

frontier

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KASHMIR CLASHES

THE Jana Sanghis are not the only people who will rejoice over the sudden hotting up of the new cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir. There are people and parties sailing under secular flags who were not exactly happy over the prospect of an Indo-Pakistan detente. To them the clashes at Kaiyan will appear as a godsend, for they strengthen the hands of the advocates of a tough posture, of those who hold that Pakistan should be given no quarters and as the victor country India must seek peace entirely on her terms. The clashes occurred almost immediately after publication of reports that New Delhi is keeping its fingers crossed over the success of the projected summit meeting and another round of discussions at emissary level may be necessary before a decision for a summit is finally taken. This appeared to be in sharp contrast to the impression that was given by Mr D. P. Dhar on his return from Murree. His "scintillating talk" with the Pakistan President was an indicator of successful negotiations over an agenda for the summit, unless, of course, he was talking through his invisible hat.

As is usual on all such occasions, two totally opposite versions of the clashes have emanated from New Delhi and Rawalpindi; either side has blamed the other for violating the cease-fire and mounting a massive and unprovoked attack. In spite of the blow-up the news has received, the clashes may not have been of such severity as to vitiate the climate for a summit. The Prime Minister has taken them in her stride and not allowed them to come in the way of her planned weekend holiday. But can this be said of all her colleagues in the Cabinet, especially those eminent persons who are tired of shining in her reflected glory and are busy building up their independent images? An occasional hawkish cry may help them to project themselves as a more determined deliverer of the poor than the Prime Minister. It may be just a coincidence that the first clash occurred when the political affairs committee of the Union cabinet was in session in New Delhi to assess the prospects of the summit. But it will indeed be surprising if the clash has left no impress on the committee's conclusions.

Whether or not Mr Bhutto remains in office in Pakistan cannot be of much material importance. It is possible, as New Delhi reports suggest, that Mr Bhutto's sole interest is in his own political survival for

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which he must get back the prisoners of war. Peace to him is a means to that end and not the end itself. But it goes to his credit that he is seeking survival through peace and not through war with India like all his predecessors. The hawks of Rawalpindi are watching; they will try their own methods if Mr Bhutto fails. He is so placed that he cannot offer all the concessions that he knows he will have to make ultimately on a platter to India. One concession will enable him to make another, provided there is a matching response from India. This may not be an ideal procedure but the best permitted by the situation. The alternative is a war far grimmer than any fought by either country in their twentyfive years of independent existence.

Hypocritical Humbug

Prof Hiren Mukerji observed in the Lok Sabha the other day that the slogan of socialism would become a hypocritical humbug unless 75 leading monopoly houses and foreign capital were nationalised.

The monopoly houses, Prof Mukerji has calculated, possess assets comprising 53.3% of the entire private capital of the country and in his opinion, they are the main sources of evil and corruption in our socio-economic life.

He does not like collaboration with capitalists either; because they link up the local capitalists with the international ones.

True, the Congress Government has declared a war against the monopoly houses. The Youth Congress in West Bengal, too, a valiant lieutenant of the National Congress, is determined to fight these monopoly houses; it sneered at the CPM because of the latter's alleged connection with the Tatas and the Birlas!

The Young Turks headed by Mr Chandra Sekhar, growing younger every day, however, made some unsavoury observations on the Government's tie-up with the monopoly

houses. In their mouthpiece, they have published the list of monopoly houses who got additional licences, which were issued to them without reference to the Monopoly Act. These were issued when Mrs Indira Gandhi raised her socialist music to the *drut*, with the Prof Mukerjis around her supplying the *jhalar*, right before the election.

The Government's plight however calls for some sympathy. It is caught between the ills caused by concentration of power in the monopoly houses and the ills of standstill productivity of the country. The present ruling class has denied the old Congress legacy and therefore cannot be held responsible for allowing the 75 houses to become monopolist. Whoever might have been responsible, as the present situation obtains, the wealth being in the vault of the monopoly houses, no other houses cannot plough money, which means manpower and technical knowhow, into production. And so if production is to be increased and productivity raised, there is no other way but to expand the monopoly houses. The evil circle is complete.

Mr Sidhartha Sankar Ray proposes to get out of the circle by taking over the monopoly houses. Mr Ray, being a Chief Minister and a barrister, can be pardoned for uttering anything in defence of his client. But what does our Marxist professor mean by nationalising monopoly houses? Does he prescribe that the State, a bourgeois State, should acquire all the capital of the country and yet diagnose it to be progressive? If one remembers what Lenin thought of the German State before World War I, and ask Prof Mukerji where he stands with regard to State capitalism, will one be wide off the mark?

Prof Mukherji holds the monopoly houses, private that is, to be the source of all ills. Not many would feel at one with him though, after seeing the Indian public sector at work. Are the workers in the public sector less exploited than in the private sector? If they were, what accounts for the dismal industrial labour relations in the public sector? And are the acts of the private monopoly houses, going in for huge production and exploiting the labour concomitantly, more oppressive than those of the public monopoly houses who by their omissions of acts to produce are exploiting the labour?

When Prof Mukherji advises the Government to nationalise foreign capital, does he advise it to nationalise the Russian capital too? If he does not, assuming that Russian capital is for the good of the Indian workers, will he kindly ask Parliament to state exactly the terms and conditions and the magnitude of Russian capital given to the Indian State and the private capitalists? If Russian capital can be employed in collaboration schemes with the private monopoly houses, which is being done increasingly every year, will he kindly state his rationalisation? Let him refer to the small news item published in last Sunday's papers about the Russian offer of steel for processing in India. The news, with a Moscow dateline, explains that by virtue of the offer, India will help the Soviet Union to make better use of its own capacities and labour resources. That was an admirable piece of euphemism indeed—India helping Russia, the frog helping the elephant cross the pool!

Who said that today the main enemy of the working class is the revisionists and not the capitalists?

Vorster, The Bomb, 'Cactus'

Recently more than 10,000 workers of Namibia (South-West Africa), the territory under Pretoria's occupation, launched a general strike

which continued for months. It was in protest against the new feudalistic slave labour system introduced there for press-ganging labourers

in their apartheid areas and forcibly transporting them to diamond, gold and what is more significant, uranium mines from which, according to recent estimates, some 10,000 tons of uranium oxide are extracted annually. South Africa ranks third in the capitalist world in the quantity of uranium ore reserves, next only to the USA and Canada.

The modern slave-owners tear off their recruits from their families and make them work until the terms of contract are over, often letting loose savage police repression on them. Their wages are miserable.

This time the police force at hand was not enough to cope with the militant workers, a considerable portion of whom broke loose from the contracts and went back to their homes. Others were arrested and tortured after police reinforcements had come from Pretoria. It is reported that Salazar's Portuguese troops guarding the northern borders of Namibia are trigger-happy, killing and wounding many fugitives from the chain-gang with invisible chains. And all this under UN Trusteeship!

Another—and more dangerous—development under this anachronism called Trusteeship—with the identical aim of crushing the liberation struggles of the blacks—is Vorster's hurry to enter the nuclear club. Calling the bluff of the so-called Non-proliferation Treaty of the two super-powers, Pretoria has been busy developing its own atomic weapons in an innocent sanatorium-like building in Pelindaba township, not far from the capital. It is labelled the National Nuclear Research Centre of South Africa.

That South Africa already had the potential to produce the Bomb was made known as early as April last year by Dr A. J. Roux, Chairman

of the South African Atomic Energy Board. The organ of the South African branch of the African National Congress, *Sachba*, observed in a recent leader, "The Atomic Reactor in Pelindaba has already managed to produce fission material, enough for harnessing ten atom bombs... of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki type...!"

One wonders why South Africa craves for this weapon. Deterrence? Against whom? Aggression? Difficult to believe because, even during the days of the Korean war, Dien Bien Phu and the present counter-offensive of the Indochinese liberation armies, the USA did not and do not dare use nuclear weapons. Intimidation? Probably yes. This presumption is corroborated by the South African newspaper *Landstem*: "Lying straight to the North from the Zambesi river, is the second zone of countries which also make up our rear, like Congo (Brazzaville), Congo (Kinshasa), Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania... An opportunity is presenting itself for South Africa to become the leader of a group of nations with a population of nearly 72 million, living in one of the world's richest parts." Perhaps that is why it wants to possess the Bomb for purposes of intimidation.

With the participation of the British Atomic Energy Authority, the British Rio Tinto Zinc Company signed a long-term \$25 million agreement with the Nuclear Research Board of Pretoria for joint exploitation of uranium ores in the Namibian desert. Pretoria is now in for setting up another uranium plant investing more than \$70 million (including U.S. finance capital). The U.S. is not out of the picture. In violation of the UN resolution prohibiting trade with South Africa, Washington has been briskly trading strategic material with that country.

This collective colonialism is now in the process of manufacturing carrier missiles for nuclear warheads. A rocket named "Cactus" has already stood the tests in the Namibian deserts.

Kwame Nkrumah

Dr Kwame Nkrumah's death last month marks the physical end of a kind of political thinking which for long dominated the African scene. No other politician on the continent raised so much controversy, hatred and sympathy as Nkrumah. And yet the end came rather unceremoniously in alien land, perhaps as an eloquent testimony to the decline, both of the man and his ideas. Nkrumah rode to power in 1946 as an uncompromising anti-colonialist, a pan-Africanist and an ardent nationalist. But during his stay in office he allowed himself to be surrounded by petty, interest-seeking men and isolated himself from the ordinary Ghanaians on whose support he had climbed to eminence. By the sixties the process of alienation had completed a full circle, so much so that when in 1966 his opponents struck him here was hardly any opposition. The people remained by and large indifferent onlookers.

Among the African leaders, Nkrumah worked most persistently for a united Africa. Pan-Africanism was the main plank of his political thought and he never allowed it to wither away. When French Guinea became independent in 1958 he made available a loan of \$10 million to Sekou Toure and, a month later, formed the Ghana-Guinea Union. After Mali's independence, he concluded the Ghana-Guinea-Mali Union. He was the driving force behind the Addis Ababa conference in 1963 and the Organisation of African Unity, an organic concept of pan-Africanism.

