

frontier

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On Other Pages

COMMENT	2
<i>View From Delhi</i>	
LITTLE LAW, LESS ORDER FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT	4
INDIRA WAVE WEAKENING? SUGAT SINGH	5
PROGRESSIVE AND REACTIONARY M. S. PRABHAKAR	7
ZIONISTS PROVOKE ANTI-ZIONISM I. M. RABINOWITCH	8
DRUG PROBLEM AND THE UN NARENDRA SINGH	10
<i>Book Review</i>	
THE JANA SANGH	12
<i>Clippings</i>	
VIETNAMESE CAN CARRY ON	13
VENGEFUL ISRAEL	14
LETTERS	14

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HEIGHT OF EFFRONTERY

ONE of the first victims of Indian independence has been the Congress president. He has lost his honorific of "rashtrapati" to the President of India and his power and authority to the Prime Minister. The Congress president is not in command of the party, far less of the Government; over both the Prime Minister's sovereignty is absolute. The elegant nonentity presides over party meetings convened to adopt resolutions approved, on occasion also drafted, by the Prime Minister. That is a part-time job, however; he has to fill his time with other errands to earn his costly keep and, in the process, to be in the limelight. The present incumbent, Dr S. D. Sharma, does not qualify even as a political lightweight. Not one of the original converts to Indira Gandhism, he deserted the sinking ship of the Syndicate before it was too late. To what he owes his present prominence in the party has been chronicled by some. Whether their account is correct or not, his need for a progressive image is greater than that of some of his colleagues.

Mr Sharma's quest for a progressive image recently brought him to Calcutta. He took this opportunity to acquaint the Calcutta Press with his political views which can be summed up as—anyone who is critical of the Government is a CIA agent. By this criterion only the ruling party and its ally, the CPI, are chaste; how the CIA failed to entice these two is perhaps a state secret which even the Congress president cannot divulge. CIA is a hated name which is constantly invoked by all parties to damn their political adversaries. Mr Sharma can claim no originality in this matter. But the generalisation he has made is the height of effrontery. Anyone who criticises the Government for high prices of essential commodities and scarcity of food is now exposed to the charge of indirectly pleading for resumption of food imports from the USA. In this part of the country where neither the Jana Sangh nor the Swatantra has been able to secure a toe-hold, the party of the extreme right is the Congress. If no demand for resumption of U.S. food imports is raised by the Congress, Mr Sharma can assure himself that others will not. But is he quite sure about what his own party's attitude will be after the American elections? Or of brother CPI when a part of 1000-million dollar worth of American food grains is on its way to the Soviet Union? He should make sure that when his hounds

go after the so-called CIA agents, a joint communique is not issued from Delhi at the end of a secret Kissinger mission. After all, reports that Dr Kissinger, who is in the habit of turning up at unlikely capitals, has already been to New Delhi have not been very firmly denied.

Dr Sharma has the liberty of saying whatever he likes of his adversaries at home. How to riposte is a matter for the Opposition parties to decide. But he does not have the right to call political parties and leaders of other countries, even those of the most independent and most sovereign republic of Bangladesh, CIA agents. He has not disclosed the basis of his allegation. Should it be assumed that the CBI and the RAW have, in imitation of the CIA and the KGB, started operating in other countries? The governments of Bangladesh, Nepal and Ceylon are competent to deal with their own citizens, CIA agents or not, who may try to distort the relations that they want to have with India; it is for the governments of those countries to decide on how short a leash they should keep their critics. For the chief of the ruling party here to arrogate to himself the responsibility amounts to interference in the internal affairs of neighbours with whom India has friendly relations. It is also an indirect aspersion against those governments for allowing anti-Indian forces to operate. By his irresponsible statement the Congress president has supplemented the efforts of those who may be trying to sour India's relations with its neighbours. Somebody should tell Dr Sharma that to foil the CIA conspiracy the best thing he could do is to hold his tongue. Even his greatly devalued office demands some restraint that he does not seem to possess.

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Ugandan Portents

Since the current fighting broke out in East Africa the Ugandan President, General Idi Amin, and his mediemen have been shouting that Tanzanians are the mischief-makers and the British are aiding them. But despite this verbal barrage the world is not impressed. The Tanzanian President, Nyerere, has denied his involvement in the crisis though his men are guarding the frontier with Uganda, lest Amin strikes. General Amin's complaint is that Nyerere is working to re-instate Milton Obote, the deposed leader of Uganda. But in his haste perhaps the General has forgotten that Nyerere could have done it more easily after the February coup last year when Amin stood on sandy ground. But he did not. In the present crisis too he is behaving in the same restrained manner and has acted in self-defence only. The British too cannot be in the fighting. For, despite the recent disenchantment with Kampala, the British heart does not turn for Obote and his rebel group. In 1971 British troops did not move in to help Obote when Amin struck, though Kenyatta got their protection.

The rebels' identity has been revealed by Radio Uganda itself. For the last few days it has been saying repeatedly that the present fighting is the doing of a few frustrated Ugandans and it has hurled abuse against Sudan and Tanzania for sheltering and arming them. But who are these frustrated Ugandans? They are army deserters, disenchanted youth and ordinary people driven to desperation by Amin's misrule. When he staged the coup d'etat he made the world believe that his countrymen had grown contemptuous of Obote and had paraded the empty streets of Kampala and other cities as signs of the disaffection. But inside Uganda all was not that quiet. Dissenting voices were gagged, often bloodily, and the army was cleansed of Obote's men. But the worst was still to come. In the name of reflat-

ing Uganda's economy Amin reversed most of Obote's progressive measures and brought back regionalism, tribalism and other parochial forces. Even the army got restive and made an abortive effort to trounce him. Though the revolt was quelled he could not prevent the economy from going down inexorably and the people's plight worsened. As a last bid to distract their attention he ejected the local Asians without the will or organisation to replace the departing Asians. Naturally, the rebels grabbed the opportunity and synchronised their attack with the internal chaos.

Till the dust settles it is not possible to count the battle score. But the rebels have shown that they can muster a sizable strength, an estimated 10,000, and can be a matter of concern to Amin. But they lack adequate arms. President Amin, on the other hand, has the advantage of superior arms and also outside help. Libya has already flown in token help. But his main headache is his backyard which is seething with discontent. Though at the time of writing an accord is reported to have been reached between Uganda and Tanzania, thanks to Somalian mediation, it has not removed discontent. For Nyerere has not recognised the Amin regime and the rebels remain. This regional clash has indeed all the ingredients of a major confrontation. And the presence of foreign mercenaries in the region makes it all the more portentous. But it would need Amin's foolhardiness to ignite it.

Break In Rhythm

The Palestinian commandos can always rely on the Israelis to break the rhythm to peace efforts in the Middle East. The recent Israeli violence on Lebanon and Syria, which is a reaction to the killings in Munich, has at last for the time being pushed even the so-called peace efforts to the background. Mr Abba Eban has said that the liquidation of the guerillas is now more important

than the search for peace as the latter is going to be a time-consuming process. Israel never showed interest in peace since it is the only one in the region which can continue to hold on to the present order of things without much difficulty, and in the election year in the United States it can afford to live dangerously. When the U.S. Ambassador for the United Nations, raised his hand in the Security Council to veto the resolution moved by Somalia, Guinea and Yugoslavia on the Middle East he found himself in the company of none. The East European members of the council voted for the resolution in its original form after an unsuccessful attempt had been made to incorporate a few amendments in order to establish some sort of link between the Munich incident and the Israeli raids. It appeared to them that it was more important to bring some kind of pressure on Israel than to establish a linkage. But Nixon has the Jewish votes to buy. Israel knows it well that aerial bombing on and military raids into the areas where the Palestinians live are not effective investments against the commandos, particularly members of the Black September group who are taking the war to places where the enemy is most vulnerable. But what it expects is that the bombing and the raids will provide the Lebanese and Syrian authorities to come down hard on the guerillas. It was in September 1970 that the Hashemite monarch cracked down on the Palestinians—after an agreement had spelled out where they were to live—following Israeli raids. But during the two years, the Arab mind has become more restless because of the no-war, no-peace situation. Lebanon is

also not Jordan. The people are divided in their attitude to the Palestinian cause. There is also much sympathy in the government for the commandos; Saib Salam has denied that any ultimatum was issued to the Fedayeen by the army. It cannot, however be denied that there is a powerful section in the army which is ready to re-establish its authority throughout the country. The Munich chapter—the holding of Israeli athletes as hostages, the duping of the Black September activists, the carrying out of the commando threat and finally embracing death in a nonchalant manner—has released new Arab sympathies for the Palestinians. Even Sadat after pondering for a few days in his characteristic manner threw his weight behind the Palestinians.

The New Scholar

In India, the land of sages and scholars, today every doctorate holder out of five acquired his degree abroad. Twenty per cent in general science, thirty-three per cent in agriculture and veterinary sciences, fifty per cent in engineering, twenty-two per cent in medicine and surgery, thirteen per cent in arts and humanities, six per cent in commerce got their doctorates in overseas universities. The figures have been compiled by the Scientific and Technical Personnel Division of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research of the Government of India.

According to the survey, forty per cent of the overseas post-graduate qualifications of Indian scholars have been acquired from the United States, and another forty per cent from the United Kingdom.

