress toward majority rule. It should be stated that the Conservative Party has never supported UN sanctions against Rhodesia. It is now looking for an excuse not to renew the annual order enforcing sanctions which in any case have become ineffective. In this search for an escape route the Cabinet stands united. What the Tory Cabinet wants to ensure in case an agreement is reached before mid-November is a line of argument which would enable it to withstand the Labour attack. There are also some 'conscientious' Conservatives at Westminster who are strong advocates of sanctions. They are not ready to allow sanctions to lapse. Another important factor that Mr Heath has to consider is whether to create one more stormy issue when the U.K.'s Common Market entry decision has got to be sanctioned by Parliament. The Goodman mission has improved the manoeuvrability of the Tory Government. It may now present the country with a fait accompli by accepting the terms of the Smith regime and recommend the discontinuance of sanctions; even in the absence of an agreement it may refuse to enforce sanctions on the grounds that it should not bear the burden of something in which it has no faith; or negotiations may be continued into the next session with the assurance that sanctions provide an important bargaining counter.

OCTOBER 16, 1971

View from Delhi

Rebuff In Moscow

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ON this side of the treaty, the flurry of emissaries jetting between Moscow and New Delhi is nobody's business. Nevertheless, one cannot help speculating over the Tsarapkin episode. He hit town with a bang a few days before Mrs Indira Gandhi's scheduled departure for Moscow and on the day of Mr Swaran Singh's departure for the United Nations, ostensibly to discuss a Soviet plan for disarmament and peace with the latter. But he stayed on and on until the press corps forgot all about him. The next we heard of him was when he surfaced in Tokyo on October 5, but nobody cared to find out from where he arrived in Tokyo that day. After the Indo-Soviet treaty about two months ago, India has been saddled with new, sophisticated Soviet military hardware at fancy prices. The dazzling bait of MIG-23s has been held out as the quid pro quo for not exercising options on Bangladesh. Quiet U.S.-Soviet efforts are on for a "political settlement" of Bangladesh which will preserve Pakistan as one unit.

Mrs Gandhi's visit to Moscow has not made any difference to the Soviet attitude. Reports from Moscow in mid-September indicated that Mrs Gandhi's decision to visit the United States and the reported plan of a major gesture by Peking had annoyed the Soviet leadership. The Soviet leadership had never been happy about the talk in New Delhi of a dialogue with China. So it is significant that Mrs Gandhi decided to visit the Soviet Union this time after her plans for visiting Western Europe and the U.S. had been announced. She was to have gone shortly after the August 9 treaty, for the exchange of instruments. But she chose to have this done at the ambassadorial level in an effort to convince the United

States that the treaty did not mean much. The reason given at that time for dropping her plans for a visit to the Soviet Union—she has not gone there since 1968—was that Mr Podgorny was coming here in October in any case, as he did come on his way to Hanoi.

Mrs Gandhi's visit was a scheduled one but she could not begin talks as scheduled, on the same day. Mr Kosygin told her to wait until Mr Brezhnev returned from one of the East European capitals. But as an American news agency reported, Mr Brezhnev was already in Moscow that morning and the explanations (we have only the Indian version) that the talks had to be put off so that Mr Brezhnev could participate in it was meant to cover up the rebuff. In any case, Mr Brezhnev went out on an unscheduled visit but had returned to Moscow a few hours before Mrs Gandhi reached there.

The hand-picked correspondents who travelled by the Prime Minister's chartered plane began seeing significant advances in the Soviet position with every sentence uttered by the Kremlin leaders. Two correspondents who are not "in" with the Establishment chose to travel to Moscow on their own. One of them has gone on record with the charge that the cables of others were withheld by the Soviet officials so that the *sarkari* line as annotated by the two wire agencies (PTI and UNI) could get through first. So all we read on the day of the talks were the agency versions. The joint communique at the end of the visit left no one in doubt that the Soviets do not want an independent Bangladesh but still the country was fooled by the newsmen, including those who went to Moscow at the expense of their own papers, into be-

lieving that Mrs Gandhi had pulled off something big.

According to later reports, Mrs Gandhi is believed to have succeeded in convincing the Soviet leaders about India's need to normalise relations with China. But a group of pro-China personalities who met her here to suggest that it should begin with despatch of delegations of writers, etc from India to China were curtly told that all these things will take at least one year. Meantime, there is a scramble for places in the press party to accompany the ping-pong team later this year and it all depends, not merely on the Indian government okaying the correspondents but the Chinese side choosing to give them visas.

It is fairly certain that New Delhi has shelved the plan for recognition of Bangladesh at least until the year-end so that the Soviet-United States plans for a compromise solution would succeed. The Bangladesh team for the U.N. was to have been led by Khondkar Mustaque Ahmed but New Delhi prevailed upon him to step aside in favour of someone acceptable to the Soviet interests. Prof Muzaffar Ahmed was sent instead. The CPI might continue to feign commitment to an independent sovereign Bangladesh but the Soviet party does not subscribe to the folklore and a new compromise formula is to be discussed in depth in Teheran when heads of State including Marshal Tito and President Giri go to celebrate the 2500th anniversary of the socialist empire founded by Cyrus and promoted in India by the Parsi editors.

India's options are a myth as long as their exercise depends on the consent of the other treaty partner. The story going round here is that on August 10, the day after the treaty, Mrs Gandhi raised the Bangladesh issue with Mr Gromyko and was told that the treaty does not commit the Soviet side to help India on this. In return for the surrender of options the bait of massive aid, including MIG-23s and non-ferrous metals was held out.

The stagnation of the economy, and not Bangladesh directly, might drive Mrs Gandhi into the corner. For over two years open power struggle took precedence over economic development in Mrs Gandhi's agenda. If the CPI is there to sell the treaty to a gullible nation, the leftist intellectuals are ready to write erudite notes couched in Marxist jargon to hand over the economy to the patriotic manufacturing bourgeoisie to the detriment of the interests of the unscrupulous mercantile bourgeoisie. A note now in circulation is an unabashed apologia for the Swatantra party line and would put the Congress-O rightists to shame. It had to be couched in Marxist jargon to establish the socialist bona fides of the Government and the author of the note, in particular.

October 8, 1971

Obeying Moscow

KAJAL SEN

THE Government of India has at last made clear its stand on the Bangladesh issue. After six months of confused statements, bravado and attempts at creating a war psychosis, the External Affairs Minister, Mr Swaran Singh, got up at the Simla session of the AICC(R) and, in course of an unscheduled speech, announced that a political settlement of the Bangladesh problem can be found within the framework of Pakistan or, in a situation which accorded greater regional autonomy to East Bengal. Of course the third alternative referred to in this connection was full independence for Bangladesh but read with the other two it lost much of its impact.

While the Sardar would not like it to be said, his speech marked a clear change in the Government's attitude towards the problem. Only last month, Mr D. P. Dhar, Chairman of the External Affairs Ministry's Policy Planning Committee, had told a *Statesman* reporter, during an inter-

view in Calcutta, that any solution to the problem must be in accordance with the resolution adopted by the elected members of the National Assembly who had demanded full independence. Occupying the position that he does, Mr Dhar could not have been stating his personal feelings; what he said was official. And it was generally in tune with what had been said on the issue so long by the Prime Minister and others.

What could have prompted the recent evident shift in attitude? It would perhaps be useful to recall in this connection an event of extreme importance that had occurred in the meantime: Mrs Gandhi's visit to Moscow. The visit was important in the sense that the Soviet Union, for the first time, made clear its stand on the issue, namely one of quick solution of the problem so that the refugees could go back. Neither the joint communique issued after the talks nor Mr Kosygin's speech had referred to the struggle of the freedom fighters. On the other hand, Mr Kosygin looked at the issue as one essentially involving India and Pakistan; a very strange attitude and one which might help the Pakistan Government in its propaganda that it was really India who drove the Bengalis to revolt. With his almost painful concern for peace, the modern Buddha spoke at length of the need for stability in the sub-continent. Perhaps he was thinking of organizing another Tashkent.

A Tashkent he may well organize but who will be the participants? What authority has the Soviet Union to hint that there should be a negotiated settlement between India and Pakistan when the two sides involved are Pakistan and the Bangladesh Government? It also seems that Mr Kosygin in his concern for peace has overlooked the repeated statements made by the Bangladesh Government that it would be satisfied with nothing short of full independence. Or does he want the Bangladesh people to be browbeaten into taking his line as he did with the Czechs?

Mr Kosygin has, however, been

OCTOBER 16, 1971

Giri And The Workers

R. P. MULLICK

successful in getting India see along his lines. Like the Americans, the Soviet Union also does not want to see the "territorial integrity" of Pakistan disturbed—a prolonged struggle which might attain that result is likely to complicate the international situation to an extent where Moscow might find it difficult to live and prosper in peace with the imperialist allies. And she feels she can get India do the dirty job for her, by creating a situation in which the East Bengal people would have no alternative but to accept any solution imposed on them.