Nkrumah chose to call himself a Marxist "socialist"; "socialism", he said in 1961, "is the only social pattern that can within the shortest possible time bring the good life to the people." But he adopted dubious means to reach that promised heaven. He formed the Ghana Workers Brigade and state farms but did little or nothing to remove the feudal interests. A belated programme for nationalisation was taken up, but handsome money was paid to the owners from a

Our agent at Varanasi

MANNALAL DAS

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national kitty that was already inadequate. Precious foreign money was wasted on building cushy apartments and costly social overheads, while more urgent works went unattended. He spoke about state control but fattened on foreign capital. Not that he did nothing. A huge investment programme was taken up; new townships and factories sprouted up everywhere; employment rose and the standard of living underwent some change. But these effects remained confined to the elites and the common man was left in the lurch. Besides, he failed to free Ghana's economy from the dangerous dependence on the cocoa crop and its pernicious effect became apparent in the sixties when the cocoa price fell sharply.

Despite his professed allegiance to socialism, he was a poor dialectician. He did not grasp the contradictory forces in a primitive society and frequently took to force to resolve political opposition. He continued to arm himself with draconian measures. Political opponents were detained for trifling reasons and people were harassed. He himself was clear that no "middle-road solution" could succeed and only a radical transformation could bring real good to the people. But he did just the opposite. Even then his pan-Africanism and some of the other ideals he had fought for early in his life would make his countrymen remember him.

Late News

It was one of the options—the mining of North Vietnamese waters. It violates international law, the right of free navigation of other nations, but who cares about international law? However, the very fact that Nixon has taken this step shows how desperate his position is in South Vietnam. The house of cards based on Vietnamisation is crumbling with a noise for all to hear. This the American President cannot tolerate—he is a helpless, raving, pitiful and

pitiless giant. The more one thinks of him the more one likes bubonic plague.

Haiphong was bombed in mid-April. The Russians, some of whose ships were damaged, made a strong protest. Does Mr Nixon think that instead of damaging ships it would be better to blockade North Vietnamese ports and throw up a general challenge, and pinpointing one or two powers? Let people rave about law, but since immediate physical damage is avoided, they may not take counter-action. This seems to be his calculation. The next few days will show how far he can go. If the challenge is not met, will the next step be an Inchon-type landing?

The blockade of Haiphong and other ports is unlikely to slow down

the current revolutionary offensive in South Vietnam. The liberation forces have their contingency planning. But what a blockade this is of revolutionary morality! The massive bombardment of all supply routes in North Vietnam, including the rail roads to China, goes on. Will the Nixon visit to Russia come off? The Chinese have said that Indochina is much more important than even Taiwan. How will they react now? The trouble with moves for normalisation of relations and a deeper detente with this reckless, marauding power is that they make it cocksure that it can get away with anything. But let us not forget that North Vietnam and the NLF have so far asked fraternal countries for aid, and not physical involvement.

View from Delhi

Summit Shibboleths

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

IT would look that the suave (the newspapers have no other adjective for him) Mr D. P. Dhar overdid it at Palam on his return from Murree and someone high up does not share his gushing optimism about the summit prospects. As if to refute Mr Dhar (who had suggested that the Murree talks were a resounding success and Mr Bhutto was very earnest about everything), a not-so-mysterious "diplomatic observer" plugged an altogether different version through the big dailies and the two agencies—that Mr Bhutto was not entirely dependable. In other words, it was clearly suggested that much could not be expected of the summit because Mr Bhutto was not entirely dependable. This amounts to a mild censure of Mr Dhar and could not have come without clearance from the highest quarters.

But the only version of the Murree talks now in circulation is from

Mr D. P. Dhar who has a coterie of journalists around him. To go by Mr Dhar's account, not only have the decks been cleared for a useful summit but something substantial can be expected of it. Many plus points are claimed for India in the joint statement issued at the end of the Murree talks, like the reference to "establishment of durable peace in the sub-continent" which it underlined is not the same as saying only peace between India and Pakistan, implying that Pakistan is reconciled to the reality of Bangladesh.

From Mr Dhar's version it would seem India is insisting on one point to which Mr Bhutto has not agreed: renunciation of third party intervention, including U.N. intervention. This insistence obviously is due to the fear that China might seek to denounce India on the prisoners of war issue and raise it in the Security Council if the summit talks do not lead to a settlement on it. Mr

Bhutto's number one priority is the prisoners of war and Bangladesh wants recognition as the price for dropping the proposed war crimes trial.

India's allergy to the United Nations is strange, considering it was India which took the Kashmir issue to the UN first. And to fulminate against third party intervention is stranger because it was India which plumped for Soviet mediation at Tashkent and the USA put pressure on President Ayub Khan to go to Tashkent.

Though New Delhi has given the impression that Kashmir would be part of the summit agenda, it is now clear that Mr Bhutto was opposed to it and it has been agreed that though Kashmir should not be on the agenda directly, the door should be left open for a limited discussion of the Kashmir issue.

There is also the talk of a no-war pact and rationalisation of the Indo-Pakistan boundary to secure durable peace, all sounding suspiciously Soviet. It is significant that *Izvestia* claims progress of Mr Brezhnev's collective security plan and illustrates its point citing the directive to India's Asian diplomats who met in New Delhi last month to pursue Mrs Gandhi's plan for Asian peace. Judging by what *Izvestia* is claiming, it would seem the Brezhnev's plan and Mrs Gandhi's plan are almost synonymous and Moscow would be pleased if Mrs Gandhi's plan finds acceptance.

Unlike in 1965, India is a decisive winner in the war against Pakistan and has reason to abandon its earlier position of step-by-step solution to problems in favour of a package plan in the hope the war prisoners could be used as a lever to settle the Kashmir issue in its favour. The Soviet stakes are the highest in it.

In Parliament lobbies, there is least concern about Vietnam or the summit and there is more interest in the land ceilings controversy. There is a plan to bail Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed out by suggesting that the villainous officials of his Ministry tampered with the records

to smuggle in six crucial words into the recommendations of the Central Land Reforms Committee to whittle them down to nothing.

The Prime Minister and her party have to face the moment of truth. The kulaks are the mainstay of the party, of every part in the electoral system and the Congress has to make the choice. But the time lag between the recommendation and the possible implementation and the loopholes deliberately left would help the kulaks to defeat the objective of any legislation and the exercise to rationalise the ceilings will result in a nought. Nevertheless, the Congress faces a real split on the issue. In 1959, when the Nagpur Congress session passed a resolution on far-reaching land reforms and co-operative forms, the Swatantra Party was formed to protect free enterprise and the kulak interests. Massive PL-480 imports were arranged as the substitute for land reforms. When PL-480 supplies were tapering off the new agricultural strategy was thought of to postpone land reforms again.

The real strength of the kulak lobby in the Congress is not in Parliament but at the Pradesh level. The

split in the Congress therefore would be more pronounced in the middle, at the Pradesh level, and not so much at the federal level where it is the season of sycophancy. The Centre has no direct responsibility for implementing the land reforms.

The Finance Minister, Mr Y. B. Chavan, cryptically replied "not yet" when asked "the USA had resumed aid. One expected him to say that India did not want U.S. aid but the nostalgia is still for the ye olde days and New Delhi is certain that the dollar flow would be restored sooner or later. Meantime, Mr L. N. Mishra has gone to Moscow to clinch deals which would bring adequate Soviet aid to fill the gaps left by stoppage of U.S. aid. Some self-reliance, indeed. Massive Soviet buying of sub-standard tobacco to prop the ruling party's image in Andhra Pradesh and GDR purchases of Kerala rubber to underwrite the stability of the Achutha Menon Ministry are part of a large salvage operation. The Congress plan to ease the Muslim League out of the Ministry and oust Mr Menon subsequently has been given up in the spirit of the Indo-Soviet treaty, albeit for the present.

May 7, 1972

Violence And Counter-revolution

HITEN GHOSH

*And what rough beast, its hour
come round at last,
Slouches towards Bethlehem to be
born?*

I propose to consider, at some length, the role of force or violence not in history as done by Engels, but in the wretched and dreary politics of West Bengal. The midwife of history, it would seem, failed to bring anything to birth; but then, there may be some mistake about the conception or, for that matter, the success of the initial act that makes conception possible. In any case the violence seems to have proved abortive.

One reason why the CPI(M), during its terms of power, was widely condemned as the only begetter of political violence was that the party had been instrumental in unlocking some direct initiative among the masses in their struggle against class enemies. Undeniably, much of this initiative was dissipated in fraternal strife and also false heroics of the leaders. But the fact remains that under two successive UF governments, the common people experienced a sense of coming into their own. Exhilarated by this new sense of power, they were taking things in their own hands and trying to right some old wrongs.

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The situation was not unlike one that immediately precedes or follows a successful revolution. The oppressed suddenly feel their chains slipping off and the sense of relief is intoxicating. The forces of repression are held at bay and the victims suddenly feel free and responsible. But the burden of freedom and responsibility is intolerable for people long inured to terror and privation. The *angst* in their case is apt to be drowned in spontaneous acts of violence and revenge. In all revolutions, such spontaneous mass action tends to stultify itself, and gives rise to chaos and disorder. The masses act in bad faith in evading their freedom which entails responsibility. Centuries of oppression have also bred in them ignorance, selfishness and a streak of cruelty. Their natural human aggressiveness, driven inward and made more virulent by long injustice, would tend to release itself in a spree of destruction. Much of this proneness to destruction is, of course, bred by society and turns itself, in a turmoil, chiefly against class enemies; but not a little finds its way into activities of a senseless and suicidal character.

