

frontier

Vol. 5: No. 16

JULY 29, 1972

PRICE : 35 PAISE

On Other Pages

COMMENT	2
ATTACKING THE DYKE SYSTEM IN VIETNAM TRAN DANG KHOA	5
TRENDS IN BANGLADESH DEBASIS BISWAS	6
MEENAKSHI, MADURAI AND MARXISM OBSERVER	8
<i>Tamil Nadu</i>	
AFTER THE SETTLEMENT FROM A CORRESPONDENT	9
AN AREA IN ANDHRA PRADESH—II C. CHANDRASEKHAR RAO	10
SERIOUS MISTAKES A DOCUMENT	13
<i>Clippings</i>	
PRICE INDEX	15
WORKERS OF BOMBAY	15
TRIAL OF THE DEAD	16
LETTERS	16

Editor : Samar Sen

PRINTED AT MODERN INDIA PRESS,
7, RAJA SUBODH MULLICK SQUARE,
CALCUTTA-13 AND PUBLISHED WEEKLY
FOR GERMINAL PUBLICATIONS (P) LTD.
BY SAMAR SEN FROM 61, MOIT LANE,
CALCUTTA-13
TELEPHONE: 243202

PACKING UP ?

WITH the continuing withdrawal of Soviet military experts from the UAR, President Sadat will be able to save a considerable amount of foreign exchange, strike an air of independence to pacify the growing discontent among sections of the people and the armed forces at the stalemate, and continue the stalemate while looking for supplies from elsewhere of more modern offensive weapons and for a political solution of the long crisis over the lost territories. His people will now know for certain that 1971 could not be a year of decision because the Russians defaulted on deliveries—President Sadat was sore that supplies were diverted to India. The decision has given him many more options than when he was in the firm, perhaps suffocating, bear hug of Marshal Grechko.

Did President Sadat not know that the Russians would never face a real confrontation with the USA in West Asia? There have been quite a number of instances since Cuba of the Russians backing out. But the policy of avoiding confrontation with the Americans received a formal, unashamed endorsement in the Moscow summit communique. After that, there was no room left for further speculation and the developments in Vietnam have been ample evidence of a Russo-American understanding. If one faces facts, it is crystal-clear that Nixon is daring to do what he is doing in Vietnam, no holds barred, after his visits to Peking and Moscow. No American President before him could afford to be so brazen and bomb even the dykes to create a deluge.

Many see in Sadat's decision a big debacle for Russia in the Middle East which she has been using as a gateway to Africa and Asia. But the degree of Egyptian dependence on the Soviet Union is so high that far-reaching conclusions would be premature. The Russian instructors will continue to stay. Then, there are so many Russian-aided industrial and agricultural projects. Besides, the question of spare parts of military equipment is a vital one. There will still have to be a large measure of co-operation between Moscow and Cairo. In fact, the Russians may be feeling rather relieved that the danger of open confrontation with America has lessened, that Sadat may lean towards the Americans for a political solution. There are too many Russo-Egyptian interests enmeshed for Cairo to be over-bold—or rash—in its relations with Moscow. Also, the

Sadat government is not known for any revolutionary zeal, though its decision will be greeted by Peking and rewarded with even greater co-operation by Libya, Sudan, Syria and Saudi Arabia. But in the new diplomatic offensive to be launched, the Palestinians perhaps will not figure much.

The Fading Ray

The peripatetic Chief Minister of West Bengal is reported to have taken a pique at a gentleman who had the audacity to tell him that from the contradictory statements issued by two of his Cabinet colleagues on starvation deaths in the State it appeared that some of the Ministers were garrulous. The Chief Minister has many preoccupations, not all of them directly connected with West Bengal, which frequently keep him away from the State. He has been in office for over four months, and it is doubtful if during this period he has attended the Secretariat for a fortnight at a stretch. A part-time Chief Minister, however gifted he may be, cannot keep track of all that his colleagues are doing or saying, especially if they belong to a party which is shot through with jealousies and dissensions. Mr Siddhartha Sankar Ray flew into a temper because he cannot discipline his quarrelsome colleagues. Much in the same way he recently threatened the district magistrates that their posts might be abolished just because he is unable to work the creaking administrative machine.

The Chief Minister's peevishness is due to his gradual realisation of the enormous disparity between his burden and his capability. It is one thing to talk glibly of making Calcutta a city of gardens and quite another to clear the city streets of garbage. The former is as easy as the latter is difficult. New Delhi's disappointment over the State Government's performance cannot be unknown to Mr Ray; it cannot relieve

his uneasiness to know that many of the policy-makers in New Delhi who were looking forward to a dawn over West Bengal have now resigned themselves to an unending twilight. They are cynical because the cracks in the Ministry and the party are showing. Unlike the ministerial misconduct over reported starvation deaths, not all clashes between Cabinet and party chums are coming to light. For instance, one Minister is so sore over the arrest of his "boys" by the police that he has complained to an official against another Minister under whose instructions he thinks the arrests are being made. The demonstrations by rival groups of Congressmen at Baranagar over the arrest of a person and seizure of his gun by the police is another example. Cliques and groups at all levels of the party have become as active as they were in the undivided Congress, and the feuds have started spilling over to the Ministry. They may develop into a threat to the Ministry when the group leaders begin to enrol their own henchmen as party members to the exclusion of those of their rivals.

To the worried Chief Minister the so-called recrudescence of Naxalite trouble has come handy. It gives the administration an occasion to divert attention from its failure on all fronts and to channel all governmental activities to maintenance of law and order by putting a moratorium on the development schemes recklessly promised by the Governments at the Centre and in the State in the past many months. This is not an unfamiliar tactic to the people of West Bengal; it has been tried often in the past. But Mr Ray has gone one better than his predecessors. While some 300 people have already been arrested, Mr Ray has authorised the police to shoot anyone attempting to commit murder. Even traffic constables are today equipped with fire-arms, and if a scared policeman takes it into his head that someone within his ken is about to commit murder, at once another life is forfeit. The people of West Bengal know how easy it is to brand

anyone as a Naxalite and shoot him down; the police will find it even easier to prove a dead man a Naxalite. The Chief Minister has taken one big step towards handing over the State to the police. This step will inevitably lead to many others. But all of them together will not be able to save his Ministry from the rot within. Not long ago he had boasted that he would remain Chief Minister for five years. The boast seems destined to go the way of his tall promises.

Disquiet In Dacca

Not everything is going fine in Bangladesh either. The most disquieting development that has shaken the complacency of the ruling clique and the thriving middle class is the split in the Chhatra League and the consequent clashes between the two factions. Hitherto the strongest supporters of the Sheikh, a section of students have got disillusioned with the facile philosophy that goes by the name of Mujibbad. The process is good for the people of Bangladesh. Nehruism, Nasserism, Sukarnoism and now Mujibism are mere words. A frothy philosophy thrown up by the Third World, a sort of potboiler designed to bring in applause and aid from the other two worlds, this type of ism gets torpedoed whenever it faces a crucial test. Nehru of course did not become capitalist overnight but during the Sino-Indian crisis he did tilt towards America; Nasser tilted towards Russia; Sukarno was removed from the scene altogether. Till now Mujib is enamoured with India and Russia, which is very understandable, because the kingdom in Bangladesh was handed over to him, copybook fashion, on a platter by these two countries. But knowing the penchant of this devout disciple of Srimati Indira Gandhi, one can wait, not for long, till his inclinations take public shape. Although the Sheikh and his followers constantly fulminate against a Sino-Ame-

JULY 29, 1972

rican axis, which they allege is out to destroy Bangladesh, the American aid coughed up by the Nixon administration was welcomed by them with eagerly stretched hands. The USIS building in Dacca, destroyed during the civil war and now raised in double splendour, is more than symbolic. There is no way out for Bangladesh to recoup its economy without the American aid. India with its feeble economy is hardly in a position to restore the industry in Bangladesh. The Russian aid too is not forthcoming. Without the American money, the Sheikh simply does not know how to keep his people live even on a subsistence diet, nor does he know anything except the American norms. Marxism, his followers say, is outdated; it is too doctrinaire to follow. A scientific method or a rigorous discipline is not for a class of people growing with the emotional exuberance of Tagore who loved people but shrank within a shell when confronted with realities. Maybe Marx or Marxism is too doctrinaire. Every people is entitled to its own philosophy. What however was surprising was the benevolent presence of the leaders of the Communist Party of Bangladesh and the pro-Moscow National Awami Party at the convention of the official Chhatra League in Dacca when Marxism was denounced as too doctrinaire and conventional.

Mujib desired to shoot the Bangladesh Naxalites at sight. Now he desires to ban the militant organisation of the students. Every legitimate opposition to sycophancy is considered a danger to the Establishment. Any criticism of a sell-out is considered an act of sabotage. In a way, the Sheikh's impatience with democratic opposition may do good to the people of Bangladesh; it may

CORRECTION

One of the well-known early singers of Tagore songs mentioned in "In Tagore's Style" (July 22) was Sahana Devi, not Sadhana Devi.

JULY 29, 1972

make them disenchanted sooner with the famous Mujibbad, which is but a feeble echo of Indirabad across the border.

