

# frontier

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Editor : Samar Sen

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## MUTINY IN DURGAPUR

THE prompt institution of a judicial inquiry into the police firing at the Regional Engineering College in Durgapur on June 2 cannot exonerate the UF Government from the charge of not being sufficiently vigilant. The police have been accustomed to misbehave not merely for two decades of Congress rule but for a far longer period. Not even a fanatic for parliamentary democracy will claim that a change of heart is possible through the ballot-box. The UF had had enough warning, at Telenipara and elsewhere, that the police, at least a sizable and, it seems, effective section of them, were in a defiant mood and bent on creating mischief. Even the eruption of police violence in Durgapur did not occur all of a sudden. The day before the firing the police had clashed with the students over a street accident. Not an unusual incident, though; far more serious troubles over street accidents are often reported from different parts of the country. But the ground was laid by the police for the rampage at the Engineering College the next day with the allegation that a sub-inspector was kidnapped by the students. The charge has been denied; the sub-inspector is reported to have told the principal of the college that he went to the campus to telephone. Anyway, no harm had come to the sub-inspector, and he returned to his place safe and sound. It is highly improbable that the sub-inspector could be kidnapped from the police station without any resistance. That the Durgapur police could not be so docile was proved within a few hours.

This non-event was said to have created so much resentment among the police at Durgapur that the secretary of the Police Association had to rush to the town to confabulate. Whether he in his turn had taken counsel with some others before going to the steel town is not known. On more than one occasion recently Mr Jyoti Basu has talked of a conspiracy to incite the police against the UF Government. The matter is now under inquiry, but the fact remains that the police deliberately violated all norms of behaviour that the UF Government claims to have imposed on them. They raided an educational institution, beat up students, teachers and other staff while an examination was in progress, and meticulously executed a planned programme of vendetta for what they alone know, killing a student. The only recent parallel of such police atrocity is the outrage at the Uttarpara college during the infamous regime of Dr P. C. Ghosh who was

opposed to the idea of sanctity of educational institutions because the students were not neo-Brahmins. By their mutinous defiance of what the UF stands for the Durgapur police temporarily reduced the present regime to that of Dr Ghosh.

This is a challenge the implications of which do not seem to have been fully realised by the UF Government. On the other hand, in the two press notes issued by the State Government there was an attempt to explain away somehow, if not justify, the police action. The first press note issued after the firing of June 2 declared that on the previous night the police could not take "very firm action" against the "rioting" students as the sub-inspector was held as "hostage". How this unconcealed and unashamed defence of the outrage could pass the Home department over which Mr Jyoti Basu presides is difficult to understand. The press note, issued after several telephone-talks between Calcutta and Durgapur, contained several "inaccuracies", like the students had attacked "fiercely" a police picket and the police had "fired "outside" the college campus to disperse the "rioting students". In fact, a revised press note was issued saying specifically that the firing was outside the campus, because the earlier one could have given an impression that it took place within. Some amends were made in the press note issued the next day but even according to that, the students "resented" the presence of the police in the campus (as if this could be a crime), a "clash" followed, and "in order to bring the situation under control the police opened fire". Neither of the press notes mentions that the police went berserk within the college campus, beat up teachers and other staff, besides shooting down students, injured more than 100 people, and damaged college property, though the principal had already made a complaint and personally protested against the police misbehaviour to the Chief Minister and the Deputy Chief Minister. The press notes were approved by Mr Basu himself, yet they contained the familiar jargon of the previous regimes. Apparently, some

people can still project their views as the Government's despite Mr Basu. Such lapses will only make more vocal the criticism that Mr Basu and, for that matter, the UF Government are fast becoming prisoners of the bureaucracy. The rebels and the sycophants have to be put in their place; far more comprehensive and drastic action than what may be recommended by the judicial inquiry will be necessary to frustrate the menace of which the mutiny in Durgapur is a symptom.

### "Do Naxalites Exist?"

The assessment of the Naxalites by the older communist parties of India has undergone one more change. When the peasants rebelled in Naxalbari, their leaders were considered left adventurists. When the Kunikalk group made their abortive attempt in the Tellicherry-Pulpalli area in Kerala, they were dubbed CIA agents, although the CPI, noticing Ajitha in the new episode, branded the affair romantic. For some time after these two outbursts, Naxalite activities were not publicised much and the Naxalites were considered a band of slogan-writers. Even so, Mr Y. B. Chavan grew apprehensive and, after the formation of the third Communist Party (CPI-ML), sought to extend the Unlawful Activities Act to ban the Naxalite organisations, which were a menace to democracy, in his view. But the CPI(M) did not agree. The Naxalites were not a menace to anything, except to Calcutta Tramways, according to Mr Jyoti Basu.