What these scholars learn and specialise in or why, is entirely their business. We will however be fooling ourselves if we think that these learned men went abroad because they were denied the opportunity and scope of specialising in this country. They went overseas and forti-

fied themselves with foreign degrees for earning better salaries in this country. Barring a few, none had gone abroad for pure learning or whatever it is. A foreign degree is considered more weighty, an MRCP of London, an MBA of New York or a Ph.D holder of MIT, has a glamour that dazzles the indigenous interview board. Foreign degrees are marketable commodities and over-valued just like foreign umbrellas, transistors, clothes and cosmetics. It must be admitted, however, that higher education today in India being what it is, there is hardly a choice between a foreign degree and a native, both being equally useless for the basic needs of our country.

Way back in 1917, Chittaranjan Das, despite his many limitations, openly attacked Sir Asutosh Mukherjee, at the Bengal Provincial Conference in Calcutta, for espousing university education on a foreign model. Peasants, workers, and the mass of the country had nothing to learn from these tall buildings and stacked libraries, he said. Followed the Non-Co-Operation Movement and the yearning for Swadeshi colleges. Followed the Independence of the country. Followed education reforms committees whose number is legion. After all these, we have landed up today in a situation when one-fifth of our most learned people have plumed themselves with foreign degrees. These people form the avant garde of a comprador culture. It is one thing to use the methods and techniques, developed overseas, in exploring the national scene and resources; it is quite another to use the degrees earned abroad for weighting the qualifications in getting jobs. They form a world of their own, which has no connection with the soil of the country. Their models and values, not to speak of their manners and language, are extra-territorial. We have before us, we the people of the colonies, two models of education—the Japanese and the Chinese. We have opted for the Japanese but being primarily agricul-

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turalists, we are falling between two stools; we have not succeeded in either making ourselves an industrialised nation or in forging out a

new mode of agriculture. As a result our arts, whether in drama, novel or painting, are an aping of the Western arts, our science is a

tame imitation or repetition, without the practical bearings, of Western science. They fly rockets, we fly balloons.

View from Delhi

Little Law, Less Order

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

TWO weeks ago, they were charging the parties of the defunct Grand Alliance with a conspiracy to destroy the Prime Minister's image, said to be the pre-condition for the country's take-off on poverty. Now they are pinning it on a combination of the extreme right and the extreme left plus the inevitable CIA. The return to the extreme right-left syndrome takes the Congress back to its resolution at the Bombay plenary session in December 1969. It has been a similar game, equating the right and the left. The latest charge of the Congress President should divide the National Council of the CPI where Mr Dange led the "extreme-left", possibly in collusion with the CIA, to go by Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma's formulation. As a party the CPI has been spared any stigma and the intentions behind its crash campaign to dislodge Mr Kedar Nath Pandey as Bihar's Chief Minister, are indeed noble. Mrs Indira Gandhi was anguished at the thought of parting company with the CPI and pleaded for a soul dialogue on differences if any. Mr Bhupesh Gupta has philosophised at length on the need to make the PDA in West Bengal a live instrument, the detention of his partymen under MISA notwithstanding. His colleagues in Kerala have no reservations about running a benami ministry for the Congress. The CPI's attack on Mr Kedarnath Pandey's plan for joint sector projects sounds funny. He is called the henchman of the Tatas but the joint sector syndrome was the brainchild of the CPI's henchmen

in the Central Cabinet, the two economic czars who are enchanted by the sheer efficiency of the Tatas. Whether the CPI would risk the ouster of its dummy ministry in Kerala by taking the Congress on in Bihar and other States remains to be watched. But its leadership is surprised that three hundred thousand people attended its rally in Patna. It could have just one lesson: if the CPI has to survive it has to fight the Congress and not tail it.

As for the ghosts the Congress leadership is conjuring up, the nation cannot take Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma's orchestrated statements seriously. This column has pointed out more than once that September is always the season of discontent in the country. A Home Ministry study several years ago had borne this out, without blaming any political party or foreign agency for the trend. September-October is the worse month in terms of the law and order situation. The Congress has created the objective conditions for a troubled situation reminiscent of the 1966-67 days. The opposition parties have really failed and the lumpen proletariat and the students are finding their own leadership for the agitations and violence. If as Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma says some foreign hand is behind, he is inadvertently damning the Union Home Minister who also happens to be the Prime Minister.

The Congress leadership is impervious to the changing mood of the people. Its Working Committee was content to pass a resolution calling

for some kind of informal rationing and the Chief Ministers are to be briefed about it on September 30. There is a feeling in the Government that the economic crisis has turned the corner and everything is well again. But the upheaval in October is certain to shock the Government leadership which looks at things as a mere law and order problem.

The bonus decision of the Union Cabinet sought to undercut the trade union leadership and deprive them of all credit for the decision. In fact, the two agencies were asked to put out a story that while the Cabinet was opposed to higher bonus in cash payment, Mrs Indira Gandhi prevailed over all and forced the decision in favour of 8.33 per cent and cash payment. The agencies might put out such sunshine stories but the papers are wary of picking them up. The trade unions will now formulate a demand for a national minimum wage, which the National Labour Commission had rejected. Mr D. P. Dhar is supposed to set the pace for the demand through his report to the AICC which along with one by Mr C. Subramaniam would provide the basis for the economic policy resolution at the Gandhinagar AICC session.

The cacophony on industrial policy has begun to jar. Mr Subramaniam warned officials against creating technical obstacles in the way of setting up industries once the licence was given. He told the officials in so many words that bureaucrats should not claim pretentious things like commitment and their duty was to

help implement things once the licence was given, however large the big business house that manages to grab it. Big Business is the king once again. We have Mr Subramaniam or his deputy on record in Parliament that there is no ban on issuing new licences to the big business or monopoly houses. By all accounts the Tatas and Birlas after a few skirmishes in the past, seem to be arriving at some ground rules to be umpired by the government. The Tatas will have a free field when it comes to sophisticated indus-

tries, and the Birlas the vast backward areas which need industrialisation. It will be a perfect division between the countryside and the city, the contradiction being rendered innocuous through government supervision and regulation. The Birla interest in the newly launched Nehru Study Forum, whose sponsors claim that it has the Prime Minister's blessings, is explained by the changed Government approach to monopoly capital, which like the kulaks, is an ally in the war against poverty.

September 23, 1972

Indira Wave Weakening

SUGAT SINGH

RECENT events, one after the other, in Delhi raise a serious question, whether the so-called Indira wave is thinning out, at least in Delhi. Mrs Gandhi's Congress won the 1971 parliamentary elections and the 1972 Metropolitan Council Election with a thumping majority. Never before had the Congress scored such success in Delhi, not even at the time of Chaudhary Brahm Parkash, the last Chief Minister of the Delhi State. The pattern in Delhi had been in no way different from what it was in other parts of the country. But what is significant is the fact that Delhi happens to be first State (Union Territory to be more precise), where the victory of the Congress is being fast undone. This does not mean that a formidable challenge to the Congress administration has been put up by its political adversaries. But a long-term challenge is surely under way. At the outset, it must be admitted that the Congress victory in Delhi was more or less phenomenal. The Congress had never proved itself to be superior organisationally or otherwise in Delhi since 1967, when the Jana Sangh captured power. The Sangh as a party was surely much stronger than the Congress. But in the 1971 and 1972 elections the Congress won because

of its overall performance in the whole country and secondly because of its alliance with the CPI and the total collapse of the Socialists (SP, SSP, PSP). This can be proved by the victory of the Jana Sangh in the Delhi Municipal Corporation election in June 1971. The Sangh won with a clear majority. Thus it can be said that the people of Delhi are left with only one choice: they can either reject the Congress and embrace the Jana Sangh or vice versa. Willy nilly they (about 35 to 45% of the population) bring one of the two to power and rest content with their performance for about five years. It seems this pattern is going to stay for quite some time. In the meantime, the major political parties try to avenge their defeats by means of securing elective positions in different bodies besides Parliament/Metropolitan Council/Municipal Corporation. This can be the only explanation of the two major defeats which the Congress suffered during this September. The two defeats have proved to be of far-reaching consequence.

The Delhi University Students' Union (DUSU) election occupies a very important place in the life of the Union Territory of Delhi. There are nearly 97,000 students on rolls,

There is a system of indirect election of office-bearers of the DUSU. The students in colleges and university departments elect about 300 supreme councillors who in their turn elect their president, vice-presidents, general secretary, joint secretaries and treasurer. As reported earlier, the political parties of Delhi, particularly Congress and Jana Sangh, spend a large amount of money to win the DUSU election. This time, the whole Congress machinery was involved. They wanted to play West Bengal where the Chhatra Parishad swept the polls. But they lost to Jana Sangh. In the last academic session, the students demanded, and affirmed their demand through a referendum, direct election. This demand has not yet been conceded, because indirect election suits both the major political parties. But on the other hand this system of indirect election has become a burden for the common students. They do not have the means to buy three hundred and odd supreme councillors. Why so much emphasis on this election, even more than on a parliamentary election? Because this body of students directly influences the politics of Delhi. The recent events in Shahdara and Karol Bagh have proved this fact.