Controlling Prices

By now, we have a fairly clear idea of the factors that are mainly responsible for rising prices in India. Besides the conventional causes like cost-push and demand-pull, deficit financing and consequent rise in money supply, black money, and shortage of essential items are related in one way or the other to the inflationary conditions prevailing in the country. In other words the disease has broadly been diagnosed and the general line of treatment has also been agreed upon among the specialists. But the malaise shows no sign of abatement. Prices continue to rise, unscrupulous businessmen continue to make windfall profits, and the poor, the silent majority, continue to suffer under the growing burden of inflation. A situation of rising prices only brings grist to the mill of the rentier class who have defied with an unchallenged disdain all the half-hearted governmental measures to hold the price line. The worst offender is the foodgrains trade which generally is the first to record a rise in price, and soon it spreads to other areas. And it has remained almost a riddle that as foodgrains production has risen markedly dur-

ing the last few years, their prices, instead of coming down, have indeed gone up. In spite of the substantial buffer stock—of over 8 million tonnes—with the government and the continuance of the public distribution system, the price of food articles has risen without a break. But the benefits have hardly accrued to the growers who are still denied anything like a reasonable return.

There does not seem to be any end to the number of price control orders that New Delhi has promulgated in the last few years. But it is an established fact that the stricter the controls are intended to be, the more scope they provide for the blackmarketeers. A regular black-market, run entirely by black money, has thus developed parallel to the market, and here the government's fiat hardly runs. No respite from inflationary pressure can thus be expected till the problem of black money has been solved—and it would not be solved till the government has found a more workable method of tracking it down than the so-called punitive measures it has pursued so far. Even countries which profess much deeper faith in free enterprise than India have now opted for much more rigorous forms of price control. It is thus time for New Delhi to do something about the mockery of controls that has gone on so far and show a little more earnestness about enforcing the anti-inflationary measures.

That Man, The Police And Press

A correspondent writes:

Of course, everybody knows that torture of prisoners—euphemistically known as 'interrogation'—is just a matter of routine for the Indian police. Beating up an unarmed prisoner is only part of the training imparted to the young IPS probationers. But normally, a 'veil of decency' is drawn over the obscene goings-on in the police stations of the country.

People just walk fast when passing a police station, perhaps faster in Calcutta and other cities of West Bengal, since they have for some years been forced to bear silent witness to the physical and mental wrecking of a large number of political prisoners. But even in West Bengal, when young men were tortured, the fact was not flaunted; it was not front-page news in the bourgeois

press except in rare circumstances like the instance cited in an article printed in this journal in January 1971.

The arrest of Charu Mazumdar evidently followed information secured from 'a Naxalite contact man'. According to the report in *The Statesman*, he was 'picked up' on the morning of Saturday (the 15th); 'interrogation' followed. "On being interrogated by the Detective Department, he gave the address of the house in Deb Lane, and also of another house in Budge Budge. . . Further interrogation followed and shortly before 3 a.m. on Sunday, he gave the address of the Middle Road house and was reported to have said that 'C.M. stays there' ". The Police Commissioner was even more categorical in the *Ananda Bazar Patrika* report. He said the man had not betrayed his party; he had to give out the address under 'pressure of interrogation'.

Evidently, now that the progressive section of the bourgeoisie is in power in West Bengal, it is not even necessary to draw the 'veil of secrecy' over such facts as non-stop torture for nearly twenty-four hours, including all-night sessions. What is the significance of the fact that national dailies can practically flaunt the news of a political suspect being tortured (successfully) on their front pages? Even if ideologues continue to make subtle distinctions between 'semi-fascist' policies being adopted by a government which is itself not 'semi-fascist', the days of innocence have long been over for the ordinary people.

More Of The Same

A correspondent writes :

Jack Anderson, representing the tender conscience of imperialist journalism, is out with another of his philanthropic revelations. The villain of the piece this time is the Pakistan Government which is allegedly shop-

ping in the USA for sophisticated torture devices.

The news, supposing it is true, is not nearly as sensational as the newspapers here would have us believe. In the first place, since the end of the Second World War, that is, since the beginning of neo-colonialism, the USA has been supplying its puppet regimes all over the world with advanced interrogation techniques and sophisticated torture devices. This therefore is no flood of light shed on any mystery spot. But of course the purpose of the newspapers in giving the matter such prominence is to draw attention to the further acts of villainy the reactionary and genocidal government of Pakistan is resorting to, and to suggest the snow-white purity of the Indian regime by contrast. But to one who understands the basic character of comprador regimes the news is likely to have a reverse significance.

It Pakistan is trying to shop in the USA for sophisticated torture devices, the assumption is inescapable that it does not have these devices yet and is trying to get them at long last to meet the demands of the new situation, whereas regimes like South Korea, South Vietnam, India and Thailand, are already masters in the modern arts of torture and interrogation in which they have been intensively tutored by the CIA over more than a decade. We know the devices employed by the Indian Government on a wide scale to silence discontentment and rebellion in times of peace while the biggest democratic machinery in the world is in full and flawless operation. The cruder, more mediocally oriented Pakistani regime was not capable of this fine double-dealing, of this subtle bourgeois hypocrisy and consequently operated as an open dictatorship using palpably crude methods which made them increasingly disliked by the U.S. masters. While India has been leading the comprador-puppet show, catching up every filament of imperialist suggestion and weaving them up into brilliant networks of subtle repression, causing all unrest to simmer down after a

while or to get lost in confusion, the Pakistani regime, following in the tail of the same procession, has been wearing its disguise too thin and employing crude repressive methods, thereby allowing popular unrest to swell to huge proportions, leading to its own exposure and discomfiture. The fact that Pakistan has just started buying modern techniques of torture from the USA only shows how naive and backward it still is as an agent of repression, while the unquestionably democratic Indian regime, combining the glorious legacy of the CIA with the ultra-modern revolutionary techniques of the Soviet intelligence service, is speeding on the way to socialism miles and miles ahead of Pakistan. Pakistan might perhaps with much less trouble have bought the stuff from India and the inclusion of the item in the Simla Agreement might indeed have brought the two countries closer.

PLACE A REGULAR ORDER FOR YOUR FRONTIER

Subscription Rates

INLAND

Six Months	Rs. 8.25
One year	Rs. 16.50
Five Years	Rs. 75.00
Seven years	Rs. 100.00

Foreign AIR MAIL Rates (One Year)

Europe :	Rs 98 or 13 dollars
Asia :	Rs. 88 or 11 dollars
America :	Rs 116 or 16 dollars

By Surface Mail

All countries: Rs. 40 or 5 dollars

Back numbers of *Frontier*, more than two months' old, cost Re 1 each if they are available.

Frontier will no longer be sent by VPP

Long-term Subscriptions will help the weekly

Attacking The Dyke System In Vietnam

TRAN DANG KHOA

(Mr Khoa is the Director of the Institute of Hydraulics of the DRVN).

Vietnam lies in the tropical area with abundance of rains which at times rise to 600 millimetre per day. North Vietnam also has numerous canals and rivers.

Floods are frequent and reach higher peaks than in most rivers in the world. The Red River delta is the economic, political and cultural centre of the whole country with a high concentration of population averaging in some areas 600 persons per square kilometre. Particularly, the crests of flood are much higher than the fields in the coastal areas, the plains as well as the midlands, 6 to 7 metres of difference in some areas. North Vietnam is bordered in the east by the sea which in high water is 2 to 3 metres above the field level. Were it not for the dykes, the deltas in the North Vietnam plains would have become in the flood season large expanses of water submerging all fields, cities and villages, from the midland to the coastal areas. On the other hand, without the sea dykes, the coastal areas would be rendered uncultivable.

In the season of rain and typhoon from June to October, tens of millions of people living in an area of tens of thousands of square kilometres will depend for their life on a system of river and sea dykes about 3,000 kilometres long. That is why, any dyke break, especially in the Red River delta, is a disaster with incalculable consequences.

It is obvious that the dykes in North Vietnam are projects of paramount importance in service of the people's life having no military character whatsoever as Nixon wanted to ascribe to it.

The Vietnamese people began building dykes to prevent floods almost at the same time as the Vietnamese nation was founded. And this work has continued for more than one thousand years past through various periods of history up to the present time. The Revolutionary Power has, since liberation from the French colonial rule, not ceased to reinforce and improve the dyke system.

Today, in an attempt to save the desperate U.S.-puppets' situation in South Vietnam, Nixon, the bloodthirstiest fascist in history, has ordered air and naval attacks on many dykes and sluices along the major rivers like the Red, Thai Binh and Day the Nam Dinh canal, the Ma and Lam rivers and many sea dykes in Thai Binh, Nam Ha and Ninh Binh provinces.

From April 10 to June 10 this year, U.S. aircraft on 68 occasions bombed dykes. Thirty-two portions and 31 water conservancy projects have been attacked by bombs of various calibres and types (anti-personnel bombs, perforating bombs, boring bombs) and also by artillery fired from the aircraft carriers. Not only have the U.S. attacked dykes but also killed those who were engaged in repair work as has happened in Nam Ngan (Thanh Hoa) and Nam Ha province.

Though not causing immediate floods, these are very dangerous acts which have been carefully calculated to achieve criminal designs. Striking the dykes before the spate season is to weaken them and make them vulnerable in the flood season. By striking the dykes at this time of the year, the U.S. has considerably weakened their resistance and destroyed the

structure of the soil in the embankments. Nixon has been harping on the mendacious theme that U.S. pilots might have bombed by mistake some dykes while it is not his policy to bomb the dykes. This is utter sophistry and a blank lie.

In fact, it is not only the bombs falling on the dyke surface that cause damage; a bomb falling near a dyke also shakes its foundation and causes cracks that will seriously threaten the dyke once the river begins to swell. In the weeks ahead, with the Nixon administration stepping up the bombings during the flood season, the destructive power of the bombs and shells will be added to the destructive power of water and this will make dyke-breaks unavoidable.

Destroying dykes to flood the vast delta of North Vietnam is an unparalleled war crime. It is a crime of genocide, biocide and ecocide perpetrated at the same time and at the highest degree of gravity.

It will cause an immeasurable disaster in all fields, economic, political cultural and social, for tens of millions of people in a vast and rich area.