And if Moscow insists, India cannot say no. The joint communique has made a detailed reference to "greater economic co-operation" between the two countries which in reality would mean increased Soviet aid. No wonder then that at the very first opportunity after the Moscow conference, Mr Swaran Singh should talk of a settlement within the framework of Pakistan.

The Minister further said that the "international community must use its influence in working out a political settlement acceptable to the elected representatives of the people". He thus made it clear that the Government had not taken the elected representatives' resolution, demanding full independence, seriously. Otherwise how could he have talked as if the issue was still open?

Leaders of the Bangladesh Government have naturally reacted to these statements. While it is not known what lies in store for them, one hopes it would not take them too long to cure themselves of any illusions about India. It should be clearly realised that the class character of the Indian Government would prevent it from tolerating a freedom struggle at a stone's throw and, with the "socialist giants" behaving as they are, it will essentially be their own battle that they will have to win. So far as Indians are concerned, we seem to be on the way to adding another to the list of hostile neighbours by our policy of abject dependence on big powers.

THE President of India has very recently utilized the tremendous power reposed in him by Article 310(1) of the Constitution to abridge the right to serve of 32 civil employees of the Central Government, paid from the Defence services budget-estimates and stationed in West Bengal. Irrespective of whether or not Clause (2) of Article 310 provides an element of guarantee to the contract of service which many of the civil employees of Central departments, under the Defence Ministry are required to execute in the form of service agreement, (on stipulated forms, the other contractual party being the Union of India), the use of Presidential "pleasure" in terminating the only available source of earning, and hence of sustenance, of so many employees in a time of economic distress, is hard to understand, much less appreciate. The Constitution, as it stands today, is of course subject to legal interpretations and judicial pronouncements; but the point at issue is the employment of Presidential pleasure for subserving the interests of ruling party bureaucrats and also the punitive penchant of local administrative tyros or departmental heads.

The question arises, has the President been advised properly or improperly in the exercise of the "pleasure" inhering in the highest executive office of the land? Did the Constitution-makers intend to invest Presidential pleasure with absolute prerogative, or merely as a matter of form? Has the Government of the day decided to set a precedent for future executive authorities for adopting undemocratic and absolutist practices?

Let it not be forgotten that the present incumbent in this august office has had a trade unionist background. Two years ago he did not fail to remind the electoral college for Presidential election of this aspect of his political personality and career. Perhaps a little too repetitively, he laid

stress on his being a "trade unionist first", in the course of his many statements during the Presidential campaign. It was considered necessary in some quarters to flaunt his pro-worker, progressive image before the nation, since the ruling party, Congress(R) was embroiled then in an acute crisis of political schizophrenia, and since the topnotch financier-oligarchs behind the party had not yet made their choice in respect of the contestants and the contending sets of interests. The result of this crucial, and unprecedented, Presidential contest was sought to be highlighted as a victory for the "progressives" within the ruling party, and beyond, and did raise some hopes in trade union circles. Although it was realized that the President is guided by advice tendered by the Prime Minister in her individual capacity or on behalf of the Central Cabinet, and that this supreme office, analogous to the monarch's in the British Constitution, was a superb decor of this country's political system, hopes engendered among the repressed and the exploited died hard.

Biographers will not be lacking to assess Shri V. V. Giri's role in the history of the trade union movement. However, it will be relevant to remember the transient spell of contact which the civil employees employed by various directorates (Ordnance, Military Engineering Services, Electrical and Mechanical Engineering, Disposals and Supply etc), Corps and departments of the Ministry of Defence, had had with him in November 1954 at Poona. He had then inaugurated the annual conference of the All India Defence Employees' Federation, and had spoken in his usual strain in favour of these employees' right to bilateral negotiation—leading to happy settlement of industrial disputes—and had indicted 'adjudication' as their 'enemy No. 1'. The leaders of the Federation were appa-

rently grateful to him, but the employees' delegates were reserved in their response.

Subsequent developments have proved that their mental reserve was justified.

Nineteen-sixty saw the almost incredible axe of authoritarian vendetta falling on the Central Government employees' right to service, and of their dependants' hopes for bread. The historic five days (July 12 to July 16) served to focus public attention on the realities of the executive running wild. Hundreds were jailed although conviction could hardly be obtained against any, thousands were either suspended, discharged or dismissed, and thousands more were hunted down month after month, year after year through innumerable victimizing devices of the bosses (stoppage of increment, denial of promotion due, even of the facility to appear at departmental tests, punitive transfers ordered in violation of the department's own norms and rules, petty harassments through charge-sheeting, diabolical delays in making payments, imposition of fines etc.). Yet the "progressive" conscience in the echelons of the establishment and among "national leaders" did not stir. The late Dr B. C. Roy, then Chief Minister of West Bengal, tried in a limited, unobtrusive way to get glaring instances of repressive iniquity and injustice, retrieved. It cannot be said that he succeeded. What obliged departmental authorities to modify their actions was the realization that legal limitations had been overstepped.

For a time India's ruling party, split in two, practised a new phase of political bossism—touched up with an air of facetious benediction and patronage—for roping in the working classes to the rising stars of India's political firmament. In this business, some old, diehard and prettily preserved trade union "leaders" helped by boosting the waning images of the ruling-party bureaucrats.

The strike of September 18, 1968—a mere 'token' struggle—was needlessly considered a challenge by the

executive and 1960 was repeated, on a minor scale though. The scars are yet to heal.

The political exigencies of 1969 are past. The pre-eminent holder of the State's topmost honour has chosen to hear other voices, the strident ones

who would turn the "disciplinary process" into an administrative dogma.

Ultimately the working people will give their answer. Possibly they will take more time than expected. Maybe the effective reply had rather be late than premature.

Bombay

What Price Vegetarian Politics ?

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

YOU cannot get vegetables for less than Rs 2 per kg. With the ending of rationing of sugar and wheat, the open market prices of decontrolled commodities have risen. Even a cup of tea, the poor man's luxury, has not been spared. Coin shortage has affected the consumers indirectly in their day-to-day life. But the Government of Maharashtra bears all the humiliations with silence. For this exemplary behaviour neither Congress can lay claim credit. The full credit goes to the communist leadership, headed by the Dange and Ranadive cliques. These two groups are responsible for inculcating Gandhian discipline among the consumers. They practise the Gandhian methods of hunger-strike, peaceful demonstrations, farcical bandhs, press statements, economism in trade unions, organising seminars, meetings and conventions.

To keep consumers out of political mischief, from acting under rational impulses of political consciousness, Mrs Indira Gandhi employs the propaganda forces of the Dange-Ranadive regiments. Though communists are her main link the show is conducted by four "K" brand playboys. The promoters of Indira's plans know that in the capitalist economy any brand tends to lose or be forgotten by consumers if no protracted campaign is launched. Therefore Kolpe and Co have opened bogus paper fronts and pocket organisations such as Indo-Cuba, Indo-Algeria Societies,

North Vietnam Solidarity Committee, Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and what not. Each afternoon in the BUJ Hall ad hoc committees are born and die in the evening. For new recruits Kolpe has kept open these ad hoc schemes at BUJ, K. C. Podar and Sunderbai Halls where Krishna Menon, Karanjia and Kolhatkar demonstrate their superb salesmanship by explaining how major national and international problems like the Bangladesh crisis, enormous influx of refugees, threat of war from the Pak-China-USA axis, obstructions placed by the Golaknath Case in the way of scrapping of proprietary rights, vital parliamentary measures like privy purses, ICS Bills, Press Bills, have kept Mrs Gandhi very busy. She had to defeat Sanjiva Reddy in the presidential election, cut Morarji Desai down to size, demote even ironman Chavan, nationalise bank and general insurance, and recently tackle skilfully the Bangladesh crisis and to save the nation from economic and military disaster sign the Indo-Soviet treaty. Last but not the least important of her achievements is the opening of a dialogue with Peking.

The playboys do not stop there. In the past they tried to toe Indira's line in all respects. During the presidential election contemporary Mensheviks were busy canvassing for Indira's candidate, Mr V. V. Giri, and his success was celebrated by bringing out a huge pro-

OCTOBER 16, 1971

cession. Thereafter every action and victory of Indira was termed progressive, the right step towards socialism, by these living Mensheviks in Bombay. Therefore official guests, Mirjafar and Aminchand of East Bengal, were given a public reception at the K. C. College. And now that the sand of Bangladesh

is being shaken out of Indira's chappals by Moscow, our Menshevik masters are busy eulogising the terms of the Indo-Soviet treaty. Immediately after this campaign, the Menshevik manoeuvres would be seen in the political bazaar on the press bill issue, the campaign against V. P. Naik will be started soon as a 1972 election

strategy. Our part-time professional politicians by such acts and speculation stimulate sentiments in favour of Indira Gandhi and succeed in keeping the consumers far away from the realities. Long Live the Mensheviks of Bombay. Long live the tropical Social Democrats in the interests of the A.I.C.C.(R).