Another election which tilted the balance in favour of the Jana Sangh was that of the office-bearers of the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA, Sapru House, New Delhi). The 85-year-old man who presided over the Council for the last twenty years was being challenged in the name of change by Mr R. K. Nehru, the 74-year-old former Secretary-General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs. There was hectic campaigning. It proved to be a political fight. Mr H. N. Kunzru, the pro-American politician, ideologically nearer to the Swatantra, Congress (O) and Jana Sangh parties, was being supported by all the rightist parties plus the CPM. The main support came from local Sangh leaders, particularly Mr Hans Raj Gupta, the former Mayor of Delhi. His panel of candidates

included the names of Mr Gupta himself and Mr Mathew Kurian, a Rajya Sabha member of the CPM. On the other hand, Mr Nehru was the candidate of the Congress. The keen fight between these veteran Kashmiri Brahmins was a clear fight between the Congress and the bandwagon of anti-Congressism. Mr Kunzru won with a thumping majority. This defeat of the Congress proves two things. First, that the old theory of anti-Congressism is still relevant and can be the most effective weapon in the present context to defeat the ruling party. Secondly, notwithstanding the Soviet influence on the political power in New Delhi, the American influence remains the order of the day with the powerful oligarchy in India.

Shahdara

Two more events of a totally different type have also to do something with the process of undermining of the so-called Indira wave in Delhi. The first occurred on August 18 in Shahdara, one of the trans-Jamuna localities of Delhi. The Shahdara turmoil opened the eyes of the people of Delhi. They have now come to realise the hollowness of the oft-repeated excuse of death as a result of an encounter with the police put forward by the Government. Earlier, they had no occasion to verify the official statements. This time they saw with their own eyes the murder of Mr Onkar Singh, a Home Guard official. The story is that Onkar Singh was in love with a woman police officer related to Mr Bakhshish Singh, Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police, Shahdara. On August 18, Mr B. Singh made an entry in the office diary at 7 a.m. "I am leaving for inspection of the area". At 8 a.m. he returned and made another entry that they were going to besiege the house of "a dacoit". By 10 a.m. Mr Onkar Singh was killed and a statement from the local police station was issued, "Dacoit Onkar Singh killed in encounter with police". When the father of the deceased came to know that his son had been

murdered by the police and the goondas of the area, he went to the police station to lodge an FIR. He was abused, beaten and thrown out. Ultimately he succeeded, with the help of the local police, in getting "murdered by mistake" recorded. By the evening, the people of the area started expressing their anger. Their numbers swelled. They kept night-long gherao of the thana, they demanded immediate arrest of B. Singh and other culprits. The assurances of the police high-ups did not pacify them. On certain occasions, the police used tear-gas. Whosoever was caught by them was mercilessly beaten. The people reassembled again and again. This went on. At 2 p.m. the students of Shamlal College came into the picture. Police reinforcements continued. Ultimately it was announced on loudspeaker that the culprit had been arrested. The people in anger snatched the loudspeaker of the Magistrate, buses were burnt; traffic jams paralysed the normal life of the city. The Grand Trunk Road was blocked by people at several places. Their fight with the police continued even up to August 20 when about 5,000 were returning from Nigam Bodhi Ghat after Onkar Singh's cremation. The police beat the people mercilessly. The people burnt police tents and attacked the Telephone Exchange. They had raised barricades at different places. All this happened under the very nose of the Imperial power of New Delhi. But even then, Mr K. C. Pant expressed ignorance in the Lok Sabha.

The other event that shook Delhi occurred initially in Bapa Nagar, Dev Nagar and other parts of Karol Bagh over the mysterious death of a 17-year-old Harijan girl in Kasturba Balika Asram, near Okhla on September 5. A wave of violence swept the area where the parents of the deceased live. The people in the area mostly belonging to the scheduled castes, felt that the girl (Prem Lata) had fallen a victim to high-caste prejudice and petulance. There was a demonstration by about 500 peo-

ple in front of the Education Minister, Mr Nurul Hasan's residence. They demanded immediate arrest of the Principal of the Asram. Afterwards, she was arrested and released on bail. The people continued their agitation. Their feeling was that the Government was conniving at the whole affair, otherwise a bail in a "murder case" could not be granted. They suspected foul play against the girl. The story was circulated that she killed herself by jumping into a well when Prasad (offering to deity) from her hands on Janmashtami Day was refused by the Principal. Another story is that she feared that she would be used for immoral purposes.

The scheduled caste youths are trying to express their anger over the atrocities which the Caste Hindus inflict on them. They are equally aware of the Government's attitude in such matters. The Macharia village episode in U.P. is still fresh in their minds. This anger of the scheduled caste youths was used by the opposition parties, particularly Jana Sangh (only initially, later they publicly disowned their participation) and the Republican Party of India. The RPI leaders were in the forefront of the agitation to break the silence of the Government which is callous to the sufferings of the downtrodden people. The pattern of the incidents happened to be similar to that at Shahdara with the difference that violent incidents spread to different localities. The college students joined the fray. Their anger was mainly directed against the irregular DTC bus service. Many buses, one garbage truck and one police jeep were burnt. One milk van was looted.

This time too it was the people who organised themselves to fight the police, with the RPI youths in the forefront. In a convention of the North Indian units of the RPI in August 1972 in Ambedkar Bhavan, New Delhi, the delegates had expressed great anger over the Government's inaction regarding atrocities on the Harijans. The delegates

Progressive And Reactionary

M. S. PRABHAKAR

reacted favourably to a suggestion from a delegate from Delhi that scheduled caste residents in cities should take vengeance on Caste Hindus whose kith and kin in the villages commit atrocities. About a dozen young men in the Convention signed with their blood a pledge to sacrifice everything for the cause, in the presence of their leaders, including Mr L. R. Bali of Punjab and Mr Abbas Malik of Delhi (now under preventive detention). This shows that the scheduled caste people are now determined to fight the injustice which continues to be inflicted on them, even after 25 years of "freedom". They are not satisfied with the passive conversion to Buddhism, the path shown to them by the late Dr B. R. Ambedkar, popularly known as Baba Saheb among his followers.

Whatever might have been the issues involved, some conclusions can be derived from the violence in Delhi: that the people now can rise against injustice and can take up arms in their defence (even if it be sticks and stones, as was the case in Delhi); they do not have any inhibition. If need be, they can organise themselves in squads without any guidance from veterans. Owing to the excessive cost of living the contradictions that bring revolutionary upsurge are getting an expression, of their own, here and there. This Government of the exploiters, which wields enormous power, uses the police and the army to crush people's revolts with a heavy hand. On the other hand people struggle to defend themselves. The sporadic revolts fail. But they are bound to succeed, if the revolutionary people continue with the struggle.

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OF late, the CPI has been desperately trying to reassert itself as something more than the 'loyal opposition' to Mrs Gandhi; but it continues to identify Progressive and Reactionary wings within the Congress Party, and its leaders (like N. K. Krishnan after the confabulations in Moscow) have never relented in their support of the Progressives in the Congress and their attacks on the Reactionaries. The Party's latest political posture is: support Mrs Gandhi, but criticise the poor performance of the Government. Well, if Marxists can make subtle distinctions between a party which is not semi-fascist, but which pursues semi-fascist policies (what is *semi-fascism*, by the way?), one can scarcely grudge the CPI its attempts to project itself as a modern-day Janus: Two-faced, in plain English.

But the pursuit of a two-faced policy towards the Congress, so ably exploited by the party ideologues (like Mohit Sen, for instance, in a recent issue of *New Age* dated September 10) sometimes seems to backfire. For instance, during the past few weeks, quite a series of new discoveries are being made about the emergence of a 'new Syndicate' in the ruling Congress, and in fact, the 'failures' of Mrs Gandhi are being largely attributed to these new elements. This new Syndicate is alleged to be far more sophisticated than the discredited old Syndicate; the new Syndicate is able to articulate socialist and progressive cliches more eloquently. As evidence of its sophistication and even duplicity, the formation of the Nehru Study Forum is cited, and much wrath is spent on this 'exploitation' of Jawaharlal Nehru's name by 'a bunch of crooks and former Syndicators', who, one scarcely needs to be reminded, are only a section of Congressmen. During the past few weeks, journals

which are the mouthpiece of the Loyal Opposition, as well as 'Independent Leftist' papers have been going hammer and tongs at the perfidy of this 'exploitation' of Nehru's socialist image.

Well, well, the CPI's ideologues may go on making the distinction between Progressives and Reactionaries in the Congress; but our Congressman too is a Janus, in his own rights; reactionary when viewed from one perspective, progressive from another. He too attains his salvation through his own dialectic. The issue of *New Age* referred to above has two interesting news items (apart from the highly instructive explication of the CPI's policies by Mr Mohit Sen). On page 7, Our Special Correspondent rhetorically asks: Nehru Study Forum: What is Behind it? and provides the answer in his dispatch: it is all a Syndicate conspiracy. One of the prominent members of the Nehru Forum is the redoubtable H. K. L. Bhagat of Delhi who is reported to have played his own game in the recent elections to the presidentship of the Delhi University Students Union. The Congress-supported candidate lost the election to a Jana Sangh nominee because of his machinations, it is said. Clearly, one of a 'bunch of crooks and former Syndicators'.

But on page 15 of the same issue of the paper, we meet this gentleman again, but now it is his other face that is being shown. Could there be anything more authentically Progressive than the Afro-Asian Peace and Solidarity Organization? At its recent Delhi State conference, after no doubt a surfeit of Progressive talk, the Organization set out to elect a new Council, of which the new Chairman is our 'redoubtable' friend, H. K. L. Bhagat.

