

# frontier

Vol. 4: No. 46

FEBRUARY 26, 1972

PRICE: 35 PAISE

## On Other Pages

COMMENT	..	2
INDO-U.S. RAPPORT: TWO FACES		
R. P. MULLICK	..	4
FRESH PASTURES		
TARUN ROY	..	7
CHINA'S MISSILE PRO- GRAMME		
KALYAN CHAUDHURI	..	8
<i>Bihar</i>		
DIVISION IN CPI (M)		
N. K. SINGH	..	10
<i>Maharashtra</i>		
ELECTION SCENE		
M. J. ARBAR	..	10
THE PROGRESSIVE PATRIARCHALIST—II		
A. K. LAHIRI	..	11
CALCUTTA PAINTERS		
A. B. M.	..	14
A NEW JOURNAL	..	14
<i>Clippings</i>		
THE MIND OF MR BHUTTO	..	15
LETTERS	..	16

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PRINTED AT MODERN INDIA PRESS,  
7, RAJA SUBODH MULLICK SQUARE,  
CALCUTTA-13 AND PUBLISHED WEEKLY  
FOR GERMINAL PUBLICATIONS (P) LTD.  
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CALCUTTA-13  
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## INTERLUDE

THERE has been no campaign this time, urging or forcing the people to boycott the coming elections. The attitude seems to be, let them have it if they want it, for the fourth time in five years. But it would be a mistake to assume that people still look upon elections as the one way out of their deepening economic crisis. The experience of the past few years has made it obvious to the unsophisticated but shrewd underdogs that nothing much happens under the prevailing system, elections or no elections. True, some land was seized from jotedars during the second United Front Ministry, but there is not much surplus land for the ever increasing number of people. There will be something, of course, if the land ceiling is ignored. But that would mean civil strife of a magnitude for which no parliamentary leftist party is prepared. As for industry, the surface militancy of 1967 will be hard to revive. The agreement which the CPM-dominated union of mercantile employees has reached with the Birlas over their offices in Calcutta is not a hopeful pointer. The management has been conceded the privilege of taking back only those people whom it can accommodate; and there are to be no demonstrations inside or outside the offices. Government employees have already been promised a few more rupees, though Mr S. S. Ray was unable to tell reporters where the money—some Rs 5 crores—would come from. The CPM-dominated front may offer another pay lift without bothering about the kitty, thus benefiting, among others, both progressive and reactionary policemen. But nothing big is likely to happen. Perhaps the people know all this but will still vote for the front they prefer, for small mercies.

There is a great deal of fascist terror going on, the principal target now being the CPM. The repression will be intense if the Congress wins. This has made some leftist parties get together, thus affecting the chances of an outright Congress victory on a split vote. The image of the Congress is tarnished despite the many-splendoured Prime Minister. It should have been hammered home, without a let-up, that Mrs Gandhi, as the Union Home Minister, has a direct responsibility for the sordid State violence in West Bengal, no matter the sordid record of some left parties who now and then sided with her to get rid of their opponents. The Government has almost perfected the repressive machinery;

how many crores of rupees have been spent on the apparatus one doesn't know. The fact that the young bulls of the Congress are being helped by the police, CRP and the entire administration has repelled many people in many areas; and this revulsion will have an adverse effect on the Cow-Madonna symbol in the elections. As for repression in itself, let there be no illusions. If the rotten structure of things or the power of whatever party is ruling is threatened, there will be repression of a high order. It is now being admitted in certain circles that very little of what went on in the Debra-Gopiballavpur area after Mr Jyoti Basu sent the Eastern Frontier Rifles there saw the light of day. But there will be some relief, some let-up if the leftists are returned. This, however, will be qualified by what Mrs Gandhi does. Will she, an expert in liberation struggles from the Kerala days of 1959, use the youth wings of the Congress to kick out even her mild, Marxist adversaries?

Elections, as we all have been told, is a matter of swing. This time there is anxious speculation about this psychological phenomenon. What effect will the victory over Bangladesh have on the electors? Though all the legal left parties, jackal-like, applauded whatever Mrs Gandhi did, the credit is that of her government. If the people have been moonstruck by her diplomacy, despite their hunger and lack of shelter, then the Congress will overcome the notoriety it has acquired because of its Razakars. Are all the Chhatra Parishad victories the result of terror and intimidation? But nothing has really happened to change the lot of the people. Will they vote Congress? It is no use trying to guess what they will do on March 11. The one fact that is clear is that West Bengal is too sick a patient to be cured by elections, though the patient may hope to be relieved of some pain for a few months if the leftists are returned. In case the elected make noises about a radical cure, the President is there to take over. Or,

maybe, after March 11, there will be a stalemate again. Stability? There can be no stability for this State. It is a political sin to talk of stability.

## Attempt To Blackmail

In our brand of secularism all religions are recognised. Sophists may quibble that this is just the opposite of secularism which calls for recognition of no religion. In a secular State birthdays of religious leaders are not observed by the Government as holidays, nor are the days of religious festivals of different communities. Nor does the head of government undertake, a few weeks before the elections, a ceremonial visit to the temple of Thirupathi to make offerings to the God or Goddess whoever may be inside, or stops the car, while out on an electioneering tour, to accept "prasadam" from a roadside sadhu. These are all by-products of the queer amalgam of religion and politics that Gandhi bequeathed to the Congress and which the party still cherishes as its most prized inheritance. Despite the Prime Minister's frequent sallies at the Jana Sangh and some other parties for their communal politics and her claim that the policies of her party are not sullied by such base considerations, the fact remains that the preponderance of Hindus in the party has heavily eroded its vaunted secularism or tolerance of all religions. The subdued communalism of the party surfaces at the time of elections when, ironically, its leaders proclaim its secularism most loudly.

There is no other explanation of the ugly controversy over the stance the Muslims of West Bengal may take in the coming elections. New Delhi is said to be confident of a Congress (R) victory in West Bengal provided it does not lose the votes of the traditional Muslim supporters of the party. Of this, however, the party leaders are not sure, for they feel that the Government's role in the "liberation" of Bangladesh has estrang-

ed the Muslims from the ruling party. The implication of this argument is that the Muslims of West Bengal all these years had been secretly looking up for their safety and security not to the Government of the country they belonged to but to a foreign country; they are angry with their Government for it is supposed to have helped in the demolition of the theocratic structure of the State across the border. This is merely a polite way of arraigning them as agents of Pakistan. If a genuinely secular government really believed that the biggest minority group in the State had no faith in the government, it would have had at once second thoughts on all its policies and modified them to earn the confidence of the group. It would not have questioned the loyalty of the group.

It is possible that some Muslims, not in West Bengal alone, have not been able to endorse wholly the Government's policy over Bangladesh. Such dissidence exists among Hindus also. In the beginning, the Muslim League in West Bengal was reported to have had some reservations over the demand for independence of Bangladesh, though they were fully behind the autonomy demand. But later on the leaders of the party, at least in their public utterances, had declared that they were fully in accord with the Government's policy. Even if it is assumed that they were not sincere, that their private convictions were contrary to their public professions, it would be wholly unfair to suggest that the League reflected the opinion of the Muslim community in West Bengal. The Muslims constitute about 20 per cent of West Bengal's population, but the votes polled by the Muslim League in last year's elections formed only 1.58 per cent of the electorate; which means the vast majority of Muslims do not subscribe to the views and policies of the League. In all probability, there are more Muslims in the Congress (R) than in the League. The ruling party has not excluded even

its own Muslim members from the charge of extra-territorial loyalty. The aim of this sweeping denunciation evidently is to terrorise the Muslims into voting for the Congress (R) just to prove that they are loyal to the country. For the Muslims of West Bengal the coming elections will not be an occasion for exercising their political options. Their loyalty will be on test on March 11. This is not only a perversion of the election process, but also communalism of a sort which makes a mockery of our secular pretensions.

## What Next In Ulster ?

For quite some time Ulster has been brewing. But it exploded last month when a demonstrating mass was fired upon by the British paratroop units, killing thirteen and wounding many more. Although the killing of a dozen men or so does not bleed an Indian heart any more, the Irish people were shocked by the grisly incident and protests went up everywhere. And despite Westminster's prompt institution of an enquiry to find out facts from conflicting testimony, military, clerical and lay, angry Catholics have vowed to go to the barricades and the IRA has pledged to use its weapons more vigorously.

An immediate cause of the violence is the ban on the Catholic minority's right to demonstrate against the internment law, evoked to curb the intransigent minority. But the conflict is rooted in the unresolved questions of the British-Irish relation for the past few decades. Before allowing self-rule of sorts to the Irish people, British colonialism created North Ireland for the Protestants under the plea of protecting their interest. But by doing that they left the Catholic minority, a sizable one at that, at the mercy of a discriminatory regime. Though the British guaranteed equal rights under their stewardship, the regime ruled by the prejudices of religion and restricted the political, economic and social

rights of the minority only because it embraces a different faith. But the Catholics have refused to accept their fate and have shown their resentment first, by civil disobedience and then necessarily by the more effective terrorist's gun.

The British government dislikes the idea of comparing the Ulster question with a colonial problem or Vietnam. But the situation might lead to a larger confrontation. The Catholics demand an equal status, a larger representation in the government and an ultimate reunion with the Irish people. Although the British Premier has agreed to hear their grievances and asked them not to bury the hope of a united Ireland, he has stalled such a possibility by insisting on a no-condition constraint on any negotiation talks and meanwhile met the protesters across the barricades with his counter-insurgency forces. Further, he has

made it abundantly clear that any settlement regarding Ulster's future, is to be within the existing framework and turned down any proposal to negotiate it. He has exhibited his mood by strengthening the armed presence to bolster the tottering regime in Northern Island.