A Revolution Tamed

LAJPAT RAI

FROM the *Tricontinental*, OLAS and the Cultural Congress of Havana* to the Peace Congress at Budapest* is a long way in ideological reckoning. Yet the Cuban leadership covered it in a short span of two years without batting an eye or offering any explanation to its friends or foes. In the Cultural Congress, where the writer was present, Castro had ridiculed the peace assemblies and called world peace "a mere slogan". In an earlier speech—Fidel had asked: "What is this peace movement? Are the people of the world endangering world peace? Let the slogan of peace be put in Washington, London and Paris. This incessant talk of peace lowers the people's will to fight."¹ Again in his famous address on "Events in Czechoslovakia" Castro has said that if the revolutionary spirit had grown less in Eastern Europe since the end of the cold war "it is because the leadership had paid more attention to peace campaigns and material prosperity than to fight against imperialism."² He called the defence of peace a cliché which served only to lull the masses to sleep.

But in May 1971, the Cuban leadership sent a delegation to attend the so-called Budapest Peace Assembly whose role was thus explained by President Dorticos, member of the Polit Bureau of the Cuban Communist Party, to the delegation of the World Peace Council:

"Budapest Peace Assembly is of great significance for it will take place

at a time when imperialist aggressiveness and people's resistance to aggression have grown."³

People's resistance against imperialist aggression was going to be mobilized through peace assemblies; the "mere slogan" of peace had acquired a revolutionary significance and the "incessant talk of peace" was no more harmful to the fighting morale of the people. This event was, however, not a beginning but the end of a road which the Cuban leadership had traversed till 1968. It, in fact, sealed the most surprising ideological rapprochement that was going on between the Cuban and the Soviet leadership for quite some time.

Why this volte-face? To understand this we must first get at the former Cuban positions in the realm of politics, ideology and economy. This is not difficult as no other leadership in the socialist world has aired its opinions and differences with the "Party of Lenin" as clearly and fearlessly as the Cuban leadership. And all this publicly too. It is not possible, even in the space of a long article, to historically cover the development of Cuban thought in the field of ideology, politics, economy, construction of communism etc. Yet there are certain definite landmarks in the development of Cuban revolutionary process. The Conference for Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) was one such landmark.

The OLAS conference met in Havana in August 1967 to discuss "the new concept of direct confrontation

with imperialism."⁴ It was attended by the leaders of the guerilla fronts of Latin American countries, some Moscow-lining communist parties and individuals well known in the revolutionary movement of Latin America. Its spirit was summed up by one of the speakers: "As long as imperialism exists, as long as the United States dominates a single country, as long as U.S. capital exploits the poor, no communist had the right to call himself a communist unless he fights and unless his solidarity with the combatants is expressed in deeds and not in words."⁵

A communist, a revolutionary had to be a combatant, a fighter with gun in hand. All talk about "legal forms of struggle" was treason to revolutionary movement. As for peaceful co-existence, the word must be banished from revolutionary vocabulary. In his closing speech at the OLAS Castro proclaimed:

"Those who support peaceful co-existence...no matter what they call themselves are not revolutionaries. They belong to a new... 'Mafia' whose ultimate goal is to serve the desire of imperialism and its lackeys the world over."⁶

These were strong words indeed. The 'Mafia' headquarters, all attending the conference knew, was Moscow.

Castro proceeded to demolish the votaries of peaceful co-existence in Latin America—the Moscow-lining communists—some of them sitting stiffly on the dais. He denied that a

communist by definition was a revolutionary or a party called communist party was automatically a 'vanguard'. For him there was only one test of a communist or a revolutionary and that was:

"A communist could be defined only by his attitude towards struggle, towards armed guerilla movements, towards imperialism."⁷

He said that "if the communists (orthodox) do not know how to fulfil their duty we shall support those who without calling themselves communists act as commandants in struggle."⁸

Neither did he spare the mentors of the "spurious vanguards"—the Russian leadership. He criticized them in his slashing language for signing cultural and economic aid agreements with Latin American dictators who were suppressing the guerilla fighters mercilessly with help from American imperialists. This, he said, was the repudiation of all norms of international proletarianism.

He pointedly asked the Russians what the Vietnamese would say if delegations were sent to deal with Saigon puppets, what the guerilla fighters in the mountains would think if the Cubans were to seek close relationship with lackeys of imperialism.⁹

For the first time a communist leader of a tiny country had lectured the Soviet Union on what is international proletarianism. But this was not the end of his public polemic with the Russians. In the Cultural Congress at Havana he reverted to the same theme namely, "who is a revolutionary". Praising the militancy of a section of Latin American clergy, whose two representatives were in the Congress, Castro remarked: "It is an irony, a great irony indeed, to watch the priests turning revolutionary and revolutionaries turning priests."¹⁰ All knew who were the revolutionaries turned priests, as all eyes went over to the place where the Russian delegates were sitting.

Not only Castro, but the Cuban people also shared this opinion about the Russians. During his four-week visit to Cuba in 1967-1968 this wri-

ter had the opportunity of travelling all over the Island and speaking to people in their own language. Everywhere the Russians were referred to as "les revisionistas", the defective goods and raw materials from East European socialist countries were called "la mercancia revisionista"¹¹ (revisionist merchandise). A fat indolent woman was jocularly referred to as "la Rusa".

The Russians were tolerated because Cuba was so dependent on Russian imports, Russian machinery, raw materials, technical know-how and above all oil. Also Russia and East Europe was the market for Cuban sugar. When this writer asked a youth leader in Santiago de Cuba how he could reconcile this sharp criticism with Cuba's heavy dependence on Russia, his reply was: "It is not a favour that the Russians do us. Did they not receive the help of people all over the world when they made their revolution?" And the orthodox communists—they were known as drawing room prattlers, election lovers and the like.

Another sphere in which the Cubans and the Russians stood wide apart was the attitude towards the war in Vietnam. The Cuban line consisted in the creation of two, three, more Vietnams as exhorted by Che Guevara in his famous message to *Tricontinental*, the organ of the OSPAAAL,¹² a line abhorred by the Russian leadership, a line contradictory to the Glassboro spirit. In his message Che had said:

"American imperialism is guilty of aggression: its crimes are immense and cover the entire world. But equally guilty are those, who in the hour of decision have been slow to declare Vietnam an inviolable part of the socialist world."

Creating more Vietnams, according to Che, was the only way to express solidarity with the Vietnamese people who were fighting the American Goliath single-handed. This was also the means of liberating Latin America from the imperialist strangle-

hold. Che's message was not published in the Soviet Union or any other East European country.

Art

In the artistic sphere also, the Cubans had their own ideas, not exactly to the liking of Russians. In July 1967, they invited the Parisian Salon de Mai to an exhibition of their work in Havana. The Cubans had never accepted "socialist realism" on the Russian model but by inviting the Salon and by widely publicising their tour, they were giving official blessing to the kind of art on which other socialist countries had turned their backs. Worse still, the Cubans now said that the "only truly revolutionary and progressive art was art that did not allow itself to be fettered by petrified Marxism." Apart from the Salon they had also invited surrealists and members of other schools abhorrent to the USSR. Italian and French avant garde films circulated freely and had capacity houses while the heavy and ponderous Russian films were screened in empty houses.

Similarly the Cubans permitted Trotsky's works as well as those of Sartre and new-left intellectuals to be sold in the bookshops to the great chagrin of the Russians. And when reminded of all these manifestations of bourgeois art Castro is supposed to have retorted, "we are fighting against imperialism, not against our poets, artists and writers".

Another pet manner of Castro's speeches up to 1968 was the ridicule he heaped on the heads of orthodox communists. He made fun of phrase-mongering, cliches and quotations from Marx and Lenin in which the communists indulged. The one which drew his special attention was the "dogma of objective and subjective" conditions to which the "pseudo-revolutionaries cling like a drowning man to a straw." "If this scheme had been applied to our country there would never be a revolution here." He called those who talked of objective and subjective conditions not being ripe "pseudo-revolutionaries, political charlatans, im-

posters and frauds". He thought some of the classics too needed some revision and change. Some of them had the musty smell of an archive shelf around them. All this and much more was a 'heresy' and he was proud to call himself a 'heretic' prepared to wear sack-cloth and ashes, but not willing to give in before the threats of the 'Inquisitina'. He really delighted in putting out his tongue at the Russians.