In the recent past Nixon has been going round the world to sell his "goodwill" for peace and his "special concern" for the life of children. But one may ask him, what will become of the children if Nixon drowns an immense region 5 or 6 metres under water? Is there anything more deceitful, more cynical?

Many fraternal countries and parties, many international organizations, newspapers, politicians and scientists have raised their voices to protest this monstrous crime of Nixon.

It is hoped that public opinion and all men of conscience in the world will launch a wide campaign to denounce still more vigorously Nixon's criminal acts in North Vietnam in order to stop his bloody hands.

For FRONTIER contact

S. P. CHATTERJEE

Statesman Office

Steel Market

Durgapur-4

JULY 29, 1972

Trends In Bangladesh

DEBASIS BISWAS

BANGLADESH has been independent for over six months now. By a rather neat irony, public opinion in Bangladesh in the immediate aftermath of freedom was as profoundly disillusioned with the roles of the United States and China during the struggle for freedom, as it was in India and Pakistan. Indian political circles were confident that even if pro-Chinese or pro-American lobbies tried to strike roots in Bangladesh, it would be some time before the people would forget their own bitter experience and tolerate their efforts. For geopolitical reasons, it was being claimed, the new republic would remain indisputably under Indian wings.

Already, however, signs are there that such hopes were premature and had rather slight foundation. It may be too early yet to start worrying about the growth of pro-Chinese political factions in Bangladesh. Pro-American influence, theoretically invisible in strict political terms, is a different proposition. From occasional admissions of Indian officials who have visited Bangladesh, or journalists who have worked there for a spell, Bangladesh is becoming increasingly reminiscent of South Vietnam in some ways. That such a change could come about so soon after Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had assumed power would in itself indicate a deep political failure on his part. It goes without saying that this could have never happened if the fight against the Pakistanis in Bangladesh had been a true people's revolution, involving all sections of the people.

Whatever temporary setbacks foreign, unfriendly influences might have suffered in Bangladesh during the struggle for freedom, there can be little doubt today that they have recovered much of the lost ground. To a limited extent, this was inevitable, since the euphoria generated after December 16 was bound to wear

off sooner or later. But this alone cannot explain why the growth of such influences should have posed a challenge to the official policy-makers both in Dacca and in Delhi.

For a country pledged to austerity, strangely enough, foreign goods of all kinds are freely available in Bangladesh. The fancy for foreign liquor, cigarettes and consumer goods has proved stronger than the official pledge. Of course, prices are up two or three-fold, and the pay ceiling for government servants happens to be 1,000 takas per month. (Unofficially, there is no parity between the Indian rupee and the Bangladesh taka.) Hotel Inter-Continental continues to charge the usual prices for everything.

What is surprising is that there has been no fall in the regular clientele at the bars and restaurants. High government officials continue to smoke nothing but foreign-brand cigarettes and turn up as enthusiastically at the pleasure haunts as before. Some are inexplicably wallowing in foreign exchange, others have suddenly "bought" new cars, most often picked up from frightened Biharis.

An Indian official travelling through Dacca in the middle of last month heard one official offering another 100 dollars "in hard currency" as a bet, over a small disagreement about an address. All this on 1,000 takas, when a packet of foreign cigarettes costs no less than Rs 15 or Rs 20 and the price of rice alone has risen at least 50 per cent.

Indian newsmen posted in Dacca recently heard of a plane loaded with cigarettes and liquor landing surreptitiously somewhere near the city. Almost predictably, the officials had heard nothing about it. Earlier, there were reports of foreign vessels being sighted from time to time unscheduled, on Bangladesh coasts. To date, no one has been able to explain

where the dollars, or the foreign goods, may be coming from.

Cheap Oriental Bazaar

In these circumstances, the Europeans and the Americans are having the time of their lives. After a long nightmare, Dacca has once become the cheap oriental bazaar that it used to be. Also sitting pretty are a handful of officials and politicians who hobnob with them. They do not constitute even 5 per cent of the population now groaning under the price rise and shortage of essential items. In other words, it is South Vietnam all over again, just across the border.

As an Indian diplomat recently said, "There would be at least 20-odd Americans at every party that I attended. As they poured into the bar or restaurant, all kinds of local people—officials, politicians, relief committee spokesmen—would leave their groups and meet them, alone. They would talk earnestly for a few minutes and rejoin their groups, with no apologies. Some of them are engaged in anti-Indian propaganda. Mind you, the British or the Germans are not so favoured, although they were for Bangladesh from the beginning".

Where relief work is concerned, the foreign agencies have chosen spots where Razakars, the Al-Badr, the Muslim League, or other elements of the extreme right used to be active. It is no secret that the Hindus were the prime targets of the Pakistani army during the crackdown and the areas where the Hindus lived suffered the maximum devastation. From both official and unofficial agencies, however, they have received mere scraps. Many have not got their homes back. Some even made their way to Calcutta to talk to the Indian authorities and local newspapers, but to no effect.

It is easy in the heat of the passion to make too much of the roles played by the Biharis and the Bengali religious fanatics in Bangladesh during the freedom struggle. It is true that quite a few have changed sides and

are now trying to appear browner than the browns. But this cannot warrant the present witch-hunt that has continued in parts of Bangladesh. What happens in West Bengal or elsewhere when a political party returns to power with a massive majority is usually not very different. Floor-crossing, fence-sitting or side-changing are opportunist manoeuvres, but these have to be combated politically, not for the sake of vengeance.

Whether or not a section of government officials, politicians and relief committee heads are on the payroll of foreign agencies active in Bangladesh (despite the indications narrated above) is not really important. What matters far more is their role in the changed situation. Where the administration is concerned, this boils down to asking how the officials are performing their duties. And the categorical answer to this is that the Bangladesh officialdom has few counterparts (except perhaps in West Bengal) in the world for inefficiency, red-tapism or corruption. Sheikh Mujibur himself has had to issue warnings several times against bureaucratic shortcomings. Indeed, he had started his first address as Prime Minister in Dacca to the officials by remarking: "I know you are a corrupt lot and are too busy feathering

your own nests. This must change. If it doesn't, I'll call upon the people to declare judgment on you". Their failings continue to be the daily occupation of newspaper editorial writers, and the common people think no differently. Sheikh Mujib himself is the only one to have escaped any criticism so far. But unless he can work off a change in this respect very soon, even his plans and projects may fall through. The administration is as alienated from the people as ever before. This could spell disaster in a country where the young generation has had a thorough bleeding in armed rebellion to realise their justified demands. But then, another bloodshed could be right up the alley of designing foreign powers.

Identity

In the essentially new political situation in Bangladesh, much would depend on how well-knit the militia is, the efficiency of the police and the role of the intellectuals. While nothing is known about the first, the police seem to be working well. As for the intellectuals, they are still busy trying to find their feet and adjust themselves to the changes around them. Many student intellectuals in the universities, for instance, are

frankly worried whether their separate identity can be preserved. for long, living in such proximity to a large, essentially similar neighbour like India. In fact, lively discussion about "identity" is becoming familiar. Some stick to the theory that they came over with the Moghuls and Afghans and settled in the native territory, which became "Muslim Bengal". Others argue that the question of separateness dates back to only 25 years.

Nevertheless, West Bengali intellectuals who have been consistently pretending that Partition had never taken place, and that the two Bengals are again spiritually united, have deceived only themselves. An entirely new generation has been born and reared in Bangladesh which has read sentences like, "All Indians are fools" (this one as an example of the use of "fools" in a sentence), and learnt to get along without any contacts with West Bengal. For an easier cultural exchange, time and patience would be needed. But West Bengali intellectuals still do not seem to be sufficiently aware of this. Their impatience is embarrassingly reminiscent of the knuckle-biting worry of the Marwari, waiting to cash in on a people with limited purchasing power.



Get quick relief from colds, headaches, sprains and muscular pains. Rub in Amrutanjan on the spot. It's a trusted home remedy for over 75 years. Keep a bottle always handy. Also available in economy jars and low-cost compact tins.

Amrutanjan — 10 medicaments in one, to relieve aches, colds and pains.

Amrutanjan Ltd.

AMRUTANJAN gives you quick relief!

Meenakshi, Madurai And Marxists

OBSERVER

MADURAI: Marxists have nothing to do with Meenakshi but everything to do with Madurai. It is their State Party headquarters, from which their veteran leader, Mr P. Ramamurthy, was successively elected, except for the last time. Meenakshi has everything to do with Madurai since the town was built around her temple, but nothing to do with Marxists. But Madurai has everything to do with Meenakshi and something to do with the Marxists. So also the thousands of people who thronged the Madurai streets on July 2, the concluding day of the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of India (Marxist). They came in 300 buses and lorries shouting Marxist party slogans, parked them around the Meenakshi temple, offered their prayers to the Goddess first and then proceeded to have a look at their leaders. And thereby hangs a tale.

It was way back in 1953 when the united party held its Third Congress in the same Madurai town. Hundreds of men used to line up on the road leading to the Conference pandal both in the morning and evening on all the days, shouting "volghe" (zindabad) to their leaders. Every delegate was asked to stop, announce his name and State and hundreds of voices went up in unison hailing him. Compare these enthusiastic scenes with the one witnessed in Madurai on this occasion. Not a soul outside the Conference place except the delegates and volunteers who came out to have a sip of tea or purchase cigarettes. Then, people first came to see their leaders; today, they first went to the temple and then to the leaders. One wished Marxist leaders like A. K. Gopalan to sit up and think about this instead of getting concerned with newspaper stories that delegates went to the temple to pray.