London has tended to argue that if the Catholics are not contained and unification is allowed, Protestants, being reduced to a minority, will retaliate and fresh communal strife will ensue. So, Northern Island is non-negotiable and troops are to be there to keep it going. But such casuistry is likely to go unheard. Vengeance rather than reconciliation seems to be at the heart of the tortured people and their defiant mood has become evident in the steadily deteriorating situation in Northern Ireland during the past years, climaxing in the Londonderry tragedy. Some have found it in shades of Sharpeville

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or Digi Bonti. Whatever the merits of such historical comparisons, the incident may mark the turning point

in Ulster's efforts to fulfil its thwarted aim. And if one recognises the help the IRA operatives are likely to

get from the frustrated Catholics, the imperious British are in for a hard time.

## Indo-U.S. Rapport : Two Faces

R. P. MULLICK

**H**ISTORY will record as one of the cleverest pieces of power-political diplomacy the subtle showing of one face of India's U.S.-policy while concealing the other—the traditional attitude of friendship and collaborationist rapport. The studied and pretentiously anti-U.S. campaign now being conducted by multi-mouthed publicity media under the direction of India's ruling class establishment, serves the long-term purposes of its foreign policy in two ways:

By raising a reaction of protest against "aggressive intentions" of the USA, especially of its strategically deployed naval forces apropos South Asia in general and India in particular, and by bolstering up a pro-socialist (and pro-Soviet by implication) image of the bourgeois state that she is, concealing her comprador-capitalist character, India hopes to create the necessary background of political pressurization on the USSR to prevent it sliding back from its present politico-military stance of total commital to and underwriting of her build-up as a mini-super-power in South Asia, at the cost of Pakistan and involving the latter's fragmentation.

The first is the gross and the obvious, while the second is the subtle and the secretive method; in combination these form the composite character of India's international policy. Her aim is the attainment of an unquestioned status of supremacy in South Asia. Her strategy is the diplomatic utilization of big-Power contention between the USA and the USSR in the region, and the pushing up of her war-potential with the latter's support.

The representatives of the Indian

Government, including the PM and its ambassador in the USA, have often taken pains to explain, rather too elaborately, the Indo-Soviet treaty in terms of India's supposed allegiance to the principle of non-alignment, more honoured in its flouting than observance, like Gandhian non-violence. However, informed statesmen the world over were not wanting who could and did assess the shift of India's foreign policy from the academic concern of its architects with non-involvement in the super-Powers' equations of strategy and interest. Gone are the days of Bandung and Panch Sheel principles. In their place have come new concerns and compulsions of a budding great Power's requirements. Curiously, the erstwhile military dictatorship of Pakistan and its openly avowed alignment with the USA's overall global policy and politico-military strategy, furnished the motive force of this shift in India foreign policy. If Dulles with his unconcealed and blunt commitment of support to Islamabad—the dependable "spiritual" ally and bulwark against communism—was an anathema, the other face of bipartisan U.S. state policy was more alluring. There was a Chester Bowles, a Galbraith, and of course the Kennedys who would go the whole hog in winning India's spiritual proximity and alliance as a bastion of democracy and as a potential future challenge to as well as replacement of China's leadership in the Third World. Responsively, India's rulers did keep a Parthian glance darting meaningfully at this champion of the "Free World" and repository of hard foreign currency, so direly necessary for development

of the country's capital-intensive economy and which their class-interests never failed to recognise as vital.

Interestingly, the "foreign aid" received by India since the birth of her Republican Statehood was largely a result of the munificence of the USA and its thumb-controlled financial credit organisations, the World Bank and the IDA. [Between April 1951 and September 1969, India had received Rs. 6,801 crores and Rs. 1,605 crores worth of aid from the USA and the World Bank and IDA respectively—70.6 per cent of the total world-aid received during the period] The proportion of aid from the USA and the soft-lending affiliated world credit organisations was even higher up to the fiscal year ending 1967-68, a reflection of the purposes of the USA's ruling industrial-military complex trying to groom India as a "great" South Asian Power to contend with and supplant China. (Rs. 4,370 crores from the USA, including Rs. 630 crores under PL-480 out of a total of Rs. 6,030 crores received). The long-term aims of the U.S. administration have not changed a whit during the last four years, although it is made out by India's government-sponsored propaganda as though the former has been tilting its balance of patronage in favour of Pakistan. The quantum of American financial and military aid—by way of logistic supplies after the 1962 Sino-Indian border conflict and even after the short-lived Indo-Pakistan war in 1965—will never see the light of day. The Indian administration will see to it that it remains secret. However, it might be pointed out, while the Finance Minister was bewailing the alleged tardiness of world credit in

reaching India by way of Special Drawing Rights, the International Aid Development Association and the World Bank had been quietly increasing India's share of the total global aid to a magnificent 41%. Up to June 1971 their total commitments had increased to \$2,558 million. Lest it be forgotten, in 1971 Peter Cargill, representative of the World Bank, made a damaging report apropos the prospects of its extending aid to Pakistan, while maintaining a very favourable posture towards India. As a matter of fact, the flow of aid from American, and controlled sources, never dried up—not even during the short and trying period of difficulty in Indo-American relations in December 1971. There was no suspension of the sumptuous \$104 million loan earmarked for generalised imports and committed to the Government of India on "irrevocable letters of credit", even while Mr B. Everitt Jordan, senior Democrat leader, was criticising India for having involved herself in "a purely civil war in Pakistan", and threatening a cut-out in aid by his country. The crux of this aid business lies elsewhere: in the growing incapacity of the USA to foot its world-wide bill, arising out of commitments to stop communism and also the anti-colonial liberation movements of exploited peoples. The dollar's feet of clay had never been more exposed as in the past year, when, to escape from the country's acute economic crisis and to stave off the flight of capital abroad under the shadow of an impending devaluation, the Government of the USA was forced to agree to drastic cut-backs in its military aid bill, meant for upholding the 'Asians fighting Asians' concept, as well as its economic aid programmes in humanitarian garb. The American Congress, trying to effect a new balance, between surveillance of world politics through monetary strings and an overall reduction in the country's liabilities thus incurred, has successively throttled the Administrations, spending spree since early November 1971. Repetitive

controversies, showing up bipartisan parallelism in views, have indicated the eagerness of the USA's ruling circles to have their money's worth, to obtain a matching return from the countries aided by way of their contribution to regional security. When on December 9 last, the House of Representatives passed a slashed-down \$3,000 million foreign-aid bill, the non-recipients named were India, Pakistan and Ecuador. It is significant that India and Pakistan were temporarily bracketed; and, if the stoppage of military aid to Pakistan announced in the preceding month—a result of the Indian P.M.'s Washington tour and special pleading for greater American "understanding"—is related to this context, it becomes apparent that the dimensions of America's India policy did NOT at any stage favour any tilt towards Pakistan. If anything, the facts indicate a continued and discreetly reciprocal understanding of India's economic needs (i.e. of the requirements of the ruling class for regular capital investments and collaboration), and also of the other face of India's "non-alignment". The oft-repeated interpretations offered ex parte by India on the Indo-Soviet treaty and the assertion that similar treaties could be had for the asking—if only the USA should care to—have not been lost on the USA's ruling circles. McNamara came, spent more time in New Delhi than in Islamabad, eulogising India's economic efforts for progress (though the growth rate languishes), promising more aid, and naturally, more of understanding; his has been closely followed by the sudden visit of Sir Alec Douglas-Home and the initiation of a review of the entire gamut of Indo-U.K. relations with special reference to British interests in the Indian Ocean. Evidently, on the question of thwarting Soviet naval preponderance in the area, and therefore, of weaning India away from her commitment to unseen clauses of the Indo-Soviet treaty—which is more feared than real—the United Kingdom and the USA are one, and the

sedulously spread stories of Nixon-Heath differences are more of New Delhi's fantasy than truth. No doubt the Conservative Government of Britain has reappraised that part of its predecessor's foreign policy which envisaged a retreat west of Suez. Its present policy is for maintaining a presence of power in collaboration with the USA, Malaysia, little Singapore, and the former Dominions, Australia and New Zealand, Bahrein, the Emirates of the Persian Gulf, Simonstown in South African territory, the Maldive islands, the base of Masirah off the coast of Oman, Diego Garcia, the Seychelles Islands and Singapore, are now the significant staging posts of the UK-U.S. military power, feverishly trying now to establish a "Collective Security System" in the Indian Ocean region in which India is fondly expected to be a "foundation stone". It is not a fortuitous coincidence that Mrs Gandhi had taken great pains during her Nov. 71 visit to assure both Mr Nixon and Dr Kissinger that the Indo-Soviet treaty contained nothing that was not commensurate with India's 'non-aligned' stance; in other words, the status quo obtaining in this part prior to the signing of the treaty remained. She had at that time gone to the extent of certifying Dr Kissinger as "a good man" while addressing the National Press Club in Washington. Dr Kissinger is not that ungrateful. He is reported to have paid tribute to the hard-headed pragmatic sense of the PM, offering an opinion which implies that she could be safely depended upon for preventing any conversion of the Indian Ocean into a Soviet lake. Was not India a great Power of sufficient "crucial importance" and capable of not only containing China, nay even beating that country in case of another confrontation, but also of drawing a deadline to Russian ambitions south of Tashkent? What harm could there be in allowing India the needed elbow-room for a bout at international diplomacy and for extracting to the utmost the USSR's military sup-

port as well as favourable trade terms so long as the going is good? After all, the international trading pattern of India's imports from the Western countries still shows a 53% majority, despite decline from 67% in 1967-68, while the share from socialist countries has risen to only 19% (1969-70).