In the economic sphere the Cubans were utter strangers to the Russian way of thinking. Che Guevara's economic theses* and his famous speech at the Algiers Afro-Asian Economic Seminar were a testimony of Cuba's total rejection of the so-called economic reform measures of the Soviet Union and East European countries. According to Che, the new economic reforms revealed to what a large extent the Russians had already grown deaf to a political or moral approach to economic problems. The so-called reforms merely served to accelerate this process by encouraging Soviet citizens to indulge in their selfish occupations. In his view massive recourse to material incentives was quite incompatible with the social aims of the revolution because it put selfish greed before concern for common good. It was bound to create new social inequalities and lead to the collapse of revolutionary consciousness of the masses. According to the Cubans, the youth in the Eastern bloc countries were being influenced by all the ideas and tastes prevalent in countries of Western Europe and the main topic of conversation among them was money, material gain and salaries.¹³ Che also accused the Russians of indulging in "selfish trade practices", no better than those of western imperialist countries.

In his last public lecture at Algiers Che surprised the world by lumping together capitalist and socialist countries when it came to exploiting the poor and underdeveloped countries of the Third World. This is what he had to say :

"Accomplices"

"How can one describe as mutual benefit the sale, at world market prices of raw materials produced with infinite suffering in the Third World, and purchase at the world market prices of machines produced in the great automated factories of today? If one makes this kind of comparison, then *we are forced to conclude that the [rich] socialist countries are, to some extent accomplices in the crime of imperialist exploitation.* The socialist countries have a moral duty to end their tacit complicity with the exploiting countries of the West."¹⁴

Thus over a whole range of political, economic, ideological and cultural fields Cuba and Soviet Russia stood poles apart. The Cuban position was, in fact, much closer to that of the Chinese. An old joke in Havana said that Fidel's stomach is in Moscow while his heart is in Peking. The Russians helped him no doubt under the dictates of their own global strategy, yet privately they called him "that Carribean viper in our bosom." And despite the massive Russian aid, both military and economic, Cuba felt alone as Fidel said in his speech :

"Cuba esté Sola."¹⁵ But Cuba was defiant and unwilling to compromise with pseudo-revolutionaries and charlatans.

From the first Declaration of Havana in 1959 up to early 1968, the leaders maintained their non-conformist and 'heretical' stance in the world communist movement. "The duty of a revolutionary is to make the revolution",¹⁶ now and not in some remote future where the objective and subjective conditions were ripe, was the Cuban imperative. This resulted in the rallying of a large section of youthful revolutionary forces in the Third World countries around the Cuban leadership, especially Fidel Castro and Che Guevara. Havana became another important centre of revolution competing with Moscow and Peking. OLAS began to be considered as the new Revolutionary International. And Castro declared to the world that the Cuban revolu-

tion "shall maintain its position of absolute independence," that "the revolution will follow its own line; its revolution will never be anybody's satellite or yes-man".

For the Russians Cuba had now become a source of "doctrinal embarrassment." Castro's speeches were destroying whatever discipline was left in the international communist movement. Che's powerful thrusts showed the Soviet leaders in a very unenviable light. Also Cuba was a source of economic embarrassment for the Russians. The huge investments in the island were bringing no commensurate results. It was time to put Cuba on the leash.

Shortage

Suddenly at the end of 1967, there was oil shortage in Cuba, the Russian oil tankers having failed to arrive in time. On January 2, 1968 Castro made a speech after inaugurating a big scheme to build a green belt around Havana known as "El Cordon de la Habana" in which he hinted that the oil deliveries from the Soviet Union were deliberately held to put pressure on the Cuban leadership. He announced petrol rationing and asked the people to maintain the dignity of the revolution. He did not say it in so many words, but a few days later *Granma* made a point of explaining that the cut in supplies of oil was not due to shortage in the Soviet Union whose oil production had reached a record level of 300 million tons in 1967. This was evidently a highly effective way of showing how shabbily the Russians were behaving. The obvious inference was that, for purely political reasons, Russia had decided to cut her supplies and there was a shortage, not only of oil but also of grain and of other produce. But thanks to the new project of El Cordon de la Habana Havana city will have plenty of fruit, vegetables and coffee. The signal was given and was duly received.

Castro's decision, late in 1968, to become reconciled to the Soviet Union hit Havana like a bolt from

the blue. The year had begun with bitter attacks on the "calcified pseudo-Marxist church", emphasis on the absolute independence of the revolution, equality of all parties in the comity of socialist nations. Therefore, the Cubans were bewildered by the stand that Fidel took in defence of the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia, at a time when some of the most loyal communist parties of Europe had felt bound to voice their disapproval of the Russian action. The death of 'Che' and the rout of the Bolivian campaign had dealt a severe blow to the idea of the continental revolution. And though Castro continued to extol the virtues of guerrilla warfare, for a time at least to justify his own past actions, the Latin American Solidarity Organization founded with such solemnity had virtually ceased to function, and its Havana Secretariat had never met. No fresh Cuban proclamations on Latin America's revolution have been issued since Che's death though *Granma* from time to time published resolutions of Guatemalan and Bolivian guerrillas to continue the struggle. The Cuban leaders did not shout about this fact from housetops lest they demoralize their own ranks, but they had seen the writing on the wall clearly—it said that little Cuba could not challenge two super-powers at the same time. They had clearly come around to the view that their survival depended on the eradication of underdevelopment at home and not as they had thought, on a trial of strength in Latin America. As always, the instinct of self-preservation proved stronger than any other consideration.

In OLAS and the Cultural Congress Castro had spoken repeatedly of the "new vanguards" which were replacing the "old vanguards" consisting of "tired revolutionaries" who had ceased to function" in the revolutionary movement. Suddenly in May 1968 in France the 'new vanguard' of Castro's description organized a movement which took the incredulous world completely by surprise. However, the Cuban leaders, instead of rejoicing, felt embarrassed. Castro withdrew

into complete silence. Cuba could not afford the luxury of offending her trading partner, France, which was supplying her valuable agricultural equipment on especially favourable credit terms.

Again in neighbouring Mexico another student eruption took place. The signal for revolt was given on July 26 when the students organized a huge street demonstration in honour of the Cuban revolution. This was dispersed by police firing in which many were killed and wounded. On August 3, a half-a-million strong procession marched in protest in the streets of Mexico, the like of which was not seen in living memory. Hundreds died and were wounded. Once again the Cuban leaders felt embarrassed rather than enthused. Mexico was the only country in Latin America which had recognised Cuba and maintained diplomatic and economic relations with the revolutionary island. Castro's silence was described by a Chilean paper as an "ear-splitting silence." In the meantime the Olympic Games in Mexico City were drawing near. President Diaz Ordaz opened negotiations with the students only to break them after two days and to shoot down demonstrators on October 2, 1968.

This massacre caused an outcry throughout the world. Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre, two of the greatest champions of the Cuban revolution, called for a boycott of the Olympic Games. But on October 19, 1968, the Cuban athletes filed past President Diaz Ordaz just like their comrades from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Comrade Kosygin even thought it fit to send a special message of greetings to President Diaz.

Then came the Soviet intervention in Czechoslovakia. As is well known, Castro's support for the Russians alongside a homily for the Eastern bloc countries on how to "maintain the fighting spirit of the youth", how not to overplay economic incentives and love for money, surprised the Cubans as well as the friends of Cuba abroad. "Czechoslovakia", he said,

"had been marching inexorably towards capitalism, towards imperialism." And according to him the trouble started with the "bourgeois economic reform" imported from the Soviet Union. The main trouble had been that the Czechoslovak CP under pressure from intellectuals and other liberals, had forsworn the dictatorship of the proletariat. In these "tragic circumstances" the Soviet Union could not sit by while the imperialists snatched away so valuable a prize from the socialist camp.

In fact, Castro's reaction to the Czechoslovak events was dictated purely by political considerations affecting the safety of Cuba. He believed that Cuba would enjoy greater protection through continued membership in the Soviet bloc than by strict adherence to the principle of sovereignty for small countries. "We must learn to face the political realities, and not give way to romantic and idealistic dreams." Castro had ultimately seen the 'reality' and given up the old "romantic dreams". The path now was straight and easy as the path of conformism always is.

The Cubans had always maintained that both Russia and China were responsible for the schism in the communist camp. They, therefore, had refused to participate in the World Conference of Communist Parties convened by the Soviet Union. Now going out of the way to please the Russians, Castro sent Carlos Rodriguez, an old PSP man, to Moscow, ostensibly as an observer. Rodriguez delivered an important speech which ended with the following words:

Mr SUBHAS BOSE,
Our agent at Alipurduar
Newtown Library,
Alipurduar P.O.,
Dist. Jalpaiguri,
West Bengal.

"We declare from this tribune that in any decisive confrontation, whether it be the act of the Soviet Union to avert threats of dislocation or provocation to the socialist system, or an act of aggression by any one against the Soviet people, Cuba will stand unflinchingly by the USSR."