For, one can never accuse those

delegates attending this Congress of having any such weakness. Except for 57 delegates below 35 years, all the rest of the 408 delegates were above thirty-six and below 72. While this proves on the one hand that they were all experienced leaders, steeled in battles, it also proves that youth and fresh blood were conspicuous by its absence among the delegates. To put it in 'bourgeois jargon', it was the same old wine (not even in new bottles). It also shows that the party is stagnant, has lost all the youth it could attract on the eve of the split and has not been able to get fresh ones into its ranks. The fact that 400 out of 457 delegates had a party life ranging from 11 to over 30 years also proves that the same old leadership continues to dominate the party, thinking in the same old grooves, keeping the party within the same vicious circle. It is rather unfair to accuse such leadership for not having delivered the goods.

From this flows their politics too. The leadership seems to be so scared and overwhelmed by Indira Gandhi's sweeping victories. Even a cursory reading of the political resolution gives such an impression. What is the aim of the party leadership in painting such a hopeless picture? To tell the delegates that it is because they were in leadership that they could keep the party going despite such a heavy political onslaught? Or, to drive the delegates to the only conclusion that in such political circumstances facing the country, they have to "patiently carry on with mass agitations and struggles" and not think of any other form of struggle? Or, to tell the Prime Minister and her party that placed in a situation as we are, you can be rest assured of our sticking to parliamentary democracy? Considering the texture and quality of the delegates, it was no surprise they were overawed by the circumstances as interpreted to them,

put up some resistance here and there to the formulations, found to their disgust that the mover of the amendments only and a couple of others raising their hands and succumbed. The result? The political resolution was unanimously passed; the same Central Committee (plus four new entrants), the same Politbureau, the same General Secretary, were elected.

But, the question is: when such was the political onslaught, what the hell the Party was doing? Reeling and knuckling under? Nurturing illusions? Maintaining hot-line contacts on the Jyoti Basu-Indira wavelength? The answer is simple. They did nothing except give statements and appeals to people to raise their voice, to condemn the government.

This brings one to the question of organisation. Poor fellows, what could they do when the party in most States consisted only of leadership and no cadres or following, when young blood has ceased to flow into the organisation, when party membership fell from one Party Congress to another, when party units fail to respond to circulars sent from the centre, do not send reports of the movements in their respective States (where are the movements to report?), still haunted by the past reformist practice and so on? The party was practically confined to West Bengal and Kerala where the flag was sought to be kept flying. Outsiders were given the impression that because of the governmental support they gave to the workers and peasants, the party has widened its base, militant movement have been built up, party cadres were steeled in battles, party organisation spread into the districts and what not. At the first severe knock it got in West Bengal, the party organisation collapsed and no one knows what happened to all the militants. The bour-

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

geois Press is not expected to publicise the methods adopted by the ruling party to beat down the Marxists and it is for the party organisation throughout the country to expose the government's tactics. But, where is the party organisation?

It is not merely the failure of organisation, but something else too. Having been elected in West Bengal in a massive way in the mid-term poll to the Lok Sabha despite heavy repression, the party leadership's belief in parliamentary democracy got reinforced: there was lack of alertness. Somehow reorganise the united front and it will do the rest, they thought. The results were disastrous. Having built up such illusions among the mass of their followers too, a defeat at the polls knocked them off their feet completely, breeding disillusionment. Unfortunately, the party leadership did not learn any lesson from this, as is evident from the Madurai resolutions. They cannot think of any other form of struggle even in West Bengal where, according to them, "semi-fascist terror" prevails.

There was, however, mouthful of talk about mass struggles. But, when did they stop talking about it? They have always been talking of it and in 1967, they talked about combining parliamentary functioning with mass struggles. One should not find fault with them for not following this tactic of combination, because there was only parliamentary functioning and no mass struggle. And the Madurai Congress indicates that this talk will continue, much more so in other States where the party has become extremely weak.

Tall Claims

Tall claims were made by Mr Sundarayya at Madurai in his talks with pressmen as also in the political resolution about having successfully steered clear both of right reformism and left adventurism both inside the country and in the international communist movement. But, having steered clear, where did the party end up? The Madurai Congress makes

it clear that the process led the party to more disillusionment, to stagnation, to more defensive postures. The statements made there that they would continue to boycott the West Bengal Assembly elections but participate in elections to Parliament, the observation that they would resort to even petitioning in certain States, the glee with which the resolution welcomed the collapse of the CPI-(ML), make a mockery of their revolutionary claims and they would be fooling themselves if they still feel that such a party could become the focal point around which all left forces in the country would mobilise to overthrow the government. All other left parties having either merged with the Congress or facing disruption and near-collapse, the leadership nurtures an illusion that since they could keep the party alive, it means they had followed correct political policies, tactics and therefore, they were not only bound to survive but grow. But, if their past, particularly their presence in the governments in West Bengal and Kerala, was any indication, it made one thing clear: once they are inside the government, they do not like to come out. Once they are out, all their concern is how to get in. Can such a party attract the younger generation ever in its life?

The Marxists had a surprising experience with the local press at Madurai. Columns of news was published about the proceedings of their session and that too, without any distortion. The bosses of these papers perhaps thought they could afford this cushion of a little more publicity to this party, which is swearing, at least for the present, by parliamentary democracy.

Some time was reported to have been devoted to the question of armed struggle, but those who were thinking on those lines must have thought: Good gracious, to armed struggle with this state of organisation and cadres? Let us fall in line with parliamentary democracy, maintain our leadership and wait for better times.

Tamil Nadu

After The Settlement

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

AFTER the meeting of the Action Committee with Mr Karunanidhi on July 14, the landowners' agitation was called off. Mr Karunanidhi gave some concessions to the kulak leaders. All the arrested persons have been released without trial.

The DMK now claims that the agitation was an utter failure. The Action Committee claims it was a complete success. Leaders of the Congress(R), Congress(O) CPI, Swatantra etc. joined together and organised hundreds of meetings in Madras City and districts to condemn the police firings. The net result of the landowners agitation is to draw the Congress(O) nearer to the Congress(R). The DMK also organised hundreds of meetings to convince the public how the Congress(R) is planning to topple it by using the farmers' agitation. The DMK has expressed sympathy for the victims of police firing. Mr Karunanidhi has announced an ex-gratia payment of Rs 5000 from the Chief Minister's Relief Fund to the families of the victims.

The DMK decided to stage the show of 'Anti-Violence Day' on July 15 after killing about 30 innocent youths. In the rehearsal, a band of 100 DMK rowdies stabbed one James, an aide of the trade union leader, Mr Kuchelar, at the Central Station on the very same day. As we know already, Mr Kuchelar was wanted by the police in connection with the murder of one Pratap Chandran. Mr Kuchelar surrendered before the City Magistrate, Bangalore, on July 7. He was being escorted to Madras from Bangalore by the Madras police on a transfer warrant issued by the Chief Presidency Magistrate, Madras. The DMK band raised anti-Kuchelar slogans and moved towards his compartment when the Mysore police escort warned that they would shoot if they came nearer to Mr Kuchelar. Then the DMK

band, armed with cycle chains, knives, iron rods, turned on two aides of Mr Kuchelar and stabbed Mr James.

Coming to the show once again, the Congress study team appointed by the Prime Minister has completed its study after visiting the affected districts. The study is based on the evidence given by local Congressmen and farmers. It is true that people were killed by the DMK police in the districts of Salem, Coimbatore, Ramnad and Tirunelveli. But it is doubtful whether the Congress(R) probed deeply into the matter and found out for whose interests the people were killed and who were actually killed. It is easy to describe how they were killed, still easier to conduct mourning processions by carrying dead bodies. On these dead bodies, the kulak personalities of the

Congress(R) and CPI are going to build up social democracy. But these deaths would not have occurred if the Congress(R) had no political passion for the Tamil Nadu throne. It is true that the DMK is neither a reformist nor a socialist party and its existence need not be tolerated by people. According to general feeling, the Congress(R) is at least in 18-century capitalism. But the DMK is a victim of the 12th-century feudalism of the Cholas, Pallavas or the Pandia period. The erosion of the DMK has now becoming a certainty because it lacks any acceptable economic ideology. None of the DMK leaders are able to say what the economic projection is of Tamil Nadu in 1980 or 1990. But at the same time, the way in which the Congress(R) is operating to topple the DMK will not yield results. The DMK is now

prepared to send a study team to UP where about 22 persons were killed by the Congress(R) police. Though the anti-DMK parties can show their strength in the big artificial cities of Tamil Nadu, it is hard to shake the position of the DMK in rural areas. It is also surprising that the shooting incidents took place in towns, though the cause of the agitation was the farmers—it is ridiculous to call Mana Madurai, Rajapalayam, Kovilpatti, Sathur, Srivilliputhur etc villages. According to some eyewitnesses, there were farmers ploughing the fields undisturbed in the hinterland villages when there was police firing at a distance of 200 metres. These farmers asked in surprise why the Congress is shooting the DMK. There are still people in some interior villages in the south who think that the Congress or Kamaraj is ruling Tamil Nadu.

An Area In Andhra Pradesh—II

C. CHANDRASEKHAR RAO

DURING the Nizam's regime, the simple tribal was a victim of exploitation by the forest and village officials and to some extent the local landlord. Till about 1957-58 this form of exploitation was common. "Yeli" or free labour service to forest and village officials was a must.

According to the 1951 census the total population of Mulug Taluk, probably one of the biggest taluks in India, occupying an area of about 2000 sq. miles, was round about 36,000. The 1961 census figures gave the population at about 95,000.—between 1951 and 1961, with the formation of Andhra Pradesh, large-scale migration of small and big landholders from the coastal districts took place. Most of the migrants were the scum of society in their original villages and once they bought or occupied small plots in the area, using the most unscrupulous methods, they took over methodically, either by grabbing, cheating or purchases during distress sales, all the best tribal lands.