It is the astute assessment of Washington that has served its ruling coterie—the Pentagon and the close circle of political technocrats headed by Dr Kissinger—well in comprehending New Delhi's ultimate aim. The wind has changed, and so a revised attitude is already discernible. They have discovered, not too late for mending their initial flaws, that Pakistan is the obsession of New Delhi, the more so now that a civilian ruler, and a people's elected representative has taken over the charge of its political destiny and begun to make postures of progressing towards a socialist system, justice and economic liberation of the people. The USA, like the contender, rival and political antagonist, the USSR, has instinctively realized that the present government in Pakistan must be done down and replaced by a right plus left-revisionist combination, if only to deprive China of any supposed political leverage there. This is the *raison d'être* of Nixon's recent offensive of friendship, with an olive branch and promise of long-enduring financial aid, in respect of India. Even Nehru has been rediscovered, and his well-known advocacy in favour of an Afro-Asian area of peace and a generation wedded to it, has been dug out. It is quite another matter whether or not the daughter of that illustrious architect of India's foreign policy, and of non-alignment, however abstract or ideologically nebulous the concept might be, is amused!

The respective ambassadors in New Delhi and Washington, Keating and Jha, have come back to their task with a revised line of approach for restoring the traditional Indo-U.S. rapport. On its usual keel again, the ruling class of bureaucrats

and rising monopoly-entrepreneurs in India has nothing to lose but everything to gain from the steel-frame foundation of that understanding. Already the left-of-the-Centre Cabinet member, the Planning Minister, has begun to talk in a reformed vein to the Associated Chamber of Commerce. Tata has begun to have euphoria over the blessings of technical advance in production matters, of course at the cost of labour's earning opportunities. All the big guns of the private sector, and the public bureaucratic-capital too, have started booming in favour of relaxation in licence-grants, and, also, in favour of India's going down the collaborationist path again with foreign enterprise and capital. Yet, the favours and facilities wrung out from Moscow and many an East European capital, would remain. In today's fast-moving game of power diplomacy India has already gained an advantage, not only over Pakistan which appears now to lie prostrate and low, but also in the tripolar system of giant Powers.

Yet, appearances are being kept up. Nixon is still being portrayed as the "unrepentant sinner" who had erred on the wrong side in making love to Pakistan, whatever the reasons, for obtaining a decisive voice of counsel in the ruling circles of the then militarist government.

The cataclysmic change in the political structure of West Pakistan has sent a shudder down the spine of Washington. What if the untested forces of people's liberation struggle, held temporarily at bay with the help of the Indian Army and Sheikh Mujib's leadership in East Pakistan, make a detour, and become successful in the West? In that event, a tiny monarchy in Afghanistan under Soviet inspiration would hardly succeed in thwarting the assertion of people's revolutionary will. India, and India alone, is the only trustworthy State to stop the deluge and defend the "legitimate power-interests" of the USA and the UK alike—and, if a Washington-Moscow agreement is achieved by way of SALT,

disarmament and any arranged detente in Europe, however limited and transient in character, India could then be relied upon to further the equations of big-Power relationship in respect of all the three. Under a barrage of suggestive propaganda, what New Delhi's publicity media is attempting now is a qualitative modification of Washington's attitude towards India. All the loud protestations about India being alienated by Washington's alleged hostility, or of India's "ties with Moscow" remaining unaltered, are mere sham—the diplomatic ruse needed to draw the USA into the ambit of India's international system of alliances and objectives. How far Soviet Russia will be taken in by such double-faced international policy of India is difficult to ascertain at present. It can be surmised however, that this super-Power, already alert and conscious of a possible turning-over of tables on her, is leaving nothing to chance to keep military preparedness at the highest level in the Indian Ocean, in the Middle East (with a servile Sadat Government held completely under political control), in Central Europe (despite promise of an East-West detente and Bonn's Ostpolitik creating an atmosphere of relief) and, certainly all along the Sino-Soviet frontier.

In the dynamics of tri-polar international politics, it is problematical what perennial advantage one super-Power can get over the other two in trying to play them off against one another. Nixon, supreme head of the biggest imperialist power, has his own international tricks to try a hand at the game. But what would India gain by playing second fiddle in such a concert?

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FEBRUARY 26, 1972

## Fresh Pastures

TARUN ROY

**M**RS Indira Gandhi told the Calcutta rally on February 6 that India, which had entered the war against Pakistan without any ulterior motive, had reaped one advantage—the setback to communalism in this country.

Even before the smell of gunpowder disappeared from Dacca, there was a bit of rioting in Telicherry, Kerala. By our standards, it was a small affair. But India will gain advantages in fields other than that of secularism.

For the past few years, the Indian Government as well as the West Bengal Government have been drawing up numerous plans to increase the supply of fish; a few crores of rupees have already been spent, but the comparative costs of the government and the fish traders are supposed to be so high that the problem has remained unsolved. Now Bangladesh can export to India lakhs of rupees worth of fish. But whether the price of fish will be reduced, that is, whether the poor people will be able to buy fish in future, remains to be seen depending on the degree of the profit hunger of the fish traders.

There may also be a neat solution to the crisis of the coal industry in India. East Pakistan's import of coal from distant countries was to the extent of Rs. 100 crores. Now the Bangladesh Government will be able to import it from India, and as a result Indian coal will have a large market and new investments and modern equipment will be necessary. This should not cause any worry. The Soviet Union controls 15% of India's coal industry, and supplies most of the necessary equipment. Hence in this new context, the Soviet Union will be glad to invest again and supply equipment; incidentally acquiring greater control on India's coal industry.

The big bourgeoisie of West Pa-

kistan has so long supplied East Pakistan Rs 200 crores worth of cotton and woollen clothes and garments. Henceforth India will be able to supply these products to Bangladesh, thereby solving the crisis of her textile industry and enabling the Indian big bourgeoisie to earn huge profits. The Soviet Union will also reap part of the harvest. In the field of India's export trade, 57% of wool, 75% of woollen garments and 53% of cotton are controlled by the USSR. Hence the Soviet Union will have the larger share of these profits through the State Trading Corporation.

There is also jute. For the past few years India's jute industry has been facing an acute crisis. In the agricultural sector, the demand for larger quantities of jute has resulted in the reductions of food crops like rice. But now India may import jute from Bangladesh, the largest producer of jute in the world. As a result productions of food crops will be expanded, and the crisis of the jute industry partially solved. And since the Soviet Union controls 75% of India's foreign trade in jute, it will also benefit.

Henceforth, India will be able to import skins, another important export commodity of Bangladesh. And by its control over 57% of India's foreign trade in this, the Soviet Union will not go back with empty hands.

It becomes quite clear that in exchange of jute, fish etc. India will be able to send coal, cotton and woollen garments etc. Not only that, she may also send salt, iron and steel, cement, sugar, oil, heavy and medium-sized machines etc. to Bangladesh. This huge market for Indian commodities will definitely satisfy the profit hunger of the Indian big bourgeoisie. The Soviet rulers will be satisfied too, since the Soviet Union controls in India 80% of electricity generating equipment industries, 80% of oil extraction and 34% of oil refinery industries, 30% of iron and steel industries, 60% of electri-

cal equipment industries and 25% of power industries. The governments of all these countries—Bangladesh, India and the Soviet Union—indeed have sufficient reasons to be happy over the economic relationship that is likely to emerge between them.

Another aspect of this relationship should be noted. The Bangladesh Government has declared that a huge amount will be necessary for the economic reconstruction of Bangladesh. It has also made it clear that it would not accept any economic aid from the United States as such. That means that for economic assistance it will be mainly depending on India and the Soviet Union. And in this respect the Soviet rulers have no reasons to refuse them. For, ideologically, both from the political and economic points of view, Bangladesh will be advancing along the path of socialism, Soviet style. The favourite Soviet political thesis that "revolution can be exported" was applied by the Soviet rulers themselves in 1968 when they sent troops to Czechoslovakia to save socialism. The same thesis has been applied by India in arranging the liberation of Bangladesh by physical force. The Soviet rulers have been applying the favourite economic thesis that "the development of state capitalism in the newly-independent countries will accelerate their progress along the non-capitalist, i.e. socialist path". They have described the development of the public sector i.e. state monopoly capitalism, in India as 'socialistic' and invested crores and crores of rupees for the development of state monopoly capitalism as well as comprador capitalism, thus extending their domination over India in economic, political and military affairs. The Bangladesh leaders are also determined to follow the 'socialist' path of economic development, Indian style. They have declared that to save the people of Bangladesh from the exploitation of private monopoly capitalism, they would, from the very beginning, make sincere efforts to develop the public sector, i.e. state monopoly

capitalism. That is, they would be following from the very beginning the Soviet-advocated path of non-capitalistic, i.e. socialistic development. And if they really succeed in checking the infiltration of U.S. ca-

pital into Bangladesh, that will be the most satisfactory goal of the Soviet rulers, as in that case they will not have to compete with U.S. capital for economic domination in Bangladesh.

## China's Missile Programme

KALYAN CHAUDHURI

**T**HE Pentagon's weapons development chief in October last year announced that China's advances in nuclear weapon research surpassed those of Britain and France and that its nuclear progress rivalled that of the U.S. and Russia.

John Foster, Director of Defence Research and Engineering of the Pentagon, in his recent report, said China already had medium-range nuclear missiles and had nearly completed work on the intercontinental missile. Mr Foster, who was addressing a meeting of a national group of civic leaders and businessmen interested in Pentagon affairs, referred generally to the speed with which China had moved from simple atomic weapons to thermonuclear capability. According to information reaching India from various knowledgeable foreign sources, China's plan seems to be to carry out its first operational tests of ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missile) in early 1972. These sources also said that 21 leading Peking scientists now engaged in bomb and rocket projects had their higher technical education abroad.

