

# frontier

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## TRADE WINDS

THIS must be an instance of cultural lag, otherwise it is difficult to explain the scare raised by the gentlemen of the Swatantra Party and other like-minded individuals over the current series of negotiations for expanding our trade with the East European countries, and over Professor Gadgil's proposed visit to the Soviet Union later during the year. Following the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, Russo-American collaboration has reached a new high water, it therefore seems incongruous that the domestic American lobby would strain at the gnat of a few innocuous trading arrangements with the Soviet Union. There is nothing to worry about: even the story that Professor Gadgil, on the urging of the Russians, is going to dovetail some of the Fourth Plan projects into the Soviet economic plan loses its point of scare on scrutiny. This dovetailing merely represents the first feeble attempts to translate into reality a pious declaration on the part of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; the details of the scheme were in fact tentatively cleared with the Russians in early 1966 by the then Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Mr Asoka Mehta himself and no other, than whom the capitalist lobby can find no devouter friend. The postponement of the Fourth Plan meant a moratorium on the earlier arrangements too, which is why a fresh series of negotiations has now become necessary. Besides, to refer to what is afoot as "dovetailing" of economic plans is misplaced grandiloquence: all that is likely to happen is a sorting out of industrial orders, and an understanding about the timing of the production schedule so that no hitch develops between the supply of the processed or semi-finished *materiel* from here and the demands emerging from Soviet industry.

There is also a structural problem in our trade with the East European countries, and Mr Dinesh Singh's latest visit to Moscow may not indeed be merely for atoning the folly of Svetlana Alliluyeva. Even though our exports of manufactures to these countries have registered a sharp increase in recent years, they still constitute barely a fifth of our exports of all items to the East Europeans and the bulk again consists of the traditional rather than new manufactures. Till the rolling stock deal was signed earlier this year there was little breakthrough. Although the Soviet Union had entered into a long-term agreement for the supply of

cotton textiles, garments, knitwear and leather footwear, there is a range of engineering goods like refrigerators, batteries, paints and varnish, and thermos flasks which the socialist countries have purchased from India only sporadically.

The East Europeans have shown some readiness to accept manufactures and semi-manufactures produced at the enterprises built with their assistance. But this readiness has not gone far enough. While the Soviet Union has placed an order for rails and structurals from Bhilai, by and large most European countries have been using the debt service payments from India for the purchase of her traditional commodities rather than manufactures and semi-manufactures. Several of these countries have extended loans and other assistance to us, a large part of which has been directed to creating a complex of heavy industries in the public sector—steel plants, oil refineries, machine building, heavy electrical equipment and mining machinery, and a smaller part to the setting up of power plants and industrial capacity for the manufacture of drugs and optical glass. In addition, there has been some collaboration in such private sector units as manufactured air compressors, iron castings, cement machinery, fluorescent tubes, motor cycles, road rollers, and so on. Of the more than 40 industrial enterprises and other projects, for example, set up under Soviet assistance, six have already been put into commission, twenty-four are at various stages of construction, and the rest at the designing and surveying stage. In the near future these will be turning out 4 million to 4.5 million tons of steel, 6 million tons of oil products and 140,000 tons of modern mechanical equipment. This assistance, so far, has helped in the process of import substitution rather than export promotion; the East Europeans, the Soviet Union included, have not been significant buyers of the products of these enterprises.

The private sector industries in which the East European countries have collaborated have not shown any marked tendency to export either, and

the products of these industries have found their way into East Europe in only a few cases. The total value of the items—bicycles, scientific instruments, medical equipment, spectacle frames, rubber tyres and tubes—going to East Europe will hardly exceed Rs. 1 crore annually.

The recent Soviet order for railway wagons perhaps marks a turning point. But a lot of hard bargaining lies ahead. Apart from the fact that the U.S.-USSR entente has deprived us of our blackmailing occupation, there are also legitimate trading grouses, about our shoddy quality, our slipshod manner of doing business, the leisurely way we go about in fulfilling commitments. But the country sorely needs some extra export orders from East Europe both to assuage the bite of recession and to restore a semblance of balance in economic dependence. From the American frying pan to the Russian fire may not indeed be an altogether unpalatable transition for our rulers.

### The Mote In Our Eye

At last the puzzle has been answered why, despite the bumper harvest, prices are not coming down in the country: the Chinese are behind it. Several newspapers have solemnly reported that wheat in enormous quantities has been smuggled across Nepal into China. In order to add a flavour of verisimilitude to the story, one or two papers have also mentioned some statistics: the highest figure mentioned for the smuggled wheat is 25,000 tonnes. Since this year's estimated production of wheat in the country is 17 million tonnes, the quantity reportedly smuggled out for feeding the famished Chinese will not exceed one-seventh of one per cent of our domestic output. We are being asked to believe that this is enough to thwart a downward trend in prices.

Those who feed such stories do not, alas, feel the need to check whether they would pass the test of minimal credibility. Ruling prices of wheat in India are easily 50 per cent higher than international prices, the grain is

in plentiful supply in the world market, and, in the context of the very big contracts for the import of wheat which China has signed with Canada and Australia, 25,000 tonnes is just peanuts. Unless the Chinese are plain idiots, there is no reason why they should be interested in smuggled wheat from India. Maybe at this stage the retort will be, they are out to spite India, that is why.

The infinite lengths to which other people would go to spite India are indeed awe-inspiring. Everybody else is conspiring against us, either smuggling things out of our territory or smuggling things into. Last year, during Naxalbari, it was bows and arrows from China; this year, wheat out of Uttar Pradesh into China, and arms—and Mao's thought—from China into Nagaland. The Pakistanis too are at the game: they smuggle out our sickly cattle from Assam and Tripura, and, in exchange, smuggle themselves in; sometimes they even dare to smuggle in jute, which our helpless millowners are then forced to make use of. Then take Ceylon, which is trying to smuggle in its claim on Kachchhativu.

Perhaps, when a nation goes downhill, this type of whining self-pity becomes part of the process. Even assuming some wheat has got smuggled out of the country, this smuggling has been done by no despicable Communist, but some wheeler-dealers who must have taken out insurance by contributing to this or that faction of the Congress, the Jana Sangh or the Swatantra party. When head of cattle are whisked away across the border, there are some kindly souls on this side of the border who make it their business to place the cattle in position for a consideration: some of the same kindly souls, for all one knows, are in the forefront of the complete-ban-on-cow-slaughter agitation. Similarly, jute and gold find their way into the country because there are any number of devoutly patriotic Indians who would, without blinking, place the criterion of private gain above that of the nation's loss; simultaneously or subsequently, these same gentlemen would perhaps make thundering speeches demanding ac-

tion against the "anti-national" Marxist parties.

But there is something else in this smuggling syndrome. The economic complementarities between neighbouring countries are akin to natural phenomena: by not taking cognisance of them, we can only hurt our own interests. What could be more natural than our sending the Pakistanis some coal, and their responding with a supply of precious *tossa*-quality jute—or even our entering into a certain type of "industrial branch" agreement with China, under which a mutual planning and exchange of industrial products will be of benefit to both? But these are issues which we dare not discuss: since begging has become the principal means of economic development, the imperative of trade expansion has lost out in the process. In fact, the availability of "beggable" funds from the U.S. and elsewhere has enabled the policy-makers in New Delhi to go out on a limb and stay put there in international relations. The greatest thing that could therefore happen to us would be a drastic slashing of the volume of aid funds on the part of the U.S. Congress; Vietnam and civil turmoil in the God's Given Country could yet give us an out. Let us pray for less foreign aid, and let us wish well of the axe-men in the Senate and the House of Representatives.

### Another Offensive

Had there been a convention for the Railway Minister to resign after every ghastly accident in recognition of his ultimate responsibility in the matter, all Congress members of Parliament would perhaps have realised by this time their cherished dream of becoming a Minister. More than a decade ago, Lal Bahadur Shastri, then Railway Minister, had resigned after a series of major accidents, and no less a person than Jawaharlal Nehru tried to pass this off as a token of the Government's admission of failure to provide safe travel. By its subsequent action the Government itself called this bluff. Mr Shastri had resigned not out of remorse but because the

Congress party needed him for election work. A virtue was made of necessity and a hoax was played on the people, perturbed at the frequency of railway accidents and annoyed at the incompetence of the Government. Since then the Government has become more brazen-faced, and even such admission of responsibility for accidents has been given up. The Government feels no need to be apologetic: on the contrary, it adopts now an aggressive posture whenever an accident occurs.

This change was initiated by the bumptious boss of the Bombay Congress, Mr S. K. Patil, who used to ascribe every train accident to sabotage. No wonder he got a big boost in the USA as a possible successor to Nehru. He never cared to explain what these "saboteurs" hoped to gain by tampering with passenger trains, say, in the deep south. Perhaps he sought to imply that the saboteurs were gunning at him because nothing could down India's defences more irrevocably than Mr Patil's departure from the Union Cabinet. He ignored all demands for his resignation for democracy's sake. The big lie succeeded for some time, as the wily Mr Patil had anticipated. Those who see red every time the word "sabotage" is mentioned left Mr Patil in peace; some super-nationalists even became his cheer-leaders as they thought a tough guy like Mr Patil was needed to foil the sinister plan of saboteurs to endanger India's security by derailing a train here and engineering a collision there. Emboldened by this support, Mr Patil even toyed for some time with the idea of providing the death penalty for train saboteurs.