But the interpretation has again changed. Note the CPI(M) Politbureau resolution in Calcutta on the Naxalites. It does not recognise even their physical existence in the Sriakulam Agency in Andhra. Whether the Girijans there have been putting up resistance against the Andhra police force under the leadership of Mr Nagi Reddi or under the leadership of the CPI(ML) or both, may be questioned but it has never been in doubt that the Naxalites were giving the tribals a cohesive leadership.

But the CPI(M) considers the peasant resistance there as mere incidents of personal vengeance on the part of misdirected peasants. The jotedar-bourgeois combine, hoodwinking the people of the country by crying Naxalite wolf, is oppressing the poor peasants, and according to the CPI(M), the peasants there should not provoke the reactionary forces by armed resistance. The murder of twelve workers in the Parvatipuram Agency should be for them an eye-opener, the CPI(M) tells them.

This game of reducing the Naxalites to a non-entity, ideologically to start with and now even physically, is being taken up by the CPI as well. The successful struggle of the villagers of Palia in U.P. has been going on for two months under the leadership of a Naxalite, Viswanath Tiwari. But the CPI would not call Mr Tiwari a Naxalite—he is a good man, a good villager and the U.P. police are unnecessarily harassing him. The jotedars there, according to the CPI, are raising false Naxalite alarms to suppress the villagers' legitimate demands.

The cases are not coincidental. Almost all the uprisings in the country where the Naxalites are active are being explained away by the veteran communists as mere stray incidents, not as Naxalite doings. The similarity in their way of negating the Naxalites is striking. Are they building up a platform from which they may eventually spring on to a sort of united action? After all, at the Calcutta summit, they did hint at some joint action.

Be that as it may, the Naxalites are reported to be gaining ground steadily, even if slowly. In eastern U.P. particularly, armed Naxalite squads are said to be moving in villages there without caring much for the U.P. police. They have fought jotedars in Lakhimpur, usurers in Unnao and Para, police officers in Ajamgarh. In Punjab the resistance has spread over wider areas—in Bhatinda, Ludhiana, Hossiarpore, and particularly in the Birla farm of Ropar. The Naxalites are active in as many as ten areas in Bihar, particularly in Champaran dis-

tract. In Andhra, besides the sustained resistance in Srikakulam, the peasants have risen in Visakhapatnam and other taluks. The Salwari forests in Warangal have been combed but the Naxalite guerillas have escaped.

Admittedly, India is not yet a prairie but the spark of Naxalbari is

not extinguished, even though the CPI(M) and the CPI continue to bury their noses in the parliamentary sand and refuse to see the Naxalites in their essence. One can be doubtful about the timing of their tactics and strategy but the phenomenon cannot be wished away.

## The Mission That Misfired

It is unfortunate that Nelson Rockefeller, the multi-millionaire Governor of New York, was not given a very friendly reception by the people of Colombia, Equador and Bolivia. If there was no warmth in the reception, enough heat was generated by the fire that consumed American cultural centres or by the blazing gasoline bombs that hit American buildings. After all this Rockefeller did not have the stomach for the reception that Bolivians were ready to accord to the representative of a country which helped in the assassination of Che. The thirty-two-hour programme in Bolivia was reduced to two hours' hurried talks with the Bolivian junta at La Paz airport before Rockefeller could fly to safety. Thus the second of the four "fact finding missions" that Rockefeller was scheduled to undertake as special emissary of President Nixon came to an abrupt end. The Latin people totally failed to appreciate the immense concern for them shown by the new President of the U.S. nor did they show the reverence due to Rockefeller, the emperor of Latin American oilfields. The governments of Venezuela, Peru and Chile requested Rockefeller to spare their countries for the present. The setback to the Rockefeller mission has caused 'grave anxiety' in the State Department.

The heavy ring of security men and commandos in camouflage uniform that surrounded Rockefeller might have obstructed him from finding the facts but the people who shouted 'Death to Rockefeller' or 'Yankee go home' know their facts alright. In this continent of semi-colonies some four persons die per

minute of hunger, curable disease and premature old age while the Americans pump out of the continent a profit of \$4000 per minute. For each thousand dollars that leave Latin America, a corpse remains. Part of the profit again flows back into Latin America in the form of investment (which now runs into \$10 billion) to reap a further harvest of surplus value. Eighty-five per cent of the companies in Latin America supplying raw materials to the U.S. are U.S. owned. And as Nelson Rockefeller himself noted, "North American industries every day depend more and more on the raw materials of the Western Hemisphere. These sources are indispensable for the U.S. to maintain industrial production that amounts to more than half of the total goods manufactured in the world."