It is known that of the 15 scientists of China working on the bomb, six have received training in the USA, five in the UK, two in the USSR and two including Dr Chien and Dr Wan Kan-chung in France. Marshal Nieh Jung-chen, head of the State Scientific and Technological Commission, is in overall charge of the advanced weapons development programme.

Of the missile experts, four including the head of the programme are

reported to have been from the USA and one from the UK. The 21st scientist is the famous mathematician, Hua-Lo-keng, Director, Institute of Mathematics and Institute of Computer Technology, who had received his training in the USA.

The biggest ballistic missile launch facility in China is reported to have been under construction since 1965 at Shuang Chengtze which is situated in a remote desert area of Western Inner Mongolia, 400 miles northwest of Lanchow. The bid for rapid completion of this test site has led many U.S. experts to believe that an ICBM test might be a possibility in China within the next few months.

A recent assessment by the U.S. Secretary of Defence has revealed "clear indications" of the sophistication of the Chinese missile programme in the launching of their first satellite in April 1970, possibly using stages of an IRBM (intermediate range ballistic missile) now under development. The U.S. Defence Secretary is of the view that by mid-1971 the Chinese had a number of MRBMs (medium range ballistic missile) deployed. It is further held that by mid-1972 the Chinese will have in operation a modest number of missiles with a mix of MRBMs and LRBMs.

However, the launching of the first 173-kg satellite in 1970 proved that China had developed launch vehicles with adequate booster power and had mastered the technique of separating the different stages of a rocket. Of course, the orbiting of a 173-kg satellite does not necessarily mean that Peking has succeeded in deve-

loping an ICBM. A day after the launching, U.S. Defence Department experts stated that the achievement did not imply that China had the technical know-how for launching intercontinental ballistic missiles. But, they added, the Chinese might now be on the way to developing reconnaissance satellites to warn them against surprise attacks from the USSR.

At any rate their launching a satellite with their own rocket has greatly enhanced China's technological as well as political prestige. This might have been one of China's principal objectives in orbiting the satellite. The Pentagon's R & D Chief, Mr Foster, speculated that it was perhaps the forerunner of "a large, intense space programme with important military values involving very large boosters".

The U.S. Defence Secretary said in February 1970 in his annual report on America's Defence Posture: "By the summer of 1967, the rate of test firings of MRBMs reportedly increased and this apparently indicated that the R & D phase of the missile programme was nearing an end and that initial MRBM deployments would begin in 1967-68. Actually, however, while the MRBM testing is still continuing in late 1969 and early 1970, the Chinese have not yet deployed an operational medium-range missile."

He suggested that the three-year delay could have resulted either from technical problems with the missile or from political interference during the Cultural Revolution. There was even a possibility that the Chinese were not planning to deploy the first generation MRBM but were intent

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FEBRUARY 26, 1972

on developing a more advanced missile equipped with a thermonuclear warhead of 200 to 500 KT (kilotons) yield.

But before the House Armed Services Committee on March 1971, the U.S. Defence Secretary said, "The emphasis in Chinese R & D appears to have shifted in 1970 from the MRBM to the development of an (liquid-fuelled) IRBM. The Chinese MR-IRBM development efforts have also provided important experience for their ICBM programme". He thought the Chinese would deploy a small number of MRBMs by mid-1971 and could attain initial operational capability (IOC) within the next year or two. By mid-1972, the Chinese should have operational "a modest number of missiles with a mix of MRBMs and IRBMs".

#### News Site

The military balance of 1970-71 (Institute of Strategic Studies, London) is of the view that maybe the Chinese are giving priority to the deployment of an ICBM. And testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Sub-Committee on Asia and the Pacific in September 1970, Professor Wayne Wilcox of Columbia University said that China was poised for testing an IRBM, possibly in the Bay of Bengal. Some "key" US-Government analysts were also of the opinion that the Chinese were concentrating their efforts on an advanced IRBM with a range of 1,600 to 4,000 kms. They referred to the discovery of a new launch site in Manchuria from where tests of these improved IRBMs might start soon. Test flights could be overland towards Sinkiang.

The U.S. Defence Secretary also refers to this launching site in his February 1970 Defence Posture report. He says a large ICBM launch facility, which had been under construction since 1965, has been completed. The site is reportedly located at a place called Shuang Chengtze in a remote desert area of Western Inner Mongolia. This locality (Lat. 41 degree north, Long. 100 degree east) is reached by a railroad

spur from the Lanchow-Urumchi Railway. The completion of this facility, detected by U.S. intelligence from satellites, led Pentagon experts and the U.S. defence department to believe that a Chinese ICBM test was imminent. China's first satellite was apparently launched from this place. Its second satellite (221 kg.) too was launched from the same space station on March 3, 1971. Peking made a belated announcement of this launching on March 16, describing it as a "mission of scientific experiment." This site may be used in future for ICBM test firing.

According to the U.S. Defence Secretary's statement, it is possible that China will achieve an initial ICBM capability by 1973 and that a force of 10 to 25 operational ICBMs of 9,600 km range, carrying a 3-megaton thermonuclear warhead, could be deployed by 1975. The statement says that Chinese scientists are also working on a solid-fuel ICBM system for "hard" site emplacement. This system may be ready sometime after 1975. Subsequently, at a Congressional testimony in April 1970, the U.S. Defence Secretary modified his earlier statement and said that though China could develop the ICBM as early as 1973, it was not likely to be a serious nuclear power until the 1980s. But in May 1971, the then Director-General of the Defence Agency of Japan estimated that China will probably have 100 IRBMs and 10 ICBMs in five years time.

The American magazine *Aviation Week* reported in August 24, 1970 that Chinese technicians, who had been arriving in Zanzibar in increasing numbers, were believed to be installing telemetry equipment on the island to monitor the final flight phase of the first ICBM. Recovery of the dummy warhead would probably be attempted by Zanzibar-based technicians. A subsequent press report said that China had approached East African countries for permission to set up tracking stations, presumably as a prelude to the launching of its first ICBM in the western Indian Ocean. Some of

these stations were reported to have been completed already. The Military Balance of 1970-71 too states that flight tests over the south-western Pacific or the Indian Ocean would herald the preliminary stages of an ICBM programme.

Despite various speculative reports on China's "imminent" ICBM test, however, nothing has actually occurred.

Besides ICBMs, China was also carrying out tests with a conventional submarine capable of launching nuclear missiles of the Polaris type, said a *Daily Mail* of London report on June 25, 1970. The testing was reportedly detected by a U.S. spy plane which spotted the submarine near the Chinese submarine base at Talién (Dairen) in Manchuria. The submarine was reported to have an operational range of 35,200km and might be capable of carrying missiles with a range of 1,600km.

The Chinese Navy is known to have one "G" class diesel-powered submarine fitted with three vertical tubes for ballistic missiles. But there has so far been no evidence that the Chinese have developed a missile for it. The *Daily Mail* report of testing of submarine missiles has not been corroborated by any other source.

With an army consisting of approximately 2.5 million personnel, organised into a total of more than 140 divisions, China is a major power in Asia. The air force (including the Navy's air arm) consists of more than 4,000 aircraft of which most are jet fighters, and a small fleet of about 300 jet bombers.

The Navy's main offensive strength centres upon a growing force of more than 40 attack submarines, a number of which are of the medium-range 'R' class, and an increasing number of guided missile patrol boats. Chinese production of army ordnance, new guided missile destroyers and advanced jet fighter aircraft, is contributing to a rapid modernization of the general purpose forces.

## Division In CPI (M)

N. K. SINGH

Ever since the expulsion of Mr A. K. Roy, one of its three MLAs in Bihar, along with a number of prominent workers and party activists, the CPI (M) in Bihar has been facing a turmoil. This started even before the party could recover from the severe shock received by the large-scale 'Naxalite' desertions/expulsions during 1967-68. According to informed sources, the process to eliminate the 'extremists' from the party started long ago and culminated in September 1971 in the expulsion of its lone MLA from south Bihar, Mr A. K. Roy, on charges of "persistent violation of party directives, disruptive activities, gross individualism, factionalism...and writing in an anti-party journal," (which incidentally is *Frontier*). Others expelled along with Mr Roy were Mr A. K. Bakshi, Secretary, Dhanbad District Committee, Mr T. L. Singh, a trade union leader of Jamshedpur, and Mr Ganesh Singh, Office Secretary of the State Committee.

Except a few labour unions in some industrial areas like Dhanbad and Jamshedpur and some pockets in the agrarian-belts of Nawada and Purnea, the CPI (M) had no influence worth the name in Bihar. Even these pockets were more the creation of individual leaders in the areas concerned, such as Messrs A. K. Roy, S. N. Singh (leader of a faction of the Naxalites), Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi and Ramanand Singh. Even judging from the parliamentary point of view the party occupies a very negligible position in the State politics. With one of its three MLAs expelled, and one defected, it had one MLA left in the dissolved Bihar Assembly. Even its percentage of the popular vote was meagre: 0.86% in the 1967 General Election.

Deplorably enough, even such a

small unit is divided into two factions, 'extremist' and 'liberal' which is said to be the by-product of politics at the national level. Messrs U. S. Shukla, K. K. Singh, G. S. Vidyarthi, Taqui Rahim and Chandi Prasad form the 'extremist' group reportedly owing its allegiance to Mr B. T. Rande. The liberal group consists of Messrs S. S. Srivastava, Hari Krishna, Bhagwan Sharma and others. This group reportedly toes the 'official' line pursued by Messrs Jyoti Basu and company.

Differences between the two groups cropped up over the question of Mr A. K. Roy's expulsion. Despite wide protests from the 'extremist' faction and the rank and file, the Srivastava group prevailed and Mr Roy was expelled.