It seems the Government has once again changed its tactics. The saboteurs, who were creatures of Mr Patil's fancy or, more probably, motivated creations of his diabolical mind, have disappeared after he was put in his place by the electorate. A new scapegoat has been found in railway employees in general—the superior officers, of course, are excluded—and in drivers in particular for the current spate of accidents. The present Railway Minister, Mr Poonacha, is said

to have reached the "firm conclusion" after talks with various authorities that in nine cases out of ten the accidents are results of the drivers' negligence. Not to be left far behind by his senior, the Minister of State, Mr Parimal Ghosh, to whom the Howrah accident appears to have provided an opportunity to visit Calcutta, said that seventy per cent of all rail accidents in the country were due to human failure. Both the Ministers are exercised over the problem of widespread delinquency among railwaymen. An earlier theory that human fatigue caused the majority of accidents has been given up, presumably because the Government cannot, consistent with its claim to be an ideal employer, admit that its employees have to work overtime to eke out their normal income. Instead, it has been seriously suggested that drivers spend their period of rest in such questionable pursuits as drinking and gambling and are not, therefore, in a fit state when they report for duty. Perhaps the suggestion is that they are paid so handsomely that they do not know what to do with their earnings. A more pernicious campaign is that indiscipline among railwaymen is growing as a result of proliferation of unions. Mr Poonacha is busy devising measures to insulate railwaymen from political influences and Mr Ghosh is thinking of amending the Constitution to prevent them from seeking redress from courts against disciplinary actions they consider unfair. Whatever may be the findings of the Wanchoo committee, it seems the Government's mind is made up to use the frequency of accidents as a pretext to curtail the rights of railwaymen and place them completely at the mercy of the supervisory staff.

### Worth Exactly Nothing

After an elaborate exchange of inanities, Mrs Indira Gandhi summed up the National Integration Council's deliberations in Srinagar as "a worthwhile exercise in the solution of national problems". The only outcome of this exercise, it appears, will be the formation of more committees, stand-

ing or other, unless one also takes into account the meaningless and tiresome verbiage that has gone into the Council's Declaration of Objectives. The pious phrases were certainly useful; they provided an escape from action. It will be no action, but empty words, that will be what Mrs Gandhi pompously described as "the rallying point of all that is decent, tolerant and rational in our society". A taste of this decency, tolerance and rationalism was provided by Mr Morarji Desai when he indicated that since the Government's language policy did not enjoy complete unanimity the only solution was force. When a day later he addressed a Tamil audience he would not even permit a Tamil translation of his speech; he thought this to be one way of punishing those who preferred English to Hindi, although his audience probably profited from the deprivation he inflicted on it.

What the Council decided about communalism added up to exactly nothing. It is fantastic that after so many years of intermittent communal violence people in authority should think further legislation to be a solution. Communal activity, we are told, will now be a cognizable offence, as if arson, assault or murder, which go unpunished, had not always been cognizable offences, as if the Central and State Governments did not already possess sufficient powers to act not only against violent deeds but also against communal propaganda and incitement. Significantly, the only evil that could be curbed by new legislation attracted little attention; the Council did not think it necessary even to consider a ban on communal parties. When it comes to a question of banning any party, the self-appointed promoters of national integration can only think of the Communists. It must have been with some effort that Mr Masani did not raise in Srinagar the demand he had made only recently in Calcutta.

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## What Ails Tunku ?

*A correspondent writes :*

Ever since Britain declared her intention to pull out their 10,000-strong armed forces from Malaysia by 1971 the Malayan rulers have been behaving in a way as if the ground is giving way under their feet. One wonders if Malaysia is a British colony or a sovereign State. Since 'confrontation' with Indonesia is now a thing of the past, one also wonders whom the Tunku wants to defend himself against. The dispute with the Philippines over Sabha notwithstanding, President Marcos of Manila or General Thanom in Bangkok are the soul brothers of the Tunku, devoted as they are all to Washington. Does the Tunku seriously fear a Chinese armada across the South China Sea?

Whatever the excuse given for the defence build-up in Malaysia, the real reasons are obvious. Malaysia has been a paradise for foreign investors, particularly British who pump out of Malaysia and Singapore the staggering dividend of over £100 million a year. To keep the country's economy going the Tunku plans to push the door wider open to foreign capital. But before they can start their operation in Malaysia, continuance of their exploitation must be guaranteed by the Malaysian Government. Moreover, to Tunku Abdul Rahman and his cohorts this is not merely a question of protecting the skin of the foreign investors, but also their own. Poverty and unemployment in the cities despite outward signs of prosperity, feudal exploitation in the countryside, the wretched condition of the workers in rubber plantations, all this has produced a strong urge in the Malayan ruling class to strengthen the armed forces. The activities of the Malayan National Liberation Army in the jungles of North Malaya and the Sarawak People's Guerilla Troops in the south are creating difficulties.

For Britain the Joint Malaysia-Singapore Air Defence signed early this month means in concrete terms some orders for the British aircraft manufacturers. The U.S., which has

already supplied loans amounting to £19 million for purchase of defence equipment, will surely be interested in getting a clientele for her arms manufacturers. Even India now hopes to have an outlet for her surplus ordnance. Killing people, after all, is commercially a very good proposition. All this, however, does not imply that Western imperialist forces will altogether disappear from the Malaysian scene. The racist rulers of Australia, who already have 3,300 troops in the Malayan Peninsula, are now being cheered by Johnson to step into the shoes of Britain.

No wonder that the Tunku pays a glowing tribute to the U.S. for her "sacrifice in assisting freedom-loving people to defend their rights". During his visit to Malaysia in October last year LBJ returned the homage by calling Malaysia an "example to all Asia." Devoted disciples of Lyndon have since made their pilgrimage to this exemplary land. The Russians, anxious to show due deference to the great Malayan leader, have not delayed in inviting him to Moscow. Such a minor point that the Russians were calling Malaysia an "imperialist" fabrication only two years back need not be recalled. Only the foolish guerrillas in the jungles of Malay still clinging to their Lenin do not realise how much the world has changed or, for that matter, the fact that the Government they are fighting has become an "example to all Asia" and beyond.

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## DMK's Awkward Age

A. S. SATYAMURTHI

THE euphoria around the 15-month-old DMK Ministry is dissolving. The weird combination of populist politics, emotional appeals to Tamil chauvinism and the party's own penchant for flamboyant gimmickry has lost its relevance with the party's continued failure to discover the basic idiom of political power. With its role as the ruling party in its home State and an opposition group in Parliament, the DMK has been in an enviable position vis-a-vis the Centre. But it is now entering its most awkward age.

The moment of truth has stolen on the party leadership almost unawares. The Congress blitzkrieg seems to be paying off. Mr M. Karunanidhi, the ruthless machine man with no ideological inhibitions, believed to be the real power behind the Cabinet, seemed ready for a party *putsch*. His own image had been tarnished during the student-busmen clash because, as Transport Minister, he had openly taken sides and the students were crying for his blood. Posters demanding his resignation appeared in student centres and the anti-Karunanidhi wing in the party was gaining nerve. The strongman's image needs refurbishing.

At a public meeting in Tiruchi, Mr Karunanidhi announced that he and three of his Cabinet colleagues—Mr V. R. Nedunchezhian, Mr K. A. Mathiazhagam and Smt Satyavani Muthu—were quitting office shortly to take up party work. What carried the stamp of an authoritative announcement turned out to be a damp squib when Mr Karunanidhi hastened to wriggle out of it. What he had said at Tiruchi was his own personal view and had not had the approval of the party or his colleagues involved! He also said he had commended his own, rather unoriginal, "Kamaraj Plan" to the party's General Council which

was the competent body to decide the matter. One of the other three Ministers, Mr K. A. Mathiazhagam, joined issue with the old rival and issued a statement denouncing the K-Plan and questioning the bona fides of its author, but retracted between the evening editions (which reported his statement) and the following morning's editions, admittedly on the Chief Minister, Mr Annadurai's intervention.

The party has consciously excluded any ideological commitment and prevented its following from acquiring any. The recent organisational elections revealed this. Mr Karunanidhi, who has emerged as the strong man, is now for slugging it out with his factional rivals. Going out of office under his own K-Plan would confer on him the halo of martyrdom. By leading others out of the Ministry, he would be depriving them of political power which is an important lever for them in party matters.

The "heads I win, tails I don't lose", plan has other plus-points. If it goes through, it would boost the drooping morale of the party ranks who are taking a bad buffeting from the Congress. Middle-class disenchantment with the DMK rule is about complete because it is said to be as corrupt as any Government could be. The marginal voter who lined up against the Congress in 1967 may stay neutral at the municipal elections in August. The non-voter is a factor in favour of the Congress and might help it stage a fierce show of strength, though the DMK might yet make the Madras City Corporation which it has been holding since 1959. Congress meetings are drawing crowds and the Pradesh Congress chief, Mr C. Subramaniam's main talking point is the alleged swindle of the unaccounted Tamil Conference funds.

Congressmen have been staging massive—and often provocative—black-flag demonstrations against DMK Ministers almost as a rule and inviting retaliation from DMK-inspired elements as the police wink it off. Week before last, Mr Kamaraj threatened to lead a massive black-flag march against Mr Annadurai if the Chief Minister did not stop these attacks. But the Congress is yet to regain its lost confidence.

### Morale

At the same time the morale of the DMK ranks is ebbing. In the fight for control of key trade unions, the DMK has been losing all along the line to the extremist Marxists. Seasoned DMK campaigner, Mr K. Manoharan, MP, was trounced by an unknown Marxist trade union functionary for the presidentship of an important union. At the grassroots, the DMK cadre is realising that the Ministry is fast alienating popular support.