To safeguard their investment, source of raw materials and market the Rockefellers have made elaborate arrangements for political deception and suppression. The late Mr John Kennedy founded the Alliance for Progress to promote democracy and economic investment in Latin America. The Latins can hardly forget that a month after its foundation came the Bay of Pigs adventure. Since 1950 Washington has trained 46,000 Latin American officers and noncoms in American anti-guerilla training schools, and they constitute the bulk of the ruling junta in Latin America. Every Latin country except Cuba, Mexico and Haiti has in addition American military teams (numbering 500 to 800) to 'advise' the government. Since all this was not sufficient the Americans founded in Ar-

gentina the Inter-American School for Counter - Revolutionary Warfare. Green Berets and marines are in the wings to snuff out a Dominican Republic or, for that matter, to liquidate a Che. So the students who hounded out Nelson Rockefeller must be knowing that despite the flight of Rockefeller, the pipelines of Rockefeller's International Petroleum Company would remain; so would the CIA and the marines. Rockefellers would never lay down their butcher's knives and become a Buddha unless they are surrounded by an armed countryside.

## Black Power

The USA will have many long hot summers, though the range of violent clashes may vary from year to year. Of the two kinds of racism, individual and institutional, the last one is less recognizable but more dangerous in terms of destruction of human life, values and property. Although institutionalized racism is rampant in America and Western Europe and has the covert sanction of the Establishment, white society would plead its ignorance of the phenomenon and its incapacity to do anything meaningful to end it. In such a situation, the alienation of a black man from the white environment is not confined to his own self. Much more is involved. The Negro community as a whole is systematically exploited and its culture and tradition degraded. Moreover, a white, who may call himself an integrationist, may suffer from subconscious racism which makes him feel superior to a black. The whole integration movement is based on the premise that the black community has little to contribute to Western civilization and little of value would ever come from it. The Western Press has been able to implant among a majority of people a minority complex. How long will the blacks endure this oppression? Are they not already defying the white master and, according to Camus, out to create a life for themselves? The

Black Power movement initiated by the Student Non-Violent Co-ordination Committee has exposed the middle-class character of the integration movement, namely, more equitable job opportunities and public facilities, and the extent of racism and exploitation which permeates various American institutions. Its exposition of relationship between capitalist countries and coloured people has made the revolutionary students realise that white society may permit a few blacks to join the mainstream of life but will never accept the whole black community. The black proletariat have joined the movement to use any means for their liberation.

It is said that in course of a decade two-thirds of the 20 million black people will be living in the city ghettos. But as they in any case will not be controlling the resources they will become easy prey to exploitation by the white. In other words, ghettos are colonies within America. The Black Power movement is aimed at freeing these colonies from external control. The society it seeks to build is not going to be a capitalist one, since racism and exploitation are ingrained in capitalism. The movement clearly recognises its limitation, that is, it cannot take over the whole country by force. But it can become a disruptive force in the flow of services, goods and capital from the cities and take the fight to an international plane by involving the Third World. In this context, Stokely Carmichael observes, "it is the only salvation—we are fighting to save our humanity. We are indeed fighting to save the humanity of the world, which the West has failed miserably in being able to preserve. And the fight must be waged from the Third World. There will be new speakers. They will be Che, they will be Mao, they will be Fanon."

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## Aspects Of Truth

According to last count, there were three thousand generals in the Soviet defence forces, so a score less of them need not be much of a deprivation, except to the families. That 17 or 20 of them will die within such a close time interval is also by itself not a frightfully significant bit of statistic. Generals cannot but be relatively elderly gentlemen; any actuarial table will show that the kind of bunching of deaths as has been reported for the Soviet generals is within the limits of tolerance of probability. No, one will be hard put to rush to the conclusion that these deaths have occurred under "mysterious circumstances". It is the mysterious way in which the authorities in the Soviet Union announce the deaths which feeds the flame of morbid, and not-so-morbid, imagination. The cryptic obituaries sound ominously conspiratorial. The outside world did have no occasion to know the existence of these generals earlier, and will be provided no further information ever after: but, bang in the middle, in an eerie equipoise, hangs the laconic announcement of the deaths. As if the entire justification for their existence was this ritual of telling the world that they have died.