In the meantime the Bihar State Conference of the CPI (M) was held at Bettiah (Champan) from December 3 to 6 last, in which the strength of the State Committee was raised from 13 to 22. The Vidyarthi-Shukla group alleges that Mr Srivastava filled all the new vacancies with his staunch supporters. Not satisfied with it, the Srivastava faction was trying to capture the State Secretariat too. On the other hand, the 'extremist' faction was publicly expressing resentment over the manner in which the party bosses were working. They were not reconciled to Mr Roy's expulsion and efforts to bring him back to the fold were continuing vigorously.

In this background, the four-day (January 22 to 25), crucial meeting of the party's State Committee, which was to decide, among other things, the formation of the State Secretariat, selection of constituencies and party candidates for the forthcoming Assembly elections, had promised to be a stormy one and Mr Promode

Das Gupta was deputed to supervise the session.

The 'official' group prevailed over the State Committee meeting too, thanks to its nine new recruits. Mr Srivastava succeeded in his plan of capturing the State Secretariat. The old Secretariat used to maintain a balance between the Srivastava and the Shukla faction: it had three members, Mr Srivastava, Mr Shukla, and Mr Ramanand Singh, who is neutral between the two factions. But in the new Secretariat, formed in the January meeting, Mr Shukla was dropped altogether and its strength was increased from three to five. Of the three new entrants to the Secretariat, only one was from the Shukla-Vidyarthi faction. So now, of the five State Secretariat members, three are 'liberal', one 'extremist' and one neutral.

Of the three new entrants, Mr Hari Krishna's (a 'liberal') case is very interesting. He has virtually jumped from ordinary membership of the party to the State Secretariat. Mr Hari Krishna, who had joined the party only in 1967, was not even a member of the State Committee till very recently.

Sharp differences over the selection of constituencies and party candidates for the Assembly elections and other organisational matters arose, too. Although the Patna District Committee had twice recommended Mr Taqui Rahim's candidature from the Patna West constituency, it was Mr Hari Krishna who was chosen.

### Maharashtra

#### Election Scene

M. J. AKBAR

THE crucial question in Maharashtra is not which party will gain power after the elections but which person the Congress will choose for the palatial Chief Minister's residence on Mount Pleasant Road. With the Congress accepting its continuance in power as a fact of

life, the political thermometer in the State shows a less than healthy 93 degrees.

A feeble and disunited opposition does nothing to raise the temperature, much less create an election fever. With the main urban leftist party, the CPI, riding the Indira bandwagon (the Union Labour Minister, Mr R. K. Khadilkar, is campaigning for CPI candidates too), George Fernandes' socialism thoroughly discredited, and parties like the Peasants and Workers Party and the Republican Party of India having, at best, only small pockets of rural support, the danger from the left is negligible. The PWP held 19 seats in the last Assembly, and the other major opposition party, the Socialist Party, 12. This time the Congress does not expect to give the opposition more than 25 seats in a House of 270. The PWP is contesting 58 seats and the Socialist Party, 52. The CPI has 44 candidates.

Reshuffling of the Bombay high command, the induction of a number of "leftists" just before the elections (what a marvellous coincidence) will surely give Mrs Gandhi's party the correct image of social concern. In a State which has no genuine leftist party, her party is left enough to win votes. Add this to the large fund of personal goodwill she has and you get a "stable" Congress government.

Mrs Gandhi's recent nationalism, meanwhile, has taken the wind out of the bloated sails of the right-reactionary parties. One of the much-emphasized virtues of the Shiv Sena has been its war cry for the Defence of the Motherland. Now that Mrs Gandhi has done this with more success than even the Shiv Sena could have hoped for, its badly-rhyming slogans are beginning to look pale on Bombay's walls. In a somewhat similar predicament is the Defender of the Faith, the Jana Sangh. With 121 candidates in the field, the party finds it more credible to ask the electorate for an effective opposition. The days of silk banners exhorting the "thinking public" to defeat the

evil of "left adventurism" seem, alas, to be over. The Congress (O) and the Swatantra are noticeably silent. Mrs Gandhi's motif for the coming elections effectively, if not subtly, manages to appeal to the prejudices of the petty bourgeoisie and the aspirations of the poor. Your vote defeated Pakistan; let your vote now defeat poverty.

Admittedly wall slogans are unreliable barometers of public support—and Calcuttans familiar with the BNVP's habits will surely bear this out—but yet one cannot fail to notice the efforts of two parties in this respect: the CPM and the Muslim League. The CPM has a small base in Maharashtra as its 20 candidates show, and it is seriously trying to move into Comrade Dange's place in the trade union movement. Its success or otherwise in these elections may have a strong effect on its future. The Muslim League's activities are less designed to win seats and more to obtain pockets of support for future bargaining.

But to return to our initial question. On whom shall the eyes of the Lady fall?

Mr Naik's chances are even. But it will obviously be a reluctant Mrs Gandhi who will allow him to stay. For one, the wages of sin have not been paid in his case; Mr Naik, it will be remembered, put his vote in the wrong box during President Giri's election. Mr Naik, in fact, has remained only because his exit would cause an imbalance in the power structure in Delhi. Till now, Mrs Gandhi has played to safety-first rules. No promises have been

made to anybody. But a pointer to which way the wind might blow is the approved list of Congress candidates: Mr Naik's supporters outnumber anybody else's. Mrs Gandhi has, however, been known to spring a surprise whenever required. Another factor which swings the scales against Mr Naik is Mrs Gandhi's dislike of State bosses. With power becoming increasingly centralised, a powerful State chief is a liability. Two State rulers were removed last year: Mr Brahmananda Reddy and Mr Sukhadia. The replacements were "committed".

The riddle becomes simpler now. Who has Mrs Gandhi's complete trust? The answer is not as simple as S. B. Chavan, the Marathwada who has been staking his claims to the Mount Pleasant Road residence quite unabashedly. Speculators thrive in such situations. Mr R. K. Khadilkar's name is being mentioned. Though the Union Minister himself brushed away the suggestion the other day, the speculation may not be as fanciful after all. Mr P. C. Sethi has taken over Madhya Pradesh; Mr Siddhartha Ray should be the Chief Minister of West Bengal if all goes well for the party. A less plausible candidate is Dr Rafiq Zakaria, whose name has been taken by at least one prominent Hindi publication. In these days of secularism, nothing is impossible.

The pro-Indira press in Maharashtra has been gunning for Mr Naik for some time now. One wonders how long he can manage to hold on to the gaddi.

## The Progressive Patriarchalist—II

A. K. LAHIRI

**M**ANY are the myths in vogue concerning the progressive modernism of Swami Vivekananda. A sannyasi on horseback; a sannyasi with great command over English; one who would sooner die at the hands of a 'scientific doctor' than live in those

of a native apothecary; or, one who advocated the spread of Western knowledge with so much zeal—these are just a few arbitrarily chosen examples of his 'modernism' which furnish quite enough material for our middle-class contemplation of

modernism. Even a cursory glance would reveal that in effect all these are merely the exclamatory expressions of the one and only cognition that, *in spite of his being a sannyasi, a religious preacher, he could afford to be so familiar with, even akin to, Western ideas, so zealous in his admiration of their dynamism, the rajas*—as if when a man has such great qualities, it is an insolence to question his progressiveness. One is liable to be branded as impudent, imprudent too, if one dares to ask just what he advocated these things for, to what end.

All these gestures of modernism fit nicely with that 19th century punch of the Oriental metaphysical past with the Occidental physical present that was the mainspring of the so-called Bengal Renaissance. But the point is that it does not stop at that, it has very much to say beyond that shallow pale. And *that* distinguishes Vivekananda from a host of other reformers, predecessors as well as successors. It was the particular merit of his reformism that far from being content with injecting a dose of Westernism into the rootless, parasitic middle class, resulting in their moral upliftment, he had a very clear perception that unless a reorientation could be effected in the production sphere, there was absolutely no hope of building a strong and progressive country—strong and progressive in the sense he understood those terms. He did therefore have ideas as to how a headway could be made in reforming the production patterns. A clear and important hint is the following:

I say, set yourselves to the task of spreading education among the masses. . . Even with the adakening of knowledge, the potter will remain a potter—the fisherman a fisherman—the peasant a peasant. Why should they leave their hereditary calling? . . . Rather they will apply their knowledge to the better performance of the work *to which they have been born.* (VII—149-50) (italics added).

Western ideas, sciences are there-

fore, welcome, *since* they would prop up—and not pull to pieces—that falling structure of Oriental equilibrium; would cement the vicious cracks that had appeared in it and not build one anew on its ruins. This is the gist of his modernistic gestures,—a necessary and sufficient condition for the will-powered class-harmony he preached. In order that one might realise the ominous significance of his conscious and coherent plan, in order that its significance should not be underestimated, it is necessary to place this in the perspective of comprador-capitalism, which had, by then, taken root in Indian soil. It was the same analogical modernism of the compradors that had befooled so many people with its mirage of progress, though as a matter of fact they were, by nature, irrevocably related to the wearing out feudal order on the one hand and to imperialism on the other—both putting a bar to the indigenous growth of capitalism.

Still, one cannot be oblivious of Vivekananda's impeachments against the 19th century feudal order. But it is quite clear by now, his admonitions were more like those of a loving father towards a wayward son, the campaign of hatred was more a campaign of rectification. Mend feudalism to bring back the past glory of the patriarchal order—that was his leit motif; an anti-clockwise motion in favour of the immobile decrepitude that had been our lot. That these are not mere wishful babblings is amply borne out when he puts forward this as an urgent task:

The ideas of the Rishis will have to be adhered to. . . Firstly, categorize the whole people into the four castes. . . Conglomerate all the Brahmins into one Brahmin-caste; so also for the other three. . . These castes will then be brought in line with Vedic procedures. (Bengali [Centenary] edition, IX—154).