During the now famous Telengana revolt of 1946-1951 this area served as the base area for the communists once they were forced to withdraw from the plains with the entry of the Indian Army in mid-1948. The otherwise helpless tribal became militant following the example of the communists, but this militancy was shortlived as the communist movement was called off and the tribals left high and dry. At about the same time, i.e. in 1951, the Hyderabad Tenancy and Land Holdings Act came into force. With the communists calling off the struggle, the urgency of implementing the Acts was not there.

"Since it was found that in actual practice only a negligible proportion of protected tenants availed themselves of the right to purchase the lands further legislation was undertaken in 1954, providing for the compulsory and automatic transfer of ownership of the land to the tenants. In the Telengana area, however, this last provision was implemented

only in Khammam district and Mulug Taluk of Warangal District, these being precisely the region where the peasants had been so roused politically to the full consciousness of their rights that they resorted even to murder to obtain them. As a result about 13,000 tenants became owners of approximately 100,000 acres of land. Also it was only in Mulug Taluk and Khammam District that an attempt was made to implement the provision pertaining to ceiling on existing holdings. But whereas originally a surplus of 122,000 acres of land was anticipated, subsequent enquiries indicated that it may be no more than 3,000 acres (Kusum Nair, *Blossoms in the Dust*).

The lot of the tribals degenerated with the formation of Andhra Pradesh. The land and wealth hungry Andhra had only one view after he stepped in—to exploit the innocence of the tribals. Before he began to operate,

it was a question of monetary exploitation by a handful of forest and village officials hand in glove with the few landlords existing in the area. But now, the exploitation was to deprive the tribal of his holdings and reduce him to a glorified slave. The migration of Circar Andhras, a trickle round about 1952-53, became an avalanche within a decade.

The method usually adopted was to bribe the village officials who in turn used to induce the tribal to lease out his land to one of the migrant families. If not all, at least the best of the land used to be taken on lease. The tribal, already a poor producer of food grains, with his best land leased, used to produce very little grain on his own. Within a year or two he was indebted to the lessee, who, in collusion with the village officials, would take over the land at a very low price. Yet another method was to obtain the thumb impression of the tribal under the guise that a lease deed was the document in question, but which in fact was the sale deed. The tribal could not afford to pick up a dispute or even prevent the entry of the cheat. If he did so he was beaten up and bribes shut up the mouths of revenue and police officials.

Land and Pattas

Even the distribution of Government lands in 1951-1961 became a boon to the revenue officials. The Government limited the land distribution to five acres dry land or two and half acres wet land, but using fictitious names the migrant settler occupied large tracts, even 80 to 100 acres. Not even a single tribal or landless labourer got any land then. In a different context the *Deccan Chronicle* of 10.12.70 carried a news item; "The Government has given pattas (certificates of ownership) to the landless agriculturists and land to the landlords". This is very true about the area.

Revenue officials saw to it that no land survey was carried out, and it became easier for the village officials and the higher revenue officials to question the very right of ownership

of a particular plot of land. Under this pretext thousands of acres of tribal land were systematically handed over to the migrants.

Mullaikatta is a small tribal village on the bank of the Godavari, in Eturinagaram Firka, Mulug Taluk. About 80 acres of rich alluvial land was under cultivation by some tribals who earlier had been declared as protected tenants and issued tenancy certificates. One ex-tonga driver, Hanumaiah of Guntur, with a very shady past settled down in another tribal village called Komalapuram in Mangapet Firka, Mulug Taluk, in 1958-59. By bribing village officials he took over in Kamalapuram 50 acres of good Government land fit for tobacco cultivation. Exploiting and cheating the tribals he built a small fortune and round about 1964 took on lease the 80 acre tribal land at Mullaikatta to grow virginia tobacco and chillies. In 1967 an ex-sepoy of the former Hyderabad army entered the picture and claimed ownership of the 80 acres for self-cultivation. This sepoy was a stooge of Hanumaiah and between the two and with liberal bribes amounting to about Rs. 25,000 to the revenue officials, the poor tribals were deprived of their lands and by 1968 Hanumaiah became the owner. As a bribe to keep the tribals in good humour, the then tahsildar allotted the poorest of available Government land to them. The helpless tribals had to accept the offer, but with the Revolutionary Communists stepping up their militant programme in early 1969, the entire farmstead, including tobacco barns, chilly and tobacco stocks were burnt down and Hanumaiah's brother who was living there was assaulted and thrown out.

Singapalli, another tribal village in Bayyaram Firka, Burughampad Taluk, Khammam District, had 1,200 acres Government land—rich black cotton soil fit for virginia tobacco. This village is also on the Godavari bank. In 1960 the locals were surprised to note a survey party plotting out the entire land and fixing survey stones. On enquiry it came out that the said 1200 acres had been allotted

by the then Revenue Minister, Mr Nukala-Ramachandra Reddy, to three of his close relatives, residents of Mahaboobabad Taluk, Warangal District. Luckily for the tribals and other landless people, a militant section of the then Communist Party moved in and before the revenue officials, the Minister and his relatives realised what was happening, the 1,200 acres were split up into five-acre plots and distributed to genuine landless tribals and others. To this day the poor enjoy the benefits of the land distribution undertaken by the militants.

A custom was prevalent in the old Hyderabad State whereby a forest contractor bidding for a coupe was allowed to take a patta for the cleared area. The land became his. Under this system thousands of acres of forest land went into the hands of the forest contractors. Of course the contractors never worried themselves about the thousands of acres held by them as they were not really interested in the lands. Actually many of them allowed their pattas to lapse by non-payment of land revenue for three years running.

During 1960-1965 the Government distributed such lands to tribals and landless poor as the migrants were not greatly interested in such marginal lands. With land values going up, the ex-contractor pattadars suddenly realised that they were owners once of huge plots of land. With bribery and corruption playing a major role, the same Government which had allotted the land to the landless gave pattas again to the ex-contractors who in turn evicted the occupants. In case of good land, it was the migrants who were interested in the ex-contractor getting his right of ownership again and evicting the occupants. They financed the ex-contractor in his efforts to get patta. The ex-jagirdar officials, too, whose pattas had lapsed as they lost interest in the land after retirement, now behaved in the same way.

A Government which has enacted a law limiting maximum holdings of land of an individual does not feel that there is anything wrong in re-is-

suing pattas for thousands of acres if the beneficiaries are Congressmen or people who can afford to give cuts in such deals to Ministers and minor fry. The same Government does not feel there is anything immoral in evicting the occupants to whom the Government itself had issued pattas.

Peratala Venkateswara Rao, ex-Dewan of Rajupet Estate, Mulug Taluk, was reissued a patta for some 300 acres of land he claimed as his in Janampet village, Burugamphad Taluk. On getting a patta again he evicted the poor and sold the land to migrants for a fancy price. The same gentleman was issued a patta to 1,200 acres of land covering Rajupet Vadaguda villages of Mulug Taluk. One Muslim gentleman of Hyderabad got a patta issued for nearly 3,000 acres of land under Malampalli Village, Parkal taluk. He has sold away the land to the migrants.

For whose benefit is the land holding Act? Santosh Chakravarthi, MLA, Mulug, owns 2,000 acres including the 800 acres of Government banjar land he has occupied; Musinapalli Krishna, ex-MLA, Mulug, and his family have about 3,000 acres; Lakshman Reddy of Gudur, Narasmpet taluk, 3,000 acres; Mahboob Reddy's family of Narsampet 5,000 acres, Lakineni family of Kalluru, Khammam district, 3,000 acres in Yellandu taluk, Khammam district; Jaganmohan Reddy of Atmakur, Parkal taluk, 5,000 acres; S. Rajeswara Rao, ex-MLA (member of the Warangal District Committee of the CPI), Mulug, 800 acres including 300 acres of Government banjar land illegally occupied; the Pingli family of Warangal about 5,000/6,000 acres; R. Surendra Reddy, ex-MP of Mahabobabad taluk, has reduced his holdings from about 15,000 acres to 4,000 acres. Except one, all the others are staunch supporters of the Congress.

The case of Tugaturti Krishna Sastry of Mulug is of a different category. He owned till recently 10,000 acres in Mulug taluk, 3,000 acres in Yellandu taluk and 3,000 acres in Burugamphad taluk. He is an ex-

forest contractor. Except reducing his Mulug holdings to 5,000 acres Sastry was the owner of the other plots of land.

The land grabbing of the Vajendu Rajus and other Rajus of Nugur taluk who are all migrants is of an entirely different category. At least the other tribal land grabbers make a pretence of a token payment but the Rajus of Nugur taluk believe that might is right. Every revenue and police official posted in Nugur taluk must first pay his homage to the Rajus, otherwise his tenure of service in that area would be an unhappy one. Till the militant revolutionaries moved into that area in early 1969, the Rajus ruled the taluk as their kingdom. Amassing huge fortunes by exploiting the poor helpless tribals, the Rajus are the worst examples of feudalism. Opposition to them was unheard of. Many who tried to oppose them learnt the bitter lesson that their lives were not secure. Even until 1969 a tribal woman working from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m. was paid Re 1 for three days and even this if and when the Rajus felt like paying. Rape, molestation of women, torture of men and murder—anything was good in the armoury of the Rajus who live and thrive as the most staunch Congressmen.