Obviously, the spirit of Glassboro has not yet permeated into the tribalism which is associated with death. As we all know, they do it in an altogether different manner in the United States. General Eisenhower, for example, died several times before his death: each time something went wrong with his intestine or kidney or heart or blood count, the minutest clinical details were served up by the White House Press Secretary to journalists waiting with bated breath. That the Americans as a community are able to survive periodical public discussion and analysis of such details is itself a matter of some wonder. But, then again, if birth and copulation have been brought out in the open, can death be far behind? It is now common fare with the television networks to present on the screen live scenes of medically interesting births

straight from the operation theatre, the mother's exposed underbelly and all. Apart from films like *I Am Curious (yellow)*, at least one expert has written a book chronicling the medico-emotional symptoms of copulating couples: this was based, so the report goes, on the observation of two hundred-odd actual copulations. To adopt a similar non-sentimental approach to the details of the business of death may thus be very much according to American character.

We thus have two models, the American and the Soviet, for revealing facts. It is one's sense of aesthetics that is involved: some facts may not be considered revelation-worthy and the matter may be allowed to rest there. Many facts about Vietnam, for example, the American establishment has been reluctant to share with the public. Whether crack West Pakistan troops were allowed to fly to Dacca across Indian territory last March, albeit in civilian planes, is a bit of information which New Delhi is coy to reveal. It however reveals with a gay abandon the number of alleged Naxalites who have been found on the rampage, here, there and everywhere, burning and looting property: even the Naxalites are greatly taken aback at this sudden accession of their strength, and in unlikely nooks and corners of the country. And while Soviet generals were reportedly being liquidated in Kiev or Rostov or this or that other unimaginative-sounding Russian city, women by their hundreds were supposedly being raped in Calcutta. It is he who alleges who creates truth: generals die like flies, women are raped in cartloads. But why upturn the appercart of imagination?

## The Golden Triangle

*A correspondent writes:*

During the Fourth Plan the Indian Airlines Corporation wants to spend about Rs 25 crores on purchase of aircraft to cover the Calcutta-Bom-

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bay-Delhi trunk routes known to the IAC as the Golden Triangle. Whether additional aircraft are necessary or not for the IAC fleet, the IAC has a budgetary provision and it has to spend the money. The IAC of course asserts the existence of the need; its argument is that the traffic on the Golden Triangle would increase because world traffic trends show an increase, because the country's industries are developing by leaps and bounds, because Indians are becoming air-conscious and because, to top all arguments, foreign tourists would crowd Indian airports because the Tourist Department says so.

By 1972 the IAC will have the choice of taking over Air-India's Boeing 707s because by that time Air-India will switch over to jumbo-jets. The knowledge does not cure the IAC of its itch to spend Rs 25 crores for this interregnum. It will then divert the new aircraft to other regional routes. Can they afford to

have big aircraft? It does not matter. The airports will be then modified to sail the new aircraft; after the investment, the follow-up will not be difficult to get sanctioned, the Public Accounts Committee shrieks notwithstanding.

Meanwhile there had been a race between Russian aircraft and American aircraft for a niche in the Indian hangers. Russia offered the Tu-134 for sale not because she was helping the Indian wagon industry by purchasing Indian wagons and in return wants her aircraft dumped in India. She has honourable intentions—solution of the IAC's Golden Triangle problem. But the IAC declared the Tu-134 out of the race because it can accommodate only 60 passengers while the American Boeing-737 can 120 and the DC-9 115. Knowing the umpire's verdict, Russia offered Tu-154 which can accommodate 160. The IAC again rejected it because of its high fuel cost and because it can have only three Tu-154s at the price of five Boeing-737s or DC-9s. Fewer aircraft, it argued, would reduce the flexibility of operation. Moreover, its traffic requirements on the Golden Triangle are only 100 plus. What would it do with the remaining 60 seats vacant? What is the cost of each passenger mile for Tu-154? The IAC does not know. The Russophiles here would be sad to learn that the IAC never gave much attention to the Russian offer.

Which of the aircraft is then going to cover the Golden Triangle? The IAC proposed DC-9 but, before the Union Cabinet could endorse the proposal, it changed its mind. The IAC Chairman developed a fondness for the Boeings during a recent tour and wanted Boeing-727. Unfortunately the Cabinet Sub-Committee did not know the wherewithal of the new candidate. The IAC settled for Boeing-737. The price of DC-9 would be raised six per cent after 1971 and the vital information was proffered by the IAC at the crucial hour of judgement. The Cabinet has lost the nerve and does not know how to cover the triangle.