Perhaps, it would be wrong to ascribe to the Congress a great degree of subtlety; its two-faced postures are all too apparent. H. K. L. Bhagat (god bless him, whoever he is) would most effortlessly carry on

as the leader of a 'reactionary wing' of the Congress, and be equally at home as the Chairman of the Delhi State Council of the AAPSO. For him, there would be no contradiction between the two roles. But what

about the CPI, which at least is supposed to see these roles as mutually exclusive? Or, is it all merely a case of 'evolution and growth', from a Reactionary on Page 7 to a Progressive on Page 15?

Zionists Provoke Anti-zionism

I. M. RABINOWITCH

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This article by Dr Rabinowitch is reprinted from *Resistance*, Damascus, Syria).

I am deeply disturbed by the mass demonstrations by Jews thoroughly blinded by the indoctrinations of Zionist propaganda and led by Zionist rabbis whom countless numbers of strictly Orthodox rabbis have named, 'the false prophets of our day.'

What these kind-hearted, well-meaning but deluded Jews clearly do not know is that, from the very beginning of the Zionist movement, the top Zionist leaders have always welcomed anti-Semitism as a means of realizing their nationalistic ends; that the founder of Zionism, Theodore Herzl, heartily approved of anti-Semitism; that Ben Gurion, at the time prime minister of Israel, saw it at times as a potent tool; that Moshe Sharett, at the time chairman of the Jewish Agency, told a Zionist convention that the decreasing anti-Semitism in the U.S. "imperilled the Zionist cause," and that Nahum Goldman, at the time probably the most prominent Zionist leader in the world, next to the president of Israel, was deeply concerned about the decreasing anti-Semitism in the United States. Also, what is not as well known as it should be by these beguiled Jews, is the

Machiavellianism, namely, the deliberately inciting hatred of the Jew and then, with feigned horror, pointing to it (as a justification of national independence.

The hooliganism and the terrorism are no less disturbing, for terrorism has for many years been Zionist policy. As a single example of the many that could be cited to cause Jews in Arab countries to flee to Israel, it was Ben Gurion's idea to disguise young healthy Jews to appear as Arabs and to go about the streets in Arab countries and plague the Jews with anti-Semitic slogans, such as "Bloody Jew", and where this failed to produce the desired result, the technique was violence.

In Iraq, Jews who refused to panic were beaten up. The chief rabbi, Kadhoury Sasoon, opposed as he was to Zionism in all of its manifestations, was badly beaten up.

Coming to the Jerry "humanitarianism" at all United Jewish Appeals for funds for Israel—that the purpose of these vast sums of money is to succour suffering Jews at no time in history had a more gigantic fraud ever been perpetrated on mankind. From the very beginning of the Zionist movement, the cause has never been sufferings of Jews; the cause, and the only cause, was and is national independence.

If these Jews who, like sheep, follow the Zionist leaders in these mass-demonstrations, would use their intelligence instead, and make an effort to learn what in fact, is behind these mad activities, they would clearly see that the concern of Zionism about the Jews of U.S.S.R. is not

political disabilities but increase of manpower for Israel. As a single example, only recently there was pending legislation in the U.S. Congress that would authorize the issuance by the U.S. of 30,000 visas to Soviet Jews. The intent of the House and Senate was not to divert Soviet Jews who are permitted to migrate from going to Israel, if that was where they wished to go, but purely a humanitarian one, to provide Soviet Jews with an additional alternative place of settlement. And what was the result? Down upon the U.S. Senate, like an avalanche, came the full force of the Zionist leaders of the U.S. to prevent passage of the bill.

Of this vileness of the top Zionist leaders in the U.S. Rabbi Moshe Sherer, president of the Orthodox Agudas of America, had this to say: "This playing politics with Jewish lives is reprehensible to Judaism. It recalls bitter memories of post-war politics by certain Zionist representatives who harassed any rescue efforts for Jewish refugees which brought them to any land other than to Palestine."

In Canada's House of Commons in 1956, a question was put to J.W. Pickersgill, then minister of citizenship and immigration, about what Canada was doing to open its doors to Jews who, dissatisfied with Israel, wish to settle elsewhere. Mr Pickersgill replied: "The government has made no progress in providing facilities for immigrants from Israel and has no intention of making any progress in that direction, because the government of Israel which is a

country seeking immigrants, does not wish us to do so."

Not only has the cause of Zionism never been humanitarianism, but, to realize its nationalistic ends, here is seen the apotheosis of inhumanity—cruelty completely beyond belief—were it not for the incontestable facts: Top-level Zionist leaders (approved of Hitler's gas chambers and furnaces, on the principle that the greater the number of Jews who enter the gas chambers and the greater the number who are incinerated in the furnaces, the greater will be the chances of national independence. The quotation, "by blood only shall we acquire the land", had reference to Hungarian Jews. When, later, the concern was about the Polish Jews, the reply was, "One cow in the realized land is more important than all of the Jews in Poland."

Nor was this all. In return for allowing some thousands of Jews to escape from the concentration camps and go to Palestine, in order to cause the Nazis as little trouble as possible in the concentration camps, a top-level Zionist leader (Dr Rudolf Kastner—*Resistance*) went from camp to camp and beguiled these terribly stricken Jews into believing that they were being collected merely for transportation to labour camps, and so with the inhuman connivance of this top-level Zionist, tens of thousands of Jews went to their deaths. And, as the Nazi courts had acquitted Nazi murderers of Jews, so a court in Israel acquitted this Zionist murderer. But retribution caught up with him; he was later recognized by one of the Nazi victims who had been in one of these concentration camps and was assassinated.

And, as the cry of humanitarianism is a downright fraud, so are the appeals to the thoroughly deluded Jews for monies on religious grounds, deliberate deception, capitalizing on the "Promised Land" of the Bible. To

anyone who knows the facts, the cry, "Promised Land", is the acme of simulation, pretence and hypocritical cant. Immediately after Israel had come into being, Chaim Weizmann, first president of Israel, declared unequivocally that the religion of the Jew was not to govern the ministries of the state. To countless sincerely Orthodox rabbis, to this day, the very name the Zionists had given to their state,—"Israel"—is a sacrilege of the worst kind, and the state of Israel as a whole, is "an abomination." As these sincere rabbis see it, the sooner Israel comes to an end, the better for the Jew, for Judaism and for the peace of the world in general.

These huge sums of money which have been, and to this very day are being contributed by kindhearted, well-meaning Jews throughout the world for the state of Israel recall the Golden Calf of the Bible—"Break off the golden rings which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons and of your daughters and bring them to me, and all the people broke off the golden rings which were in their ears and brought them to Aaron. And with a graving tool he made a Golden Calf, and they said, "This is thy God, O, Israel."

What is most terrifying and probably a most potent factor in creating anti-Semitism where it had not existed before and intensifying it where it exists, is the indescribably foul teaching of Zionism about a Jew's loyalty to the country of his birth or adoption. Anti-Semites have for centuries spread the charge that Jews are not loyal citizens; that their concern is making money and not the welfare of the country in which the money is made. Absolutely wicked as this has always been, completely contrary as it is to the teachings of Judaism, Zionism has by its vile teachings put into the hands of anti-Semites precisely that which they require to spread hostility towards the Jew.

One of the teachings of Zionism is that whatever be the interests of one's country, however harmful it may be to the country of his birth or adoption, a Jew's first loyalty is

not to the country of his birth or adoption, but to Israel. As examples, these will suffice: "There is a collective duty of the Zionist movement to assist the State of Israel in all conditions and under any circumstances—whether the government to which the Jews in question owe allegiance, desire it or not."... "It means defending Israel's policies even if they run counter to the position taken by one government or another of the countries where Jews live," "It is impossible to be a Jew and at the same time an American." These are not outpourings of wild-eyed irresponsible zealots thoroughly indoctrinated by Zionist propaganda. All are from persons, past and present, in highly responsible posts in the Zionist organization.

I have barely touched upon Zionism. I have not mentioned at all the fraudulent uses of countless millions of dollars—millions that were forwarded to Israel tax-free, having been believed to have been entirely for philanthropy, but, by highly deceptive practices, channelled back to the United States for Zionist propaganda, until the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations discovered the fraud.

In an address to the Canadian Club of Montreal in 1946, the title of which was "the Menace of Political Zionism to Judaism and World Peace," I suggested that Zionism be outlawed in Canada and for emphasis, I closed with these words: "A Jewish State in Palestine means war." The latter hardly requires comment; the former, particularly because the teachings of disloyalty to one's country, in my humble opinion, still holds.

The statements I have made here are most serious, and they are irresponsibility and wickedness of the worst character, and he who has made them, merits the severest possible rebuke unless they can be shown to be true, not beyond all reasonable doubt, but beyond all doubt. I, therefore, challenge any Zionist leaders, particularly any one of "the false prophets of our day," disprove a single statement I've made, for of each, there is incontestible documentary proof, and I have all the documents.

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SEPTEMBER 30, 1972

Drug Problem And The UN

NAGENDRA SINGH

SOMETIME back the press reported that the UN was backing a programme of biological control of narcotic producing plants. A £60,000, three-year contract has been signed between the UN Fund for Drug Abuse Control and the Commonwealth Institute for Biological Research in a project for global control of the cultivated plants of poppy (source of opium, morphine, heroin, etc) and hemp (source of hashish, marijuana, etc). The insect enemies of these plants will be sought in fields in Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, Middle East, Turkey, Rumania and Yugoslavia, their feeding and breeding characters will be studied in the laboratories in Rawalpindi (Pakistan) and Delemont (Switzerland); and the selected species, eventually mass-reared, will be released in the fields without the knowledge of the growers. It is thought that the 'illicit' growers will not be able to devise safeguards because large-scale purchases of insecticides are very costly and their use will get known. The UN Fund wanted the contract to be kept secret, but the news leaked out of Geneva because the biological, rather than the chemical, approach to the problem caught particular attention.