The exit of four Ministers to take up organisational work might, to an extent, check the creeping demoralisation and rally the ranks to fight the Congress out on the streets. Or, if the organisation is toned up and party corruption checked, it might still be possible to fight the Congress on a political plane. But this assumes that the DMK would have discovered a political relevance, with the toning up of the organisation. If the cadre leaders, who are not in power, establish a measure of control over the drifting ministerial wing, the DMK might be able to hold its mass base. But then Mr Karunanidhi is by no means the mentor of the cadre leaders. He is at best a political adventurer now.

If the K-Plan does not go through, Mr Karunanidhi would still stand to gain. Denied martyrdom is as good as martyrdom. He could always mount pressure on the Ministry through his faction. However, what threatens the DMK now is a political challenge resulting from a policy vacuum and this calls for a political response and not gimmicks.

# A Man Of Ambition

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

**W**HY did M. Karunanidhi, Public Works Minister, agree to having his likeness in bronze planted on a city highway? (A 6½ ft. statue on Mount Road at a cost of Rs 30,000, which had to be abandoned because of public protests). Which particular segment of post-election history did he intersect? Or, plainly, what aspect of his political personality did he wish to recall, as he gaped at us?

M. Karunanidhi, even his detractors concede, is the shrewdest amongst his partymen. And, as goes with such talents, tremendously ambitious. Annadurai in a certain sense is very cautious about him, sometimes he even fears him. But he knows only too well that without him the organisation would fritter away. Because it is Karunanidhi alone who can feel the pulse of the people, it is he who, by looking at their faces, will tell them that they have fever when they have none and have them come to him for treatment. He alone can match villainy whenever he encounters it, with viciousness. He is often considered brusque and hasty, but the irony is that he somehow seems to relish that image. He makes no effort to conceal it, but there is in him a lot of rancour, and he rather gloats over it. Given the chance, under one pretext or other he would somehow politically annihilate his opponents, with no compunctions whatsoever. And that precisely is why Annadurai fears him. For he has within him the traits of a classic demagogue.

That perhaps is also the reason for his considerably large following. No doubt Annadurai's charisma is unique, and Karunanidhi knows it only too well. But should it come to a choice of the second in command, Karunanidhi had prepared the ground to sway the tide in his favour. His serious contender is V. R. Nedunchezian, the darling of the educated sections of the ranks, Minister in

charge of Education. Sainly in his manners but not too sure of his abilities, his aspirations seem to be founded on his convictions that he is one of the chosen, that he has a birthright.

Annadurai, amiable as he is, likes those who are easy of disposition. And he would very much like Nedunchezian to be ranked his immediate deputy, if not for anything, at least because he has picked up faithfully from the master the art of vacillation. But that would create complications within the party. And that constitutes Annadurai's major post-election worry.

This came to the fore in the weeks that preceded his trip to the USA. It is believed that he spent days and nights with his colleagues trying to impress upon them the need to maintain a facade of unity. It appears he first thought of naming Nedunchezian as acting Chief Minister. But Karunanidhi's supporters nearly forced a showdown. This move, they said, would prejudice any leadership election at a future date, if and when it became necessary.

Annadurai conceded the demands of Karunanidhi and at the same time gave the impression to Nedunchezian's group that they were still his favourites. He handed over the coveted Home portfolio to Nedunchezian which made him feel he was de facto CM. The public got that impression too. But they got it all wrong. General Administration, which Secretariat officials believe is a far more vital portfolio, was to be under Karunanidhi. He could thereby summon any Secretary or Minister or the police at any time and give necessary instructions. A stroke of genius!

Perhaps his supporters needed to acknowledge his gracious services to the State during those four uneventful weeks, who can say?

Mao Tse-tung makes good copy. Kamaraj Nadar brake his six-month-long silence last year with an attack on Mao and his votaries here. None of

us were surprised. Only it was overdue. And at news offices, rickety subs played hell. The villain was taken for granted, and it was safe to say anything.

But some days ago when Karunanidhi lambasted the Maoists for indulging in subversive activities, many were a trifle surprised. Was it a policy statement? Or just a propaganda stunt?

In a few days it became clear. He was just knocking the wind off the Congress party's sails. Congressmen have been moving about screaming hoarse about the yellow menace. Lest it work to the disadvantage of the Kazhagam, Karunanidhi chose to talk about it himself, if only to play politics and pay Kamaraj and Subramaniam back in their own coins. No offence meant to the Marxists!

It is said that the rebels control several trade unions now under the thumb of the CPM. Time alone can tell how they will fare on the political front. Indications at present are that the Government is irked by their radical pronouncements.



**KING HENRY**  
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মূল্য - ১১৮৮-৪৫০

## Storm Over Idikki

RAMJI

A witch-hunt of unparalleled magnitude and intensity is raging in Kerala at the time of writing this. The giant hydel project at Idikki has been turned into a political weapon to beat the Marxists with. Over a disruption of the power line to the project site, Mr M. N. Govindan Nair, Right CPI Minister, came out with a fantastic statement, laced with perfervid declamations that the Naxalbari elements among the Marxists have unleashed a reign of terror in the Idikki hydel area, that they are out to sabotage the vital project and that the police (under the Chief Minister, Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad) are thoroughly inactive over the whole affair. The statement about the indifference of the police from a Cabinet Minister, who should have taken this up at Cabinet level instead of going to the Press, came out along with a Government level statement that the police are taking every measure to protect property and preserve law and order in Idikki. It became patent that Mr Nair had deliberately decided to hit the Chief Minister below the belt.

The entire Press came out with statements about the sacredness of Idikki and the vandalism of the Marxists and the Naxalites. All the political parties have passed resolutions to this effect. The *Times of India* went to the fantastic extent of announcing that the extremists among the Marxists are plotting to stage a Vietnam in Kerala and that the Idikki incidents are only an indication of this. The Chairman of the Electricity Board has given a call to the engineers to quit the site if further trouble arises. To those who are not in the know of things it would seem that Idikki is a rebel area strongly held and defended by anti-national, even foreign, elements.

To a group of non-committed Pressmen who visited the site the rea-

lities at Idikki came as a shock. Like flowed on a tranquil, even keel there. Not a single shop in the forest area had closed down, not a single school had ceased working. The people went about their daily avocations, unaware that they were under a reign of terror.

What is the background to the Idikki situation? The casual labourers under the banner of the Electricity Board Workers Union struck work on May 21. Their major demand was that they be given facilities to be absorbed in the roll of nominal workers which would mean service security and better wages. The strike was meant to attract the attention of the Government and the Electricity Board to their demands. However, the strike did not have the sanction of the local unit or the district unit of the Marxist party. It was without consulting these units that the president allowed the strike to be staged. The secretary of the union is one Jose Abraham, who has been expelled from the Marxist party as an extremist. The striking workers staged demonstration under him in which slogans and threats to the effect that he would not be returned again to the Assembly, were freely uttered.

Both the Board and the Government did not react in any manner and the agitation was stepped up. On May 1st a 11 k.w. line supplying power to the Idikki site was found disrupted. This was set right in six hours. On the 9th again, this line was disrupted. The stay wires of some posts were found cut and the insulators stoned and smashed by unknown persons. Those who went to repair the damage were prevented from doing so by the striking workers. Upon this the police acted promptly and arrested over 40 workers.

On June 11, the 66 k.w. line to Idikki was found disrupted. Iron pic-

es had been thrown up to effect short circuit of power.

Although the police had acted promptly, Mr M. N. Govindan Nair thought fit to use this opportunity to mount a shrewd campaign against the Chief Minister. He raised the hue and cry that the police were inactive and the workers were imposing a reign of terror.

The Chief Minister had to draft more police and effect stringent measures. Yet he was promptly denigrated before the outside world. At the same time he and his party have suffered in terms of massive erosion of loyalty on the part of the workers. Stringent action by the police has come in handy for the extremists to mount a campaign against E.M.S. and the soft-peddlers in the Marxist party. The trouble grew [worse with the dismissal] from the party of Mr Kosalram Das, Marxist MLA, who is the head of the 4,000-strong Electricity Board Workers Union at Idikki, the most important union. These workers have naturally veered away from the official Marxist party. There is a third union, that of the Right CPI, which has only a very nominal strength there.

Mr Govindan Nair's trick went off well. While E.M.S. has turned out to be a secret "sympathiser" to saboteurs he has been forced to alienate the loyalty of the workers at the Idikki site and his loss has been the loss of the Marxist party also.

Mr Nair is now riding high in the esteem of the vested interests, basking in their adulation, little dreaming that he is being made an instrument to hit his comrades with and in due course he too would be at the receiving end.

As for breakdown of law and order, creation of Naxalbari and Vietnam etc, it is quite usual for striking workers to adopt disruptionist tactics when driven to extremities. It happened in Trivandrum a few weeks back when the electricity workers cut off power to the city for over six hours, just because a policeman had allegedly assaulted one of them. It happened in Trichur where the town was denied light and power for full five days

by the electricity workers to press home their demands.

The KPCC has come out with a resolution demanding the declaration of the Idikki area as a protected one. This is what the construction company has been demanding and this is what other allied vested interests have been echoing. If this measure is intended to prevent disruption and sabotage it would be a mere waste of a gesture. For, in this thickly forested area the

armies of the world together will not be able to prevent disruption if one man sets his mind to it. The power lines going through thick forests are at the mercy of any single individual and it is impossible to patrol the line from end to end. But the real reason behind the cry for declaring Idikki as protected area is to provide absolute dictatorial powers to the construction company and its sub-contractors and *inter alia* its beneficiaries like the Electricity Board bosses.

drawing a line in the middle of this "marine feature" or demarcate on the basis of display of State authority.