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## Tantrums Over Telengana

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE tantrums into which the Prime Minister went on the eve of her Kabul trip underlined the failure of communication between New Delhi and Telengana. The agitation has been on for about six months now and the Government at the Centre has tended to look at the problem as something belonging to some far-flung border outpost. Whenever the agitation acquired the dimensions of a crisis, there were perfunctory and dilettantist attempts at rigging a consensus as though the issue is something to be manipulated in the posh drawing-rooms of New Delhi with the political charlatans who commute to the Capital from Hyderabad. Political parties have lost control of the agitation now and things are heading for the point of no return.

But the belated expression of concern by the Prime Minister and a dramatic dash to Hyderabad (the news was deliberately kept back from the 9 p.m. bulletin by AIR under orders from someone to heighten the sense of drama) cannot be a compensation for the leadership's abdication of its political role. The following morning, official spokesmen spoke about nothing but the drama in the unscheduled, unannounced trip—not even the Chief Minister who left for Hyderabad that noon after a meeting with the Prime Minister knew about it. She drove into a curfew-bound city as if to make up for the guilt of neglecting a problem for months. No Central leader had the sense of responsibility to visit Andhra Pradesh to study the problem first hand. Either the Central Government had been taken for a ride by its intelligence agencies in Andhra Pradesh or it did not take the intelligence reports seriously. And the Chief Minister still maintains that it is nothing more than a law and order problem and one con-

finied to the city of Hyderabad while the Centre's own assessment points to the contrary. But Mr Chavan should know by now how misleading the Chief Minister could be—the State Government's intelligence apparatus has conditioned itself Pavlov-dog like to manufacturing reports anticipating the Chief Minister's thinking. For instance, he maintains that the tribal revolt in Srikakulam is nothing more than a chain of da-coities and that exactly is what his intelligence agencies have told him because he wanted it to be so. On the contrary, the Centre's agencies in Andhra Pradesh have identified it as a political problem with the communist ultras providing the leadership for the Girijans.

When the Telengana agitation took a bloody turn last week, Mrs Gandhi summoned the Chief Minister from Hyderabad and the Home Minister from his tour. It was a clear admission of her failure. In the past, she had tried to keep the initiative to herself by stalling anyone else from attempting a solution. Her attitude to the problem was enmeshed with factional considerations. After all Mr Brahmananda Reddy was one of the principal campaigners to get her elected as Prime Minister in 1966 and again in 1967. So she tried to handle it as a problem she and the Chief Minister could solve between themselves, outside the realm of any political approach.

More shocking was the Congress High Command's abdication of its role. It is largely a Congress problem now, as it was in the beginning because the unemployed politicians built up the movement they cannot contain now. A whole Pradesh Congress Committee has come up in the Telengana region and is demanding recognition by the AICC. No leader from Telengana still with the official

Congress is in a mood to accept a Deputy Chief Ministership or Ministership if offered. But the Congress High Command is nowhere in the picture amidst all these developments.

When Mrs Gandhi wanted Mr Chavan to go to Hyderabad to study all the problems central to the issue, it was a defeat for her, but perhaps admitted too late in the day. Mr Chavan has emerged as her trouble-shooter, who has to go anywhere from Srinagar to Hyderabad to sort the problems out.

Short of conceding the demand for a separate State, all that the Centre might offer is a sub-State for Telengana within Andhra Pradesh. That is in the long run. But at the moment, it could still persuade Mr Brahmananda Reddy to step down to facilitate a dialogue to solve the problem.

### Soviet Tanks

The Prime Minister had barely left for Kabul leaving the problems behind when the news came of the arrival of a big consignment of Soviet tanks in Pakistan. New Delhi knew all about it but was trying to fit it into the complex matrix of the Soviet Union's changing relations with India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran. It is easy for official New Delhi to confirm reports of Soviet tanks reaching Pakistan but far more difficult to talk about the Soviet arms deliveries to India. But that is a different issue.

On the eve of Mrs Gandhi's visit to Kabul (it follows Mr Kosygin's to Pakistan and Afghanistan) there are signs of a Soviet diplomatic offensive designed to strengthen its influence over a contiguous region from Iran to India.

*Pravda*, assessing the results of Mr Kosygin's visits to Afghanistan and Pakistan, noted that "meetings in Kabul and Rawalpindi revealed the identity of views of the Soviet Union, Afghanistan and Pakistan on a number of important international problems."

The *Pravda* assessment also noted that "the peaceful Soviet-Afghani

border became an important factor in the stability in this area of Asia". This of course is an innocuous statement made while denouncing imperialist machinations in the area.