This report raises issues of concern. It reveals the ineffective manner in which the drug problem continues to be tackled, involving even the UN organisation. The attempted secrecy not only exposes the one-track approach, hiding the known and unknown wider economic and other implications, but also focuses attention on the possible surreptitious use of the UN and its agencies by the reactionary ruling forces for their own ends. This makes us take a look at the issues involved.

For a general picture, one must refer to the U.S. scene where the problem is most acute. The latest report reveals an increase in the number of heroin addicts by 60 per cent

over the last three years, and also the ineffectiveness of the massive enforcement measures which were able to seize only a small fraction of the total inflow of heroin. This is attributed to the existence of powerful well-organised international rings of drug trade and traffic. Even for drugs like LSD, hashish, etc, organisations are reported to be operating in widely separated points from Canada to Australia. In several countries of Europe a distinction already exists between soft drugs (marijuana, etc.) and the hard ones (heroin, etc.). A debate has opened in the USA as well, to legalise the use of the former, a lesser evil, for a possibly more effective action against the latter. There is also proliferation of research and papers from the so-called objective scientific approach, with little reference to the socio-political context.

Among other diversionary attempts resulting from the U.S. failure to break the hold of the powerful vested interests is the proposal for international control. Reluctance of some governments to allow extradition of drug-traffickers has been played upon as a major stumbling block to effective international control. One is amused at the naivete (or conscious efforts to hoodwink people) of suggestions that mere extradition of some 'big fish', like M. Auguste Ricord from Paraguay or Timothy Leary from Switzerland or someone else from somewhere else, would break the ring of the most efficient, self-perpetuating and profit-making business operating at national and international levels.

Attempts also include tackling the problem at the so-called source itself. The USA and some others have been paying large sums to some countries, where narcotic plants are grown, as compensation for banning their cultivation. This has failed; so they say, launch an attack; hence the UN project of control by biological

means. All such efforts to solve the problem by bribery or the technological approach are bound to fail, because they ignore the basic factors. Narcotic plants for illicit trade are cultivated under economic and political pressures occurring within a country as a result of the operation of corrupt and profit-motivated ruling forces, local and foreign. And then, beyond the cultivated plants as sources, the cartels of drug trade and vice have also at their disposal the means of modern science and technology for production of synthetic drugs.

Is it really possible to tackle the problem without battling against the forces which promote drug production, trade and addiction?

Reality of the Problem

A historical introduction becomes necessary to answer the questions: Who benefits from the trade? Who preys on addiction?

One of the main reasons for the rush of the new maritime capitalist powers, emerging on the seventeenth-eighteenth century European scene, to the East and the Tropics was the great attraction of profits from the drug trade. India, Indochina and Indonesia under the British, French and Dutch respectively were the first scenes of operations in this pursuit of imperialist control and capture of trade and land. Crops like opium became the chief motive even in laying the much-lauded, mid-nineteenth century canal irrigation system in the Gangetic basin of North India, which disturbed the economy and led to serious damage to the fertility of

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land*. With contemporary developments, as part of the competitive as well as cooperative, imperialist aggression and oppression, the drug scene soon emerged in China in a big way, as what is well known as the Opium War and its aftermath. Poisoning with opium was the most pernicious means used to subjugate the Chinese people and to control and capture the land, trade and economy. Those who peddled opium at that time also organised and controlled the vice and crime all over the world—the analogy continues into the present, with only the means, resources and the systems of operation becoming more modern.

In the affluent countries, drug addiction is getting more acute, particularly among the youth, as a result of the growing and induced social and psychological pressures. An interesting sidelight on pressures for drug was recently provided in a BBC-TV theme "Hypochondria, pressures and persuasions". The main points were even outwardly healthy people are being made to rush in increasing numbers to physicians for tranquillizers; linked-up market research is now available to the drug companies in the form of a computer analysis, offering a close study of the prescribing habits of all doctors on the national register; prescribing of psychotropics has shot up by 20 per cent from 1965 to 1970; many doctors think that the increase is due to some alarming and illusory search for happiness in a capsule. Advertisement, promotion of drugs, and competition for greater control of market and for more profits, are at the back of these developments. Can one brush aside this situation, as having no relation to the drug peddling and drug addiction? The drug and vice rings are only better organised. And the growing control of the whole affluent socio-economic system over the individual's life gives rise further to the psychological factors for falling a

*Agrarian Condition in Northern India, Vol. 1: The United Provinces under British Rule, 1860-1900 (University of California Press, 1972).

prey to the induced pressures for drugs. Thus the reality in essence is that in the developing countries the harm of opium and other narcotics is inseparable from the processes of imperialist aggression and neo-colonialist exploitation and intervention. In the affluent countries, the ruling interests of the competitive, profit-motivated system encourage peddling of drugs and organisation of vice because of the failure to take firm and effective measures of control and also because the real social and psychological factors behind drug addiction are not attacked.

Solutions

For the developing countries, the essential prerequisite to a solution of the drug problem lies in the elimination of imperialist aggression and neo-colonialist exploitation and intervention, and achievement of complete national independence. This will ensure all-pervasive social, economic and political policies and programmes in the interest of the common people. Firm and effective measures for control of narcotic drugs go along with strengthened leadership and mobilisation of the masses, with a combination of government decrees and widespread propaganda and education. It is only in this manner that success has been achieved in a short time in China after liberation and the founding of the People's Republic.

No doubt, feasible international agreements and joint efforts on the control of narcotic drugs on the basis of respecting the sovereignty of various countries deserve serious consideration. Nationally and internationally, the narcotic drugs must be put under strict control and the illicit growing, manufacture, sale and use of such drugs prohibited, with the explicit stipulation that narcotic drugs should properly be used only in medical treatment and scientific research and that such a stipulation must be firmly put into effect. However, in the main it is up to the various countries themselves to take firm and effective measures in the light of their specific conditions and at the same time carry

out extensive propaganda and education and mobilise the assistance and efforts of the people *en masse*.

The battle against the drug problem in the affluent countries also cannot succeed without firm and effective measures of control, extensive propaganda and education, and mobilisation of the people against crime and vice. To do this, the reality of social, economic and political situations would have to be faced—the reality of intensive free enterprise and rampant individualism coupled with the fast growing control that the ruthlessly competitive, profit motivated, impersonal and dehumanised cartels and corporations exert over the whole fabric (production, distribution, publicity and education) of the consumer society in its heavily industrialised, technology oriented and computerised set-up.

Bilateral, multi-lateral or international programmes in a developing country, dictated from problems or interests in an affluent country or in the developed world, always have serious implications. On one side, they form neo-colonialist intervention with serious repercussions for the people of the developing country. On the other, they constitute diversionary tactics in delaying a solution of the problem in question, by keeping the people on the wrong tracks. The well-known U.S.-Turkey agreement banning poppy cultivation is leading only to the progressive impoverishment of the Turkish farmers, with no abatement of the heroin problem in the USA. The proposed programme of biological control of narcotic plants in their homelands is just another form of neo-colonial intervention and of diversionary tactics. The usual adverse effects on the peasant economies in this case would be much more catastrophic because of the indiscriminate application of biological control. Such a programme under the prestigious umbrella of the United Nations has a much more ominous significance than neo-colonialist intervention in a developing country. The seriousness of this action is further compounded by the

attempted secrecy on the part of the UN Fund. In the words of one journal, "the secrecy surrounding the present project suggests that the authorities are not taking adequate steps to investigate the likely effects of mass-releasing poppy and hemp-eating insects on peasant communities". This is not the end. The mass releasing of insects is proposed to be done without the knowledge of growers, behind the backs of the peasants the vast majority of whom engage in legal cultivation, in accordance with the laws of the land as framed by the ruling interests at a particular time. This is preposterous.

Another reprehensible aspect of this UN project is the possibilities of surreptitious use of the research done under the garb of the U.N. The ulterior motives of such research may be collection of intelligence for use in biological and chemical warfare against the patriotic armies, and in anti-insurgency operations against liberation and revolutionary forces. Evidence of such uses is pouring before us both from the Indochinese theatre of U.S. aggression and from the African fields of operations of the Portuguese colonialists. Possibilities of such dangers are only growing, as recently pointed out in a conference*.

Therefore this UN proposal for biological control of cultivated narcotic plants must be opposed and condemned on all counts. It is just an extension of an imbecile approach to solving the drug problem in affluent countries, using the name, organisation and funds of the United Nations, a body of all nations. It forms part of neo-colonialist intervention through the UN, with serious social, economic

*Papers at The International Conference on ABC Weapons, November 1971, Berlin (organised by the World Federation of Scientific Workers); Biological & Chemical Warfare, an article in *Frontier Weekly*, 15 April 1972, Calcutta; Biological and Chemical Warfare, a report on the Berlin ABC Conference in *Science and Culture*, March 1972.

and ecological implications for the people and land in the developing countries. The attempted secrecy of the project and the proposed secretive control, behind the back of the growers, are preposterous and anti-people in character. Further, this research can be part of a design for collecting intelligence for use in bio-

logical and chemical warfare and in anti-insurgency operations. This project is a warning about the possible, surreptitious use of simple looking research programmes and of the pious looking UN and other international agencies by vested interests, imperialist aggressors and neo-colonialist exploiters.