### Three Issues

The Tribunal framed three broad issues after hearing the oral arguments and sifting the written pleadings. The first was whether the boundary in dispute was a historically recognized and well-established boundary. The second was whether Great Britain, acting either as territorial sovereign, or as Paramount Power, must be held by its conduct to have recognized, accepted or acquiesced in the claim of Kutch that the Rann was Kutch territory. The third issue was whether the British administration in Sind acting not as Paramount Power but as territorial sovereign, or Kutch, performed acts in assertion of such rights in the area.

India relied mainly upon a mass of cartographical evidence, especially surveys made under the authority of the Survey of India. Evaluating these processes of boundary-determination, especially the correspondence revolving round them, the Tribunal found "that there did not exist at any time relevant in these proceedings a historically recognized and well-established boundary in the disputed region", that it was always controverted, and that the surveyors had no authority to settle a disputed boundary.

The parties had agreed that in case the Tribunal found that the evidence established that the boundary lay along a line different from the claim lines of either party, the Tribunal was free to declare such a line to be the boundary. Having dismissed the Pakistani claim that the Rann was a "marine feature" akin to a lake or inland sea, the Tribunal proceeded to ascertain whether sovereignty had accrued to either party by way of prescription, i.e., immemorial, undisputed, public, possession.

The evidence adduced, as already pointed out, was not sufficient to show that the whole of Rann belonged exclusively to either party. The control exercised by Kutch in the northern half of the Rann was nominal. But official statements by the Government

## Kutch : A Surrender ?

RAHMATULLAH KHAN

THE agitation over the Rann of Kutch Award has, predictably, been abandoned in the inhospitable Rann which is flooded from about the middle of May till the end of October. The satyagraha has staged a strategic shift to the Capital. The banners carried by the satyagrahis give the impression that the Government is abjectly surrendering part of our sacred land. To the man in the street this, if true, is revolting.

But is it really a surrender of Indian territory to Pakistan? Even a cursory reading of that widely publicised but mostly unread Award of the Tribunal would reveal a different story. The first thing is that neither India nor Pakistan had come out with a clear-cut title to the Rann by way of a treaty, convention or other historical document. Nor did the parties (in the words of the Tribunal) adduce evidence or convincing argument to show, even as a matter of probability, that the Great Rann as a whole fell under the exclusive sovereignty of either Kutch or Sind in the 18th century, or in more remote historical times.

The topography of Kutch, coupled with the phenomena observed and objects discovered after the violent earthquake that convulsed the territory in June 1819, confirms the local tradition that the Rann was once a navigable sea. That, incidentally, was the year in which the Indian State of

Kutch entered into treaty relations with the British East India Company. It was a common argument before the Tribunal that Kutch, having become a vassal State in that year, did not expand from that date. The territory of Kutch, in other words, was "frozen" in 1819.

The Indian case before the Tribunal was that the Great Rann belonged to Kutch as of that date. In the absence of any historic title through a treaty, India marshalled evidence of an administrative, legislative and cartographical nature of subsequent years. The burden of evidence was that the boundary as shown in several maps (350 in number) and described in official documents as running roughly along the northern edge of the Rann, is the "traditional, well-established, well-recognized boundary" between Sind and Kutch. Legislative and administrative evidence was produced to show that the British, acting both as Paramount Power and as territorial sovereign, had acquiesced in and recognized the sovereignty of Kutch over the Rann.

Pakistan averred, on the other hand, that the boundary between Sind and Kutch was never solved and was always in dispute. The Rann, according to them, was an undefined area which formed a "broad belt of boundary" between Sind and Kutch. The function of the Tribunal therefore was to 'determine' the boundary either by

of Bombay and higher British authorities especially in the period after 1905 (e.g. the *Bombay Gazetteer* and maps published by the Survey of India) adopted with increasing uniformity and frequency the Kutch claims on the Rann, giving rise to a presumption of acquiescence. As Judge Entezam pointed out, it might have been motivated by a policy of winning over the *status-quo*-minded Indian princes to cope with the political awakening of the people in British India.

On the other hand there was sufficient evidence (Pakistan produced 1400 instances of exercise of State authority) to prove official and unofficial Pakistani activity in limited sectors of Dhara Banni, Chad Bet, Vighokot, Biar Bet, Pirol Valo Kun, etc. Pakistan had displayed its authority in these areas by police, Customs and judicial jurisdiction. Kutch had claimed them on the basis of fiscal jurisdiction—which was opposed by the Sind authorities—while maintaining actually no thana or police presence.

The Tribunal therefore connected these pockets where Pakistan had shown exercise of State authority by drawing a boundary by straight lines. It straightened some jagged portions of the old line—proved to have been unauthoritative—on considerations of peace and stability in the area. There is nothing in international law which barred the Tribunal from doing so. The agreement establishing the Tribunal had specifically authorized the Tribunal to determine such a boundary on the basis of evidence produced.

Does this amount to surrender of Indian territory? It does not, because the parties produced no historic title to claim the whole of Rann. The area was characterized by the Tribunal as a broad belt of boundary. Kutch, according to the Tribunal, had acquired rights over the Rann not by positive title or display of State authority but by way of "voluntary relinquishment, whether conscious or inadvertent, of British territorial rights in the Rann." Such a relinquishment of potential rights, in the opinion of the Tribunal, must be restrictively interpreted.

Wherever the British had continued to exercise rights as territorial sovereign over pockets of territory, the relinquishment by the British as Paramount Power, "which being in the nature of unilateral acts conferring benefits upon a third party, as it were, of grace, or by policy and not as of right", the former should be preserved.

One wonders how many of our agitators or their leaders have read

the Award and grasped its meaning. The Tribunal had awarded not India's territory to Pakistan, but that of Sind to India over which Great Britain as territorial sovereign of Sind had "potential rights". Kutch had gained title to 90% of the territory by an "act of grace" of the British, out to crush the independence movement by gaining the support of the *status-quo*-minded Maharao of Kutch.

## The Chogyal's Chimera

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

THE publication in Gangtok of a fortnightly four-page eulogy on "Their Majesties", and description of their activities in the "Royal Court Circular", and frequent demands for "independence" and "revision of the Indo-Sikkim Treaty of 1950", often make hilarious reading. The demand for "independence" put forth covertly by the Chogyal (though denied by him), and, overtly, by a very small self-interested coterie near to him, is at best an attempt to divert attention from pressing problems besetting an impoverished and small agrarian country of widely scattered homesteads, which has no industrial potential.

Sikkim as it is today cannot possibly survive as an independent State without substantial and continuing foreign aid, and, in the context of the present Palace yearnings for the trappings attached to "sovereignty", that aid can only be supplied by the USA. So, actually, what the Palace and its uniformed henchmen are asking for is not independence, but the unenviable status of a satellite of the USA. There can be no two opinions about that.

There are, after all, obligations inherent in a ruler, and the sooner the Chogyal faces up squarely to the true and honourable facts of ruling, the better it will be for all concerned. To look upon Sikkim as his own special back-garden, and to regard himself as semi-divine, can only, in the final analysis, lead him and Sikkim to disaster. He should also remember that the Indo-

Sikkim Treaty of 1950 was bilateral, and that it was at the specific request of the late Maharaja Tashi Namgyal that Sikkim retained her relationship with India. Article 2 of the Treaty makes this point clear. The late Maharaja was fully aware of the limitations of his tiny State, and, as such, he did not bother about a "national anthem", and a "national flag" other than his own personal one.

Putting first things first, it would surely be in the fitness of things to give the people of Sikkim the benefits of a written constitution and codified laws. The Sikkimese people had earnestly hoped that all the inequalities, all the injustices, the feudalism and absolutism would disappear in one man's lifetime. But this was not to be.

Responsible political leaders have urged an on-the-spot study in Sikkim, with special reference to the complete lack of civil liberties, and charges against the integrity and honesty of the State Government. An administration, which is totally unable to inspire confidence by its conduct, whose "rulings" are humorously and commonly known as "the farce of Durbar justice", and which elicits the reply from the man in the street that "we have neither faith in the Chogyal nor in Sikkim Durbar justice", must surely be grievously at fault. Discontent among the people endangers national security, and this defeats the very purpose often

cited in defence of restrictions which do not exist anywhere else in the country. No one can deny that deep discontent is rife among the people of Sikkim other than those proteges of the Chogyal who live in ivory towers.

When the Sikkimese peasant under-

stands fully the new ways of farming, and men of integrity and liberal outlook force the Chogyal to grant a written constitution that fully embodies their fundamental rights, then the Sikkimese will have won the first round of their battle.

situation in the districts during November. The plea of water-logging in rural areas may be held forth in their reports which could provide the Centre a golden opportunity to postpone the elections to a date more favourable to the Congress.

If this fails, a communal riot can always be organized to create a deteriorating law and order situation. Or another border clash to clamp down the emergency on border States.

*View from Delhi*

## Cold War

FROM A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

INDIA has entered another phase of the cold war with China. The ostensible plea is the latest recovery of "Chinese" arms from captured members of the Naga underground. A protest Note has been promptly despatched and anti-China feelings, long lying dormant, are being whipped up again.

The symptoms are familiar. We may not be surprised if we are soon served with an External Affairs Press Note of a border clash.

One cannot but contrast our Government's behaviour three years ago on an almost similar occasion with what it is trying to do now. During the Indo-Pak war, when U.S.-made planes and tanks, more effective in modern warfare than a few old-fashioned rifles, were captured from the Pakistani army, our protest to the USA was a mere whimper. The excuse of "helping our enemies", did not prevent us from going to the USA with begging bowls. Of course the argument is there, that Pakistan as a sovereign State can import arms from anywhere it likes, which the Nagas cannot. The trouble is that what is at present going on in Nagaland is a virtual war. And in a war, one cannot expect the enemy to respect the prejudices of the other party and go by rules alone. That the tribal Nagas are unwilling to conform to our Government's allergy to China should not cause any surprise.