But there is something sinister to the *Pravda* reference to "some forces in Asia, obsessed by great power chauvinism, renounced the principles of peaceful co-existence of States with different social orders and are even resorting to force in futile attempts to achieve 'world leadership'. In reality their actions play the game of imperialism in its striving to arrest the rapid progress of liberation of the peoples of the East, consolidation of their national independence, of their economic and cultural development."

The Soviet Union has to raise the China bogey to herd a motley assortment of countries into a kind of a bloc that would accept Soviet hegemony in return for arms. The very next day, *Pravda* carried another article, by the same correspondent who had written the earlier one emphasising the importance of the position India, Pakistan and Afghanistan are supposed to hold on major international problems. The main principle of the policies of India, Pakistan and Afghanistan is peace, they write. QED: All the three are the same.

From this to the next step, that is equation of imperialism with the "new hegemonic forces in Asia" (which is the Soviet euphemism for China) is a difficult exercise indeed. But the *Pravda* commentator achieves it with great dialectical skill. The situation in the Middle East and South-East Asia remains complex and unstable. The decades of the rule of colonialists who many times recarved the frontiers of these or other States, having no regard for geography or history, are still being felt. The imperialist countries are trying to disunite the neighbouring States, to draw them into military blocs, to push them off the road of independent development and re-establish their influence over these countries in some form or the other.

And now the climax of the dialectical exercise:

the "new hegemonic forces" are carrying on dangerous subversive work, seeking to set at loggerheads Afghanistan and Pakistan, Pakistan and India and to whip up tension in the area.

Thus two trends influence the situation in the Middle East and in South-East Asia, in the *Pravda* eye-view. Conditions exist for co-operation of India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Iran and other States in the economic field and in the preservation of peace. On the other hand, certain forces are striving to incite chauvinist passions, resort to threats, heighten tensions, and create the situation of an impasse that sooner or later might cause an armed conflict.

So the Soviet prescription for the new bloc it is trying to knock together is unmistakable: arms and more arms, interchangeable dumps of them from Iran to India. No wonder pro-Moscow journalists have been going gaga over the socialist virtues of the Shah of Iran and New Delhi has learnt to rely on Mr Kosygin to tell General Yahya Khan how harmful Pakistani dependence on American arms would be when the Soviet Union has so much obsolete military hardware to spare. Mr Kosygin may not succeed in promoting a military pact between Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan and India because at least by convention and pretension India is opposed to such pacts. But nothing can be taken for granted in these matters. Probably Mr Bhupesh Gupta who wouldn't go to the Moscow commu-Prime Minister knows better about nist summit without meeting the what Mr Kosygin sought to achieve during his last visit to New Delhi and his visits to Pakistan and Afghanistan later. The timing of Mrs Gandhi's visit, in response to a long-forgotten invitation extended to the late Mr Lal Bahadur Shastri may not have much significance but what *Pravda* had to write on June 1 and 2 certainly means something. The Soviet master plan for gheraoing China involves Indian Ocean bases and it has been heard with sneaking sympathy in New Delhi.

June 7, 1969

## How The Big Three Look At Pakistan

OLIVIER TODD

I am thinking of holding general elections in March 1970"; President General Yahya Khan confided to his friend General Pakrovan, Iran's Ambassador to Pakistan and former chief of the security service of the Shah of Shahs. After the "troubles", tolerably exaggerated to justify the coup d'état, Yahya Khan had just "removed" his protector Ayub Khan.

Martial Law reigns over zone A (West Pakistan) as well as zone B (East Pakistan) 1,300 km away. The students have returned to their studies, the peasants to their middle-aged plough and the workers to their spindles. In the jute mills the working hours, the little kids before spindles, miserable salaries, remind one of Engels' description of the condition of the English working class in 1844.

Rifles, revolvers, swords have been handed back to the police. Only the Pathan warriors, cartridge boxes in bandoleer, at the foot of the Himalayas, have not surrendered their arms. A tacit tolerance by the martial law administrators. The military does not want to set in motion the centrifugal forces alive in two Pakistans. The "anti-corruption ministry" is operating again but without apparent success; the dollar, officially Rs 4.65, is Rs 8 on the black market. Scarcity is back again: the speculators do not fear much the purifying thunder of the army.