'Bond' Worker

By 1965 landless tribals became a common feature. They become agricultural labourers, paid the lowest wages possible. A 24-hour farm servant was lucky to get 40 seers of paddy a month as wages. No holidays were allowed and for a day's absence two days' wages were deducted. The coarsest paddy costing about Rs 35 a bag was given as wages—this paddy produces the minimum amount of rice. Normally by year end the farm servant becomes indebted to the extent of Rs 200 to 300. In the course of two or three years he becomes a "bond" worker i.e. to clear his debts he has to work free. As he has to live he has to incur further debts to his master, Great grandsons are working as farm servants under the same landlords to clear the debts

of their great grandfathers. Daily wages for a man varied from Re 1.00 to 1.50 and for a woman 35 paise to Re. 1.

As if his life is not miserable as it is, the local shopkeepers, the cloth merchants, every one of the exploiting class had turned the life of a tribal into that of the living dead. The one and only occupation available to the tribal during the summer months is picking green beedi leaves. (tendu leaves) in the forests, sorting and bundling them for delivery to the local depot of the leaf contractor. Leaving home by about 4 a.m. and after trudging through animal-infested forests till about 10 a.m. collecting the properly matured leaves individually the labourer returns home for a meal. Once the meal is cooked and eaten, sorting and bundling of leaves occupies him till about 4 p.m. when he or she takes the bundles for delivery to the contractor. The rate paid used to be 2 paise a bundle containing anything up to 200 leaves. For a day's work the tribal was lucky to make 30 to 40 paise. Even here the contractor's clerk used to deduct 2 to 5 bundles as his *mamool* from every individual every day.

Carting of leaves from the interior to the roadside is given on contract. Normally for a bag containing about 150 to 200 leaf bundles the rate was Rs 1 per bag for a distance of 40 miles. A cart with 15 to 16 bags takes anything up to 6 days to cover the journey and back.

With the revolutionaries organising mass strikes etc. the daily wage for agricultural labour went up to Rs 3 to 4 a day for a man, Rs 2.50 to 3 for a woman and Rs 80 to 90 per month for a farm servant who also got holidays and other benefits. As for tendu leaves, the struggles increased the rates to 10 paise per bundle of 100 leaves and the cartmen got Rs 3 per bag for a distance of 40 miles. Cloth merchants who were one of the worst types of exploiters disappeared from the scene, the shopkeepers became more honest with their

weights, rates and quality of produce sold. Since the communist revolutionaries entered the area about three years ago nearly 25,000 to 30,000 acres of Government and private land have been occupied by the tribals. All forms of exploitation came to a standstill along with the civil administration.

In 1917 an Act was passed in the then old Madras State to which Nugur and Bhadrachalam taluks belonged, safeguarding certain rights of the tribals. Under the Act, alienation of tribal lands to non-tribals either by sale, foreclosure of mortgages or against debts was prohibited. The Act specifically laid down that even taking on lease tribal lands was void. Debt relief, wages to be paid for daily and monthly labour and certain other provisions to safeguard the tribals from exploitation were included. In 1963 the same Act became applicable to the tribals in Telengana also. Yet the same Government is not prepared to enforce the Acts, as this would work against class interests.

Since the turn of the century, Nugur and Bhadrachalam taluks have been declared scheduled areas and until recently were administered by the Central Government through a special Agent of the rank of a Collector. For political reasons the present State Government is not prepared to declare the entire area a scheduled area. Not that this will make much difference to the exploitation of the tribals, but the Centre would be forced to take greater interest in the area; not that the Centre is any better than the State Government now.

In mid-1969 the State Government declared the entire area a "disturbed area". The way things are happening, it would not surprise anybody if before long the Government declares the area a "prohibited area".

Whatever the Government does, it does not make any difference, now that the Revolutionary Communists have made the area their home.

(This was written a few months ago).

Serious Mistakes

(This is a summary of part of a document released by the Revolutionary Communist Committee of Andhra Pradesh)

MORE than three years have passed since the armed struggle started in Andhra Pradesh under the leadership of the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist Committee. During this period the revolutionary movement in the whole of the State was subjected to severe repression. The majority of the members of the Pradesh Committee and important leaders and workers in the districts were arrested and implicated in conspiracy cases.

The government deployed a large police force to wipe out the armed squads. The police let loose a reign of terror in the Agency area and are still subjecting the toiling masses to inhuman torture.

We faced many difficulties and hardships in the course of the past two years of armed struggle. Serious mistakes were committed too and we sustained severe losses.

We had decided to mobilise and organise the masses for armed agrarian revolution. But forest and Pradesh leaderships did not discuss and come to an opinion on the issue of what forms of resistance should be adopted against the repression of the ruling classes even before the mass movement reached the stage of armed struggle for agrarian revolutionary programme. There was no clear understanding on this. Because of this weakness, the Agency movement was subjected to many difficulties and hardships.

In the initial stage itself, the leadership of the Agency area gave overestimations about the situation there. It overestimated the consciousness of the masses, the preparedness of the masses for armed struggle, and the organisational capacity of the Party.

The leadership of the agency area estimated that about 1,000 volun-

teers would be available at village level from the then areas of their movement in Khammam and Warangal districts (Forest area). In January 1969, a circular was issued after discussing with the Pradesh leadership about the training to be imparted to the volunteers and laying down the duties and tasks of volunteers in protecting the villages from the police. But in practice, volunteers did not turn up as was hoped. It was thought that the youths mobilised in the legal struggles were ready for immediate armed struggle. "We completely failed in correctly assessing the political consciousness, preparedness of the people for armed struggle, and the determination of the youth rallying around us at that time".

The same overestimations recurred in "The Review of Political and Organisational Situation" presented to and adopted by the Pradesh Party convention in April 1969. It was stated in the review that "the coming forward of hundreds of youth to fight consciously for the rights of their people has begun" and "hatred against police atrocities is mounting". The dissatisfaction of the people towards the government was taken for class hatred, their mobilisation on economic issues was taken for political preparedness for direct participation.

On these overestimations, the conclusion was drawn that by implementing the programme of mass mobilisation for a few months in the Agency areas of Warangal, Khammam and East Godavari districts, the people would come forward for armed struggle for an agrarian revolutionary programme and the revolutionaries would be in a position to conduct regular armed guerilla struggle.

Note the following sentences in the "Immediate Programme" adopted by the Pradesh Convention in April 1969.

The First Rains

"Preparations have to be made for this from now onwards. Ploughing

operations (of lands of landlords) should be started with the first drizzles of the rainy season".

"Fertile land and fruit gardens that had been grabbed from Girijan peasants are still in the hands of landlords. People have been anxious to take them back. We must prepare them to occupy these lands. This process must start with the first rains".

"It is our opinion that we must complete the above activities in political propaganda, in mobilising the masses and other organisational fields and be prepared for armed struggle in the coming rainy season. With the first rains we can distribute land, start propaganda, the main item of the agricultural revolution. We must co-ordinate guerilla struggle with this programme, and it would give a wide, strong mass base for the struggle".

So, in the "Immediate Programme", we came to a definite conclusion that we could prepare the people in the Agency areas of the four districts to come forward for the distribution of lands of landlords by June, 1969, and that we could start distribution of land with the onset of the rainy season and along with this we could start armed guerilla struggle.

But the people of that area came forward mainly to occupy lands. Occupation of reserved lands took place in some areas. But here and there the lands of landlords which were kept for cattle grazing and uncultivated lands were also occupied. It is true that even before starting the armed struggle people came forward to occupy the cultivated lands of landlords in a few places in Mulugu and Palwancha taluks and in East Godavari District. The fact that people in Karimnagar, Warangal and Khammam districts did not come forward to occupy the lands of landlords showed our overestimations on this issue as stated in the Immediate Programme.

Here, we must keep one aspect in mind. Occupation of the landlords' lands by the people, on a big

scale in extensive areas, depends mainly on the people's willingness and determination to directly participate in the armed struggle. The people will occupy landlords' lands in extensive areas when they become conscious and have confidence in the strength of our armed squads in resisting the government's armed forces, and when they are confident and determined that they can and will defend and retain those lands.

We must also remember that even during the days of the Telangana armed struggle (1948-51), the people came forward to occupy lands on a big scale only after they had directly participated in the armed struggle against free labour, 'Nagu', levy on grain, atrocities of landlords etc. and only after many victories had been won against Razakars and the Nizam's military forces. This does not mean that we are not going to propagate among the people for the occupation of landlords' land as an immediate issue. We will do it and we ought to do it. Whenever the people organise themselves and come forward to occupy land of the landlords we should inspire them and lead them.

But we should not forget that mobilisation of the people in extensive areas for this purpose depends on their readiness and our work for the armed struggle, on the confidence that can be created by the military strength of the armed squads.

But without deeply going into this issue, we prepared for armed struggle thinking that by June 1969 the people in the entire area could be mobilised to occupy landlords' lands.

Not only this, the party thought that armed struggle could be started only when landlords' lands were distributed and thus we had linked distribution of landlords' lands with armed struggle.

It is good to start armed struggle only when people come forward to occupy the lands of the landlord and protect them. We must strive for that. But the government will not keep quiet when we mobilise the

people on class issues to wage militant struggles and when we integrate these mass struggles with the politics of people's war. The government will not remain silent as the movement reaches the stage of occupying the landlords' land. No sooner the masses move on mass issues than the landlords and the government resort to severe repression to crush the movement. During the course of the armed struggle which depends on the people's direct participation, we prepare them for land distribution. In this way we strive to put into practice the programme of agrarian revolution. In conditions when the people are not yet ready for armed resistance against the landlord and police repression, we will have to build up squads with the militants and workers in the villages in order to protect the movement and the cadre. This struggle has to be conducted in various forms keeping in view the support of the masses and the geographical condition of the areas and organisational strength of the party. We mobilise the people on mass issues and take necessary actions against enemies of the people and police agents who stand in the way of their movement and actively oppose it. And as against police, we adopt the tactics of self-defence. Mao Tse-tung has pointed out:

"The object of war is specifically 'to preserve oneself and destroy the enemy' (to destroy the enemy means to disarm him or 'deprive him of the power to resist' and does not mean destroying every member of his force physically)... In defence, the immediate object is to preserve yourself, but at the same time defence is a means of supplementing attack or preparing to go over to the attack." (*On Protracted War*. ---Selected Works Vol. II. P. 156).