It is precisely at this point that the role of correct revolutionary ideas and the party shaping and guiding them comes in. One must harness the energy suddenly breaking out of its age-old confines, in the service of building a new order—the free and classless society. The people must accept their freedom with responsibility. In conditions of advanced industrial development, as Marx pointed out, the working class has already gone a long way towards the acceptance of its historical destiny. Both by its living conditions and the struggles it wages the working class is cast in the role of transforming the society. Even so, it needs a vanguard to lead the way.

In Russia, after the 1917 revolution, the Bolsheviks provided this much-needed leadership to the masses who had overthrown the old order. Still, there was a wilful excess in spontaneity and a spurt of irresponsible behaviour making for chaos and

disruption. Thus, for a time, the Bolsheviks were hard put to turn the initiative the masses displayed in the desired direction. It even became necessary to tame and subdue the enthusiasm so long as the people clung to their old ways and would not get out of the rut. The difficulty of the Bolsheviks was due to the circumstance that while they represented the politically most mature section of the Russian working class, the latter as a whole was in a woeful minority in a land mostly of peasants and other still more backward elements. The vast majority of the Russian people were steeped in habits derived from a feudal and even more primitive past.

And eventually, this was also the undoing of the Bolsheviks. When industrial development began in earnest, discipline even of a crude kind had to be enforced largely in the manner of the old Czarist government and, in some cases, with the help of the same old officials of the *ancien régime*. The technical skill of the old exploiting classes had to be freely drawn upon. Rapid technological progress also entailed the need of better coordination and control from above: efficiency and increased productivity, it was thought, could be assured only by pandering to selfish propensities. The notion of moral incentives was a non-starter in the prevailing condition of backwardness and tenuity of the Bolsheviks' hold upon the vast majority of the Russian people. This last fact is borne out by the need for forced collectivization drive in agriculture under Stalin. All this, however, led in the end to the emergence of a new class of oppressors who, in the name of efficiency and discipline, were seeking to perpetuate their privileges and power. And the corruptive effect of money incentives in a socialist economy slowly preyed on the high sense of idealism that had inspired the Bolsheviks.

If the Chinese Communists have escaped this dilemma, it is because in China, the whole mass of the exploited people had been trained in

revolutionary morality over a longer period of struggle waged across the length and breadth of the country. While the Bolsheviks were a revolutionary elite of the urban proletariat among an overwhelmingly peasant population, seizing power through a popular *coup d'état*, the Chinese Communists, initially made up of industrial proletariat but subsequently becoming an essentially peasant organisation, liberated the people through a prolonged civil war in which the masses were directly involved and trained in such moral virtues as discipline, efficiency, selflessness, solidarity and resourcefulness. The fire of civil war had burnt down the dross and made of them the makers of their own history. And so after the revolution, the main problem was to preserve the good old values of the Long March days. The Cultural Revolution is nothing but an extrapolation of habits and values acquired in revolutionary civil war, in the task of socialist reconstruction. The people must be kept up to the scratch. In launching this revolution Mao Tse-tung may have been inspired by the same nostalgia for the days of exile and struggle as impelled Sartre to record the underground days during Nazi occupation in the *Republic of Silence*. The urge was to recapture the finest hour of the Long March and the civil war, and in harking back to the past Mao was seeking to prevent the people from slipping back into their pre-revolutionary habits.

Permissiveness

At any rate, the euphoria among the poor of West Bengal could not endure long, given the conditions under which it was generated. There had been no actual revolution sweeping away the old order, but only a temporary occupation of ministries by leftists, with some key portfolios in the hands of the 'Marxists'. The whole paraphernalia of the exploitative society was left untouched. The leftists had taken it over, but could not replace it. But even so, the people went on a spree under the new

permissiveness. They had made no revolution, paid no price, had not passed through a prolonged period of genuine class struggle, in freedom and responsibility. They were not trained in revolutionary morality or inspired with any high sense of idealism. They were no Don Quixotes but so many Sancho Panzas with their eyes on the main chance. And yet, they had suffered woefully under the old order, but suffering had not made them pure, only more irresponsible and self-centred. All these streaks were bred in them by class rule. But the communists of West Bengal did nothing to purge these away and instil a new sense of responsibility and dedication. Rather they pandered to their impulses, to gain narrow ends. They had not inspired their followers with the noble vision of a new order calling for and engendering voluntary discipline, efficiency and self-respect. The kind of economism and opportunist stances they had accepted as the basis of their popular movements precluded anything of the kind and was bound to recoil. Even ordinary running of the administration and economic activities under the existing system was made impossible under leftist rule. The system seemed grinding to a halt. Perhaps our parliamentary revolutionaries were congratulating themselves on this, for they were persuaded that the system was running down of itself making way for them to replace it by the socialist order. This was historical determinism with a vengeance. Labouring under this fatal delusion, the CPI(M) encouraged the workers, middle-class employees, and all other intermediate classes owing allegiance to it in their unregenerate habits of laziness, corruption, malpractice and indiscipline. The small sharks in town and country were left undisturbed. And a large number of criminals were also allowed to have their fling under the party banner, with the forces of law and order in public disgrace.

And meanwhile, the Central Government was preparing to act. To counter the spurt of mass irresponsibility,

at first, it set in motion the machinery of law and order. In 1970, Mr Ajoy Mukherjee, then Chief Minister of West Bengal, with his characteristic recklessness, resigned after describing his own government as barbarous. With that, the bureaucracy and the police came into their own and struck. The criminals were brought back and set against cadres and followers of the CPI(M) and other forces of opposition. Of course, the latter fought back but it was by its nature an unequal fight and at all events, both wasteful and pointless. The same criminals killed both communist and extremist cadres and drew many a red herring across the trail to deceive their victims into suspecting one another. Things were made worse by the leaders' universal branding of extremists as CIA agents. They had themselves used the police against them during their rule. The resulting tragedy in which dedicated young people owing allegiance to CPI(M) and the extremist breakaway groups finished of one another to the sardonic glee of their common enemy, is too painful to relate. And the administration was also dealing with the extremists and CPI(M) cadres in other ways. Both criminals and police were killing them daily in large numbers in prisons, villages, lanes and by-lanes of towns and cities. And then came the turn of the peasants and workers who had revolted against class-rule in their short-sighted way during the UF regime. They too were killed or beaten up and thrown out of employment or the land they had occupied and hounded out of their homes.

With the militants depleted, jailed or in hiding, the CPI(M) was soon in disarray, fighting a rearguard action. The rest of its followers and the people who had rallied to it were falling back into apathy. The same masses who had been rampaging were quiet again. They were all cowed as was inevitable, given their political immaturity and opportunism. The exploiting classes and their principal party were organizing the storm-troopers with criminals, unemployed

and misguided youths. Frustration, both moral and material, drove them into the arms of the Congress and this too was inevitable. There had been no alternative ideal or prospect to engage their deepest loyalties. The communists had failed them. For all that, there may still have been some support for the CPI(M) among workers, peasants and the middle class. It was a mixture of economic opportunism, a rankling sense of privation, hatred of terror and bleakness of the general outlook that inspired this loyalty. But the CPI(M) left it at that, doing nothing to turn the popular support to revolutionary end. So the exploiting classes and their party found it easy to paralyse this residual support by means of threat, coercion and corrupt dealings unprecedented in this country. Apparently, they would take no chances with the CPI(M) and showed a rare efficiency in political racketeering.

Social Disorder

But why did the CPI(M) allow things to drift to this extent? Evidently, it was blandly ignorant about the nature of the crisis of the ruling class. The party took too many things for granted. The objective conditions in the late sixties seemed ripe for a 'seizure' of power by 'Marxists' in West Bengal. With a weak Centre, occupation of the ministries was expected to go unchallenged if riot, be encouraged as well. A few years in office, and the 'Marxists' hoped they would mould the officials and the exploiting classes themselves, so much that their accession to power in West Bengal would be assured for good and all. Perhaps they could do with a little bit of corruption and malpractice *a la* all bourgeois administration to make this assurance doubly sure. They kept things boiling, for all unrest and disorder were thought to be so much grist to their mill. But they forgot that social disorder does not of itself lead to revolution but may just as well be a pretext for and prelude to counter-revolution. Given the immaturity and opportu-

nism of the toiling people, the disorder could lead to communist power only in the case of a total breakdown of the old system—and that too only if the communists were the most disciplined and dedicated force in the field. In West Bengal all the forces contending for power and trying to retain it were equally immoral and disorderly. The opportunism and immorality of the Congress were matched by the vices from which the leftists suffered. But as the system is controlled from Delhi and the forces of the establishment there are superior in quality and strength, intervention came in good time and frustrated the leftists' calculation. Thus what happened in the 1972 elections is a modern equivalent of Delhi bringing a rebel province back under the imperial sway. The rebel satrap, Mr Jyoti Basu, was put down by the Sultana at Delhi. But even assuming that the CPI(M) could retain power in West Bengal a little longer, what benefit could it bring to the people except prolong the anarchy into which they were falling?

The alternative to socialist revolution is barbarism and it is barbarism that has conquered India, more particularly West Bengal, after a brief spell of anarchy which the leftists revelled in. And the barbarism in this case has not invaded from without but sprung from within. Nor is it propped up on naked military power, but wears a deceptive facade. The forces that have ushered in the new rule have proved themselves more determined, ruthless, and efficient than those that opposed them. The latter were too reckless, undisciplined and incoherent to sway events. The CPI(M) had too facetiously assumed that the exploiting classes could not survive the crisis, that fascism would be forestalled by its support to social democrats, and that the military could not rule over such a vast and amorphous country as India. It had also discounted the ideological issue. The party had little to offer on this score and was therefore bound to be undercut by Congress whose

ideology had the advantage of traditional sanction and appealed to atavistic impulses.