Political parties have not been "banned", as they were in 1958 when Ayub captured power, but "suspended". Everywhere, in villages along paddy fields, in the dirty lanes in the shade of the mosques or in the corridors of air-conditioned hotels spies and informers work with an ardour equalled only by their blundering and bureaucratic inefficiency. The police arrest some bribe-taking officials, put certain trade union leaders, workers and students under "preventive detention". The Press obediently locks it-

self up in self-censorship. Article 17 of the Martial Law promises "fourteen years of rigorous imprisonment" for anybody who will "create disaffection or discontent regarding the police or the armed forces". In Rawalpindi, the federal capital, the officers again play polo in the cool air after a siesta with elegant ladies in saris or tailored dresses shouting "good shot, Sir!"

The United States avoided being the first in recognising the new regime which strongly resembles the old: Washington did not want that there should be disclosure of a new coup of the CIA in Pakistan. Nevertheless her Ambassador, Mr Benjamin H. Oehlert Jr., retired President of Coca Cola and an intimate of Lyndon B. Johnson, has ordered his advisers to spread themselves in the ministries. Sticks-in-hand captains of artillery and colonels of transmission double the ranks of high functionaries. Morosely silent, the latter sip their cup of tea under the portraits of Ayub which have not yet been removed.

Mr Benjamin H. Oehlert had become tired of Ayub. In his eyes he was guilty of "naive weakness towards Communist China". Mr Oehlert has not forgotten the tomatoes he received at Hyderabad a few months back. Coming to a conference on co-operation he awkwardly ran into a Vietnam demonstration. In Pakistan anti-Americanism is virulent among the Pathans and the urban middle class. Mr Oehlert is greatly satisfied with the new regime: Yahya Khan leans towards "the free world". And above all, the real strong man of the junta, General Nur Khan, Chief of the Air Force, political arm par excellence, is notoriously pro-American. More ambitious than Yahya, inclined to get back his golf and whiskey, Nur may become a Nasser to a Yahya-Neguib. In November Nur purged the three wings of elements less conservative than the junta itself.

Mr M. V. Debyar, Ambassador of the USSR, practises a crude diplomacy. He has transmitted rapidly and with much pomp congratulations from Kosygin. The Russians like Nur Khan less than the Ameri-

cans. But they sigh; "this is extremely good. After all there was no other solution and order had to be established."

The Russians and Americans want to reinforce the cordon sanitaire around China. Their analyses converge. The one desires, and the other estimates, that the junta, whatever its misadventures and mutations, will check the Chinese advance. This is more ideological than physical. China is not only a great danger to West Pakistan, the last great step to the Middle East, but to East Pakistan, more revolutionary and an important "domino" of South-East Asia in the perspective of an end of the Vietnam war.

### The Chinese

At Islamabad, few kilometres from Rawalpindi, the Chinese in their Embassy are less enthused by the recent events. Yet they remain discreet. They have recognized—verbally—the new regime. Thanks to the Russians and the Americans there was no publicity about the recognition. A Peking journal has published a warning meant for the partisans of Maulana Bhasani, old peasant leader of East Bengal: the demands of the Pakistani people are justified, the journal said in substance, but their avant garde is not ready to seize power; it is necessary to carry on political work in the countryside before conquering the cities. The Chinese think that the party of Bhasani is not yet strong enough organisationally. All the members of Bhasani's party that I have met admitted that they have not yet welded the agrarian Marxism-Leninism and atheism of Mao to the Islamic religiousness in the consciousness of the illiterate people.

China thus manoeuvres prudently. For different reasons. She wants, at least provisionally, to remain in good terms with the leaders of Rawalpindi. Peking does not have many friends and allies in Asia or the world. The Chinese know that before the last military coup in March it was a question of a civil coup d'état in Pakistan but clearly right-wing, with pro-American politicians like Daultana and Sheikh

Mujibur Rahman. Yahya-Nur represent a "limited reaction".

Since its creation more than 20 years ago Pakistan is in a state of war with India, cold or hot. China applies an elementary principle of geopolitics: securing and preserving friendship with the neighbour of the enemy.

The Soviets entered Asian politics slowly after the Second World War. At Tashkent in 1966 Mr Kosygin conciliated, if not reconciled, Indians and Pakistanis on Kashmir. Here the Chinese always see Soviet interference and a "victory of imperialism". In Asia the power of China cannot but be inversely proportional to that of Russia. Now the Soviet diplomats in Pakistan gladly comment that "the regime of Yahya Khan is a success for the Tashkent spirit".