At this stage we acquire necessary weapons not by conducting raids on the police but by other means. This entire programme has to be carried out along with the propagation of revolutionary politics of armed struggle to enhance the revolutionary

consciousness of the masses. In this process, the revolutionary consciousness of the people will grow and they will get prepared and determined for land distribution and also for armed struggle for emancipation. Then only the necessary base for protracted war will be created.

Clippings

Price Index

It is now clear that the country (India) is in the grip of a vicious inflationary spiral, prices having risen by as much as 3.1% in a single month (this was the average rise for the whole of last year).

Figures for the official price index are available only until the week ended June 17. But the figure above constitutes the rise registered during the month preceding it. What is further alarming is that prices then were as much as 7.1% higher than in the corresponding period last year.

The average rise has been of the order of just under 1% every week. This is substantial and, ominously and inexplicably, much of it is accounted for by the common man's requirements.

In the week ended June 17, for instance, the price index of the group Food Articles went up by a massive 1.6% (as it had during the previous few weeks also). This is because in a single week, the price index of eggs increased by 13%, milk and groundnut oil by 8%. Other articles went up by 2% (including meat, rice, jowar and onions) while wheat, gram, tea and coffee rose by 1%.

The new peak that the price index has registered is all the more alarming

considering that other groups—like Fuel, Chemicals, Machinery and Transport, and Manufactured Goods—remain either stationary or have even gone down marginally. Only Industrial Raw Materials kept pace with food by registering a 1.7% rise.

It is possible that the hot weather and drought conditions late in May and early June in some parts of the country are responsible for the shooting up of the price index. But it is also possible that high taxation and increased governmental spending during the crisis months of last year are now making an impact. There is, however, no official explanation for the sudden price rise. (*The Statesman*).

Workers Of Bombay

The CPI-led AITUC's Maharashtra State Trade Union Committee held its Sixth Conference in Bombay recently after a gap of eleven years (the last conference was held in 1961).

...The conference appears to have been notable for the report of the General Secretary of the MSTUC on the state of the trade union movement, and the AITUC in particular, in the state. The report is the first official confirmation by the CPI of the decline of communist influence in trade union politics in Bombay city and in Maharashtra. The General Secretary of MSTUC is completely frank in his admission of the total loss of communist influence over the working class. Workers in Bombay and in the rest of Maharashtra, according to him, have lost all "respect and liking" for the left trade unions, particularly CPI-led unions. The CPI and its trade unions have failed to organise workers on organisational and ideological bases; as a result workers have lost all interest in political struggles and no longer believe that in their fight against employers for higher wages, shorter hours of work and other benefits, they are essentially waging a class struggle for the ultimate goal of ending exploitation. As they become less and less conscious of class interests and more

and more 'income conscious', they invariably leave AITUC trade unions for other unions which make higher wage demands. Most important, workers have stopped acknowledging the historical fact that whatever they are receiving now—by way of higher wages and other many benefits—have come from the sacrifices made and the struggles fought by earlier generations of the working class.

In sum, what the General Secretary has sharply brought home to his party men is the grim reality that the communist party and its trade union organisations have been neutralised in Bombay city, where their leadership of the textile workers provided for nearly four decades the inspiration for the working class all over the country. The report has attributed this loss of influence to, among other things, the anti-communist activities of the Shiv Sena and other independent trade union organisations. Here the report loses some of its objectivity and fails to mention what the CPI and its trade union organisations in Bombay have done in the last five years to fight

২য় সংখ্যা ২২শে জুলাই বেরিয়েছে

সন্নিহিত

(রাজনীতি-অর্থনীতি-সমাজনীতি সংক্রান্ত
পাক্ষিক)

এই সংখ্যায় আছে—

- মন্তব্য
- জাতীয় পটভূমি
- ক্যান্সিসব্দ ও আজকের ভারতবর্ষ-২
- আজকের রাজনীতি
দি-পি-আই (এম)'র নবম কংগ্রেস/তামিল-নাড়ু'র কৃষক সংগ্রাম (১) যে প্রশ্ন তুলে ধরেছে/স্বা-এস-পি কোন পথে
- ইউনিয়ন দখল অভিযানের
পটভূমিকায়

- আন্তর্জাতিক
ফিলিপাইন/জাপান/প্যালেস্টাইন/শ্রীলঙ্কা/
পাকিস্তান/বাংলাদেশ
- উদ্ধৃতি

দাম : ৩০ পয়সা

সন্নিহিতের তৃতীয় সংখ্যা ৫ই আগষ্ট
বেরাবে

For Frontier contact

People's Book House

Cowasji Patel Street,

Meher House,

Fort, Bombay

JULY 29, 1972

anti-communist forces in the trade union field. It is content with blaming the state government for its failure to solve the problem of closed mills and other major industrial units in Bombay city. The report thus does not go beyond admitting the failure of the CPI leadership to organise the workers on a class basis. It does not state what specific errors of omission and commission contributed to this failure. Its prognostic value, from the viewpoint of the communist trade union movement in Maharashtra, is therefore very limited.

(A correspondent in *The Economic and Political Weekly*, Bombay).

Trial Of The Dead

Colombo, July 22—Mr Rohan Wijeweera...leader of the outlawed Peoples Liberation Front which launched last year's Ceylon insurrection, today won a week-long adjournment of the Criminal Justice Commission trying 32 suspected insurgents on charges of waging a war against the Queen. Bespectacled Wijeweera argued that the Act setting up the controversial Criminal Justice Commission hearing the case against himself and other suspects had not been made available in Sinhalese.

...Mr Wijeweera remarked that although 41 of them were indicted under the principal charge, only 32 were in custody. Charges against those missing were read over radio. "Under normal law, are charges framed against dead bodies? Is it to hide the fact that those nine are dead that this procedure is being used?" he asked.

...Mr Wijeweera told the Commission that even in "imperialist United States, Angela Davis had been tried by jury. Slogan there was 'power to people, power to jury'. Here it seemed to be power to dictatorship, power to devil. I see no jury here," he said. Chief Justice Fernando said there was no jury and that the Commission was trying the accused.

One accused alleged assault while in custody and Mr Wijeweera said he

had been housed for several months in a stable in the old Dutch fort in Jaffna in north Ceylon.

...Troops armed with sub-machine guns and several armoured cars were posted round the Queens Club (where the trial is being held) area, barricaded with seven foot-high barbed wire fences. (Manik de Silva in *The Hindustan Times*).

Letters

'No Better Than A Dacoit'

After Zarathustra, in wisdom and insight, comes Priya Das Munshi. Mr Das Munshi, who rocketed into Congress leadership from absolute zero, has told newsmen that 'this old man, Charu Mazumdar, was no better than the notorious Chambal Valley dacoit, Man Singh'.

What are the credentials of Mr Das Munshi? He was one of those who helped the police in every way in tracking down leftist activists, who herded the confused and disgruntled youth of the State into a semi-hooligan organization fruitfully employed in arranging massacres of militant leftist cadres and in terrorizing all left-dominated localities into submission, and who, finally, helped to rig the last elections in the most brazenfaced manner.

Charu Mazumdar might have adopted a rather subjective and egotistic approach to politics, leading to misinterpretations and misapplications of Marxism-Leninism and causing damage to revolution. But what was his *central purpose* in organizing all this revolutionary activity, for the sake of which he had in the miserable state of his health embraced the perils and the rigours of an underground life, hunted from pillar to post by a murderous police which do not hesitate to break into private houses and shoot down the inmates? It was not to become an MP or a minister, either Central or provincial, under a regime which has been bleeding the Indian people white

over a quarter-century, or to grab contracts for collecting taxi-parking fees, or to get undreamed-of opportunities of going to England to lick the old masters' boots, or to secure presents worth a lakh from socialist invitees at a brother's wedding. Charu Mazumdar did all that he has done to free the 550 million Indians from the bonds of an intolerable tyranny perpetrated by the most cunning and ruthless combination of foreign and native exploiters that the world has ever seen. It was because he could not bear the sight of the misery of his countrymen, because he hated exploitation and hypocrisy with a burning hatred—not because he wanted anything for himself—that he flung a reckless challenge at the ruling classes.

Regardless of what Mr Das Munshi might choose to call him, the author of the memorable Naxalbari uprising who called forth the flower of his country's youth to wage a great quixotic war with social evil is already a part of history, while Mr Das Munshi is precisely nothing. Charu Mazumdar, with his passionate dream of a free and happy world, too dreamy to be real, his intense advocacy of a people's war against the exploiters without perhaps a corresponding understanding of its laws and gradations, his profound abstract faith in Mao Tse-tung Thought unaccompanied by the realization of the vital need for its concrete and creative application, his proletarian faith contradicted by his petty-bourgeois intellectual arrogance leading him to ever-deepening errors, will remain a heroic figure at once tragic and grotesque in the first mystic twilight of a new dawn of history. The pigmy-prattle of the Das Munshi brood will not affect his destiny in the slightest.

G. P.
Calcutta

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

JULY 29, 1972

Paradise Lost ?

So, Mr Utpal Dutt could not prevent the onslaught of the fascist government on a vegetarian play like 'Tiner Talwar' though after he came out of jail on a 'personal bond' to complete *Guru*, he had concentrated his efforts to establish himself as a real good boy in the eyes of the establishment.