Apart from this, the crisis in India in the sixties admitted of only two solutions. The need for rapid growth under conditions of direct and indirect exploitation by developed countries, general educational and social backwardness of the people, their traditional attitude to work, need for discipline, skill and efficiency and an inadequate sense of social responsibility among the people—all these would seem to call for an authoritarian regime, if the existing structure of discriminating power and privilege were to be preserved. The alternative path of development would be through a social revolution leading to people's democratic dictatorship. As the Indian communists would not lead the people along the latter course, the exploiting classes seized the initiative and anticipated this revolutionary development. They are taking the country along the path of development which ensures privilege and power for the few. To this end, they are out to eliminate all dissent and opposition and ensure progress through inequality and terror. In this they have all the support of the social-imperialists of the Soviet Union.

That this could have happened in West Bengal first, shows the utter bankruptcy of the leftists' politics and their tactical method for winning and retaining power. The offensive of the ruling class had succeeded only in the absence of a genuine ideological challenge from the left. The sporadic and reckless disorder and violence have proved counter-productive. Only a people imbued with revolutionary morality and the highest idealism can resist successfully the fascist violence of the ruling class. The barbarism of the exploiting classes must be fought with the high revolutionary morale of the exploited people.

Extremist Movement

And this brings us to the extremist movement in left politics in West Bengal which arose from the same

social matrix as outlined above. But the motive and inspiration of the extremist or Naxalite violence were qualitatively different from the mass irresponsibility described above. The youths who took to this course were imbued with a high sense of dedication to the cause of revolution and had no private axe to grind, whether economic or political. Even their use of violence was not at first so indiscriminate or senseless as it was made out or later turned out to be. Be that as it may, never since the early terrorists of Bengal has any similar group of young people shown such dedication and commitment to revolution. They were already seeing revolution as a school for self-discipline, mutual trust and solidarity, selflessness and idealism. They had the makings of true revolutionaries and if only the masses could also be trained in the same way, things might have turned out differently. But sickened by the opportunism and prevarication of their leaders, these erstwhile cadres of the CPI(M) broke away in revolt. Things, however, did not go as they had expected. The poor and oppressed in the countryside whom they championed were sunk in stupor and it was difficult to rouse them to their historic task. The young revolutionaries may have come up against their age-old inertia and lack of initiative. And then the youths may have lost and taken it out in sensational murders to draw attention or whip up the sleeping masses. Perhaps prolonged stay in remote villages in uncongenial surroundings among hostile or indifferent people was preying on their nerves and caused this outburst. Of course, it was all a part of their strategy to build bases, secure fire-arms and create liberation zones, but the whole process was taking long to mature and come to fruition. Something, apparently, had gone wrong somewhere!

Meanwhile, the rebel youths scattered over far-flung areas, were left to fend for themselves under enemy onslaught, which was mounting. And then there were hosts of enemy agents, police spies and rival party

cadres also; harassing and provoking them continually. So arose a spurt of senseless violence and vendetta and chaos was come again.

The condition of these youths of Bengal was, I like to fancy, very much similar to that of the Russian Nihilist whom Turgenev has immortalized. They may have gone astray sometimes; they may have lost their bearings as well, bringing reprisal on themselves and unnecessary sufferings to some. At the end, fighting a lost cause, they died like hunted beasts. Even now, many of them are falling

to the bullets or knives or simply batons of the thugs of our Government or slowly wasting to death in prisons or hideouts. But although they failed to understand the masses, enlist their support and rouse them to the cause, in terms of dedication, selflessness, purity of vision and authenticity, these young people had certainly shown the way out of the rut into which we have all fallen and got stuck.

*We know their dream; enough
To know they dreamed and are dead.*

American Students And Vietnam

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

AFTER the active sixties, the left-wing movement in the U.S. had subsided considerably. The last major activity was opposing the Cambodian invasion. Prominent among the anti-war casualty list were four white students from Kent State University and three blacks from Jackson State. However in the last two years the movement definitely looked dead, in spite of repeated assertions by Herbert Marcuse, noted Marxist philosopher, that the movement was simply resting and reassessing itself.

The latest bombing of North-Vietnamese cities and harbours has brought some response. It is perhaps a bit early to categorically say whether Marcuse was right in his optimism but signs of dissent are clearly cropping up everywhere, everyday. And the dissent was initiated on the college campuses.

At a glance, the movement has been quite slow to respond. It has definitely suffered from desertions. The size of rallies and marches is not, at least at the present moment, what it used to be three years ago. The first campus to respond was Harvard. However, a rally in the Boston commons attracted only 1000 students and later on when they marched back to the campus, a small group was left for any, further action. It was

duly met by the police, equipped with tear-gas which was used to disperse it.

Even though the participation has been small, the movement has spread over campuses rather fast. Columbia had to be closed. One hundred riot-equipped Maryland state policemen using tear-gas and dogs moved along U.S. route 1 in College Park to break up a demonstration by about 500 students who blocked the highway after a rally on the University of Maryland campus. The University of Minnesota saw the taking over of the Air Force recruiting office.

Harvard and Michigan in a joint communique called for a strike. The call quite justly pointed to a memorandum prepared by Adm. Thomas H. Moorer, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff: "If the U.S. were released from the domestic restraints it might undertake amphibious operations against the North or bombing of the irrigation ditches in the quest of victory." The communique adds: "The bombing of Hanoi and Haiphong suggests that here are no limits (...for the U.S.). Strategic options left to the U.S. government include further bombings of population centers: mining or closing by naval embargo the access to the Haiphong harbor; bombing the

North Vietnamese dike system causing broad destruction and mass starvation; invading North Vietnam and the use of tactical nuclear weapons. ... The only remaining restraint is the one imposed by the American people. It is our task as students, who have come this way before, to make sure that the domestic restraints remain firm."

The lukewarm response can be ascribed to the attitude of the press, general apathy and frustration arising out of past experiences and the lack of direct interest. The press is rather implicitly cooperative with the Pentagon and the State Department. It even uses their language calling North Vietnam the enemy, North Vietnam the military target, enemy casualties, invasion etc. General apathy and frustration is an outcome of the impatience on the part of the students, a feature quite prevalent in Europe too. The lack of direct interest is more important. It has its roots in the strongly prevalent mode of incipient racism, in the chauvinistic white supremacist attitude and in the selfish way of life practised under the name of individual liberty. The administration is quite aware of these facts and therefore the ground troops are being replaced by technology, often more efficient, to carry out the war effort. Automatic planes are being built to be used without pilots to search and bomb. The hope is that the domestic opposition will decrease if the ground casualties are reduced to a minimum, that Americans do not care about the war as long as they are not among the casualties. Depressing though this possibility may be it is true to a large extent and is definitely one of the reasons for the slow response.

The oncoming elections are another reason. Survey polls indicate that 80% of the American public are against the war in Vietnam, a fact amply reflected in the primary candidates of the Democratic party. All the leading contenders, excepting Wallace, whose foreign policy statements amount to a big zero, are against the war in Vietnam, in some form or other. A large populace has

faith in the unlikely victory of George McGovern, a leading critic of war in the U.S. Senate. The presidential elections are a serious impediment in the growth of the anti-war movement though the candidates would like to think the other way round. Marcuse, who has always opposed the thought of choosing between the two devils, is coming up with statements like: "If the lesser evil may mean saving the lives of tens of thousands of Vietnamese, I vote for the lesser evil." He has advocated participation in the elections even though it amounts to a "terrible shame for the radical."

Some began doing that even before his saying so. Though the likelihood of a political success is very dim, they are trying. There are obvious disadvantages in putting all the available energy and resources behind one single candidate. If the candidate wins, the left is not going to get much out of it. The questions about the role of the military-industrial complex, fundamental issues of racism etc. are not going to be answered by any political candidate. They may have a lot of frustration in store for them if the candidate simply doesn't win.

Not So Up In UP

R. P. MULLICK

IN a parallel manner somewhat recalling West Bengal, the ruling party has managed to do it again—preserve a facade of unity over warring factions. For the present, the frictions generated by Mr Salig Ram Jaiswal's resignation from the UP PCC have been smoothed out. Mr Jaiswal has thought it more prudent to be back in the old creaking chair than lead an airy radical's revolt against the traditional upholders of the status quo in the U.P. Congress. He has realized, as possibly Mrs Rajendra Kumari Bajpai, UP PCC President did sometime back when the demand for elections to the State

Legislature boomeranged on her in a devious way, that it is the traditional lobby of power that counts, not the strongly stressed accents of socialism and democracy. So, for the present it is a united house that the Chief Minister, Mr Kamalapati Tripathi finds, much as the predecessor, Mr C. B. Gupta, used to, in his good old days. The Congress(O) has been metamorphosed into Congress(R).

It is precisely because of such a transformation, and an excessive obsession with it, that the not-so-youthful Young Turks squirm in their beats of political day-dreaming. Meanwhile, the lobbies maintained by vested interest groups, both in the organizational and legislative wings of the UP Congress, stay put. They have even fattened themselves at the expense of many a self-imposed "progressive socialist," now safely packed off to some ministerial assignment or the other, whether in the province or at the Centre. Unfortunately for the State people, those who had inherited the burden of socialist class struggle from the one real teacher and pathfinder that UP had in this sphere of political philosophy, the late Acharya Narendra Deo, have become obese or obsolescent. Genda Singh is too ill to become a factor of importance again. As to other Congress "left-liners", they are much too busy preparing theses about progressive aggrandizement by monopoly capital, and fuming over the manipulated decadence of MRTP and similar commissions of inquiry and thus preparing ground for catching the eye of India's lady of destiny, to have any effective impact on the organization.

Meanwhile those who wield power have come out at the top again. In fact, the recent little turmoil stimulated by the Jaiswal-Bajpai tussle has in a mysterious manner helped the traditionalists to sit firmer in their saddles. The Chief Minister recently made an attempt to revive his dampened political image. Me too, a socialist is the latest morale-raiser. From Mr Narain Dutt Tewari to Mr H. N. Bahuguna, U.P. can present a galaxy of old-timers in trade unionism.

Since in India a one-time public servant is always remembered with awe if not with gratitude, and respectability dies hard, those who were once on the crest manage to remain on their pedestals despite vast changes.