The latest incident will once again serve the Government to push into the background the fundamental crisis of its relations with the Nagas. Instead

of probing into the causes of the gradual alienation of the Nagas from the Indian Government, the latter will now do its utmost to attribute it to foreign machinations. It forgets that China was nowhere in the scene when the Nagas first asserted the right of self-determination. The intransigency of New Delhi and its imperious attitude towards all national minorities are the principal factors responsible for the present crisis.

Referring to the recent clash with Nagas and the consequent developments, some political observers believe that there is more to it than meets the eye. Could it be connected remotely with the attempt to postpone the poll date in West Bengal?

The Congress High Command is in desperate search of an excuse for postponing the date. Mr Morarji Desai advised his partymen in West Bengal to seek the support of at least one or two major parties on this question. But till now, except the Swatantra or the Jana Sangh, who are practically nonentities in West Bengal, no party appears to support the Congress demand.

Although Mr Chavan said recently in Calcutta that the elections would be held in November, there is speculation here that the Centre might indulge in behind-the-scene activities to see to it that the polls are not held then, speculation which since has been strengthened by his reference to Parliament. District Magistrates, ready to toe the dictates of the ruling party, may be asked to send reports on the

### First Step

Mrs Gandhi's recent visit to a few chosen South-East Asian countries was the first step in wooing American stooges in that part of the world. The next step will be the visit of a Malaysian team to India, to review matters of "common interest." It is significant that although India is not a member of ASEAN—the commonwealth of American puppet governments of South-East Asia—of late the latter is coming closer to India. One of the "common interests" of course is hostility towards China.

Significant also will be the July visit of a U.S. delegation led by an Under-Secretary of State. The purpose of the visit will be to bring India up to date on American thinking on South-East Asia. Shorn of diplomatic jargon, this means that America will let India know what it expects from Mrs Gandhi regarding Vietnam. The South Vietnam Embassy here has already dared to issue a Press Note expressing its displeasure over the Indian Government's weakness in opposing the National Liberation Front. Judging by the symptoms, it seems that Mrs Gandhi's Government will enter a phase of softness towards U.S. atrocities in Vietnam.

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## A Tripura Case

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

ALAS, the Congress, a loud votary of secularism, has been accused and found guilty of communalism. No smear campaign this, but the opinion of Mr Jagannadhachariyalu, Judicial Commissioner, Tripura, in the election suit filed by Mr Biren Dutta (CPM) against Mr Jogendra Kumar Chaudhuri, Congress MP from the Lok Sabha West constituency, Tripura.

Mr Jagannadhachariyalu has set aside Mr Chaudhuri's election and ordered a fresh one on the grounds that Mr Chaudhuri created hatred amongst the citizens of India, particularly between the tribals and Bengali inhabitants of Tripura. Mr Chaudhuri and his party circulated pamphlets appealing to the Bengalis to vote for the Congress as Mr Biren Datta was in favour of the tribals.

In his verdict, given on June 11, Mr Jagannadhachariyalu refers to instances of malpractices by the Government during the electioneering. Mr S. R. Chakrabarty, the then SDM, Sadar, is specially mentioned for his services to the Congress during this period.

During January-February 1967 the Tripura Government spent more than Rs. 30 lakhs which the Judicial Commissioner does not accept as normal expenditure. By examining evidence, he gives the opinion that the money was used to boost the Congress before the elections. Also, the Government acted contrary to Article 14 of the Indian Constitution by not supplying Mr Datta with a supplementary voters' list.

Communalism is still being encouraged in the Territory. Tribal unrest, a result of economic privations, is ascribed to activities by the Communists against the Bengalis. The tribals are exploited by the refugees, robbed of their property and opportunities. If they agitate for safeguards as under Schedule No 5 of the Constitution, they are branded as reds or Bengali-haters and the police go into action under the PD Act. Of course, to pin

down the Communists as instigators of anti-Bengali agitation, the Congress has stooges among the tribals.

It is the Congress which fans communalism in Tripura. The Congress knows it very well that besides the refugees they have little support in

this Territory. Despite the warning in 1956 by the then Union Home Minister, Mr Pant, that Tripura has reached the saturation point in refugee influx, the refugees are still welcome. Where is the land to settle them? Take it from the tribals.

## Calcutta Diary

GYAN KAPUR

THERE is such a thing as the Red Cross even in India and its aim is to minister to the sick and wounded irrespective of which side they happen to be. Edith Cavell died to uphold her right to help the sick and wounded and there is a monument to her in Westminster Abbey. But in our country even ordinary values of life have a tendency to depreciate like worn-out machinery.

What is happening in Nagaland and Mizo area is anybody's guess but unless a little more is allowed to be known, certain suppositions would not be inexcusable. For one thing it appears that our military commanders have taken a leaf out of the book of the British in Malaya and the Americans in Vietnam. For another, it suspiciously looks as if the problems of the north-east frontier will never be settled and the area will remain what it is—a sort of no man's land.

The entire training of our defence forces is, as is well known, modelled on that of our past masters and in their thinking and ways of living our military commanders out-British the British. It should not be surprising, therefore, that their thinking of what is needed for the defence of India should be also on similar lines. Now the corner-stone of British military training was the idea that while the rest of India should be kept pacified with an iron hand, the Pathan areas on the north-west frontier should provide a training ground for the troops and military commanders. All the British commanders went through a course of training on the north-west frontier. Even the redoubtable Winston

Churchill went through the process. Now the terrain on the north-east frontier has striking similarities with the north-west of former British India. The differences, of course, are there. The British never claimed the tribal areas as their own. Obviously, any political settlement would come up against the hardliners in the Defence Establishment who want their training ground a la British.

To come to my original point, the glee with which our 'national' Press publishes news of clashes with Nagas or Mizos can be understood. But I was taken very much aback when I saw a picture of some medicines in a Calcutta daily. On first glance it seemed to be a picture of some spurious drugs. The caption showed it was something else altogether. On closer scrutiny among the packages of medicines I found a stethoscope. In short it was the equipment of some doctor, even though belonging to the camp of the hostiles which our forces had seized and which showed Chinese markings.

Now there may be two or more opinions about the way our Government is going about in tackling the problem of the hostiles. But the sick and wounded, one would have thought, are beyond all controversy and entitled to medical aid from whatever source available. As such, whatever the sins of the Chinese, it may not be an unpardonable crime for them to have supplied medical aid. Or is it? Only our rulers and their military advisers can answer the question.

\* \* \*

Rome had but one Nero; we can

boast of a million Neros who make political whoopee while the common people burn in the fires of poverty, hunger and degradation. Conditions in Calcutta are only a minor nuisance to the elite. They certainly do not like their brand new Ambassadors to get stalled in the rain-flooded streets; but after all there are always some down and outs who for a paltry sum will push the car to safety.

It would be churlish to grudge the Mayor, Mr Gobinda Dey, his coming visit to the USA, the Mecca of politicians of a particular persuasion. Calcutta is no nice place to live in during the monsoon specially if one has to deal with the problems which like cholera are endemic to the city. Any opportunity to combine business with pleasure, therefore, cannot be anything but welcome. Moreover, it is but human nature to want to run away from it all. After all nothing new has happened in Calcutta.

No doubt with the onset of the monsoon the respite from heat was offset by the waterlogged streets. The filth and garbage added a pungent odour to the mess. But that is pretty old hat in Calcutta and most citizens, though not all, have got resigned to it. A new dimension, however, was added to the situation by the drivers of the garbage lorries who took the fully loaded trucks into the Corporation Building compound and quickly got their demands settled.

What is new is that thinking in Corporation official circles is veering round to the idea that too much is being made out of the problem of garbage clearance. As one official is reported to have said, not much improvement can be expected and in any case there are other more important matters to attend. We can well imagine what these might be. With all the public attention focussed on garbage clearance what is left in it for those who take so much pains?

By all accounts the classes (we might almost say the castes) who have monopolised all power are very near their great moment of truth. They have fallen down very badly on their self-appointed job. Unless they bow out gracefully (wishful thinking, of

course) there are other classes who might not hesitate to ease them out, may be gently, may be not.

While on the subject, it may be worth while pointing out one fact. As long as the powers-that-be go around in circles, garbage clearance will always be an insoluble problem. Our Mayor may discover during his visit to the United States that parts of many US cities with their slums are no better than Calcutta. But there is also the other side of the coin. If a real breakthrough is to be made, we have to introduce in Calcutta the incinerator system of disposal of garbage. No doubt it may not be possible for many poor householders; but there is no reason why a beginning cannot be made with all the multi-storeyed buildings which throw out super-quantities of filth and garbage on the streets and then slowly work downwards.

\* \* \*

All Christian missionaries are not saints; much dirty work has been done under cover of the gospel. But the current campaign against them smacks too much of the witch-hunt spirit. Father Ferrer is a case in point.

The Hindi-Hindu chauvinists are firmly convinced that they are the only true patriots and look with suspicion on any attempts by people of any other religion to relieve the miseries of people. That is their version of integration. They would like to forget, if they could, that one of the States of the Union has an overall Christian majority and has adopted English as the State language.