Book Review

THE JANA SANGH: A Biography of an Indian Political Party
By Craig Baxter
Oxford University Press. Rs. 25

THE debacle of the Jana Sangh in the last Parliamentary and Assembly elections has partly devalued Baxter's biography of the party. The Jana Sangh has ceased to be the formidable force that it was in the Hindi heartland of India; in other parts of the country, it is virtually non-existent as before. Yet it has the distinction of being swiped at by the Prime Minister at every opportunity, possibly because she is aware that the obscurantism of the Sangh is shared by her own party to a very great extent. Her tilts at the Jana Sangh are aimed also at her party whose loyalty to secularism is as phoney as its faith in democracy and socialism. To many Congressmen the Jana Sangh is the alter ego of their party; what holds them back from immediate swapping is that the Jana Sangh does not have, at the moment, much to offer by way of material inducement. It is plain profit motive which makes Congressmen of many Jana Sanghis.

It is no secret that the late Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri maintained close relations with Guru Golwalkar of the Rashtriya Swamsevak Sangh—much closer than what became the head of a secular government run by a secular party. What light he received from the revered supremo of the religious-cultural organisation, which also stands for Hindu Rashtra and Akhand Bharat, is not known; but in the brief reign

of Shastri, India had been twice at war with Pakistan—going by the official count, which treats the conflict at the Rann of Cutch separately. If the pains Baxter has taken to uncover how the RSS works through the Jana Sangh are brought to bear on the worthwhile task of identifying the hidden persuaders of Congressmen, some plausible explanation may be found of much that has happened in the country in the years of independence.

Baxter has collected a mass of evidence in support of the widely known and accepted fact that the RSS is the "ideological and organizational ancestor" of the Jana Sangh. He quotes Sri Guruji as saying that the partition of our motherland is an abiding humiliation for us. "We have to pledge ourselves resolutely not to rest content until we have wiped out this blot". According to another Baxter quotation, Sardar Patel, the iron man of the Congress, said of Sri Guruji and his organization: In the Congress those who are in power feel that by virtue of authority they will be able to crush the RSS. By *danda* you cannot suppress any organisation. Moreover, *danda* is meant for thieves. . . Its use will not help much. After all, RSS men are not thieves and dacoits. They love their country. Only their trend of thought is diverted. They are to be won over by Congressmen with love.

The Sardar is dead, but his spirit lives and works. That is why in spite of fulminations of the Prime Minister, her Government has not found it expedient to ban communal parties, including the Jana Sangh, as recommended by a parliamentary committee nearly a decade ago. The committee refused to be taken in by the secular name of the Jana Sangh and its claim that it was open to Indians of all religious denominations subscribing to the policies of the party, because it was convinced that the Jana Sangh was a party which bore an innocuous name but whose activities were more vicious and harmful than those of some parties bearing communal names.

The Jana Sangh sprang out of Sri Gururji's head, because most of the Hindu Mahasabha leaders had developed cold feet after the assassination of Gandhi. The choice of leadership fell on the late Dr Syama Prasad Mookerjee, a past president of the Hindu Mahasabha, because he had acquired a halo of sorts by his resignation from the Central Cabinet in protest against the Nehru-Liaquat Pact which, he held, violated the pledge to the Hindus of East Pakistan. Mookerjee needed a party to lead, and the RSS needed a leader for its new party.

Baxter quotes Golwalkar recalling his meetings with Mookerjee as early as 1940. When the Jana Sangh was formed, Golwalkar could not agree to Mookerjee's suggestion "to bring the RSS into the new party". But he chose some of his colleagues, "staunch and tried workers", who could selflessly and unflinchingly shoulder the burden of founding the new party. Golwalkar sent to the Jana Sangh "a substantial number of his workers among whom were Dindayal Upadhyaya, Balraj Madhok, and Atal Bihari Vajpayee, all of whom later became presidents of the party.

The rise of the Jana Sangh in Indian politics was steady till 1967. Out of the fourth general elections it emerged as the second party in India in terms of votes received and As-

sembly seats won; in the Lok Sabha it was third to the Swatantra's second. It has lost both these positions. The electoral debacle, especially its crushing defeat in Delhi where it had secured an absolute majority in the Metropolitan Council in 1967, has undermined the monolithic structure of the party. The nascent conflict between the traditional and the modern, which Baxter has noted in the party, has become more pronounced. As the book ends with the 1967 elections, Baxter's projection was towards the possibility of the Jana Sangh ever coming to power and, if so, how. In 1972, the Jana Sangh's problem is of survival. There should, however, be no doubt that the Jana Sangh will remain. The Congress needs the Sangh to prove that it is a party of the left; besides, as long as the Jana Sangh remains its militant Hinduism will enable the Congress to divert attention from its own betrayal of secularism.

S. G.

Clippings

Vietnamese Can Carry On

The White House has received two concurring intelligence estimates that the Vietnamese communists can sustain the fighting in the south "at the present rate" for the next two years, in spite of the heavy American bombing of the north.

Reporting this... *The New York Times* asserts that both the Central Intelligence Agency and the Pentagon's defence intelligence agency have again reported to the President that the overall results of the bombing have been disappointing.

In a striking reminder of the 1967 confessions of Mr Robert McNamara, then Secretary of Defence, of the ineffectiveness of bombing in throttling supply routes, the two reports were said to lament the efficiency of North

The career of Mao Tse-tung spans more than half a century of efforts to free China from the legacy of her past and to set her on the road to social and economic development.

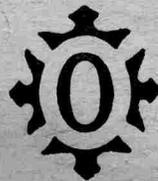
In this volume the author describes Mao's struggle after the Liberation of 1949 to embody his political thought in the institutions of the People's Republic. He begins by exploring China's traditional political culture, and then discusses the development of Mao Tse-tung's conceptions of political leadership.

Professor Solomon suggests that Mao's particular innovation has been his concept of a political process that will motivate peasants to strive for a proletarian revolution.

Mao's Revolution and the Chinese Political Culture

RICHARD H. SOLOMON

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Vietnamese "anti-tactics".

These were described as the ability to shuttle supplies from China up to bombed rail or road bridges and then trans-ship them by barge, lorry, bicycle or hand for reloading at undamaged sections. In addition, it was reported that a third fuel pipeline had been built from China to Hanoi, and that additional pipelines had been constructed from Hanoi southwards.

It was further claimed that communist forces were preparing for new "high point" offensives throughout South Vietnam within the next few weeks.

The reports estimated that 20,000 fresh North Vietnamese troops had been infiltrated into the south within the past six weeks and that the number of North Vietnamese regular forces in the Mekong delta was at present the highest at any time in the war—between 20,000 and 30,000 men compared with 3,000 a year ago.

The reports follow a similarly frustrated assessment given by "high Air Force officials" in a little noticed background briefing. These officials estimated that at least 25 per cent of the previous flow of supplies was still reaching North Vietnam in spite both of the bombing and the mining of the harbours.

In the continued absence of a settlement, these officials agreed that the American bombing of North Vietnam could still be going on three years from now.

It seems that the air war planners have once again almost run out of worthwhile—or conventional—targets.

From *The Times*, London.

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Vengeful Israel

The wisdom of sparing the lives of convicted guerillas is being questioned widely in Israel after the Munich massacre. For a long time military prosecutors have had orders not to demand the death penalty. But now, with more than 1,800 guerillas in prison, many Israelis argue that they have become a liability in the type of war the country faces.

Twice the Black September movement has tried to trade the lives of hostages for 200 of the guerillas held in prison. If there had been no prisoners, the hanging lobby claims, there could be no exchanges. Even if it is too late to do anything about those already serving jail sentences, a growing number of Israelis would undoubtedly like to restore the death penalty.

Foremost among them is Mr Menachem Begin, the former Irgun leader, whom the British would almost certainly have hanged had they been able to capture him during the Palestine emergency. It was Mr Begin who ordered the hanging of two British sergeants seized as hostages by Irgun and whose men blew up the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. He is now leader of the opposition Gahal block.

The growing demand for the death sentence, however, cuts right across party lines. Members of parties forming the Government are beginning to question the wisdom and even the logic, of sparing guerillas' lives.

...More than 20,000 signatures have been collected in Jerusalem for a petition demanding a mandatory death penalty for guerillas convicted of killing civilians. Newspapers, too, have been deluged since Munich with letters demanding the restoration of the death penalty. One reader called for a convicted guerilla to be executed every time a civilian was killed.

...It would be a mistake to assume that the hanging lobby is limited to middle-aged or elderly reactionaries. The hanging petition, for instance, was organized by the students' union at the Hebrew University. (Peter Hopkirk, reporting from Jerusalem in *The Times*, London).

Letters

Munich

There have been conflicting reactions to the Munich operation against the Israeli team to the Olympic Games. A reflection on the crux of the "Palestine Problem" in general will give a rational platform for judging the operation.

In the first place, Palestine, an Arab country since four thousand years, was usurped in 1948 by the Zionists with the aid of British imperialism and is being maintained militarily and economically by American imperialism. Consequently, 2.6 million Palestinians were dispossessed of their land and now live as refugees in camps in neighbouring Arab countries.