Close on the sanction of marginal allowances (of compensatory nature) to the State employees and the teachers, the UP Government has begun extending the sop of welfare concept to the "backward" rural sections. The CM has, after conceding the fact that distribution of surplus and Gaon Sabho land among the Harijans has been delayed and blaming it all on the Revenue officials, procrastinating promised a new ceiling fixation bill for urban and rural property, a 400 megawatt power-producing unit at Obra, rural electrification, job facilities with a crash programme of peripheral industrialization, training programmes for the millions, self-employment opportunities, etc.

But not content with generalities of administrative policies and promises, he has gone a step further for catching the people's eye. He has given the assurance that the Birla House firm, HINDALCO in Mirzapur district, would not be provided with electricity at a rate less than the cost of generation. Remembering the flurry caused by exposures of the State's loss through continued supply of power to this firm for years, and despite the latter's truculence in not clearing its dues, to soft-pedal the issue now would amount to courting public censure. No CM would do that. But Mr Tripathi has done something more. He has revealed that the entire matter apropos the rate for bulk industrial power supply, non-payment of arrears, legal injunction-procedure resorted to by the other party, etc. has been referred to the Central Water Power Commission and the Central Minister of Irrigation, Mr K. L. Rao. In this respect, he has shown the remarkable tact of his predecessor, Chowdhury Charan Singh, and thrown the province's baby into New Delhi's parlour.

It is anybody's guess how long the political acrobats of the UP PCC

would indulge in group allegiances and manoeuvres. But one thing is certain: the back of upstartish youth elements has been broken and their penchant for an intra-party toppler (of leadership), squashed off. Incidentally the redoubtable Youth Congress leader of West Bengal, Mr P. R. Das Munshi, had, during his visit to the State capital some weeks back, talked rather too vigorously about the demand for a mid-term poll in U.P. and had trumped up a supposed grievance of U.P. Congressites in this regard. If he had presumed that he had been thus anticipating the Prime Minister's mind in this crucial State's affairs, he has already come a cropper, since the latter is in no mood, for the foreseeable present at least, to put her apple cart in U.P. out of joint. Further, Mr Kamtapati Tripathi is not that weakling any longer; in three years since the fading out of Charan Singhjee began, he has acquired undreamt-of pre-eminence. Besides, the imponderable ex-iron man of U.P., Mr C.B. Gupta, looms in the background, a potent force still and a supplier of the sinews of defection-based power politics. His ghost still stalks the internal political scene of Uttar Pradesh.

Where angels would have feared to tread, West Bengal's irrepressible "youth leader" thought it wise enough to poach into. Will gods in New Delhi take note?

Manipur Letter

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

GENEROSITY is a rare impulse in politics and the Congress (R) will never be accused of possessing or prizing it highly. This will explain the frequent reconnoitring of the State by Khadi Caps from Delhi. The snag is, any premature enterprise of toppling the ministry may lead to President's Rule (and not directly to the P.M.'s Rule) which the people hate—as an abomination or a curse should be hated. Even

now the thin line between the P.M.'s Rule, and President's Rule is invisible to many, and tends frequently to disappear. Quite understandably. And Delhi appears not particularly keen on avoiding this confusion.

The ULP is no model of homogeneity. Cracks have appeared and the squeaks of dissension are already audible. In the election of Mr S. T. Singh to the Rajya Sabha the United Legislature Party won again, but with two votes less than were pledged. Ministers lack reticence and publicly recount instances when they were bypassed or interfered with by the C.M., who, they say, is high-handed. The bureaucrats too whimper similarly. Which would make this change look fishy. Are some of them being patronised by the ministers out of ignorance, or ill-will against the C.M.? That the bureaucrats are unrepentant and unregenerate even after a month of popular ministry is common knowledge. One example will suffice. The Estate Office in the Secretariat has earned especial notoriety by riding roughshod over all the rules, legal and moral. Nothing gets done without bucks and booze. Those with scruples in the matter are therefore, victimised. A scandal is rocking the state about how a senior Education Officer has been stranded here for two years consequent upon denial of a bungalow suiting his needs. Why? Because he towers in eminence and ability over the horde of inferior small men infesting the Secretariat. With the popular ministry in office people had expected the guilty minions to be suspended and a thorough enquiry ordered to punish them. This demand has drawn a blank and the bureaucrats are chuckling at having fooled the ministry by convincing it that nothing irregular ever happened! The ministry's image is poorer for this naivete and inaction. People find it President's Rule by proxy and ask why the costly tamasha of elections was held at all.

Then, the conspicuous living beyond their means by the employees of the PWD, the VVF, and the Education Department goes on merrily.

No raid has been carried out against them yet. Their corrupt coterie has snuggled its way into ministerial affections.

Smuggling worth millions a year is a thriving trade here. The whole of Manipur knows it. Only the police Intelligence people do not 'know'.

The C.M., the local press says, has no respect for the freedom of the press. Maybe it is too extreme an opinion, and not a fact. But it is up to him to prove it wrong. Again, when people appeal to him for justice, he should not fail them. Firm action against corrupt officials will win him popular respect. This he ill-affords shirking. He would be ill-advised, to squander away his chance of giving the State a good, clean administration, by resorting to stunts and gimmicks like demanding of the Union Government to shift the Assam Rifles from its present site. He must know his priorities and act fast.

Five or six weeks is not long enough for a ministry to prove its bona fides. Perhaps it is too early to judge it on its scanty and limping performance. Perhaps it lacks coherence and hence direction and determination. Stranglers are lurking in the wings. They may get on to the stage any moment. If the worst happens let there be some mourners, and well-wishers left.

মাস্কবাদী-লেনিনবাদী পত্র

সংশোধনবাদ ও সোভিয়েৎ সামাজিক সাম্রাজ্যবাদের বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রাম না করে সাম্রাজ্যবাদের বিরুদ্ধে সংগ্রাম করা যায় না এবং প্রকৃত অর্থে বিপ্লবও সংগঠিত করা যায় না। সোভিয়েৎ সংশোধনবাদী সামাজিক সাম্রাজ্যবাদের স্বরূপ জানতে হলে পড়ুন :

"স্মৃতি লিঙ্গ" সংকলন ১

হাওড়া, কলেজ স্ট্রীট, শিয়ালদা ও দক্ষিণ কলকাতার সব বুক স্টল পাওয়া যাচ্ছে।

Green Revolution In India : Prelude To A Red One ?*—I

HARI SHARMA

SO startling have been the achievements of the "green revolution" in recent years in India and other Asian countries that the 1970 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Dr Norman E. Borlaug for his "remarkable contribution to the enlargement of the world's food supply, particularly in underdeveloped nations". The implication is that food and peace go together, as Dr Borlaug himself has remarked. Yet peace is hardly the crop being harvested in the fields of India. Besides the increased amount of food produced by the green revolution, there is an increasing amount and intensity of political polarization along class dimensions. The twin effects are mentioned by an American observer, Clifton R. Wharton, Jr., who calls the green revolution on the one hand a cornucopia which is "believed to have lifted the spectre of famine in the immediate future and to have postponed the prospect of Malthusian population disaster", and on the other a Pandora's box whose "very success will produce a number of new problems which are far more subtle and difficult than those faced during the development of new technology".

Let us note first the achievements, and postpone the "problematic" aspects until later. To quote Dr Borlaug: "Never before in the history of agriculture has a transplantation of high-yielding varieties coupled with an entirely new technology and strategy been achieved on such a massive scale, in so short a period of time, and with such great success". In India the High-Yielding Varieties Programme (HYVP) began in 1965 under the "new strategy in agriculture" of the Union Food and Agriculture Ministry. Limited experiments with the dwarf Mexican variety of wheat had already been conducted during the two previous years. A model for the new strategy also existed in fifteen districts distributed through-

out India, where an Intensive Agricultural Development Programme (IACP) had been started by the Ford Foundation in 1961. In 1965, 250 tons of seed of Mexican dwarf wheat varieties were imported for wide-scale testing on farms. The following year 18,000 tons were imported. By the end of the decade the HYP Programme had been extended to large parts of India, covering, besides wheat, the production of rice, maize, and several varieties of Indian millets. The results were visible in output figures. As against the pre-green revolution record crop of 12.3 millions tons of wheat in 1964-65, production rose to 16.5, 18.7 and 20.0 million tons during the 1968, 1969 and 1970 harvests respectively. Although less spectacular, significant improvements have been recorded in cereals like paddy and maize. Consequently, the total foodgrains production rose from 88.4 million tons in 1964-65 (a record year) to an estimated 106 million tons in 1970-71. At this rate, India should be self-sufficient in food within a year or two.

The high-yielding varieties of seeds require increased amounts of chemical fertilizers and water, and foster new agricultural operations. For example, the consumption of nitrogen increased from 538,000 metric tons in 1964-65 to 1.2 million metric tons in 1969-70. A total of 70,000 private tubewells were reported to have been sunk in 1969-70 alone. While in 1968, unsold tractors accumulated at the two factories then in production, in 1970 prospective purchasers were required to make written applications for them and to wait one or two years for delivery. Five factories now produce some 18,000 tractors per year, and 35,000 more were imported in 1969-70. Consumption of pesticides increased from 10,304 tons in 1961-62 to 28,200 tons in 1968-69.