This speech from the Cuban 'heretic' of yore astounded even the representatives of the loyal communist parties from Asia and Europe. Rodriguez declared his eternal loyalty saying that in future too any Soviet armed intervention in a socialist country to prevent 'dislocation' of socialism will be supported by its staunch ally—Cuba. This oath of loyalty had the widest implications—it went much farther than a mere declaration, of friendship with the USSR. The Chinese as well as the Koreans and the Vietnamese and other "non-aligned" parties had refused to attend this conference, precisely because its main aim, as everyone knew, was to enlist support for a political crusade against Peking. This, therefore, led to the break up of the "Third World" in the socialist camp (Cuba, Vietnam and Korea) on which many people in the socialist camp had pinned their hopes.

The Cuban reconciliation with the Soviet Union was thus complete. But what about the communist parties—the "pseudo-revolutionaries" of Latin America?

On October 2, 1968, Peru was the scene of a military coup d'état, in the traditional style, but one that placed in power a most typical South American regime. The new team led by Alvaro Vallejo nationalised the U.S. oil companies and launched agrarian reform. On July 10, 1969, Castro gave it public blessing.

The nature of the Peruvian regime has been described by a well-known Latin American Communist leader, Jorge Del Prado, in these words:

"The government answer is that this is a new way, neither capitalist, nor communist, but one that rules out exploitation, abuse of capitalist self-interest and the inhumanity of socialism."

Next year Castro hailed the election of his old Marxist friend Salvador Allende as President of Chile who declared in his inaugural speech that the new government shall construct socialism in Chile within the present constitutional framework. Here was an example of peaceful transition. The Russian leaders saw in Castro's recognizing the revolutionary character of the regimes in Peru and Chile as the first step towards general reconciliation between Castro and the orthodox communist parties. They rightly concluded that Castro had implicitly gone back on his extremist stand at the time of the OLAS. He now tacitly admitted that revolutions in Latin America did not depend on the prior destruction of the military machine that this very machine could play a revolutionary role under certain conditions. Chile was of course, the first example of "peaceful transition" and establishment of a revolutionary government through a process of democratic elections. Latin American communist parties had long ago spoken of this possibility; it was for this reason, and not because they were afraid to fight with arms, that they had advocated a peaceful solution to the Latin American crisis. The same analyses had led the Soviet Union to render economic aid to Latin American governments, irrespective of their political colour or their attitude to Cuba.* If the Cubans did not subscribe to these interpretations, they did not refute them either. Soon they had made up with the former "pseudo-revolutionaries" and "political charlatans", that is, the orthodox communists of Latin America who since 1969 have started appearing on every big occasion in Havana,

Put on Ice

Not only were the old heretical ideas put on ice; they were discreetly, but systematically replaced by others from the Russian store house. One such was the building of socialism, which according to the new doctrine called for a high investment, low consumption and for maximum technical and scientific knowledge—a model of development bearing a lone resemblance to the Soviet doctrine at the time of early industrialization and collectivization.

Addressing a graduation class of the School of Political Science of the University of Havana in September, 1969 Armando Hart said:

"We think that a serious study of the experience of the first proletarian state in history, the Soviet Union, is quite indispensable. We can even go farther than that, and assert that this experience is a decisive element in teaching us what we ourselves have to do."

This Cuban-Russian honeymoon changed the entire political climate of the country. The revisionists were forgotten and so were the "mercenary revisionists". On the other hand when on July 1969 a Soviet naval squadron dropped anchor in Havana (for the first time since the revolution), Fidel Castro, surrounded by almost the entire party and government leadership, boarded the cruiser and went into raptures over the "unequaled revolutionary qualities" of Soviet sailors. All of a sudden the Cubans woke up to the need of setting up of a Cuba-Russia Friendship Association. The inauguration of the society caused the presence of almost the entire central committee on the dais. For weeks, the party journal *Granma* carried full-page or half-page photographs of these events.

Then started the Ten Million Zafra, the days of "sugar solidarity", which seemed to have replaced the former revolutionary solidarity of the guerillas and the 'new vanguards'. It was funny seeing in *Granma* the pictures of fat Russian and East European diplomats in straw hats with Cuban

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"macheteros" expressing their support to the Ten Million Bonanza. Forgotten were the guerillas and in Castro's speeches references to armed actions in Latin American countries practically disappeared.

In early 1971, a youth revolt led by the "new vanguards" known as Che Guevarists broke out in Ceylon. This revolt was crushed with Russian, Pakistani, Indian, British and American help. The Cubans kept silent. Nor did OSPAL, which had a few years ago sent out messages of solidarity and support to guerilla movements all over the Third World, react at all.

The climax was reached in April 1971. Comrade Osvaldo Dorticos, member of the Polit Bureau of the Cuban CP and the President of Cuba, went to Moscow to attend the 24th Congress of the CPSU. In his fraternal address to the party delegates and the assembled fraternal communist dignitaries he spoke at length about Latin America but not a word about the guerillas. Only Chile where "a deep, revolutionary transformation was taking place", and Peru whose "nationalist patriotic policy had profound social significance" came for honourable mention. Chile and Peru were considered the "extension of the Cuban revolutionary experience". The Russian delegates' "stormy applause" showed more than ever that "Cuba no esta sola"—Cuba was not alone. Reading this speech this writer recalled Dorticos' opening speech at the Cultural Congress in December 1967 in which he had exhorted the writers and intellectuals "to spread the cause of guerillas the world over through their writing and at appropriate time leave the pen for the sword" in defence of revolutionary culture.

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Yet, with all this and more, the Cuban leaders assert that they have not changed. They still insist, when drawn into discussion, that the Cuban revolution will not be anybody's satellite. But their words sound hollow. In 1967, in a fit of anger Castro had called the Chinese leaders "old senile idiots fit to be placed in old people's homes. It appears from the present-day Cuban assertions that senility has not much reference to age.

* Tricontinental, January 1966, Organization of Latin American Solidarity (OLAS) August 1967., Cultural Congress December 1967. January 1968, Budapest Peace Assembly (May 1971).

¹ Speech in the Trade Union Congress, August 1966.

² *Granma*, October 25, 1968.

³ *Granma*, April 1970.

⁴ The paper presented by the Cuban delegation at OLAS.

⁵ Speech by the Brazilian delegate Alemicar Alencastre.

⁶ Closing speech by Fidel Castro in Chaplin Theatre, Havana, August 10, 1967.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Closing speech of Fidel Castro, Chaplin Theatre, Cultural Congress at Havana, January 7, 1968.

¹⁰ *Tricontinental*, Special supplement, Comandante Che Guevara: Message to the *Tricontinental*.

¹¹ Fidel Castro, Cultural Congress Havana, January 7, 1968.

¹² Carlos Franqui, *Los Doce*, 37.

* *On the Concept of Value, Bank Credit and Socialism, Meaning of Planning, Man and Socialism in Cuba* etc.

¹³ Castro, Speech, October 25, 1968.

¹⁴ Che Guevara's speech, Algiers (February, 1965).

¹⁵ Speech, July 26, 1967.

¹⁶ Castro's speech in Havana, May 13, 1967.

* R. Sandri (member, Central Committee, Italian CP) wrote an article (one of many) in this vein which was published in *Rinascita*, October 5, 1969 and quoted by Harry Dobas in *The New York Times Magazine*, March 3, 1970.

Clippings

Vietnam In Japan

KITAZAWA YOKO

SANRIZUKA lies within the farm area of Narita, some 66 km. to the east of the center of Tokyo... On June 22, 1966 the government suddenly announced that Sanrizuka had been chosen as the site for the new Tokyo International Airport... The government of course tries to present the airport plan as a natural part of the industrial progress of Japan. However the matter is not so simple. Contained in the plan are a number of realities of Japanese politics today. First of all, the plan is tightly bound up with the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty (Ampo). One of the reasons given for the new airport is the overcrowding of the present International Airport at Haneda, but a major reason for the overcrowding there is the greatly increased use of Handa by U.S. military charter flights following the escalation of the war in Indochina. Free use of Haneda is guaranteed the U.S. military by Ampo, and the same right would of course extend to the new airport at Sanrizuka. Another factor determining the choice of the site is the existence of the "Blue 14" air route which, as stipulated in Ampo, is reserved for the exclusive use of U.S. military aircraft, and which makes it impossible to put the airport to the west of Tokyo, for example.