The State of Israel was established through terrorism, sabotage and land acquisition. This was represented by 3 terrorist groups, the Hagana, with Yigal Allon, Israeli Deputy Prime

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CALCUTTA-12

Minister, as head of its striking force—the Palmach, Irgun Zvai Leumi, with Menachem Beigin, once a Cabinet Minister in Israel, as leader, and the Stern gang. Their operations were attacks on civilians, demolishing of houses, and dynamiting of villages. Their systematic victimization of Palestinians surpassed even the Nazi victimization of the Jews themselves in World War II. (See *Why and How Palestinians Evacuated Palestine?* By John Davis (USA), Former Commissioner General of UNRWA).

Thirdly, the nature of the State of Israel is an important factor in perpetuating the stalemate since 1948. Israel is a Zionist State, fascist in nature, expansionist in aims (viz usurpation of Palestine in 1948 and occupation of Arab territories in Egypt, Syria and Jordan in 1967). Besides, Israel's internal policy is based on colour distinction, racial discrimination and partiality in employment policy; in effect, civil and human rights are being ignored in Israel, the only U.N. member-State with no constitution. Hence, hundreds of Palestinian Arabs living in Israel are rotting in prisons, locked in for no reasons and without any warrants, tortured in a barbaric manner, with their whereabouts unknown.

Fourth, in spite of 37 resolutions sanctioned by the General Assembly of the UN since 1948 calling upon Israel to repatriate the Palestinian refugees, in spite of 30 condemnations of Israel by the Security Council for failing to comply with these resolutions, in spite of the very fact that Israel was a State created by the UN and accepted as a member conditional upon its acceptance of the UN Charter and resolutions; in spite of every international law, Israel has since then violated and despised all the articles of the UN and its Charter by rejecting its resolutions; and since 1948 the Palestinians have been refugees with an enemy capturing their land, and every day an Arab village gets dynamited and a Palestinian house gets bulldozed, and groups of Palestinians jailed.

What does it mean to be homeless, stateless, ignored, unrecognized as a nation by the world?

Are the Olympic Games really meant to promote friendship and amity among the peoples of the world? That, too, for a week or so? How can the world speak of these ideals when these are being sacrificed in Palestine, in Vietnam, in Angola, Dofar and Mozambique? Is there friendship in the thousands of napalm bombs dropped daily in Vietnam? Is it there in the dynamited villages in Palestine? Is amity there where freedom loving peoples are victimized?

After all that happened to the Palestinians, their so-called acts of terrorism—hijacking of planes and attacking enemy interests—are not too steep a price for what Israel has done to them. They are better recognized by the world as freedom-fighters and not terrorists. And when the world—represented by the UN—can't do them justice, does it expect them to turn the other cheek? They happen to be, unfortunately, humans and not prophets. When jungle-rule is the world practice—the stronger lives at the cost of the weaker—brute force must be let loose.

One serious implication of the affair was the American, Jordanian and West German stand towards the operation. The U.S. called for world punishment against "the Palestinian terrorists". Can the world really see the American suggestion in perspective, when they are engaged in a war against life in Vietnam? Are the Americans really qualified to talk of peace? What are they really pointing at? At Israeli Phantom-fighter reprisals on Palestinian refugee camps, which Israel really did on September 8? Well, after the usurpation of their homeland by the enemy, the Palestinians have little left to lose.

The Palestinian commandos carried out the Munich operation not without aim. Their condition was that Israel should release 200 Palestinian prisoners, which both Israel and West Germany refused to do.

Instead, Germany prepared an ambush for the commandos to kill them, and Germany and Israel were both responsible for the death of the commandos and the hostages.

GENERAL UNION OF PALESTINE
STUDENTS
Bangalore Executive Committee

Your editorial of September 16 has helped in exposing the real intention behind the malicious campaign of the bourgeois press against the Arab guerillas. It is true that some of their tactics (plane hijacking, killing of unarmed civilians, kidnapping for ransom etc) are against the principles of people's war. But to judge the Munich incident as an isolated incident and try to raise a hue and cry, is simply to play into the hands of Imperialism. Moreover, it is the West German Government who is to blame for the incident in Munich military airport. With the permission of the Israeli Premier it killed the Israeli sportsmen and the guerillas in cold blood. Isn't it an irony of history that the Bavarian fascists, whose role in the killing is now clear, tried to save (?) the Jews? Newspapers all over the world questioned the decision of the West German authorities but some of our people and papers are ignorant about the West German involvement.

In recent years there has been an all-out campaign the world over to paint the Jews as the most intelligent and most oppressed people. Even in the arena of literature (?) Leon Uris is busy playing his part of the game. I know a girl whose idol was the hero of *Mila-18* (a novel by Leon Uris). She will be shocked to know that almost the whole lot of her living heroes have been purchased by the American imperialist. There are many young folks like her, who may be excused as they are ignorant. But when some leftists, like a school-girl, condemn the guerillas with a voice loud enough to please the bourgeoisie, their sincerity in supporting national liberation movements is

questionable. Indeed, it is a tragedy of middle-class intellectuals: they always talk bitterly about the bourgeois propaganda machinery, but they are always swept off by bourgeois propaganda.

ASHOKE RAO
Calcutta

Though in one recent issue of *Frontier* you preferred not to be called a Marxist, may we, at least, expect you to be a progressive and anti-imperialist? We are shocked to find you advocating and supporting a left adventurist line in your editorial 'Another Munich' (September 16), which by all means, we fear, will serve the interests of imperialists in the long run.

You felt contempt for the 'pundits of revolution' quoting 'Marxist scriptures to prove that personal annihilation of the Israelis was a tactical mistake, . . .'. By this indirectly you interpret the commando action as a line of 'personal annihilation'. Also you find the 'Marxist Scriptures' are not adequate to refute the views of these 'pundits'. Do you mean that Marxism is backdated or that some revision is necessary? Would you like to be called a revisionist?

We do not feel it obligatory to support Palestinian Commandos 'killing innocent Israelis' (if this be a fact), while denouncing the barbaric Israeli action on the villages of Syria and Lebanon. We do not find any correlation between the two. We do not interpret the Israeli action as acts of 'reprisal'; these are definitely pre-planned. On the other hand we feel that the commandos in Munich failed to distinguish between the people and Government of Israel.

We have the deepest regard for the commandos for their bravery and patriotism. But we fail to appreciate their adventurism. We have reason to believe that such wrong policies are encouraged assiduously by the agents of imperialists. These actions are not at all a part of guerrilla warfare against a tactically powerful enemy. Probably the only

way these days for the imperialists to sabotage the revolution is to infiltrate the revolutionary ranks and misguide them.

We sincerely hope that you will review your stand.

SATYAJIT PILLAI
RAGHAVA RAO
Calcutta

Revolutionaries All

N. K. Singh's tirade against Delhi and Delhi revolutionaries (September 16) is fair in that his points are true. Though knowing Delhi only marginally, and knowing something of the motivation behind vituperative attacks against places like the Mini-Cafe, I cannot help feeling that N. K. Singh's note was inspired by personal antagonism, stemming in the main from a confidence in his own sincerity and honesty. I do wish to question the assumption by many of their sincerity. During the heyday of the last five years, when Delhi was indulging in its revolutionary fashion parade, it used to be disturbing to meet young men who presented themselves as *the generation* that would bring the revolution about. They had no use for questions, some of which I thought were relevant for self-analysis.

Why have all the attempts of armed struggle failed in this country? Secondly, why do the most ardent and seemingly sincere fans of the revolution succumb to economic success? Why must political leadership become a nauseating counterpart of personal success? Why do the activists of the Left refuse to confront the psychological hold of religion and superstition on the Indian masses? Must we conceive of strategies only in terms of a Five Year Plan for Victory?

I wish to ask N. K. Singh these questions too. For among the people he met, or meets, at Delhi, there will be the sincere workers and the insincere. Are we to tolerate only those who are capable of the extraordinary sacrifice? Certainly, the "revolu-

tionaries" of Delhi do not qualify as revolutionaries; but must we take them for their bombast to such an extent that we overlook completely that if they talk about a revolution they do not live, they may be expressing their need for something that they are, implicitly, only too frank to admit they are incapable of bringing about.

I do not think that people who go to the Mini-Cafe can be equated with people who study at the Jawaharlal Nehru University. The former are lower middle-class, the latter are, and shall remain, upper middle-class, thanks to the facilities the University offers them. Their respective salaries must be compared by the measure that the former work while the latter study. I wonder how much N. K. Singh earns per month? I wonder if he will refuse a "raise" or an increase in his stipend or his pocket allowance? Those of us who left our villages, or our mofussil towns, and cling to the city in spite of the petty salaries and conditions the city offers us, do so for cultural, social and historical reasons that I cannot imagine do not influence N. K. Singh too, in precisely the same manner. Certain things may be possible in certain regions of the country. Those of us who live within the feudal-comprador establishment at Delhi confess that we do not really have the stuff in us. Perhaps we could do things if we had a leadership, or if confronted on the street we had to choose between our squalid lives and a march to death. But have we the ghost of leadership? Some years back a lecturer at the university, who pontificated as the local commissar, sent several young boys into the countryside without a stitch of an organization. Most of them are now dead. What about the living?