There was, therefore, an understandable row over Mother Teresa's reported remarks in a BBC television interview about the percentage of Calcutta women driven to prostitution. The BBC representative has denied the report and the gentleman who originally reported to the Mayor has written to Mother Teresa expressing his great regard for her and denying that he ever imputed the offensive statement to her. But the mystery remains. If, as now seems certain, she never made any such statement, how did it get linked up with the interview?

With Parliament in recess we may

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not have heard the last of it. On the other hand, the Hindiwallahs may not care. After all Calcutta and West Bengal do not dislike English and in their heart of hearts they feel the region is lost to the Communists.

Incidentally, why is it that our Government cannot insist upon going through the scripts and scenarios of all these talks and interviews for television and wireless? Then we would be able to nip the mischief in the bud should there be any. Why this immunity for foreigners which our own nationals are denied?

\* \*

The columnist had been writing month in and month out for six long years without any holiday and was widely supposed to be responsible for changing the paper from a struggling to a successful one with a very large circulation. The editor felt that the

columnist had richly earned some rest and told him that he could take six months' paid holiday.

The columnist agreed but the day before he was due to leave announced that he was not going on holiday. 'Why, what has happened to change your mind?' asked the editor.

'Two things', answered the columnist. 'I am worried that if I do not write my column for six months, the circulation may fall heavily. I don't want that to happen.'

The editor was really touched. 'Don't let that worry you,' he said. 'We shall take whatever comes. You have to think of your health first. But what is the other thing that prevents your going on holiday?'

'The other thing,' replied the columnist, 'the other thing that has made me change my mind is that there may not be any fall in circulation.'

## On Marx

V

### MONITOR

IN the contemporary worldwide confrontation between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, between the revolutionary line and the reformist line in the international working-class movement the former is represented mainly by the Communist parties of China, Vietnam and Cuba—each in its own way—and the latter by the Communist parties of the USSR, Yugoslavia, Italy and France.

The quintessence of modern revisionism lies in its attitude to two crucial questions of our time concerning war and peace and the form of the transition from capitalism to socialism.

Concerning the first question, the revisionists maintain that "the chief contradiction in the world today is the contradiction between capitalism and socialism—the two world systems".<sup>1</sup> It follows that the other contradictions—such as those between the colonial people and imperialism, between the proletariat and the bour-

geoisie etc.—are secondary, though not unimportant. It also follows that the *principal* task of the socialists and the progressive forces throughout the world is to strengthen the socialist system, primarily *economically*,<sup>2</sup> so that it can win out in the competition with the capitalist system. By constantly surpassing the capitalist system in economic performance the socialist system will exert increasing influence on the people in the capitalist countries themselves and thereby encourage them to defeat capitalism and establish socialism. All this can only be done under the condition of peaceful co-existence of the two systems. Hence "peaceful co-existence is the fundamental principle of the socialist foreign policy". Finally the increasing might of the socialist camp, under a policy of peaceful co-existence, and the growing strength of the world peace forces render invalid the Leninist thesis that war is inevitable under imperialism.<sup>3</sup>

It is clear that the revisionist stand, as given above, represents a highly mechanical and opportunist view of the world. As the Communist Party of China correctly pointed out, there is not just one chief contradiction in the world, there are four—contradictions between socialism and capitalism; between the national liberation movements and imperialism, between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries and among the bourgeoisie.<sup>4</sup> As soon as one admits this proposition one also admits logically the supreme importance of national liberation wars in the colonies and semi-colonies and proletarian revolutions in the capitalist countries as well as the necessity of increasing the economic might of the socialist system. True, modern revisionism also admits *verbally* the importance of national liberation movements and proletarian revolutions. But this seems to be a sort of afterthought inasmuch as their due importance does not follow logically from the premise that the chief contradiction is the contradiction between capitalism and socialism. Specially as regards the national liberation movements the revisionist attitude, besides being mechanical and anti-dialectical, smacks of big power chauvinism when its spokesmen assert that it is the socialist system that helps the national liberation movements,<sup>5</sup> thus slurring opportunistically over the fact that this help is *reciprocal*, that the national liberation movements also help the socialist system by weakening and narrowing down the imperialist orbit and dispersing its forces.

What, by the way, is the nature of *concrete* help the revisionists are rendering the national liberation movements? In the thick of the Algerian Revolution, on October 3, 1955, Khrushchev declared that Algeria was an internal affair of France in which the USSR should not interfere. The Soviet Union recognized the Provisional Government of Algeria almost towards the end of the war of resistance against France when the victory of the patriotic forces was imminent.

The role of the French Communist leadership in the Algerian Revolution

was infinitely more sordid. Immediately after the Second World War in 1945 there were widespread food riots in the city of Constantine in Algeria. The Communist leadership—both in France and Algeria—dubbed this popular revolt as fascist-inspired and asked for severe repression against it on behalf of the colonial administration. In 1947 the central theoretical organ of the CPF wrote that the Communists “would not support that fraction of the Algerian national movement which demands immediate independence for the country, because this demand does not serve the interests of Algeria and France.”<sup>6</sup> (Marx’s teaching on the Irish question, emphasized time and again by Lenin, was thus proved to be ‘outdated’!). In fact the CPF leadership always wanted Algeria to remain an integral part of the so-called “French Union” “freely agreed upon”, a rhetorical phrase covering its bourgeois chauvinism. When the insurrection broke out in 1954 it was promptly denounced by the Party leadership—both in Algeria and France—as “adventurist” and “terroristic”, “playing the game of the worst colonialists”.<sup>7</sup> The climax was reached in 1956 when the Communist deputies in the French Assembly, for the sake of a Communist-socialist ‘united front’ voted for “special powers” demanded by the ‘socialist’ Guy Mollet Government, thus enabling the French colonialists to send additional troops to Algeria and to practise torture on the Algerian patriots detained ‘legally’. Those who betray the revolution in the colonies will inevitably end up by betraying it at home, as has been amply demonstrated by the behaviour of the CPF leadership during the recent mass upsurge in France. Even a bourgeois mouthpiece like the *London Economist* (25.5.1968) could write, “whenever one hears somebody on the French radio vituperating against ‘adventurers’ the speaker might be a Gaullist or a Communist. On the other hand if somebody talks about revolution... one is safe in assuming he is not a Communist”.

Returning to the Soviet performance we note that on July 13, 1960 the Soviet Government voted with

the UN Security Council resolution for the despatch of UN troops to the Congo thus enabling the U.S. imperialists to utilise the UN flag to perpetrate their aggression against the Congolese people. Currently the Soviet leadership is busy discovering and helping—economically and militarily—the ‘non-aligned’ and ‘progressive’ governments of Burma, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Laos, all of whom, as puppets of U.S. imperialism, are butchering the Communists and other patriots in their own countries. It is with reference to similar Soviet help to the U.S. puppet regimes in Latin America that Fidel quite justly asked, “what would the Vietnamese revolutionaries think if we were to send delegations to South Vietnam to deal with the Saigon puppet Government? What would those who are fighting in the mountains of America think were we to seek close relations with the puppets of imperialism on this side of the continent?” and then pertinently added, “whoever, no matter who, aids those oligarchies where guerillas are fighting will be helping to suppress the revolution.”<sup>8</sup>

#### Question of War

As regards the question of war the modern revisionists conveniently confuse wars between States with world war, besides maintaining an ambiguous stand on national liberation wars and revolutionary civil wars. According to them the ‘old’ Leninist thesis that war is inevitable as long as imperialism exists is no longer valid. Here they make again the confusion between desirability and possibility. On the one hand they argue that “the nuclear bomb does not adhere to the *class principle*”.<sup>9</sup> and that “atomic weapons have changed the very *nature* of war.”<sup>10</sup> Hence all progressive forces should try to prevent war. On the other hand they maintain that the existence of strong peace forces in the world headed by the mighty socialist camp is in a position to compel imperialism to renounce the policy of war and aggression.

Now Communists—like everybody else—are aware of the catastrophic consequences of modern war and the

great appeal of socialism lies partly in the fact that it aims at establishing a society from which war as a relation between State and State will forever be abolished. This is the conviction of *all Communists*—the bourgeois and revisionist calumny against them to the contrary notwithstanding. But how to bring it about? The abstention of the imperialists—uptill now—from unleashing a world war—due mainly to the balance of atomic terror—does not certainly mean that they have renounced war as a continuation of their class politics by other means—this in spite of there being ‘reasonable’ imperialists as opposed to ‘unreasonable’ ones. A series of wars between States as well as armed interventions from outside in the internal affairs of States—all due to the imperialists—since the end of the Second World War is a telling confirmation of this truth. Referring to the difficulties that the ‘peace loving’ Kennedy Government faced in resorting to a world war and its consequent change of military strategy, the Vietnamese Communists—perhaps the best qualified in this domain—have rightly pointed out that the “imperialists do not stick to only one kind of war, the world war but, while actively preparing for it and during the time they cannot unleash it, they try to undertake ever more actively the ‘special war’ and the local war to serve their political ends”.<sup>11</sup> The *best* way to fight for peace, it follows, is not by upholding “peaceful co-existence” as an absolute principle, not by fighting for peace as such by peace demonstrations, peace congresses and peace resolutions, but by striking at the very root of war, that is, by ceaselessly undermining imperialism in every possible way—and in the *first* place by promoting and accentuating national liberation wars in the colonies and semi-colonies—the weakest link in the imperialist chain—and revolutionary civil wars in metropolitan countries as well as by strengthening the socialist camp economically and militarily.