However it is not only because of these military aspects of the airport plan that it is opposed by the farmers. They argue that whether the airport is military or civil, its construction aims at the destruction of agriculture in Japan. The Sanrizuka International Airport is one of the main pillars of a redevelopment plan for the entire Hokusai plateau on which Sanrizuka stands, which in turn is to be a test for a vast plan for the reorganization of the entire economic structure of the nation. This plan involves the transformation of present agricultural areas

OCTOBER 16, 1971

into industrial areas, the destruction of farmland and the uprooting of peasants from their life and culture to be transformed into an industrial labor force. It is not quite correct to call this a "decentralization" plan, since it involves the expansion, not the dissolution of the metropolis. Thus the airport is part of a general plan to urbanize the entire Hokuso area, to bring in metals and machine industry to be tied in with the Kashima and Keiyo industrial areas along the coast. Narita New City is to be built on 481 hectares of Sanrizuka land, to accommodate the labor force associated with the airport. A new transportation network is to be built both within the area and between the area and the capital. Most important is a plan to alter the rivers in the area so as to divert the waters from agriculture to industry, which will mean the final death of the farmlands.

In short, the Sanrizuka struggle is not only in opposition to the airport itself, but is a battle against the entire Hokuso Development Plan. It is a struggle of the local people against the tendency of monopoly capital to expand, modernize and rationalize for its own benefit.

...On the 28th of June, 1966, six days after the government announced the choice of Sanrizuka as the airport site, 1000 farmers braved a rainstorm to attend a meeting in the local school. There they decided to form the Opposition Union of Sanrizuka... Two days after this meeting the farmers of nearby Shibayama town gathered at the Agricultural Cooperative and decided to join the struggle... Their decision to join brought about the creation of the Sanrizuka-Shibayama Federated Union to Oppose the Construction of the Airport... generally called Opposition League (Hantai Domei)... which became the major force of the movement, and which today, after five years of struggle, has become the vanguard of the peasant movement in Japan.

At the beginning the Hantai Domei, following the advice given them by the Socialist and Communist Parties,

restricted its actions to holding meetings, staging peaceful demonstrations, and petitioning the local and national government. During the first year the government totally ignored the farmers and went right ahead as if the construction would be a certainty. They...formed a Public Corporation (Kodan) to build it...

...On October 10 the Kodan had scheduled a survey of the land, and planned to bring in surveyors protected by riot police. Hantai Domei announced a policy of resistance without violence, and called for support from the people all over the country. On the morning of the 10th the farmers sat down on all possible roads to the airport site. The government chose this occasion to attempt to destroy the Hantai Domei with an overwhelming show of force. 2000 riot police went into the attack, beating even women and the aged. The Japan Communist Party "support" group, which had taken a position at the front line of the sit-in, reacted to the appearance of the riot police by first telling the farmers not to be "provoked," and then by withdrawing to a distant area and singing songs.

On that day the farmers learned two things: first, that they themselves, and not "support committees" from the outside, were the only force that could prevent the building of the airport; second, that they could never succeed if they did not meet force with force.

Coincidentally, it was only two days before that, on October 8, 1967, that Zengakuren engaged in the historic Haneda struggle, in which they for the first time took the offensive against the police, capturing and burning police cars, in an attempt to prevent Sato from visiting South Vietnam. That battle not only changed the character of the student movement in Japan, but also gave a great boost of encouragement to the Sanrizuka farmers, opening for them a new path, and marking the beginning of their invisible alliance with the student movement. At the same time relations with the JCP worsened rapidly, until in December the Hantai Domei

announced that JCP had been expelled from the movement.

...Since the summer of 1968 Sanrizuka has been the scene of so many battles that it is possible here to give only a brief chronology.

Summer 1968: Two full months of almost daily battles against the soil survey which Kodan was trying to carry out under riot police protection. For example on July 7, 500 riot police were sent in to breach several barbed wire barricades set up by the Hantai Domei. First they encountered the Old People's Brigade, which was using one of the most effective weapons the farmers have discovered: liquified human shit, which the farmers traditionally collect and make into fertilizer, brought to the front lines in barrels and fired at the police by means of long-handled wooden dippers. The enraged police arrested the leader of this group, 76 year old Kazutoshi Sugawara. Next the Women's Brigade came to the front forming a solid line, hand in hand. Finally, in the afternoon, the police were forced to retreat under a shower of stones thrown by the Hantai Domei.

August, 1968: Hantai Domei held

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a mass meeting of 1000 members and decided to set up a system of three-member patrols as protection against infiltrating plainclothesmen.

November 24, 1968: A national meeting was held at Sanrizuka, attended by 1000 members of Hantai Domei, 4000 Zengakuren students, and 3000 Han-sen (Anti-war Youth Committee) workers. This was the largest meeting ever held at Sanrizuka, and came as a shock to the police and the Kodan.

... January, 1970: Kodan announces a plan to carry out a forcible survey, including inside buildings on the airport site. This means the inside of the Unity Huts which the Hantai Domei has built in the area. The farmers respond by building barricades around the huts, transforming them into fortresses, and announcing that they will keep up a constant 24 hour watch inside the fortresses for the entire 500 days until April 1971, the month when the Kodan has said the first flight will leave from Sanrizuka Airport. The Youth Action Brigade issued a bulletin on the 500 day sit-in:

"Today, in the lands of Sanrizuka which are falling into decay with every passing day, all that remains is the barricades of Hantai Domei which are under construction. In order to consolidate them, in order that they may grow further into the depth of the Sanrizuka soil, we have decided to stay inside them. These barricades within which we stay are not merely a symbol of battle nor an expression of our will to fight. They are our real battlefield and the forefront of our struggle. Therefore we must continue to consolidate them. At the same time a barricade must be built within our minds. To prevent the forcible survey; to prevent the seizure of our lands; to crush the airport: these are the fortresses within which we stay."

February, 19, 1970: Kodan, supported by 3000 riot police, attempted the first forcible survey. Hantai Domei, including the Children's Action

Brigade which struck from school, and 3000 student and worker supporters from the outside, entrenched themselves in the three fortresses. The Kodan was not able to enter the area, and was forced to settle for some aerial photographs of the area taken from helicopter.

May 21, 1970: The Youth Action Brigade began digging a tunnel system under their Unity Hut, working every night from the time they finished work in the fields to midnight. The Women's Action Brigade decided to prepare supper and tea for them each evening.

July 5, 1970: The underground fortress completed. It has space to contain 40 people, and has beds and a toilet. During the summer the Children's Brigade holds a study course in this fortress.

During the summer of 1970 two more unity huts are built. At the same time the farmers begin cultivating the fields which supporters of the airport had sold to the Kodan and which had since been left neglected. These fields are declared the common property of the Hantai Domei.

September 30, 1970 marked the beginning of a three-day battle against the Third Forcible Survey, for which were mobilized 450 Kodan staff and 2,000 riot police. The farmers defended themselves with multiple barricades including moats, scattered manure, rotten watermelons, burning rubber tires, pitfalls (into which the riot police commander was the first to fall), and devices which dropped buckets of shit from trees on police passing beneath. One group of farmers who had been hiding in a small hill, sprang out and attacked the Kodan officials who had been keeping safely—they thought—behind police cars in the rear. The farmers attacked them with bamboo spears and forced them into a rout. One farmer caused the police to flee simply by pouring shit all over himself and rushing at them. Enraged police responded with indiscriminate and brutal beatings. Sixty people were arrested. (From *Ampo*, a Japanese New Left publication).

Struggle Continues

Narita, Japan, Sept 16 (1971).— More than 5,000 riot police today smashed through a string of fortified stockades on the site of Tokyo's second airport after a day of vicious fighting in which three policemen were killed and hundreds of people were injured.

The deaths were the first in a long struggle for land needed to complete the triple-runway project. Demonstrations by local farmers and left-wing students have delayed construction by more than a year and the airport will not open until next May.

Today officials said most resistance at the site had been broken by the massive police operation, but pockets remained particularly in a complex of tunnels stocked with food and weapons.

The day of hand-to-hand fighting resulted in at least 143 policemen injured, 11 seriously, and the arrest of 375 demonstrators, almost a quarter of them women. No figures were available for injured among the defenders, but press reports mentioned more than a thousand...

The police said that about 500 demonstrators wearing helmets suddenly stormed out of nearby hills in a three-pronged attack, hurling petrol bombs and battering the outnumbered platoons with iron bars. (*The Times*, London.)

Letters

Will They Return ?

C. N. says (September 4) the true figure of agricultural population in East Pakistan is 17.2, and that no later information is available for EP as a whole. My report was based on the National Assembly of Pakistan Debates (NAPD) Vol-1, 9.6. 1967 p 1195. My figures on the land ceilings are also based on the NAPD Vol-2 7.7.1966, p 1279, and NAPD 12.6.65 quoting the Agricultural Census Report. In almost all cases when such figures were put forward during

OCTOBER 16, 1971

debates, rarely were these contradicted by the yesmen of Ayub. Their reply in such cases was very simple. "For this we require a notice, Sir."