Details from particular districts highlight the magnitude of the change. Thus a USAID-sponsored study of the Ludhiana district in Punjab records: "Between the pre-package year of 1960-61 and 1968-69, the area under irrigation increased from 45 per cent to 70 per cent, mainly as the result of the rapid installation of tubewells. Again, between 1960-61 and 1967-68, consumption of fertilizers increased more than thirteen times, from 8 kilograms to 110 kilograms per cultivated acre. More dramatic still, in the short period between 1965-66 and 1968-69, the acreage under the new Mexican dwarf varieties expanded from a minuscule 170 acres to an overwhelming 420,000 acres, or an area accounting for ninety per cent of the total acreage under wheat. Finally, and the surest measure of success, yields per acre in Ludhiana increased from an average of 16.9 maunds in 1960-61 to over 40 maunds in 1968-69, that is, by over 120 per cent." Because of the above-average size of the land holdings and other favourable conditions in Ludhiana, it is an atypical district, yet the same USAID study in four other districts (in the States of Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Kerala and West Bengal) reported similar, if relatively modest, progress in agricultural productivity. For decades, using cultural variables to disguise their ideologies, apo-

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logists for imperialism have been describing the Indian peasantry (and the peasantry of other developing societies) by reference to such characteristics as ineptitude, passivity, lethargy, religiosity, traditionalism, lack of the Protestant ethic, etc. In a few short years, however, the peasants of India have transcended their "cultural milieu" to make a major breakthrough in productivity. Just as cultural factors cannot explain the present shifts in the economic behaviour of the peasantry, it was, and to a certain extent still is, a mistake, if not an outright ideological camouflage, to attribute India's underdevelopment to the cultural traits of her people.

The Question

The question, however, remains : why did the breakthrough occur at the time it did? After all, the Government of India had been systematically trying to affect agricultural productivity since 1952, when communitally trying to raise agricultural extension programmes were instituted. Thousands of Village Level Workers all over India were pleading with farmers, with little, if any, success, to adopt new and better seeds, fertilizers, improved implements, etc. Even increased irrigation facilities were reported to have gone un-or under-utilized. Numerous U.S. teams of experts, under one auspice or another, came and went. Yet agriculture remained stagnant. Why, then the sudden spurt in the second half of the 1960's? To attribute this development to a sudden technological breakthrough, as is often done, is overly simplistic. Here it is not necessary to go into the well-known debate as to whether it is technology which drives economic forces, or the economic and social institutions (as expressed in the relations and forces of production and their mutual interaction) which necessitate and facilitate technological innovations. The simple fact is that the "new" technology supposedly underlying the present agricultural revolution in India, is hardly new. Most of the new in-

puts, including the Mexican dwarf varieties of wheat, have been known for quite some time to Indian agricultural experts, who have also been trying to introduce them to Indian farmers. The green revolution in India has occurred not because of the acceptance of new technology by the farmers. And this acceptance owes little, if anything, to the numerous social scientists, Indian and American, who for two decades have been engaged in research on the so-called "diffusion process", identifying crucial variables—cultural or otherwise—which affected the process. The answer lies rather in the institutional and structural shifts which Indian rural society has been going through over the past two decades and which have created the necessary preconditions for the Indian peasantry, or for at least a section of it, to stage the present breakthrough.

But before we attempt an examination of these shifts, let us turn to the other, "problematic", aspect of the green revolution. Later we shall see that what lies behind its success is exactly what is creating the so-called "new problems".

While much-needed extra food is being produced by the green revolution, it is certainly not producing peace. About the time agricultural fields turned greener and harvested crops bulkier, social relations grew tenser. Peace and harmony were hardly ever the salient features of Indian village society, the many idealized and romanticized accounts of it notwithstanding. But what emerged in the late sixties was both qualitatively and quantitatively different. Unlike the traditional village-based conflicts between factions within the dominant land-owning groups, which involved localized symbols of power and prestige, the new conflicts emerged along class dimensions. Not that class conflict has been unknown to the Indian peasantry. Weaker, exploited sections in rural India have risen repeatedly against their oppressors. With some notable exceptions, however, these peasant uprisings have lacked cohesive leadership and class

ideology.

A nationally cohesive political leadership is perhaps still lacking, yet the present rural unrest unmistakably distinguishes itself by its massive scale and militant overtones. The now well-known peasant uprising in Naxalbari in 1967 was a symptomatic outburst which set the tone and character of things to come. From one harvest to the next, from one part of the country to another, the unrest spread. It took various forms: Gandhian *satyagraha*, massive land grab marches, forcible seizures of harvested crops, unionized demands for higher wages, and increasingly, the physical annihilation of landlords. The form varied, the content was the same. And in the process the demarcating line became clearer. The other side—landlords, rich peasants, rentiers, paymasters—responded differently depending upon their strength and organization. Sometimes they fled to the cities, to return only when their allies in the State apparatus (the police, the army) made it safe for them to do so. At other times they retaliated with force. In the village of Kilvenmani in East Thanjavur, for example, they attacked the landless labourers' hamlet at midnight. With gunshots they dragged everybody out of his or her house, forced as many of them as they could into a single hut, and set fire to it. Forty-four people—men, women and children—were burnt alive while the jubilant landlords stood guard to prevent anyone from escaping.

The Kilvenmani incident was unusual only in terms of its brutality and the size of its toll. Armed attacks by the land and money-lords have increased in frequency as the farm labourers became increasingly organized and militant. Much of the initial impetus came from West Bengal, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu, but such class confrontations are no longer confined to these traditional regions of left influence nor to the economically more depressed areas. Gradually they have spread to practically every state in the country. Even in Punjab, where the

ratio of agricultural labourers to land-owners is among the lowest, there has been a sharp increase in open hostility between upper caste land-owners and Harijan labourers. Many cases have been reported of attacks against Harijans by thugs hired by the landlords. In some areas the landlords have not even needed to hire thugs: the local police force, all too willing and just as thorough, has done the job. The repressive role of the State has not been limited to the use of the police force either. In the past few years thousands of military and para-military troops have been deployed in many parts of India where they have engaged in "search and destroy" missions to maintain "law and order".

So pervasive has been the change in the political climate of rural India that only the most naive would ignore it. Violent confrontations have become so commonplace that the daily newspapers now report them in a most matter-of-fact and perfunctory fashion, often as small news items in obscure columns. Yet hardly a week goes by in which some such incident is not reported.

Class Conflict

Perhaps it would be too much to say that rural India as a whole has reached a stage of polarized politics, but the trend is in that direction. Even the national organization of the Gandhian Sarvodaya Movement (an organization which has persistently maintained the "harmony and integration" model of rural India and, true to Gandhi's anti-class bias, has vigorously denied differences of class interests in the countryside) faced much internal turmoil when some of its veteran leaders, late in 1969, engaged in public heresy by acknowledging the inevitability of class conflict.

Such, then, have been the political developments in a countryside which has been simultaneously experiencing revolutionized agriculture. The Union Home Minister, Y.B. Chavan, was expressing a genuine fear when he declared in late November 1969:

"Unless the green revolution is based on social justice, I am afraid the green revolution may not remain green".

Is it a mere coincidence that the two developments—increase in agricultural productivity and increase in class-oriented tensions—have occurred simultaneously? Obviously there is no simple causal relation between them, precisely because both surfaced at about the same time. Yet the two are not unrelated. For one thing, the green revolution has definitely accentuated the circumstances which led to the politicization of the peasantry, but there is more to it. In order to grasp the significance of the two trends fully, as well as the interrelation between them, one must study what has happened in India over the past two-and-a-half decades, particularly with respect to agrarian relations.

(To be continued)

Tagore's Dramatic Songs

HIRENDRA CHAKRABORTY

MR Ashoktaru Banerjee, the solo vocalist of Tagore songs, appeared at the Rabindra Sadan a few days ago with an offering of selection from the songs of the prose plays of Tagore. The selection began from *ha ke bole debe*, a song of the playlet, *Nalini*, composed in 1291 B.S. It represented the formative period of the composer when he was in search of a suitable form for his lyrical songs. The really dramatic songs began with *Bisarjan* and *Prakritir Pratisodh* which were not taken into account in the selection under review. Also omitted were *Achalayatana*, a play of much musical significance. Neither *Grihaprabesh* nor *Natir Puja* got any place. Nor were *Sheshraksha*, *Nataraj Ritugrahashala*, *Tapati*, *Nabin* and *Vasanta*. Three songs from *Sharodotsav*, two from *Prayaschitta*, three from *Raja*, one each from *Phalguni* and *Muktadhara*, five from *Chirakumarsabha*, two from

the prose *Chandalika* and one each from *Raktakarabi* and *Banshari* comprised the bunch of songs.

It was a representative selection though not a comprehensive one. Short particulars of the plays and the background of their writing or publication were given by Mr Debdulal Banerjee, the radio commentator. But no relationship of the songs or the analysis of their tonal adaptations was sought to be established. In fact the tunes of the songs, haphazardly selected as they were, had little unity among themselves and did not signify any historical development. Had the singer based his selection on a particular raga such as Bhairavi or Kafi a historical development of the composer's raga conception might have been traced.

A bird's eye view of the dramatic background of the songs was provided by a troupe of actors who recited a few dialogues immediately preceding the songs. Without this provision, Ashoktaru Babu believes, the real import of the songs, which is to a large extent influenced by the dramatic environ of the dialogues, would have been lost on the listeners.

In the musical field of this State at large and this city in particular Ashoktaru Banerjee's name will go down in history as the pioneer of solo performances of Tagore songs which have long been neglected by the conference-wallas. Since his performance at the Academy Hall on February 22, 1970 many singers have followed suit. He has been trying his best to present Tagore songs in so attractive a manner (without of course compromising their aesthetic beauty) that the general listeners might like them. In so doing he has had to add a little dramatic element to his mode of presentation.

That night he began his recital with *ha ke bole debe* followed by *yadi jote roje aman bini paysai bhoj* from the monologue of the same name. This comic song and five others from *Chirakumarsabha* created plenty of fun in the audience specially because very few of them had

ever had the opportunity to see the farcial plays of Tagore. So, to them it was a novelty and therefore a matter of considerable enjoyment.

But Ashok Babu did not come to his real singing form till the songs from *Arupratan*. At the outset his voice was a little hesitant. He regained his habitual ease from the song *Amar sakal niye bose achi*. Tagore's parody of the famous patriotic song was able to evoke laughter of the newcomers but three consecutive *kafis* were repetitive. The concluding song was Ashoke Babu's invariable *Pinakete lage tangkar* but was less successful this time. To me *Tomai natun kore pabo bole* was his best rendering that night. Taken as a whole this programme of Ashoke Babu as a soloist did not surpass his earlier achievement registered at the Academy hall.