Mr Dutt switched over from the proletarian cause and started catering to the fancy of the petit-bourgeois class. Instead of facing the reality, he concocted fantasies like 'Dilli Chalo' to create an illusion about the role of Subhas Bose. He wrote 'Jai Bangla' and 'Thikana', two plays about the 'great national liberation movement' of 'Bangladesh'. He appeared unhappy over the Naxalite assault on the statue of Rabindranath and rushed to write an article with the favourite arguments of the *Ananda Bazar* type of intellectuals.

The fate of Mr Dutt will not be different from that of the CPI(M) 'leader-sheep'. As the polarisation of forces is becoming stronger, the establishment wants Mr Dutt to shake off all his pretensions and side with it completely. This is the only type of conformity the nationalist-socialist Indira administration wants from artistes and writers. Those who refuse and side with the people will be tackled by the police with bullets and jail.

KANCHAN KUMAR
Varanasi

Ninth Party Congress

In the Ninth Congress of the CPM held in Madurai delegates and observers from different States were told by the veteran leader, Mr B. T. Ranadive, how communist parties in different countries had become agents of the foreign policy of either the Soviet Union or China, how as gene-

FRONTIER is available from
DURGAPADA DAS
Basirhat R. N. Road
24-Parganas

JULY 29, 1972

ral secretary of the Communist Party of India during the late 1940s he was entrusted immediately after independence with carrying forward the Stalinist hard line of urban guerilla warfare, how the line was later described (as Trotskyist adventurism having caused irreparable harm to the Communist movement in India, how the Soviet Union and China had deviated from Marxism-Leninism and are behaving awkwardly.

Ranadive had admitted on May, 28 and 29, 1950 that under the influence of Karelj (the chief theoretician of the Titoite ideology) he wrongly characterised the stage of the Indian revolution as one interlacing two stages—democratic and socialist—and screened imperialism and feudalism in the name of fighting capitalism, and ignored the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal character of the revolution. This led to left-adventurist practice in the urban areas, which cost the Party dearly. At the same time it also led to left-adventurist practice in the countryside and sabotaged the agrarian struggles, like that of Telengana.

This pose of Ranadive's is nothing but a subtle repudiation of Marxism-Leninism. In fact, he is rejecting the concrete application of the teachings of Stalin on the colonial question. He is hopelessly underestimating the peasant question—the force of the agrarian revolution—the Chinese path under semi-colonial and semi-feudal conditions.

Today Ranadive, Sundarayya, Basavapunniah, Namboodiripad, Jyoti Basu, Promode Dasgupta, Harekriшна Konar & Co describe the big bourgeoisie as independent and the Indian State as sovereign and are sabotaging the agrarian revolution, the rumblings of which can be heard. These people chide the CPI and talk of applying basic Marxian theories creatively in concrete circumstances and then determine abstractly and on subjective desire, thereby adding more grist to the widespread, honest confusion.

PRABIR KUMAR SENGUPTA
Serampore, Hooghly

Roots Of Xenophobia

I must thank you for bringing to us the views of Dr H. Gohain on the delicate and explosive question of language (that is troubling the State of Assam ("Roots of Xenophobia in Assam", July 15, 1972).

I happened to be in Tripura and Cachar when the language question was just stirring the Bengali-speaking people in Cachar. As soon as the Academic Council of the University of Gauhati, under unconcealed political pressure, reversed its earlier decision to allow the Bengali-speaking students to write in their mother-tongue during the P.U. examination, a very simple right of a linguistic minority, the people in Cachar, in particular, felt very strongly.

I am, however, very happy that Dr Gohain has discussed this problem from a wide perspective and in a correct manner, shunning all cliches. The question of language, though it appears as in the present case as one relating to the sphere of education, stems from the backlog of accumulated neglect of that part of India to the east of Bangladesh.

The ill-conceived, half-hearted and misdirected policies and practices of the Central and State Governments, manifest in the organisation and re-organisation of the States and territories there, the lack of any sort of understanding of the general problems of that part of India, have contributed to an unhappy situation of mutual hatred and deep distrust

অ্যালবার্ট মাল্ট্‌স রচিত

জীবন অদম্য

অনুবাদ : সিদ্ধার্থ ঘোষ

নাৎসি রাজত্বে যত্ন স্বাভাবিক আর প্রাণে
বাঁচাটা দুর্ঘটনা তবু জীবন অদম্য। বন্দীশিবির
থেকে পলাতক ছুটি নারী আর চারটি পুরুষ—
ছ'টি সূত্র আগেরগিরি অবলম্বনে এই উপন্যাস

॥ ৫০০ ॥

পরিবেশক—কথা ও কাহিনী,
১৩ বঙ্কিম চ্যাটার্জী ষ্ট্রীট, কলিকাতা-১২

growing out of parochial considerations. As a matter of fact, all the divisive elements—the communal frenzy, the conflicts generated by caste and regional considerations, the invidious distinctions made between the so-called 'sons of the soil' and the 'outsiders'—have been very deftly nurtured by the powers that be as a patent legacy from the British rulers.

This has distracted attention from the crude reality of abject misery and squalor all around. The opportunist utilisation of backward and obscurantist trends and tendencies, particularly during the 'all-important elections, "rousing the sentimental jubilation of certain indigenous fools", as Dr Gohain notes, has proved to be the real impediment to any advance towards progress. The partition of India and its aftermath has contributed its share to this. And the elite of the dominant nationality, the Assamese, have successfully alienated themselves by their crude display of arrogance towards all the minorities in the hills and in the plains.

The block of communalists among the Muslims who incidentally constitute a large section of the total population, particularly after the formation of Meghalaya, has turned itself into a balancing, I should say, a decisive factor in the rat race for the loaves and fishes of office. The communalists of yesterday can thus pass for nationalists of a pure secular variety and worm their way towards positions at the top and at the Centre. The rousing of parochial passions and the denial of genuine

demands of the minorities, linguistic and otherwise, are the direct products of this dismal state of affairs.

During the language riots in 1961, I visited Assam as a member of the delegation sent by the Calcutta University Students' Union. I felt, as Dr Gohain writes today, that the desperate peasants, the frustrated and furious educated youth could very easily be moved by catchy slogans that appeal more to passion than to reason and 'proletarian brotherhood'. Tragic though it might strike, the ruling clique in Assam at that time set the backward elements of the Muslim and Manipuris in Cachar against the Bengali-speaking people who were upholding the rights of the linguistic minorities in general, heroically sacrificing a dozen of young lives!

This time, however, things have changed for the better. There is, at least in the responsible section, nothing against the Assamese language or the people as such. On the contrary, the right won by the Assamese to use their mother-tongue during the P.U. examination has been applauded openly.

B. B. PURKAYASTHA
Calcutta

Indian Bourgeoisie

I have read Mr Moni Guha's article (June 3, 10 and 17). I should wish to point out some of its insufficiencies.

Mr Guha has discussed in detail the character of the Indian comprador and national bourgeoisie and how the British and American imperialists have used them for their own purposes. But he has not discussed the role of foreign imperialists (mainly American during the so-called pre-independence and post-independence period) in the social fields (i.e., education, cinema, theatre, literature, dancing and other cultural programmes). He has not discussed how the imperialists have

made and are still making their "agents" from the nationalist bourgeois and petty-bourgeois classes. These agents have helped and are still helping the imperialists to exploit the common people of underdeveloped countries (which they made semi-colonies) more deceitfully. The role of these "agents" should have been discussed.

I am astonished that Mr Guha is totally silent about the role of Soviet social-imperialists who, reviving capitalism in the Soviet Union to destroy the socialist system there, are exploiting other countries and also the common people of their own land and introducing imperialist culture in their social life. In India they are exploiting us in the name of building the economy in a self-sufficient manner through the "public sector" (?) and also investing their capital in the "private sector". The present Soviet leaders say that they are doing all this to free us from the hands of American imperialism. But their basic principles are not different from those of American imperialism, though the forms of exploitation are different. I think that the character of the Indian bourgeoisie cannot be fully exposed unless the exploitation by social-imperialism in our country and the relation of the Indian comprador bourgeoisie with the Soviet social-imperialists are fully discussed.

A SUPPORTER OF MAOIST
COMMUNIST CENTRE
Calcutta

NOTICE

Articles cannot be returned unless accompanied by return postage.

Business Manager
Frontier

Frontier is sold by

PROLETARIAT BOOK

AGENCIES

22/6, S. B. Raha Lane,

JULY 29, 1972

স্টলে খোঁজ করুন

সীমানা

ফ্রন্টিয়ার-এ প্রকাশিত প্রবন্ধের

অনুবাদ সংকলন

বিনয় ঘোষ : বাঙ্গালী বুদ্ধিজীবী

রফিকুল হাসান : বাংলাদেশ

রণজিৎ গুহ : নিপীড়ন ও সংস্কৃতি

হীরেন্দ্র চক্রবর্তী : ভারতীয় সংগীত ও
সমকাল

এম. এস. প্রভাকর : দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকায়
গান্ধী

সিংহল, এপ্রিল ১৯৭১

ইত্যাদি

দাম : দুই টাকা

ফ্রন্টিয়ার : ৬১, মট লেন, কলিকাতা-১৩



**The perfect pair for
action people
Bata Stepmaster**

Bata Stepmaster in a brand new style.
Wide-front look.
Specially designed for more toe space.
Just step into one and feel the
difference.

Total comfort for your feet.
Right from the first day.
Available in black and dark
brown.

Bata Stepmaster.
It believes in keeping your feet in
comfort while you work.

Stepmaster 14
Sizes 5-10
Rs 30.95

Bata