When he condemns untouchability, he by no means deprecates the caste system as a whole. Untouchability is a spoilt child of the system and to make it impeccable you have to

create such conditions as would hold back vile developments like untouchability. And what other than a patriarchal order could provide such conditions? Hence his ultra-enthusiasm for that order. Connect this with the well-advertised scheme of a mutual exchange of down-to-earth Westernism with leaping-onto-heaven Orientalism, and you get a well-knit system of regeneration of the *Satya-yug*. These are the aspects of the Swamiji's progressive plans of modernizing India.

### The Shudra-yug

Let it be said, in all fairness, that the dangerous selfish hypocrisy, so common among and typical of the middle class and/or the aristocratic intelligentsia never befell Vivekananda; he never conceded that these parasites sucking or helping to suck the life blood of the millions represented the people of India. The people were for him a very much tangible, living entity. Consider this pungent, almost revolutionary, observation of a sannyasi of the 19th century:

Where, in what period of history you rich men, noblemen, your priests and potentates took any thought for the poor? . . . A few thousand graduates do not make a nation, a few rich do not make a nation. (VIII—330).

It is easy to identify this attitude as the origin of his all too familiar outbursts hailing the dawn of the Shudra-yug, the era of the toiling masses; and it is just because of these high-pitched exclamations that his 'silky orange' personality overpowers us. Under its hypnotic spell we find it obligatory to let ourselves rejoice in the fact—or, at least, so we love to think—that this man knowing all that could be known, seeing all that could be seen and winning so many rosy-white applauses, could yet afford the magnanimity to shed genuine tears for the downtrodden millions.

But if we can cast ourselves loose from such high-strung sentimentality, one question rises automatically: What was the nature of this Shudra-

yug, the era of toilers? As it is, the word Shudra, signifying the lowest among the castes, is too broad a spectrum not to blur many an essential line of demarcation. Starting from the premise that an American or English factory labourer is just as much a Shudra as a backward landless Indian peasant, and that no further distinctions as regards their economic position are required, Vivekananda finds nothing absurd in comparing and trying to transplant the newly awakened consciousness of the former to the latter reeling under the aegis of feudalism. True, this jeopardy is the only thing expected of an idealist and after all it cannot be our accusation that Vivekananda was not a Marxist. The contention is that even today many of our Marxist friends ecstatically acclaim his prophecies ushering in the era of toilers, the Shudras, without caring a damn for just what he meant by Shudra-yug. In the particular case of India, the poor or landless peasant, the jobless handicraftsman and various other toiling people constituted what might be called a Shudra-bloc, and what had he to say to these people? Did it amount, in effect, to anything more than a solemn message of class-harmony? He was by no means oblivious of economic liberation and yet, how profoundly mistaken he was when he foresaw the rise of the Shudras in that "Capital is drifting into their hands"! This in the beginning of the 20th century! The ascension of a class of persons divorced from production but very low by the yardstick of caste is for him a sure sign of the dawning of a Shudra-era. The loud proclamation that Shudras will in the near future rule as Shudras, sounds ridiculous, though meaningfully so, in this context. He substitutes the men economically belonging to the middle class and climbing up the social ladder though still ranking very low by caste-standards for the toiling masses and in the marching of the former hears the footsteps of the latter. A Shudra, therefore, may not be a person living—or dying—by the sweat of his brow.

In other words, being a Shudra depends not solely upon one's economic character but on the reading of one's social position as indicated by the traditional caste-barometer. It is indeed true that such statements as speak in quite unambiguous terms of the rise of the hitherto socially and economically downtrodden masses are abundant in his works. But then, the rise of one may not necessitate the fall of another.

A priori, Vivekananda finds fault with those who, in his opinion, oppose the repair of the traditional caste-barometer. And who are they, if not the priests, for whose insolence it is that even such a great and glorious system proved abortive? "This man is to be made impossible", in his hitherto accepted attire at least. As for the other oppressing class, the Kshatriyas, well, he presents an indulgent countenance beaming with merciful forgiveness. Nothing could be further from truth than to consider this as but a transient sentiment proclaimed on the spur of some particular moment. On the contrary, this indulgence is very much in line with his ideal and it is in this that the implications of a nascent Shudra-era become perceivable and attain a coherence. As a matter of fact the Kshatriyas, of all the castes, compare favourably and are endowed with his ideals of dynamism. He even goes to the extent of hailing them as creators of everything 'that is positive':

... it is they who are the fathers of all that is noble and beautiful in Hinduism. Who wrote the Upanishads? Who was Rama? Who was Krishna? Who was Buddha? Who were the Tirthankaras of the Jains? (IV—359).

Moreover, whenever the Kshatriyas have preached religion they have made it open to all, irrespective of caste or creed. The Gita throws open a vista for every human being of whatever caste; and what does Vyas do other than giving a fanciful interpretation of the Vedas in order to deprive the poor Shudras? So that with all their vices the Kshatri-

yas had all along been playing a positive role. Having thus brought out the basic factors, nothing is easier for him than to throw these people, these priests, if not to the scrap-heap, at least to a purgatory. By thus eliminating the factors preventing the Kshatriyas from being benevolent, it should now be extremely easy and indeed desirable, to uplift the Shudras from the degradation. Consider this clarion call to the Maharaja of Khetri:

India can only be raised if the descendants of the Kshatriyas cooperate with the descendants of the Brahmins, not to share the spoils of self and power, but to help the weak. And you, my beloved prince—you the scion of a race which rests upon religion eternal, its sworn defenders and helpers, the descendants of Rama and Krishna, will you remain outside? (IV—330).

Everybody with the exception of the poor old priest is thus accorded a warm welcome in this Shudra-era—the king as much as, or probably even more than, the subject. The King is still very much the person who rules, but with the purging of the power that perpetuates oppression, the priesthood, the King will have undergone a subtle change of heart and accordingly will no more be a menace to the masses but will display in full his positive arts.

Just because of this, at the same time as he carries along with his motto of worshipful service to the *Daridra-Narayan*, the Poor-God, Vivekananda vehemently opposes the ideas of 'fighting a duel between the rich and the poor'. When he goes on merrily prescribing not priest-borne religion but food, even if it be from the begging-bowl, he does not cherish the idea of knocking down the feudal lords, the 'descendants of the Kshatriyas', for the purpose.

All these apparent contradictions cease to appear so, as soon as we realise that they are firmly entwined with his basic ideal of class-harmony which is incarnated in the caste-system. Throwing off the yoke of priestly

'spiritual tyranny' and liberated from the earthly miseries by a transformation of the heart-tissues of the feudal lords, the hitherto socially and economically downtrodden masses will, under the glorious guidance of their masters, build up a Shudra-era. A Shudra-era does not indicate the fall of feudalism but a dressing up of it in favour of an even more reactionary system. This is the whole story about the Shudra-yug, with India at the cross-roads of the 19th and 20th centuries in the background.

The folly of not seeing this Shudra-love as part of a well-integrated system, in the background of the socio-economic retrogression, may attain strange heights. The following is wonderfully exemplary: "In its essence it (the programme of national regeneration) was a bourgeois-democratic programme with idealistic efforts to depict the picture of the future India, where according to him, Shudras or the toiling masses will be leaders and rulers of society." (P. 21, B. K. Roy, *Socio-Political Views of Swami Vivekananda*).

From every aspect, therefore, without belittling his genuine compassion for the people a jot we arrive at a point where one is forced to classify Vivekananda as an agent, voluntary or involuntary, of extreme reaction; not simply because of his religious preachings, but because his plan of regeneration far from hastening and furthering national liberation, impeded it, collided directly with its interests. We might end by putting a question to those who, carried away by the Shudra-strains of the Swamiji, confuse the trees with the wood: 'If the definition of reaction is 'to roll back the wheel of history' then why shouldn't we call the man who sang the glory of a patriarchal society in the days of rejuvenating feudalism—a 'progressive' patriarchalist?

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## Calcutta Painters

A. B. M.

THE powerful group of artists 'Calcutta Painters' is exhibiting its paintings and graphics at the Birla Academy, Calcutta. It remains open till February 27. The artists include Prakash Karmakar, Rabin Mandal, Isha Mohammad, Gopal Sanyal, Dilip Kundu, Amal Chakladar, Jogen Chowdhury, Amitabha Sengupta, Subhaprasanna Bhattacharya, Nikhilesh Das, Sankar Guha and Tapan Ghose.

It is satisfying to see that all the artists except one concentrate on painting rather than on print-making, the fashion of the day. Print-making, I believe, can never be promoted to the level of fine art because modern print-making is more or less a product through accident which a good many incompetent artists take advantage of. Strangely, even some such graphic artists win big prizes in national art contests.

In the current exhibition Prakash dominates the show with his big drawings on packing paper. The forms, simplified to silhouette, are highly expressionistic. With his mastery over the grammar of composition he makes the pictures outstanding. Subhaprasanna, the youngest of the group, draws meticulously. His figures are grotesque, yet they are so living. Sankar has the power of facile strokes. Dilip is competent in formalisation, colourisation and emotional expression. Isha Mohammad, a veteran artist and a teacher, paints in his usual vigorous style. Jogen Chowdhury's felt-pen drawings on faint transparent colour bases are interesting compositions. Rabin Mandal and Gopal Sanyal's works are brilliantly colourful; Rabin formalises in the primitive outlook whereas Gopal, depicts his idea through expressionistic distortions. Tapan's graphics are good but not extraordi-

nary. Amitabha's lone exhibit is a scene of Paris and is Parisian in execution too. Amal Chakladar modernises the oriental style but seems to be a bit hesitant. Nikhilesh Das appears to be below par in the show.

## A New Journal

THE first issue of the new Hindi progressive journal *Fil Hal* published by Mr Vir Bhatrat Talwar from Patna (c/o Ajoy Printers, Postal Park, Patna) does not make it clear whether it is the product of his personal initiative or is the mouthpiece of a progressive organisation. But it joins the battle of ideas in this hour of confusion of thought.