The actors reciting the dialogues of the respective plays deserve wide praise. The recitations of Gouri Ghosh and Pahari Sanyal were as refined as they were artistic. Of course this does not minimise the achievements of others.

But I failed to appreciate the melodramatic manner of introduction by Mr Debdulal Banerjee of AIR. Did he think that he was enacting a heroic or a pathetic role? If so, he was entirely wrong. He was to announce only a few words of introduction regarding the time of composition and publication of the plays. Who ever knew that the years and dates could have so much of emotional throbbing—rising in crescendos and falling in diminuendos? By far outdoing the actors he proved himself a gross misfit. The introductory lines read (or recited?) by him were neither precise nor to the point.

The programme presented by Naibedyia was a fine experimental idea. The whole thing was very well conceived and executed except the cheap histrionics of Mr D. Banerjee. Coupled with a historical and tonal analysis I think it could be much improved. But the endeavour was none the less praiseworthy.

Sohini's Vasanta

A late *Vasanta* was staged at the Ballygunj Shiksha Sadan last month by Sohini, a troupe comprised of the students of Mr Prasad Sen, the noted teacher of Tagore music. The play, written in the thirties and dedicated to Nazrul Islam then undergoing a hunger-trike in the Hooghly Jail, dwells upon the reciprocal relationship between nature and the earth and stresses the allegorical significance in the case of the relation between man and society. There are also references to youth and decay.

Vasanta is an operatic composition—not a music-drama. The Prince and the Poet are the only characters and their dialogues are in the most witty prose. Music adds colour to the intellectual philosophising which is annotated and enlivened by the songs.

The presentation was in the good old Santiniketan tradition—stage door, placing of the chief characters at the corner of the stage and setting of the choral group between the actors and the back drop. The stationary placing of the Prince and the Poet was necessary in Tagore's time when such old people as the poet himself, Abanindranath etc. used to enact the two roles. Blind imitation of the one-time practice is dramatically faulty and objectionable because it tends to retard the movement of the enactment. The only characters of the play ought to move about the stage directing and appreciating the music composed by the Poet of the play.

In its absence the dramatic side of the play was a static affair. But the songs were fairly efficiently rendered. Some of the dance compositions were commendable. But the dialogues spoken into the megaphone by the sitting Prince and the Poet were mostly unintelligible. It was good music but poor enactment.

The play was directed by Mr Prasad Sen.

An Area Of Darkness

BY A DRAMA CRITIC

TO Sabitabrata Datta the contemporary situation in our part of Bengal seems to be shrouded in darkness. He gropes for light in *Alo Dekhao*, which is an amalgam of elements, major and trivial, composing the current scene. His effort has to be applauded, for the all-pervading sense of fear has occasioned a search for the cause of it all. A confrontation with the brave boys whose doings are believed to have contributed to dislocation of the daily chores of innocent individuals and led to a collapse of values sedulously cultivated over generations, is expected to result in a better understanding. If the result is a certain mishmash it is a pity because the situation Datta hits upon is pregnant with possibilities which lie unexplored.

An ordinary family of elderly parents, a theatre-loving son and a daughter suddenly has four guests thrust on them. Hounded by the police these four firebrand young men ask for shelter. In the ensuing encounter the daughter asks pointed questions to find out the rationale of their acts. The father and the mother make common sense queries about personal details. The son who joins later is keen to keep frayed tempers at bay.

The discussion, however, hardly adds to an understanding. Vague references are made to well-known facts and figures. One has the feel-

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ing that the director is not exactly at ease with the situation he has himself thought up and which throws up a real challenge and indeed cries out to be tackled with confidence. Instead much of the dialogue seems mere prattle and an exercise in which the director indulges in venting his spleen. The main point also gets deflected. Discussion on politics and police repression degenerates into aimless swipes at inanities]

He even permits himself the cheap claptrap of pillaring the supposed use of symbols in poetry and cinema and gives vent to personal animosity in matters relating to Rabindra Sadan.

The redeeming features are the effortless acting by Reba Devi as the mother. Geeta Datta as the daughter and Dilip Banerjee also acquit themselves well. Tapas Sen is of course his usual professional self. Rupakar's productions are inconceivable without its quota of songs. Here one does not exactly pine for a couple of them.

Letters

Detention

Mr Siddhartha Ray, Chief Minister, deliberately misled the House when he said that (a) there had been no mala fide case of Preventive Detention (PD) as the Advisory Board had approved every single case and (b) not a single 'middle-class fellow or peasant or worker has been held' under the Acts. To my knowledge, the Advisory Board only conducts a prima facie hearing of the grounds of detention. No evidence is offered. Under the circumstances abuse of them can be gauged only when formal legal procedures are eventually instituted. Mr Ray's benevolent declaration that young detenus will be released on the basis of parental guarantees clearly indicates how responsibly the West Bengal Government has gone about internal security and public order.

Cases have been referred to courts, on technical points, at the initiative of the detenus—a necessarily limited zone of application. In one such recent case the Supreme Court criticised the Advisory Board's approval of a detention when one of the grounds had been represented as blatantly mala fide.

As for the second assertion, the Centre of Indian Trade Unions has brought out pamphlets highlighting such instances.

In neighbouring Pakistan Mr Bhutto does not propose to detain a person for more than 24 months in a period of 48 months. In a Latin American country they have suspended Fundamental Rights for a stipulated period of 30 days while declaring a war on the Tupamaros. Neither the elite nor the executive in this country has much sensibility for such niceties. The Attorney General casually states that a citizen may be kept in detention for any period as may be thought fit. The Act which specified a maximum period as may be thought fit. The force.

P. R.
Calcutta

A Common Front

In his article "For A Common Front" (April 15) Mr Ashok Rudra asks if anything unexpected happened to make the CPM leaders so unprepared in the face of what may be described a conspiracy of circumstances on the eve of the recent elections in West Bengal. Something unexpected did indeed happen much to the advantage of the ruling party—it was India's swift and summary victory over Pakistan which completed India's diplomatic triumph against two super-powers, China and the USA, thereby enormously enhancing the prestige and popularity of India's Prime Minister. That the Congress High Command itself was not fully prepared for this swift and sudden change of tide in favour of the ruling party is evident from the fact that at the beginning it was opposed

to the holding of elections in West Bengal along with those in other States.

Mr Rudra does not spell out how a surface party committed to the parliamentary path like the CPM can turn itself into an underground organisation overnight to escape the fascist onslaught unleashed for its suppression and why an underground organisation like the ML succumbed to such onslaught.

Mr Rudra hopes that sense will dawn on CPM cadres if not the leaders about the total futility of the parliamentary path; yet he does not hesitate to envisage a utopia in which the main task of "the—surface party" (meaning CPM) "if it ever comes to participate in government through electioneering" i.e. the parliamentary path should be to "shelter the underground party (meaning ML) from the full blast of attacks by the State power". How does the writer propose to reconcile this contradiction? Besides, how can a party which runs the government afford to shelter a guerilla-front party operating in the same State and how can two parties with such contrary objectives and methods of operation "act at the same time with close understanding instead of regarding each other as antagonists" as the writer wishes? The writer calls for rapprochement between the cadres of the two parties for future revolutionary advancement but does not spell out clear-cut objectives of such a rapprochement. What will happen if the leaders disagree and whether revolutionary advancement will be a means to an end or an end in itself. Such wishful thinking serves little purpose.

SOMNATH BHATTACHARYYA
Santragachi, Howrah

In A Nutshell

Some active supporters of the CPI(M) living at different places but personally known to one another had a series of discussions

on the present state of the party. Their preliminary conclusions are :

(1) The party policy of participating in the United Front ministries since 1967 was a retrograde policy. The idea assiduously spread by the leadership that this participation politically prepared the people to take revolutionary positions is theoretically untenable and disproved by the experience of the last five years. Instead of educating the people with the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the State, instead of unremittingly exposing the true character of the different organs of a bourgeois-landlord State (bureaucracy, judiciary, paramilitary and military forces) as so many instruments of violent suppression of the legitimate aspirations of the toiling people, the policy of ministerialism worked out by the top leadership tended to cover (and actually did cover) the real face of the Indian State and its various organs of violence ; it prettified the police force as an organ of popular struggles ('police sangramer hatiyar"—the police is an instrument of struggle) ; it sowed the reactionary illusion that elected left ministries in the States are something standing above and independent of the centralised State apparatus of the bourgeois-landlord classes, and deriving their political power from class-conscious revolutionary people and sufficiently strong to enact measures in favour of the people. This revisionist policy disarmed the party cadres and the toiling classes ideologically and politically. The net result of ministerialism has been just the opposite of what was expected : it led the party and the toiling classes to a state of negative unpreparedness, and when the Congress(R) goons mounted their attacks, there was utter helplessness, bewailing and pitiable appeals to the designers of this murder campaign for protection.

(2) The policy of liquidating the CPI(ML) and the smaller Left parties by physical violence did not enhance the people's political consciousness and lead them to more militant positions. On the contrary, it

divided them, disrupted their class unity, and thus objectively helped the counter-revolutionary forces to gain points of vantage from where they are striking hard at the unprepared people—unprepared because the party did not give them timely warning to get ready to counter the attacks. The policy of splitting the mass organisations eroded whatever little united defence build-up the people had come to possess.

(3) The Bangladesh policy of the party leadership was potently opportunistic and un-Marxist-Leninist. It flagrantly violated the Marxist-Leninist principles as to when to support a movement of national secession and when to oppose it, when to make a united front with a bourgeois party and when to isolate it from the masses of the fighting people. The leadership's support to India's war against Pakistan was nothing but a gross betrayal of the fundamental interests of the working class of this sub-continent.

The comrades engaged in these discussions have identified ministerialism as the main danger before the party. A big ideological battle against this alien trend needs to be vigorously started right now. For this is the fountainhead of all other major political deviations and serious organisational lapses.