Next we turn to the question of the form of the transition from capitalism to socialism. The modern revisionists, here again, declare that the necessary

transition can be effected peacefully, without violence and without (revolutionary) civil war. "It is possible", said Togliatti to the eighty-one Communist parties' conference in Moscow, "to realise the transition from capitalism to socialism by peaceful means without a prior *revolutionary rupture* and civil war".<sup>12</sup> This, we submit, amounts to a denial of the essential teaching of Marxism-Leninism on the role of violence in history. Marxist-Leninists hold that the State—every State—is the instrument of violence utilised by the ruling classes to crush the resistance of the ruled. For this the government uses the police and the military, the prisons and the law courts in its day-to-day operations even during the time of "peace". Indeed no social system could ever replace another without violence. This is the inexorable law of history—operating objectively—independently of the will of individuals. So when the Communists say that "force is the midwife of every old society pregnant with a new one" or that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun" they do no more than give a vivid expression to this universal, objectively operating law of history. Particularly, for the proletariat the necessity of using revolutionary violence against its oppressors arises precisely from the nature of the proletarian revolution itself. Unlike other revolutions that preserved the old State apparatus, the proletarian revolution, we already know, smashes the bureaucratic-military State apparatus of the bourgeoisie and replaces it by its own State apparatus, that is, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Even if there could be a relatively peaceful seizure of power in some countries like England and the USA in the pre-imperialist era—owing to the undeveloped state of the military and the bureaucracy as Marx himself implied in 1871—such a possibility no longer existed once imperialism appeared on the scene when all the capitalist States became oversaturated with the bureaucracy, the police and the standing army—as Lenin later emphasized again and again. Of course there can be and there often is a non-violent (that is non-

armed) *phase* of the revolution when the party of the proletariat utilises all the legal and constitutional possibilities that the existing political system—specially the system of bourgeois democracy—offers in order specially to politicise the masses—in the revolutionary and not reformist sense—and strengthen its own organisation. But it must never be forgotten that all this is but the preparation for the final phase of the revolution where violence (in the sense of mass armed struggle) becomes its supreme expression. History does not offer a single exception to this rule. (The right opportunists, *professing* Marxism-Leninism, say that they are in fact utilising the legal constitutional possibility in order precisely to prepare themselves for the final phase of the revolution at the "proper moment". They should be ceaselessly unmasked and their pseudo-revolutionary *practice* thoroughly exposed to the masses). In fact, as Lenin observed, revolutionary violence is the very *essence* of the proletarian dictatorship.<sup>13</sup> When, therefore, the modern revisionists assert, at the same time, the possibility of non-violent transition to socialism and the universal necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat in harmony with this transition,<sup>13</sup> they either contradict themselves or reduce the concept of proletarian dictatorship to an empty phrase. The transition from capitalism to socialism, the modern revisionists further maintain, can be effected through parliamentary means. In a number of capitalist countries, Khrushchev held, the working class backed by a broad-based mass movement could "capture a stable majority in parliament, and transform the latter from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a *genuine* instrument of the people's will".<sup>15</sup> "The parliament—a *truly democratic* parliament—can play its part in a peaceful transition from capitalism to socialism", echoed Thorez.<sup>16</sup> One should not be startled to hear that all this is rehashed Kautskyism. For, said Kautsky, "the aim of our political struggle remains the conquest of State power by winning a majority in parliament, and by converting parlia-

ment into the master of the government".<sup>17</sup>

What does parliament stand for in a bourgeois democracy? The Marxist-Leninists have no doubt about the answer. "To decide once every few years in parliament which member of the ruling class is to *repress and oppress* the people—this is the essence of bourgeois parliamentarism, not only in parliamentary constitutional monarchies but also in the *most democratic republics*", said Lenin paraphrasing Marx's famous critique of bourgeois parliamentarism.<sup>18</sup> In a bourgeois State the real work is done behind parliament, within the bureaucratic military apparatus, reducing parliament to little more than a "talking shop". Is the situation qualitatively altered if the majority of the deputies belongs to working-class parties? Not at all, as long as the bourgeois *State structure* continues to exist, along with the repressive State machinery. Not until this machinery itself is destroyed, not until the working class installs its own State power can parliament be "truly democratic" in the sense of expressing effectively the will of the immense majority. In other words parliament can be a genuine organ of people's will only *after* the revolution, not before. Thus the working-class party is deceiving the working class and in fact disarming it before its class enemies when it asserts—as Togliatti did in his last testament—"the possibility for labouring classes of winning the positions of power within the framework of a State which has not changed its nature of a bourgeois State and the possibility of fighting for the progressive transformation of this nature from within".<sup>19</sup> Winning a majority in parliament by the working-class party—even if allowed by the bourgeoisie without resistance—is never equivalent to the seizure of State power by the working class which can be effected only by smashing the bourgeois State apparatus—or at least its police-military machine.

(Concluded)

1. *Letter from the CC of CPSU to the CC of CPC (30.3.1963), our italics.*

2. *Ibid.*
3. See, *inter alia*, N. S. Khrushchev's Report to the 20th CPSU Congress 1956; Programme of the League of Yugoslav Communists (1958).
4. Letter of 14.6.1963 to the CC of CPSU.
5. See foot note 1.
6. Leon Feix in *Cahiers du Communisme* (September 1947).
7. *Cahiers du Communisme* (February 1955).
8. Speech at the University of Havana (March 13, 1967).
9. Open Letter (14.7.1963) of the CC of CPSU.
10. Togliatti as given in *L'Unità* 22.1.1962).
11. In the review *Tuyen Huan*, No. 4, 1964. Retranslated from French in *Sur le problème de la guerre et de la paix*, Hanoi, 1964.
12. *Interventi della delegazione del PCI alla conferenza di Mosca degli 81 partiti comunisti ed operai*, Rome, 1962, p. 40. Our italics.
13. *Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*—SWII, 365-7.
14. Letter from the CC of CPSU to the CC of CPC (30.3.1963).
15. Report to the 20th Congress of the CPSU (1956). Our italics.
16. *L'Humanité* (30.11.1961). Our italics.
17. Quoted by Lenin in *The State and Revolution*—SWII, 223.
18. *The State and Revolution*—SWII, 171. Our italics.
19. *Promemoria sulla questioni del movimento operaio internazionale e della sua unita in Rinascita* (5.9.1964).

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The railways have lost two packets of *Frontier* containing the issues of June 8 and 15 sent to Bombay.

## The Press

### A Bad New Trend

COMMENTATOR

**T**HE *Statesman* has been a trend-setter among newspapers in many ways, especially in this part of the country. It is an establishment paper, has always been so. In the old regime its class links put it above suspicion, and this enabled the paper to enjoy a measure of freedom denied to Indian papers which had their own reasons, not necessarily unselfish, for not toeing the official line. To be fair, the paper did not invariably exercise this freedom against popular causes. Within the limits it set for itself it occasionally championed causes viewed with disfavour by the Establishment. It took the lid off governmental misdeeds and scandals which its Indian contemporaries, even if they knew did not. Maybe, it dared because it knew that there was no risk, secure as it was in the confidence of Authority, which was prepared to overlook minor lapses as long as its larger interest was not challenged. This and careful avoidance of blatant and, therefore, vulgar propaganda of the cause it serves have always marked it out from the rest. Subtlety has been its forte; the discerning reader, even when dissenting, has admired its cleverness, while the not-so-discerning has been outwitted into believing in its simulated neutrality.

All this started changing when the paper's new owners took over. It seems now that the new owners have suddenly become impatient of what they think is an unnecessarily slow process of transformation. They want the paper to be their instrument not in the old, subdued, though quite effective, way but in a blunt, exhibitionist fashion which robs the paper of its chief attraction. Or the exigency of a particular situation has forced them to dispense with decencies. It seems there can be no other explanation of the lengthy dispatch by the paper's Political Correspondent on the Tata project for a one-million-tonne fertiliser plant

in Gujarat. The paper would certainly not have devoted so much of its valuable space if the project was of, say, the Birlas or Dalmia-Jains; nor would there have been this unashamed advocacy for a project of a private entrepreneur. Big newspapers are known champions of the private sector; the relationship is the basis of a programme of mutual aid. But this is the first time that a reputed newspaper has refused to confine itself to generality and descended to the level of pleading for a specific project of a particular business house.

It is of course for the new owners of the paper to decide how they will make a hash of their paper. But the dispatch appears to strike at certain traditions which journalists have so long maintained despite all pressures. Newspapers function as pressure groups mainly through editorial columns; even in this limited sphere there is hardly any precedent of a major paper arguing the case for a particular business house. Personal columns have sometimes been used or misused for this purpose, but such columns are generally acknowledged as an appendage and not an integral part of the paper. However, the news columns have so far remained chaste and a distinction has always been sought to be made between news and advertisement, between what a correspondent should report and a public relations officer must write. The *Statesman* dispatch has done away with this distinction; what has appeared as a news story by the paper's Political Correspondent is in fact an efficient piece of lobbying on the eve of the Cabinet Committee's meeting to consider the Tata proposal. A precedent has been set, and in future newspaper owners may not be satisfied with control over editorial columns alone. A correspondent may have to purvey as news briefs for specific projects on which the owners of his paper have a crush, and the length of the dispatch may have to vary according to the size of the project or the number of shares the particular business house holds in his paper. The convention exempting news columns from such debasement has been grossly violated. *The*

*Statesman* has once again proved itself a trend-setter.