*Fil Hal* in Hindi should reach a major section of India's urban and rural masses and will be understood by them. It is also worthy of note that the writers have taken to heart Lenin's dictum: "We do not want anything to be accepted with eyes shut, to be an article of faith. Everyone should keep his head tight on his shoulders and think out and verify everything for himself... We shall... approach not as mere observers, but as people who propose to alter circumstances, to remove the hardness from the times, the anguish... from the lives." Maybe this is why the authors avoided strings of quotations.

T. C.

## NOTICE

Articles cannot be returned unless accompanied by return postage.

Business Manager  
Frontier

FEBRUARY 26, 1972

## The Mind of Mr Bhutto

... The circumstances under which Mr Bhutto came to New York, his performance at the UN, his press conferences etc. were all reported in the press. On the evening of Friday, December 17th, 1971, he met with 75 or so Pakistanis at Pakistan's permanent mission to the UN.

When we entered the second floor of the mission Mr Bhutto had already been speaking for a few minutes. He was saying in Urdu that it was impossible for him to make a speech at that time because he was extremely upset at the outcome of the war in East Pakistan; that he was unable to accept this humiliation of the brave Pakistani soldiers and the prospect of Muslim Bengal being dominated by Hindus. He was willing to accept his share of blame for the debacle, he said, adding that the regime of Yahya Khan was that of stupid, assholes and fools. He said, "We had been beating the hell out of our own people, and now were being beaten the hell out of". He complained about the climate of intolerance in Pakistan and in that connection pointed out that he and his party were termed "kafirs" for advocating social reforms. He blamed the vested interests and their proteges for the current state of Pakistan.

After making these general remarks, he again apologised for his inability to make a speech and asked for questions. An elderly Bengali gentleman complained about the fact that Mr Bhutto had been speaking in Urdu and that he could not understand a word of what was said. In answer to a question Mr Bhutto criticized the structure of the army. He said that the present structure is that of a colonial army. He said that a people's army should be built, people should be armed and such reforms introduced that people would have a stake in defending every inch of the land. He said that the rulers didn't want that because they were

afraid of the people. One gentleman in the audience suggested that Mr Bhutto should give up his own land without waiting for general land reforms before asking anyone else to do the same. At this point Mr Bhutto got very excited and proceeded to explain how he was gradually selling his lands in order to meet the campaign expenses of his party. But this failed to satisfy the questioner who insisted on his point. Mr Bhutto then lost his cool and said, "Shut up you stupid man." This angered a section of the crowd whose feelings were articulated by someone who pointed out that Mr Bhutto had no right to speak like that. "How can you talk to me like that, I am your leader", retorted Mr Bhutto who started to leave. But he was finally persuaded to stay. Substantive discussions resumed after a few minutes of apologising to each other. The tone now seemed more relaxed, questions and answers were frank, and hostility almost all gone. The question on everybody's mind was "What next for Pakistan" and it was clear that Mr Bhutto knew no more than anyone else. In fact, he asked the question himself. He wanted to know how much latitude they would give him in seeking a new relationship with East Bengal and India, assuming he came to power. The answers as expected were varied. Many people tried to reason that it was about time to recognize that logistical problems of "liberating" East Pakistan were insurmountable and that a majority of East Pakistanis didn't want to be liberated anyway. Mr Bhutto agreed that it was true for the moment but implied that he expected this to change though he didn't elaborate how. One gentleman suggested that talks should be held with the Awami League and they should be given as much autonomy as they ask for as long as they do not completely dissociate from Pakistan. This suggestion got a round of applause from some in the audience while others murmured, "It is too late for that".

The Bengali gentleman who had earlier complained about Mr Bhutto

speaking in Urdu insisted that East Bengal remain a part of Pakistan and there was no alternative for a continued struggle for the liberation of East Pakistan. He added that not only East and West Pakistan had to be reunited politically but they had to be reunited physically by liberating northern India. This brought some laughter to the audience but apparently the gentleman was quite serious about it. . . .

Some of the other responses by Mr Bhutto were :

... On the PPP's threat to boycott the N.A. session; Mr Bhutto: We did not threaten to boycott the N.A. I said in my speech in Lahore on Feb. 28th that we would go to the N.A. meeting if the 120 day limit for framing the constitution was lifted. But Yahya Khan postponed the N.A. anyhow.

On his "Thank God Pakistan has been saved" statement :

Mr Bhutto: Yes, I did support the military action, but only to curb the secessionists and to restore Law and Order, and to stop indiscriminate mob killings of non-Bengalis. But I did not endorse the orgy of military violence against the populace of East Pakistan. In fact I condemned it in a press conference, but the entire press conference was censored. I have maintained all along that there could be no military solution in East Pakistan.

On the failure of the expected Chinese help to materialize :

Mr Bhutto: Such expectations were unrealistic. I was about to begin a vacation in Rome after a meeting with President Sadaat of Egypt when I was summoned to Pakistan and asked to go with a military delegation to China. The Chinese told me frankly and clearly that they were extremely concerned over the liquidation of leftists in East Pakistan by the right wing Razakars, armed by the government. The Chinese also explained their uneasiness over the failure of Pakistan to reciprocate the Chinese support of Pakistan; e.g., Pakistan's silence over the U.S. invasion of Cambodia and Laos. China

is not our *susral* (home of the in-laws) that we can expect anything, anytime, of them without giving them anything in return.

On somebody's suggestion, "Let us release Sh. Mujib and let him go where he belongs, for God's sake what are we going to do with him", Mr Bhutto: Yes... may be, he should be released.

... a middle aged lady... scored the well-dressed Sahibs and Begums of the audience (most of the audience was dressed to kill) for their pretence of concern about Pakistan. "For years you have been talking about liberating Kashmir and now you will be talking about liberating East Pakistan. The fact is that you (Sahibs and Begums) are responsible for ruining Pakistan. It is about time that the administration be turned over to the people other than Sahibs and Begums", she concluded, speaking in Punjabi. (From *Pakistan Forum*, Canada).

## Letters

### The Left Front

The emergence of the Left Front consisting of the genuinely progressive parties is already rocking the ramparts of the reactionary ruling party and its running dogs—the revisionist Communist Party of India. This semi-fascist clique has adopted the last resort for survival—terrorization and intimidation of voters, selective annihilation of opponents in collaboration with the police gangsters; lumpens, anti-social opportunists have taken shelter under its umbrella. The Congressite hoodlums—the so-called youths and students—have assumed the sacred role of Indian Razakars. But still the apple seems to be beyond the ugly clutches of the touts of Delhi; the politically conscious people of Bengal are determined to give a befitting reply to the vanity and audacity of Mrs Gandhi. It is a matter of days only. Even the so-called Congress-CPI Progressive De-

mocratic Alliance's election manifesto admits of the stepmotherly attitude of the Centre towards West Bengal, and to mislead the people it urges the Union Government "to come forward to give the State its legitimate share".

Looking back at the history of democratic movements in this State we are looking forward with hope. The artificial partition of Bengal as the prize for political independence of this multilingual and multinational country has turned this State into a colony of the Centre—a hunting ground for exploitation. The Law and Order is symbolic of colonial oppression and physical annihilation of the politically conscious segment of the population. Ghosts of Hitler and Yahya (?) pervade the air. The glorious tradition of the Tram Fare movement of 1953, the Teachers' movement of 1954, the Bengal-Bihar merger movement of 1956, the Food movement of 1959 and 1966 and many other jointly sponsored popular movements during the last two decades should be the guiding spirit of today's Left Front. They are not alone in their historic initiative; millions are behind them. Victory in the coming elections will be the beginning of a new era of joint democratic movements in order to liberate this colonized State from the clutches of economic exploitation by the alien Centre.

SISIR K. MAJUMDAR  
Calcutta

### Real Nature of Deception

In every mass struggle in this country on demands of food and jobs and against exploitation and oppression many people have deid. All through 1966 even the backward sections of the people repeatedly took part in death-defying struggles on various demands and the struggles for economic demands began to transform themselves into political battles. But the backward sections cannot realise on their own the real way in which they should advance in order

to seize political power and carry the social revolution through to a victorious end. It is the duty of the Communist Party to enlighten them on the way, the manner, in which they should advance to achieve their goal.

The CPI(M) leadership precisely shirked this duty and said the time for going forward to complete the unfinished social revolution has not yet come. They pushed the question of social revolution back to a position of secondary importance and raised the question of elections to the position of primary importance.

Instead of clarifying people's minds about the real connection that exists between the social order and the state machinery, they have shamelessly tried to capitalise on their ignorance about it and have assiduously tried to raise hopes in their minds that their living conditions can be bettered, even if to a small degree, by replacing the Congress ministers by the so-called progressive ministers.

It is this CPI(M) and the CPI who have taken upon themselves the onerous burden of protecting and preserving the rule of Mrs Indira Gandhi and her Congress party, beautifying in every possible manner the parliamentary ornaments, hiding the ugliness of the reactionary state apparatus, glorifying the so-called 'democracy' and 'independence' (though the economic situation has remained as usual in the doldrums, the entire semi-colonial and semi-feudal structure remains intact), and 'non-alignment' of the Congress regime and hiding the brutal dictatorial powers, the constant persecution and oppression of the people, the neo-colonialist domination of the US and USSR and the utterly reactionary nature of the anti-China, anti-people policies of the Congress Government.

The CPI(M) leadership also blabbered that Mrs Indira Gandhi's victory over the Syndicate was a political victory for the popular and democratic forces of the country. (*People's Democracy*, November 16, 1969).