C. N. says "just 54% of all rural families possessed 2.3 acres of land or less." But according to the 1960 agricultural census "just" 51% of families possessed less than 2.5 acres of land (Rahman Shobhan: *Asian Review*, January 1969 p 144.) C. N. says that about the yield of rice in acreage "the reverse is correct. But my source of information contradicts him (NAPD, 12.6.1968 p 1200)"

I wonder how an intelligent scholar can trust the Year Book of Pakistan—a book which contains nothing but false propaganda for Ayub. He relies on this Year Book when he disagrees with my data on the per acre production of rice and jute. According to him production of jute increased by 14%. But during 1957-58 production of jute per acre was 19.3 maunds. During 1961-64 it came down to 16.4, during 1966-67 it became even less: 14.4 (20 *Years of Pakistan*, p 42. A Government of Pakistan publication). Agriculture was seriously neglected during 1968-69 because of the anti-Ayub movements. At least, the EP Government did not pay due attention to it during those days. The floods of 1968-69 also damaged both the rice and jute crops. My reports on the food situation in WP are from the Economic Survey of Asia and the Far East: United Nations, April 1969. If C. N. can trust the FAO report he should also have faith in this report. The fact is, so far as Pakistan is concerned there are many controversies regarding statistics, GNP, annual growth rate etc.

C. N. says that the decline in the share of agriculture in the GNP of EP was mainly due to higher tempo of industrial development and that my interpretation in this regard is questionable. It was nature and the so-called rural works programme of Ayub that were responsible for EP's failure in agriculture. Floods and cyclones have become a permanent terror to the peasantry in EP. To

these was added the corruption of the works programme. See Rahman Sobhan, (*Asian Review*, January 1969, p 144.)

I cannot help if C. N. doubts whether the revolt in EP was born "out of sheer desperation with their stomachs getting emptier each year". But facts are facts. The way the affairs of East Bengal are drifting and the way the Bengalis, both haves and have-nots, are behaving, have clearly shown that their rising is mainly due to Yahya's obstinacy in not meeting their grievances. I have met hundreds of refugees and they all have told me that their politics was for bread, they were all half-starved in EP. It is starvation, empty stomachs which provoke revolution and not verbiage.

C. N. says that I have not done enough justice to the downtrodden people of WP. My article was mainly about the famine in EP. Why should I unnecessarily walk along wrong tracks? C. N. sheds tears for the poor people of WP but an average peasant there is much better fed than his EP counterpart. There is another point. Americans have been butchering the Vietnamese. If someone reading the accounts of these sufferings says that in America too people are suffering from repression, will it in any way heal the wounds of Vietnam?

ASHIM MUKHOPADHYAY

Calcutta

Where Do We Go From Here ?

An inner-party ideological struggle has emerged as the principle organisational aspect of the CPI(ML). This has become inevitable in view of the failures and enormous losses. Earlier too there were inner-party documents to oppose the CPI(ML)'s "left" line, but by now they have outlived their purposes. Sushital Roychowdhury appears to have been preparing an ideological document, when he died. This half-complete document has surfaced at long last. Meanwhile things have moved fast and his document under preparation appears ra-

ther inadequate. Charu Mazumdar did try to enumerate the experience of one year between 1970-71, without of course even mentioning 'his' Srikakulam. He did not fail to criticise but made no self-criticism. Latest in the line are the documents by Ashim Chatterjee, who begins with an external cause (the East Pakistan issue). Here too, there is plenty of criticism and counter-criticism but no self-criticism.

A communist has the right to criticise others, because he exercises the duty of criticising himself.

Could we learn from the long, rich experience of the CPC? Six months after the unfolding of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution a *Red Flag* article "Seize New Victories" was reproduced in *Peking Review* (No. 51, December 16, 1966). This article pointed out:

"Those comrades who committed errors of line in the previous stage of the revolution must conscientiously correct their mistakes, draw a sharp line of distinction between themselves and the erroneous line and return to the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao.

"To correct their mistakes conscientiously, they must do the following:

"Firstly, make a sincere and honest self-criticism before the masses:

"Secondly, truly reverse the verdicts passed on those of the revolutionary masses who have been branded 'counter-revolutionaries', 'anti-party elements', 'pseudo-Leftists but genuine Rights', 'self-seeking careerists', etc., because of their criticism of the leadership, and rehabilitate them;

"Thirdly, do political and ideological work among those of the masses and cadres who have been hoodwinked by the erroneous line, shoulder the responsibility themselves and not shift the blame on to the masses or their subordinates, help them enhance their understanding with their personal account of how they made the mistakes, and unite with the broad masses;

"Fourthly, go to the masses, learn from them, be their pupils and

join them in criticising and repudiating the bourgeois reactionary line and eradicating the evil effects left by that line;

"Fifthly, implement in deeds and not just in words the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, firmly support the revolutionary Left, rely on the broad masses and strike resolute blows against the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

We believe the broad revolutionary masses are reasonable and will give due consideration to the facts. If only those comrades who committed errors of line in the past do the things mentioned above, they will be exonerated by the revolutionary masses and regain the confidence of the masses."

Admittedly a mechanical adaptation of these guide-lines would be a blunder. The aim should be to adopt them in the true perspective of our prevalent objective conditions, without of course distorting the essence, and then develop them in practice. If this is done, the CPI(ML) will be able to enlarge its folds and achieve a unity of broad spectrum of the Left—even seek forthright opinion from non-members among the people; thoroughly review from A to Z—even the programme; critically pinpoint the mistakes; evolve fresh and new strategy and tactics. Any half-measures would be tantamount to deceiving the broad masses of the left; and they would not accept that.

There are but two courses. Either put politics in command, go to the masses and eventually establish the dictatorship of the industrial proletariat; or put guns in command, enrol the 'lumpen vagrants, and breed numerous brave and secret societies of the lumpen proletariat. The CPI (ML) must answer the broad masses of the left, as to which course it wants to take.

S. LAL
Calcutta

While I can appreciate "A supporter of the CPI(ML)'s" (September 4) rhetoric, I cannot appreciate his emo-

tions since they sometimes play havoc with cold reasoning. Some of us here in Bombay are fortunate enough to read of the actual goings-on in Bengal through your journal, and we too feel deeply when the police shoot down Naxals in cold blood inside jails. But what some of us (excluding me) cannot understand is why they allow themselves to get caught. Does it mean that they do not operate clandestinely but come out in the open to challenge the police?

Secondly, why do The Naxals promote a personality cult by glorifying Mao Tse-tung beyond all proportions? What convincing answers do they have for China siding with Yahya Kahan and Nixon in the context of the Bangladesh struggle? Why does China ever enter into peaceful relations with capitalist countries at all when it knows very well that one fine day it may have to indirectly support those very capitalist countries against underdeveloped nations and that too in the name of "peaceful co-existence" (E. Bengal)? "International proletarianism" indeed!

Be that as it may, why do the CPI(M) men talk about the Naxals as "The finest sons of Bengal"? Is it not chauvinistic to speak of Bengalis and not Indians?

The dictionary meaning of genocide, for his information, is mass extermination of a race. Does he mean to imply that the police are exterminating all Bengalis and not Biharis, Assamese, etc.? Are there no Bengalis in the Congress, CPM, etc, who are also suffering as a result of this "genocide" by the police who themselves have Bengalis in their ranks?

KRISHNAN
Bombay

'The Story of a Naxalite' by R.N.S. (September 18) depicts the failure of the organisers to politicise the cadres. From the very beginning they defied the party line of depending absolutely on landless and poor peasants. This was a major deviation and so

they could not get their roots in the soil.

Their action shows that they had not taken Charu Mazumdar's instructions about guerilla actions seriously. So they tried to attack the class enemies in their houses, they ignored the need of gathering proper information and thus killed the servant instead of the jotedar, who got some of them arrested. The main task of politicizing the people after action was ignored in the village as well as in the city. So the people could not understand their actions.

As the report shows, their main base was petty bourgeois youths. As they never tried to integrate themselves with the landless and poor peasantry and thus declassify themselves, they remained petty bourgeois to the end. So they depended absolutely on the middle class—which revealed its usual class character when repression came.

Where there is a setback, there are objective reasons. The duty of a communist is to learn from the faults and avoid them while dealing with the causes of the failure. Comrade Sudhir said that 'mass support' was lacking. By 'mass support' if he expects the support of the middle class, it is not possible at this stage—that's why his party has repeatedly asked the cadres to depend on the poor and landless peasantry.

The contradiction between the 'Big Three' and the local cadres and other significant factors needed to be discussed.

Instead of doing so, Sudhir quits the party and like a renegade tries to preach anti-party stuff.