### Expelled Reds

The expulsion of some left Communist leaders from the CPI(M) in Andhra and the reported acts of sabotage at the Idikki hydro-electric project in Kerala have prompted some papers to speculate on the future of the party. *The Hindustan Times* is surprised that the party should have had such an experience so early in its career. The founders of the party had convinced themselves that they had a livelier sense of revolutionary tactics and strategy than the flabby "revisionist" leadership of the old party. In a semantic monstrosity, their own rebels have accused them of neo-revisionism, originally a Peking coinage. They stand for armed revolution and apparently have no use for the leadership's amalgam of parliamentary and extra-parliamentary action. The CPI(M) leaders have expelled such stalwarts as Mr T. Nagi Reddi, the hero of Telengana, and others in Andhra and Kerala, and they reportedly contemplate the same treatment for others in these States and elsewhere. The expulsions have spurred the rebels to think of establishing their own party for which they are believed to have ready-made nuclei in States as apart as West Bengal and Kashmir in addition to those in South India. The leaders of the CPI(M) have suggested that the split has come because they would not toe the Chinese line in matters of policy and pursuit in India. But even if the secessionists are not unquestioning followers of Mao Tse-tung, the emergence of a party that avowedly stands for violence should be a matter of grave concern to everybody concerned with peace and stability in the country in a period of transition.

*Patriot* also thinks that the expulsion of Mr Nagi Reddi and others has brought nearer the formal birth of a third Communist party in the country. But the Politburo had no choice in the matter. Had it not resorted to extreme organisational measures it might have lost control of the entire Andhra organisation to the ultra-Left. Actual-

ly, the State unit had already rejected the Central Committee's ideological line and was for all practical purposes functioning as an independent body and there was a danger of its example being emulated by other units as well. However, the course on which the Politburo has embarked is no less risky. The expulsions would remove the self-imposed limitations under which the ultra-Left wing of the party was functioning and compel it to cast its lot with those who have already walked out of the party and set up an "all-India Coordination Committee of Communist revolutionaries". It is really a fight between two political lines. Mr Nagi Reddi wants blindly to follow the Maoist line. The Politburo has awakened to the need of taking Indian realities into account. Had it not hesitated to face the political issues squarely things might not have reached this pass. In a profile of Mr Nagi Reddi the paper says that by forcing the CPI(M) leadership to expel him from the party he has emerged as the potential top leader of the ultras. The next few weeks will show whether his claims to a large following have any basis in fact. Mr Reddi now faces the biggest test of his life; he has to show that he is capable, of keeping the ultras together and giving them sustained and purposeful leadership. It is doubtful if he can succeed where much tougher men have failed.

The "serious act of sabotage" at the Canadian-aided Rs. 70-crores Idikki hydroelectric project in Kerala appears to *The Hindu* as a symptom of a deep-seated disease. The paper says that against the background of the open quarrels between the right and left Communists of Kerala, the choice of Idikki and Kuttiyadi under the jurisdiction of the right CPI Minister, Mr Govindan Nair, for the staging of such exercises is perhaps not without meaning. And while the politicians squabble and seek to strengthen their respective party lines, the people of this hapless State, who voted these men to power in the hope that they would do something better than their predecessors to ameliorate the people's economic condition by pursuing an active programme of industrial deve-

lopment, have been left badly disillusioned. It is hard to believe that there are people at the helm who are unconcerned with the needs of the State and are preoccupied with every other activity except trying to satisfy those needs by planned and honest endeavour.

*The Statesman* also agrees that the cause of the trouble at Idikki was the Marxists' desire to embarrass the CPI Minister for Electricity, Mr Govindan Nair; the importance of the project to the State became secondary to its potentialities for creating intra-governmental friction. The paper says that the Chief Minister, Mr Namboodiripad, who is ready to offer solutions to all the major ills of the country seems to have been left resourceless in dealing with this trouble despite his control of the police. Mr A. K. Gopalan has forecast a settlement of all disputes within the United Front at the proposed meeting of its leaders as, according to him, all of them "have a record of serving the people" of Kerala; in the same breath, however, he levelled serious charges against Mr T. V. Thomas, the Industries Minister, and Mr Govindan Nair who are both members of the CPI. It seems highly improbable now that all these controversies will have a quick end. The recent civic elections in Kerala gave a warning of possible developments ahead; but there is still no evidence of a mood among the constituents of the UF to heed it.

## A Peasant Melodrama

MRIGANKA SEKHAR RAY

**P**ALABADAL, a recent production by the Seemantik branch of IPTA, (written and directed by Chiraranjan Das) is about peasant struggle in South Bengal. The play opens in a Brechtian mood with a narrator describing the locale and the characters, and as the curtain goes up, the impressionistic decor of a peasant household promises an authentic rural setting. But the illusion is short-lived. As a peasant girl starts singing in a

supra-Santiniketan lingo and the story verges on ordinary melodrama, one begins to suspect that the material is far beyond the director's comprehension. The play shares the common fault of its genre in Bengal, which is to see the peasants through a romantic haze, and the behaviour, movements, accents, and diction of the protagonists seem as faked as those of the city gents in a fancy-dress ball during a picnic in the countryside. Talented directors like Utpal Dutt can get over the falsehood by virtue of their productional excellence but the lesser ones are ill-equipped to do so. Lacking full command of theatrical properties, they cannot orchestrate the tempo, lighting, sound and setting into an organic whole. In *Palabadal* the production is as bad as the writing. The ensemble acting is a pale and unsuccessful imitation of the Little Theatre Group's stylization and the players cannot grow big without hamming. The individual roles suffer from the unwholesome influence of the conventional Bengali theatre. Lighting fails to create the proper atmosphere and the effect music, a cacophony of deafening crashes and ever-failing flutes, tends to disturb the mood of the play as do the very much urban undergarments showing beneath the coarse peasant costumes and the prompters peeping through the wings. The pathetic failure of this play to communicate its message proves once again that mere commitment is not enough, that to be really effective in art, it must be expressed through a proper form.

## Paintings On Foil

BY AN ART CRITIC

WITH the art of Amitava Dutt, Calcutta is seeing, for the first time, paintings done on aluminium foil. This unusual surface does not, as one might expect, have that vulgar sheen one finds in some biscuit-wraps and beer-bottle labels, but a quiet glow, reminiscent of stained glass windows, which is fascinating. His work, which one feels, can be compared to the

notes emanating from the double-bass, throbbing and far-reaching without being shrill, is gay without being loud.

Not that his exhibits are circumscribed by the attractiveness of the surface. They have intriguing patterns, and measured composition combined with an abandon that is most refreshing. Also, their emotional content is considerable, and, with the exception of one, "Primaeval", which smacks of overdramatized sentimentality, Mr Dutt's exhibits are disciplined, controlled and pregnant with meaning. That there is also a great deal of thought behind them is also obvious. This artist has a philosophy and a message to convey, and he conveys it effectively with pains and sincerity. There is nothing haphazard about his work. It is organized, selective and sensitive.

Among the pictures that we liked most were "Garden Colours", with its kaleidoscopic array of pigment, "Blue Forest" and its depth, both physical and figurative, and "Depths of the Subconscious", for its variegated forms blending into each other.

The exhibition will remain open up to June 30, between 4 and 8 p.m.

## Letters

### Black And Brown

In his article 'Black and Brown', (June 15) I. Akhtar has exposed certain bitter truths. It is time we looked into the root causes of African distrust and suspicion against people of Indian origin settled in East Africa.

As a teacher in a Government medical college in Gujarat I have many students (Indian) coming from East Africa. What I find in these rising 'elites' is no different from the adverse impressions given by the African students about these so-called Indians at a recent seminar in Calcutta.

The Indians (and Pakistanis) settled in different countries of East Africa raided the dark continent as commercial adventurers and even today they are exploiting Africans through business—they make no con-

tribution towards progress in Africa—be it cultural, intellectual, literary, economic or political. They have tarnished the name of Tagore's land by their activities and have a false sense of superiority over black Africans—as if they are "whites". In a word, these "brown exploiters" have replaced the 'white exploiters'.

It is time for a change. I agree with I. Akhtar that we should not waste our 'fine sentiments' on these un-Indian "Indians", who take pride in introducing themselves as "British subjects" and are against the liberation movements in Africa.

If there is no change in their attitude even now, a situation similar to that in Kenya will arise in other African countries and the day will not be far off when these "Indians" will be drowned in the depths of the Indian ocean.

SISIR K. MAJUMDAR (DR)  
Ashok Nagar, 24-Parganas

## Jadavpur

'A student' (June 8) gives some facts in his letter but his hatred for the Americans makes his facts hardly discernible from fiction. He is correct about, "the clubs being virtually run by a University official, hand student secretaries etc., but if he is objective enough he would find a more local hand behind this than America, the scapegoat for all the evils that he sees.

His report of the WUS fete and festivals is tailor-made to suit his wishful thinking that America has set up another colony in, J.U. There was no alcohol in the fete. There was just one 'American couple' in these WUS festivals and two other American ladies. There were many students from various countries in Africa and other countries like Nepal, but to 'A student' two Americans are good enough to overshadow 25 students of other cultures.

Another Student  
Jadavpur University

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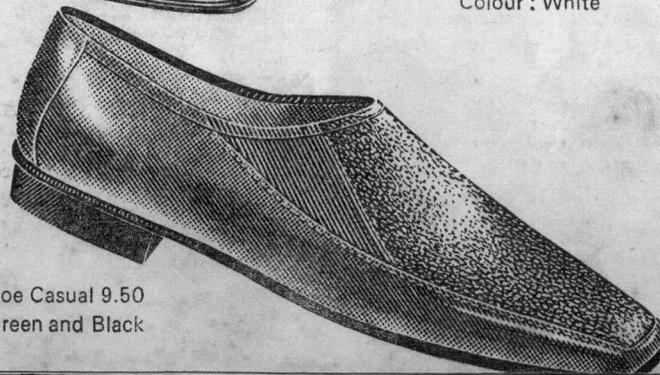
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