Mrs Gandhi and her supporters welded a new party organisation at both the State and national level to acquire some prestige before the masses and to be of service to U.S. imperialism, Soviet revisionist social-imperialism, feudalism and comprador bureaucratic capital 'seemed to be anxious that the credibility of the Congress should be re-established'. (*Patriot*, December 26, 1969). At the Bombay Session U.S. and Soviet diplomats were present along with those from the U.K. West Germany etc. as observers. The Soviet delegation was headed by Mr Pegov, the Soviet Ambassador to India.

Kenneth B. Keating, U.S. Ambassador to India, said, "only way to preserve free government in India and prevent a communist take-over" (*New York Times*, 15 November, 1969). Echoing Keating, Sm Gandhi, explaining the economic policy resolution, said, "radical policies were inevitable in Indian conditions if the danger of a violent upsurge by dispossessed masses had to be eliminated". (*Patriot*, December 28, 1969).

The former director of the U.S. Aid Mission in New Delhi, Dean Lewis, strongly pleaded for restoring and expanding U.S. 'aid to India' "to enable the country to meet its mounting crisis evident from rural unrest, communal strife and political instability. (*Times Of India*, January 28, 1970).

The Indian bourgeoisie grew big under imperialist protection. Imperialism is their source of technology and finance, the commander of their enterprise. They are compradors. Feudalism has been kept alive in India by imperialism. The compradors have close relationship with the feudals. When these feudal-compradors launch state monopoly capitalism, it is called bureaucratic capitalism. Nationalisation in India is bureaucratic-capitalism. Bureaucratic capitalism is the most sterile form of capitalism and is completely reactionary, parasitic and oppressive.

The CPI(M) leadership greeted this bureaucratic capital's nationali-

sation as something progressive. Engels warned us against such communists. He called them, "spurious socialists degenerating into flunkeyism". And towards the end of January 1970 i.e. 27-1-70 Jyoti Basu and Sundarayya rushed to New Delhi and had a long talk with Sm Gandhi and handed a letter on behalf of their Party to Sm Gandhi. In this letter they praised her progressive policies and unashamedly pointed out: "Our Party openly announced its support to your Government". (*People's Democracy*, Feb. 1, 1970).

The CPI(M) leadership has taken measures to incapacitate the Party organisationally and reduce it to a vegetating parliamentary party in order to make it harmless and acceptable to the ruling classes. Its real power has concentrated in the hands of the hard-core of the revisionists, who have simultaneously bereft the Party of even the semblance of a truly Leninist revolutionary party capable of leading the masses on to the revolutionary path efficiently and carrying on revolutionary activity in the face of persecution and intimidation. The Party has been made slow-moving and flabby. Thus the leading clique have completely destroyed inner-party democracy and the method of criticism and self-criticism and substituted bureaucratism and liberalism for these. And as Sm Gandhi's Congress party, the main party of India's ruling classes is disintegrating, and the political crisis deepens taking a Fascist turn with all the consequences, the leadership of the CPI(M) cannot think of any follow up action, and continues to be patriotic and election-minded, collaborates with all sorts of groups and committees sponsored by the repressive authorities, rushes to New Delhi and has long talks with Sm Gandhi to plug all her doubts, lest its loyalty to the constitutional path should become suspect, lest governmental action should be diverted in their direction.

One remembers leftists forming peace committees with the Congress (R) against the CPI(ML) in the

name of public resistance. Murder most foul in Cossipore, Baranagar, Howrah, Ichhapur, Jadavpur and elsewhere by the police and the Congress (R) has been condoned. And now the Congress (R) gangs up with the repressive force to attack other people.

So the only way out for the leading clique in the CPI(M) is to come to some sort of working, tactical understanding—to complain to Mr Mir-dha, Union Deputy Home Minister, to Governor Dias, and to Indira Gandhi 'with the family of their MPs'.

The CPI(M) has begun totting up and statistically analysing the number of its members to gull the rural simple Simons. This would not stop a mass massacre at the hands of the fascists, cannot put the CPI(M) house in order, cannot correct its mistakes. The CPI(M) forgets that to go forward to complete the unfinished social revolution during the post-World War II period when neo-colonialism has already flung its tentacles far and wide across the country under the aegis of the bourgeois rulers, requires more than participation in parliamentary democracy. Originality of tactics coupled with strategic actions with mass participation is an imperative necessity to unite all the genuine leftist forces and defeat the growing bourgeois-cum-fascist rule.

The CPI is caught napping as the country is already in the neo-colonial stage and at any time at one stroke the present balance would go and then the CPI would be completely eliminated. The hard core of the leading clique in the CPI(M), masquerading as anti-Congress heroes, are making a show of providing a stable non-Congress Government, coming forward to carry out the task of making a unique and wonderful united front consisting of all sorts of rotten opportunists, representatives of vested interests, seasoned anti-communists, counter-revolutionaries, careerists and political adventurers of all descriptions—a negative product born directly out of the requirements of the reactionary ruling classes of India.

Maybe the major part of the CPI(M) would be eliminated along with 'the hard core of the leading clique and only the 'undergrounds' would surface to direct the communist movement in India? So this leading clique are raising a hue and cry about 'Police-Naxal collusion' and 'secret Centre-Naxal alliance to curb the mass movement of the CPI (M).

Thousands of CPI(ML) cadres have been thrown into jail where they are being tortured. Cases are frequent of young revolutionaries being beaten to death in police custody. At a single sign from their masters, these murderers have started shooting the 'suspects', young and old alike, to death. And the mockers of mass movements, police-protected leaders of the CPI(M) come out with their filthy, cock-and-bull story of the Naxals.

But no wonder. These were the very people who co-operated with Ajoy Mukherjee, the Gandhiite stage joker, to suppress, in collusion with the Centre, the Naxalite peasant uprising in 1967. These people sent Eastern Frontier Rifles to fight peasant guerillas in Debra-Gopiballavpur in 1969. The veteran Marxist leader, Mr Jyoti Basu, was the first to give the shoot at sight order to tackle Naxalite anti-social elements in Midnapore.

Never before have the young communists in India, except in Telegana, suffered in such large numbers such mental and physical tortures in the police dungeons as the young Naxalites are doing. And never before in India's political history has one party maligned another party in such a cruel manner.

The CPI(ML) has been successful in reducing parliamentary democracy to a farce and rendering it unworkable, bringing the repressive machinery to the forefront and in the gradual de-democratisation of the system in West Bengal. It is the product of powerful economic and political causes. It is not in

anybody's power to eliminate these causes or to eliminate the struggle. Naxalites grew out of historical necessity and are a living inspiration for the people to move history forward.

JYOTIRMOY BANERJEE  
Jirat, Hooghly

## China And Bangladesh

Apropos the virulent and vituperative attacks on me because of my condemnation of the Chinese stand on Bangladesh, what I have to say is very little. The Chinese party is a living revolutionary party; as such it sometimes makes serious errors but is also detects them and corrects them. It at one time permits a Liu Shao-chi to occupy the top position of the government and take the country dangerously towards revisionism; at another time it removes him from his position and purges itself of his pernicious influence. The Chinese party has made a serious error on Bangladesh; it is a safe bet that it will correct its mistakes very soon and make a complete change of line.

But the over-enthusiastic defenders of the indefensible Chinese position who have been indulging in superhuman acrobatics of perverse dialectics will have to tumble on each other when the Chinese party will criticise and change its own line. I shall watch with interest the fresh contortions which all those who have been going hammer and tongs at me now will have to do then and the *Frontier* editor will also not be spared.

Socialism is good and imperialism is bad because of the *people*. Socialism is not good and imperialism is not bad if they are simply abstract concepts that do not affect the welfare of the people. Anybody who can forget the interests of the 75 million inhabitants of East Bengal, anybody who can remain indifferent to the killing of more than a million

persons, is no revolutionary and his contentions do not affect me.

ASHOK RUDRA  
Delhi

## Jehovah's Witness

Your Letters to the Editor section has always been of special interest to me. But sometimes my interest turns into aversion when letters like Prabir Basu's attacking Ashok Rudra on the China and Bangladesh issue appear. Whatever Ashok Rudra wrote, merits or demerits aside, undoubtedly sprang from his own feelings and his own thinking. But, where is Prabir Babu's voice? The only difference between a Jehovah's witness and one like Prabir Babu is in the difference in the book that they refer to. They have no thoughts of their own. No matter what the argument is, their answer always is, the Bible says so on page so and so (that is, in case of Jehovah's witness) and Lenin says so for Prabir Babu. There is another difference also. Jehovah's witness does not abuse whilst one of the first means of attack by Prabir Babu's clan is abuse.

Could there, for instance, be no discussion without using words, phrases and cliches like: "exposes the hollowness of his political thinking", "the modern revisionist charlatans", "revisionist capitulation", "intellectual stupidity", "anarcho-syndicalist opportunism", "intellectual sycophants of imperialism", "Trotskyite opportunism", "capitulationist", "revisionist" etc.?

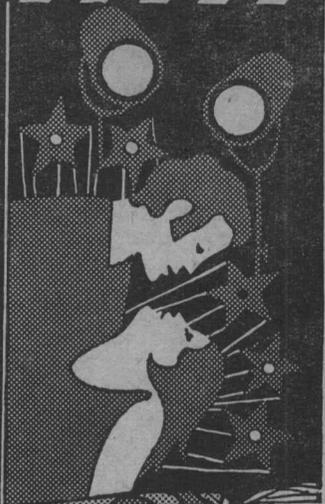
I understand from the letter by Saikat Sen (January 15) that sympathy is an un-Marxist term. However, the article by Rafikul Hasan (Whither Bangladesh? January 8) at least shows that something can be discussed without being strident, personal or parrot-like.

BIJAY SENGUPTA  
Calcutta

FEBRUARY 26, 1972



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