May I be permitted to speak my mind out in your columns? Over the years, in the history of the communist movement in the country, we have seen upper-class people leading the revolution. It may be alright, psychologically, for them; it is not

for us. They can always return to their comfortable mattress-beds, their cultured evenings-out to the musical soiree or the literary tea party, drink their whiskey, go to the hills in the summer, buy a book a week. The revolution apart, we who have come from a world where that sort of a living was considered the end in luxury, we are tempted too, and we make our compromises as much as everybody else does in India; and all those who do not die, physically or in abysmal poverty, do compromise. What is wrong with our compromises alone?

But has any political party of the Left spoken on the issue? Has any leader of the CPI(ML) made any sort of comment on the distinction between those who come from the poorer sections and those who come from the affluent lot? These are distinctions among bourgeois sympathisers no doubt, but distinctions nevertheless that are partially but firmly significant. Those who work in bourgeois papers, not all of them earn more than the clerks; and not all of them shall ever earn as much as some clerks do. By N. K. Singh's logic, it would be utterly bourgeois to bring out a news weekly like *Frontier*, which does accept advertisements from capitalists without becoming completely meaningless. I think that instead of dismissing people as "Hindiwallahs" and research students, etc. it might be better to take as the measure the quality of the work they do. Granted that a lot of us do not do much for the revolutionary struggle, but the little that we do, examine it and judge us for that little alone.

The pressures, both of living and to compromise, are perhaps greater in Delhi which is not really an industrial city, and talking about the revolution becomes a means of articulating one's personal frustration. However, admitting the fact that those who live in the establishment's complex have no initiative, the fact is that there is no movement at all. Surely this is the responsibility of the movement as a whole. How else are

the uninitiated to be activated? Secondly, at the grass-roots level the numerical strength between those who wish for a revolution and the Jana Sangh and the RSS is disproportionate at Delhi. Disproportionate to such an extent that no feasible movement can be begun without intensive organization and strategic planning. Rather than an attempt towards such an approach, Delhi is much too polluted by vituperation of the sort that N. K. Singh indulges in. Let him rather begin working towards an organization. He shall find that many are willing to die if need be.

Thirdly, I do not understand why N. K. Singh lumps the Congress slogans of revolution with the frustrated lower middle-class that also talks of revolution. Did he mean to imply that there can be anything revolutionary about the Congress except farcically?

DINESH MATHUR

Much Ado

Scrupulously front-paged battle in the Press... News conferences in New Delhi—all over a local fracas with not even a broken finger nail to show. One wonders where were this Indian democracy and her unflappable Knight (however errant), Mr Jyoti Basu, when scores of young boys in Bengal were exterminated in their bed and near their doors or while pushcarts laden with bodies were dumped into the hoary river, or later, when the cadres of the Red Flag were flocking the hospitals and jails of West Bengal as their captains were busy confabulating in long spanned indoor sessions.

After all, the PM has said that the Silver Jubilee Year celebrations will last one full year, and in this country Democracy has always been very sensitive to Prime Ministerial whims. To give them their due, the comrades have lost little time in joining the mela.

R. R.
Calcutta

Teachers' Day

Sri I. Shuka's 'Thoughts on Teachers' Day' (September 16), is certainly thought provoking. I draw your attention to another example of our national humiliation—Nehru's birthday treated as the nation's Children's Day. It is true that Nehru loved children very much, but who were those fortunates? A small section of children, well-fed (with high nutrient diet), well-clad, with rosy cheeks, but not the millions of half-fed, ill-clad rickety children. Both the 'Days' are equally disgraceful.

ARUN MUKHERJI
Calcutta

Bangladesh

Mr Subhash Kelkar has made a brilliant analysis of the so-called 'liberation struggle' of Bangladesh (16-9-72). As he has rightly pointed, 'a true national liberation struggle in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country (like Bangladesh) has to be both anti-feudal and anti-imperialistic'. But the 'liberation struggle' as was witnessed in Bangladesh lacked basically these two characteristics. Though it may be argued (with justification also) that a single-nation theory based on religion, combining two strips of land separated by a thousand and odd miles, is something preposterous and that it was nothing but colonialism perpetrated by West Pakistan in a new form, it may be argued with equal force that the direct intervention of India in the affairs of Pakistan ostensibly to help a liberation struggle was not devoid of colonial intentions. After all, colonialism may take many manifestations. The social-imperialism of Russia with its allies in the East European countries is well known. It spreads its tentacles in many ways, like giving 'aid' to 'liberated' countries and thus has a stranglehold on their entire economies. Mujibur Rahman and his band of 'fighters' knew fully well that without the patronage of the

ruling bourgeoisie in India their very survival in the political scene was doubtful. So, along with the 'liberation' fight against the military junta of West Pakistan, they resorted to cold-blooded annihilation of the revolutionary youth of East Bengal with the active support of the Indian bourgeoisie. Therefore, what resulted in Bangladesh was not self-determination, but determination of the political destiny of a people by foreign troops. But let it be remembered by the Indian bourgeoisie that this phase is purely transitory. The political situation in Bangladesh is not stable yet. The final act of the Bangladesh drama is yet to be enacted.

M. S. KEMPU
Bangalore

Frontier

To me, the first significant thing about *Frontier* is that it is absolutely opposed to cant and, in this respect, is the only magazine of its kind in India.

I don't care whether the editor calls himself a Marxist or not, as long as he retains courage and independence and is able to impress these upon his paper, while Marxists continue to prefer discretion to

valour in whatever they say or do.

This is not to whitewash the defects of *Frontier*, which are perhaps numerous: but ideology is certainly not one of them. If anything, the so-called lack of ideological rigidity is, to my mind, the only virtue that has preserved it from dullness, triviality and loss of vigour. I am happy that *Frontier* has so far avoided falling into wooden, puppet-like stances. This hardly means that *Frontier* has no commitment. Look at any two or three successive issues and you will see what it is committed to and also where true commitment differs from behavioural reflexes.

As I see it, *Frontier* has always espoused the cause of the oppressed anywhere in the world, it is always showing up the hypocrisy of the ruling classes and their sycophants, and by its balanced judgment and analysis, it rouses us to protest. It ridicules our illusions which enable us to behave like ostriches in flight. Behind all this, there has always been a belief in the need and possibility of revolutionary reconstruction of human relations in society.

So that is *Frontier* for me—a kind of voice of the New Left in India, owing its inspiration to Marx and the Marxists, but not repudiating the

rich heritage of human civilization outside this movement and without being blind to its costly aberrations.

Does this show my *petit-bourgeois* preoccupation? Well, it can't be helped. People like us cannot read or write or think ourselves into proletarians. It is no use pretending. Let us reduce our peripheral needs, though, and in any case cease to pursue them at the cost of self-respect and intellectual fidelity. But our primary duty remains intellectual, as members of a foredoomed class—the intelligentsia. Let us think and speak honestly about others but, still more, about ourselves, the hollow men of India. If we put our record straight and voice the hopes and fears of an age in transition, we shall be doing well by posterity. I wish to see *Frontier* in the role of being the conscience of a disillusioned intelligentsia which yet looks forward to a renewal of faith in man. As for its remaining *petit-bourgeois* in intellectual preoccupations—now, there it is, a part of the social reality: it is a periodical addressed to the English-reading public which cannot exceed a million in a land of five-hundred fifty million people!

HITEN GHOSH
Calcutta

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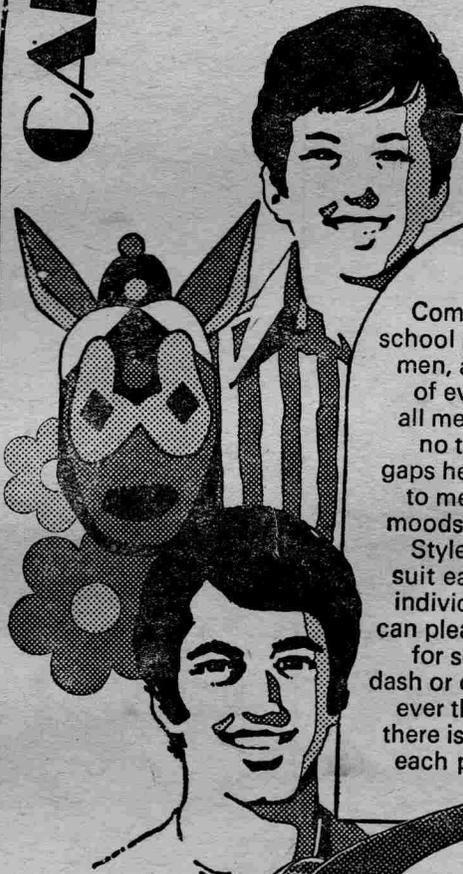
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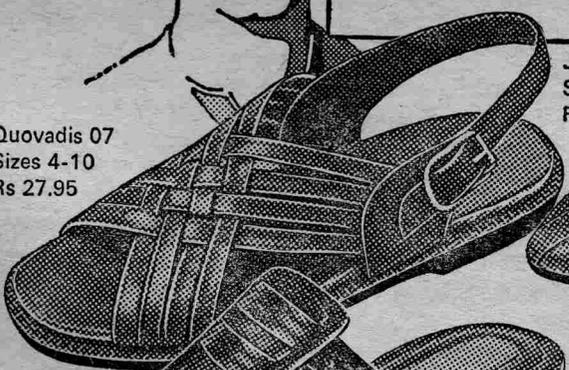
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