When he says "people" is not a myth I agree. We have seen the people of Naxalbari, Srikakulam, Musahari, Lakhimpur-Kheri, Debra-Gopiballavpur and Birghum waging war against the class enemies. Though they have been suppressed, even the fascist Indian Government knows that this is for the time being only. So it has let loose all the measures of repression and imposed virtually military rule in West Bengal. That shows panic. In their panic they are

creating Baranagar-Cossipore, Howrah, Barasat with the help of the democratic lackeys and the police-CRP-Nava Congress rough alliance.

This is a testing time for a communist. Doing one or two revolutionary jobs is not difficult but to remain a revolutionary for ever is. That's why we need to read the three constantly read articles of Mao. That will help us to acquire the patience of the old foolish man and like him we will also be able to integrate with the landless and poor peasants. Comrades are grasping the revolutionary line of Charu Mazumdar, and we feel that liberation of India is no longer a myth.

A CPI(ML) SYMPATHISER
Calcutta

While acknowledging that the CPI(ML) is the only party actually trying to make a revolution, I must, as an ardent sympathiser, give vent to certain misgivings that have crept into my mind.

In its actions, the party seems very often to ignore mass response. I personally know a cadre who got disheartened at the negative result of the 'festival of smashing the reactionary educational system.' Whatever the justification, the fact remains that the CPI(ML) could not arouse mass consciousness about the reactionary nature of the system; very often you would find a man expressing bewilderment at these actions.

Charu Mazumdar wrote, '...if you err too often, then investing first. Go to the revolutionary masses outside the party...' This policy has, in effect, been totally abandoned. As a result, the party's connection with the masses has become somewhat feeble.

The incidents of Baranagore-Howrah, over and above bringing to light the concealed reactionary nature of our so-called left parties, also show that the CPI(ML) is becoming, to some extent, vulnerable because of its feeble mass connections.

In this revolutionary period, when the masses feel the sterile nature of

the traditional democratic mass movements, it would really be a pity if the CPI(ML) fails to put itself in the foreground. I wonder what the party wishes to do to counteract the fascist measures unleashed on the government employees, whatever be their political colour. In this particular incident, one feels beyond doubt how impotent our "democratic" leftists are. The CPI(ML) must seize this opportunity.

The party has endured all the hazards of an underground organisation without enjoying the benefits. Thus, on the one hand it has lost or is losing mass connections and on the other most of its leaders and members are either dead or in jail.

I still believe that the CPI(ML) is the only hope of India—but it must shake off its weaknesses before these become chronic.

A SYMPATHISER

✓ Saroj Dutta

A leaflet confirming the news of the death of Saroj Dutta, Secretary, P.C. Committee of the CPI(ML), was published by an Area Committee of the party. It is stated there that he was arrested and shot dead by the police on the night of August 4.

The administration and the police have not confirmed either his arrest or his death. The newspapers are maintaining a mysterious silence.

Please publish this letter if possible and thereby let the people know the facts.

A CITIZEN

China And Pakistan

B. R. in his letter 'China and Pakistan' (September 11) stated that people who think that China has supported Yahya Khan are quite wrong, that the only Chinese note on the Bangladesh issue referred to "an internal affair" of Pakistan. But this is not the whole truth. To call the Chinese attitude towards Pakistan "non-committal" is to distort China's

correct Marxist-Leninist policies against imperialist aggression and war. China has clearly and rightly supported the government and the fighting people of Pakistan. Obviously as a socialist country—as the most reliable pillar of the anti-imperialist revolutionary forces in Asia today—the People's Republic of China must give wholehearted support to the government and the people of Pakistan in the present context.

The present struggle in East Pakistan under the leadership of the Awami League is not at all an independence movement. It is on the contrary, a most hateful conspiracy of U.S. imperialism in connivance with Soviet social-imperialism and the Indian expansionists against the People's Republic of China. And Mujib is faithfully serving the interests of these evil forces. In fact the struggle of the Awami League aims at turning East Bengal into a colony of the Indian reactionaries, which in the near future would become the war-base of the counter-revolutionary forces, and from where they can fight against China. In this respect, the struggle of the Pakistani Government and the fighting people of Pakistan is

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a just one, for they are fighting against the expansionist policy of the Indira Gandhi-Nixon-Brezhnev clique.

Moreover, China, according to her "five principles" (Panchashil), is bound to support any state that stands by its national independence and sovereignty against the attack and intervention of foreign powers. As a matter of fact the Indian reactionaries, in connivance with two super-powers, have made a direct military intervention in East Pakistan in the name of helping the fake independence movement of the Awami League and thus jeopardising the national independence and the state sovereignty of Pakistan. In view of this fact China has justly retained her socialist character by rendering whole-hearted support to the Pakistani Government and the fighting people of Pakistan. Thus *Peking Review* (April 11) stated that the people of Pakistan have gloriously opposed imperialism and colonialism and they are still carrying on their struggle against foreign aggression and intervention instead of surrendering their cause. The Chinese Government and the people would firmly support the Pakistani government and the people of Pakistan in their just struggle to defend their national independence and state sovereignty against foreign intervention and aggression.

Once again, B. R. does not believe that the "Mujib clique" is playing into the hands of the imperialists or serving their purpose. He calls Mujib a national bourgeois. If so why does not Mujib rely on the masses in East Bengal? He depends on the Indian reactionaries and other expansionist powers. As a national bourgeois why does he not fight against world imperialism and their lackeys instead of cooperating with them? Why does he not fight for the sovereignty of his own country against intervention? Obviously Mujib cannot. What he wants is that the Indian expansionists in collusion with the Americans and the Russians would drive Yahya Khan out of East Pakistan and establish him there as a ruler. Here Mujib to a great extent resembles

Subhas Chandra Bose. Subhas Bose relied more on Mussolini, Hitler and Tojo, the champions of the fascists, in the early 30s, than on the masses of his own country.

MONOTOSH DAS GUPTA
Barrackpore

Collage D.A.

The latest West Bengal Government circular regarding college teachers' D.A. is a bolt from the blue. The decree that a teacher's college and government D.A. must not exceed Rs 150 would affect all West Bengal college teachers and their monetary loss would vary from Rs 10 to Rs 90 even in these days of spiralling prices and, incidentally, at the time of the Pujas. Almost all the teachers, for instance, of 3rd Plan colleges, will be hard hit. In most of the Third Plan colleges a pittance of Rs 50 as college D.A. is being doled out as a consolation for the highly irregular UGC assistance, invariably coming in dribbles. In spite of various high-sounding declarations of uniform, improved and integrated pay scales, the fate of the Third Plan college teachers has not yet been finally decided. The benevolent State Government, in the name of justice and equity, has taken the step as the only effective measure for economising their resources with a view to running an undoubtedly top-heavy administration.

DEBAL KUMAR CHAKRAVARTI
Calcutta

The 'Renaissance'

In Utpal Datta's *Tiner Talwar*, the hero finds after twenty years that he simply does not know what acting is. Almost the same sentiment has been expressed by Benoy Ghose, who finds after twenty years' thorough-going research that the so-called Bengal Renaissance was nothing but a big historical hoax.

To many his article (September 25) is a big and pleasant surprise. Big, because no less than a man of

the stature of Benoy Ghose has openly discarded our—as also his own—illusions on the Renaissance, on which very subject he is an acknowledged authority. Pleasant, because not many would have the courage to do so. This is sure to raise a storm in the tea cups of our intellectuals, if the contents thereof have not been already spilled.

But is this not inevitably typical of the tumultuous days we live in? It is no longer possible for any honest thinker to escape without trying to discover the true origin of "our" culture, the emptiness of which is as naked as anything. Gone are those good old days when one could boast of Our Vivekananda, Our Vidyasagar, Our Rammohan and yet turn a blind eye to the social and economic patterns in which they gained importance.

Benoy Ghose, to say the least, is the pioneer in the process of research. He has shown the way. It is now for our old learned respectable bald heads to follow suit, if they have not already forgotten their sins totally.

ASISH KUMAR LAHIRI
Calcutta

Mao And Psychology

In reply to one of my letters (June 26) Mr Tarun Chatterjee (7-8-71) called it "nonsense" first and then explained a thing which has no relation to the topic of discussion. I did not try to discredit psychology as a pure science, but the crude use to which it is put in the capitalist countries of the masses. Even Prof Arnold Toynbee has been forced to say that the threat to western civilization is coming not from communism but from Madison Avenue. My letter was a kind of reply to the article by Mr Orville Schell (May 15).

What enraged me was his attempt to defend Fanon in introducing an individualistic, subjective, psychological factor as an addition to Marxism, Leninism and Maoism.

M. N. D. NAIR
Trivandrum

OCTOBER 16, 1971

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think

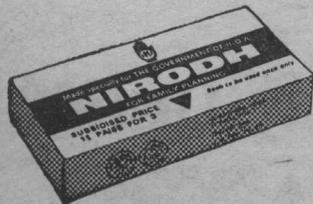
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