C. R. BHAUMIK
Calcutta

Elections And CPM

The recent elections in different States establish the fact that Mrs Gandhi, whatever her politics, has won the hearts of millions of her countrymen and, what is more interesting, she has a formidable youth force behind her. Allegation of a 'rigged election' in West Bengal cannot explain away the landslide defeat of the CPM. Of course, not even Congressites claim that the election was free and fair. But this does not justify the countrywide campaign and even visits to London and other European capitals to tell peo-

ple about rigging. In a society burdened with poverty and corruption, it is stupid to expect a free and fair poll ; besides, the question of free and fair elections is always a relative one, depending on the convenience of the party in power and the administration.

The isolation of the CPM started towards the end of the second United Front Government when activities at all levels made the masses understand that its commitment for a social revolution was nothing but a hoax, that being essentially a petty-bourgeois left party it had no capability to adjust to the well-decorated state machinery of the bourgeoisie. Thus it indulged in corruption more vigorously than even the ruling class itself.

Perhaps no other left party has so severely attacked democratic values and practices for retaining power at Writers' Building. Intolerance of differing political views, including those of the constituents of the UF, was so high that the entire party machinery was streamlined to crush the political opponents physically. What was most damaging for the party was the introduction of the politics of murder. The brutality with which different party cadres, even sympathisers, were murdered, the panic with which people had to spend sleepless nights, the agony with which parents tried to protect their sons, the pathos with which wives accepted forced widowhood, are not on record. But these were the hard realities, and this was called 'class struggle'.

As long as the party was not in power the cadres had some qualities of character and sense of ethics. These were lost after the CPM entered the government. Suddenly the cadres started feeling that ethics was nothing but 'bourgeois vices'. Opportunism and privilege seeking became the ethical standard for the leadership as well as the cadres. People who believed in the politics of the CPM were taken by surprise when they saw their local leaders moving in police vans to

witchhunt the Naxalites. In justification of their behaviour they discovered a 'progressive' section among the police. People, already overburdened with taxes, soaring prices and poverty, were forced to contribute to the party funds.

Now the CPM is being paid back in its own coin.

HABIBUL ISLAM CHOWDHURY
Calcutta

Most of the letters published in your weekly after the recent "rigged" elections have certain common points: (1) the CPM is a good boy corrupted by parliamentary democracy. As the party has been taught very severely by the bourgeoisie what parliamentary democracy really is the CPM should shed all preferences for the voting business and concentrate on armed rebellion! (2) the Naxalites have been proved correct, but they should disown their adventurist line and make common cause with a purified CPM; (3) the Congress is fast becoming a fascist party; hence before everything is lost all the leftists should join together and unleash armed struggle.

The central point around which everybody turns is the CPM. They expect it to play the dominant role in the coming armed revolution. These simpletons do not go deep to find out why the CP(ML) arose at all if the CPM was really a revolutionary party. The CPM has shown again and again that it is the last weapon in the reserve of the capitalists and landlords. It is not the Congress(R) which told the Eastern Frontier Rifles to shoot the Naxalites at sight, it was Jyoti Basu. Again it was the CPM which enthusiastically become police agents to trace out the Naxalites. Then how can the Naxalites unite all of a sudden with the CPM? The confusion is the result of the thinking of certain people that the CPM is not part of the Establishment. It was the ideological guru of the CPM, EMS, who said while he was Chief Minister in Kerala that he would call the army to suppress the Naxalites. So whenever the issue

was put to a severe test the CPM was found on the side of the Establishment—whether it was support to Mrs Gandhi in Parliament or for Mujib. But the CPM feigns opposition to the Congress for having the state power to themselves.

Another cry is about the rank and file. The rank and file of the CPM was as mad against the Naxalites as the Congress rank and file is against the CPM now. How can we ask the CPM rank and file to take the road to revolution? The fact is that the CPM is an economist party and its followers are naturally reformists. The CPM cadres have something to lose; that is why they do not join the CP(ML). It is not just out of ignorance that they keep away. Only intensification of class conflict can divide the CPM into traitors and fighters. For that the time is not yet ripe.

M. N. D. NAIR
Trivandrum

(This correspondence is closed).

The Unemployed

With a new ministry in power in West Bengal unemployed young men expect, that as if by some black magic, the employment situation will improve. The dream is being fostered by newspaper stories of so many crores of rupees being invested to help absorb so many millions.

It is impossible to solve the unemployment problem in West Bengal by opening new industries. Industrialists know better economics than we do.

Who are the unemployed in West Bengal? The main portion of these causing the government a headache consists of the so-called educated young men (though uneducated and disguised unemployed also have to be employed). New industries absorb the uneducated and the disguised unemployed but not the educated unemployed i.e. arts, commerce, science and engineering graduates and technical diploma holders.

A large number of people can only be employed in big industries. The employment composition of such industries can be divided into management staff, clerks, supervisors, assistant engineers etc. and labourers. The second group is relatively larger than the first, and the third group is relatively larger than the second. Analysing the scope of new employment in a new big industry one can omit the first group. Only the second and third categories are open for general people. But among these labourers they form a proportionally larger part, which means that a big, new industry requires a higher proportion of labourers than clerks, supervisors etc, i.e. it provides greater scope of employment for uneducated unemployed than for educated unemployed.

SREEMANTA BANDYOPADHYAYA
Naihati

May Day In Jail

May Day was celebrated in the Central Jail at Vizag.

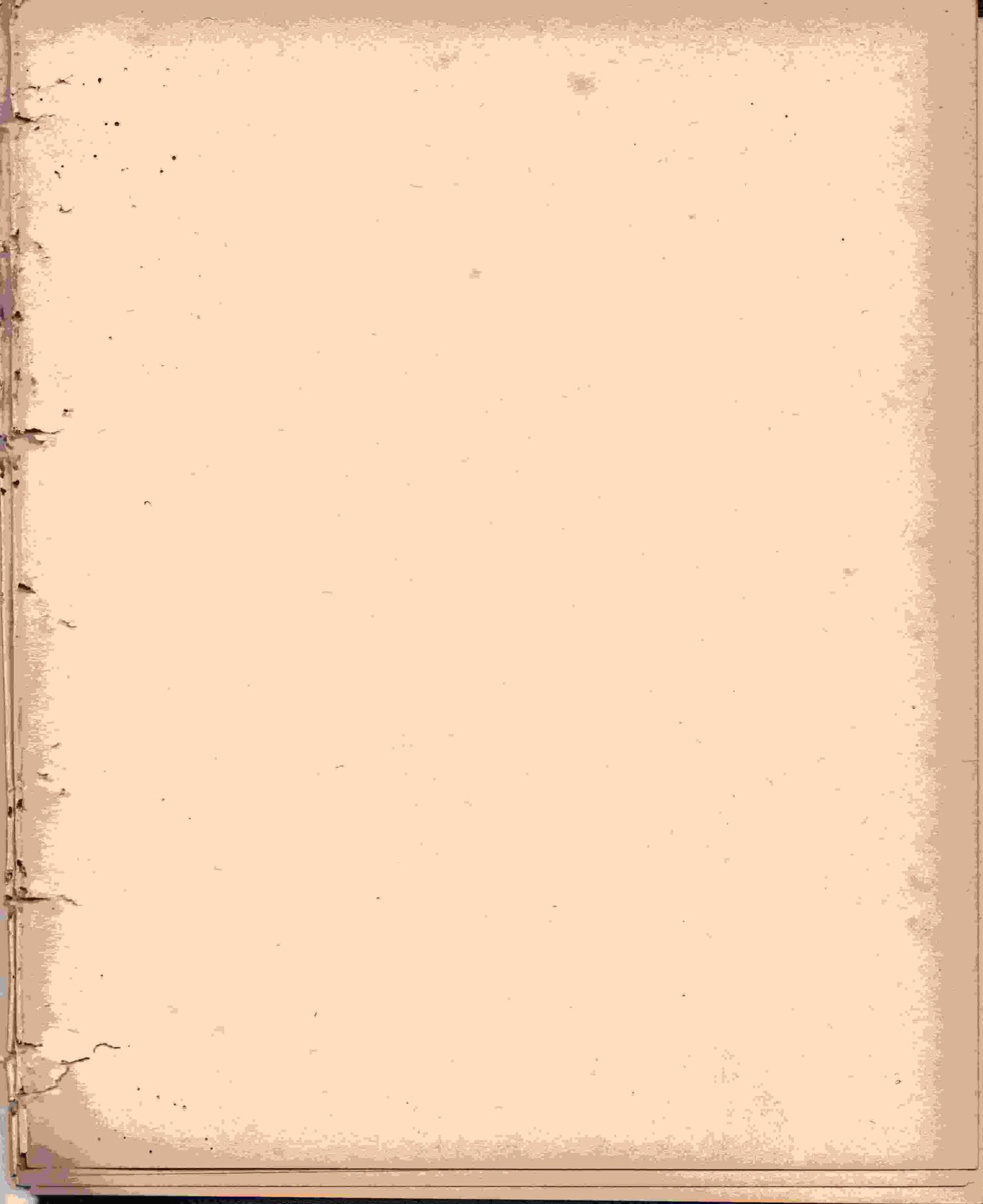
The revolutionaries of the Communist party (Marxist-Leninist) hoisted the Red Flag, took the red salute and chanted the Flag Song. They raised slogans like "working men of all countries, unite and defeat imperialists, social imperialists and their running dogs", "Long Live Marxism-Leninism-Mao-tse-tung Thought, "Long Live the Indian peasant armed revolutionary struggle," "Long Live the Indochinese peoples' liberation struggles"; "Comrade Charu Mazumdar zindabad", "Long Live Chairman Mao".

While the Red Flag was being hoisted the Jail authorities concentrated all the warder force. They tried to catch hold of the Flag but failed.

On April 22nd, the birthday of Lenin, the revolutionaries celebrated the third anniversary of the CPI(ML). They hoisted the Red Flag. The superintendent of the jail suspended the letter facilities as a punishment.

M. R.
Vishakhapatnam

MAY 13, 1972



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