Geographically, in case of conflict with the West, the Chinese logistical line also passes through Pakistan towards Afghanistan, Iran and the Mediterranean. Ayub, while remaining in SEATO, gave testimony of his goodwill for and detente with China: he asked the Americans to dismantle their observation and monitoring base at Peshawar. Under Yahya evacuation continues. In abandoning the base the Americans show that they comprehend "the Pakistani constraints for maintaining good relations with the Chinese". At the same time Washington can please the Soviets: it was from Peshawar that in 1960 Powers took off with the U-2 that made Khrushchev roar and led to a freezing of the US-Soviet detente. The Chinese wish that in the long run Pakistan would become an honorary and non-militant member of SEATO like France.

Rid of the British since Mr Wilson abandoned Singapore, and his 'east of Suez' policy, the Chinese could easily imagine the Soviets and Americans redistributing zones of influence: on the Indian sub-continent India assigned to Moscow and Pakistan to Washington.

A number of reports from foreign embassies in Peking outlined a grand Chinese design: it aims at the balkanization of the Indian sub-conti-

ment. In the background of a communist State, (sic! translator) West Bengal, East Pakistan would be the first link in the chain lost to SEATO. In East Pakistan the indigenous bourgeoisie, urban proletariat and peasants consider themselves 'colonised' by the West Pakistanis. Autonomist tendencies and demands may quickly turn into secessionism. This development would result in a chain reaction all over India weakening the Soviet position. Pakistani politicians do not accept this analysis. When questioned about it, Mr Bhutto, the most brilliant of the opposition leaders, a former Foreign Minister of Ayub removed by American demand in 1965, said that "break-up of Pakistan and India would perhaps reinforce the revolutionaries influenced by Maoism but it would also consolidate the right-wing forces in West Pakistan and the Indian States where the right-wing is in power."

Finally, according to Western experts, Peking treated the leaders of Rawalpindi with caution in order to strengthen its position in the Arab world: Pakistan—the biggest Islamic State of the world with its 12-crore population—is a privileged window to the Arab world, wooed, protected and armed by the Soviets.

France delayed sending her good wishes to Yahya. Very perfidiously de Gaulle requested Yahya to convey his "high esteem and friendship" to Ayub. General de Gaulle did not view with pleasure the dual "hegemony" dividing the sub-continent. Moreover, re-strengthening of US-Pakistani bonds would injure the economic interest of France. After the end of the Vietnam war the Americans will dispose of their stocks. They may give the surplus to Pakistan at a price defying competition. There is a risk that the Mirage of the Pakistani Air Force will be replaced by F-105. What will happen to French submarines and 'Alouettes'? Will not General Motors try to nibble from here a share of the profit which has been carved by Renault engineering and other French firms?

The white observers willingly mini-

mise the potential of the revolutionary organizations in Pakistan. They forecast, "there will not be a left-wing revolution in the coming months. The peasants are too crushed and ignorant to take coherent action—if the military does not pay attention, at the most there will be jacqueri in East Pakistan." But one of these observers also told me thoughtfully: "I went to China in 1947. I asked myself what passed in the minds of

all these illiterate peasants. What did they think of Chiang Kai-shek? What was Mao to them? Several months later Chiang was in Formosa, Mao in Peking."

In poor, overpopulated and corruption-ridden Pakistan, above all in East Pakistan, the problem is not to know whether a popular revolution will break out but *when*.

(Translated from the *Nouvel Observateur*, Paris.)

## Calcutta Diary

CHARAN GUPTA

I read in the newspapers that the Ford Foundation experts are being withdrawn from the Calcutta Metropolitan Planning Organisation. While I will shed no tears over the impending departures—in case these really come about—, let me try to be fair. The ladies and gentlemen sent out by the Foundation might by and large have been honest and earnest; for all I know, some amongst them were perhaps appropriately sympathetic to the cause of Calcutta; perhaps one or two were even endowed with the right "social" attitudes. But these did not add up to anything, and the final outcome of the Ford Foundation's involvement in Calcutta is severely negative. The major part of the responsibility for this denouement, I feel, can be laid at the door of the Foundation itself. It is basically a question of cultural chasm. The scale of the Foundation's operations is horrendously expensive for us. While saying this, I do not merely have the dimension of monetary expenditure in mind; equally relevant is the time factor. The Foundation experts generally come with fixed notions and ideas, and assume that they have all the time in the world to try to set matters right. All projects therefore tend to attain an elongated design. Within the portals of the Foundation's thinking, time has come to a stop. In any case each bit of extra money spent means so much additional or extended employ-

ment for American citizenry. Frills therefore keep getting added to the original version of a particular project; more experts join in; unnecessary minutiae are allowed to be explored at leisure. In the end, the entire thing threatens to turn into an exercise in formalism; project research is piled up for the sake of project research alone, with very little attention being given to the task of converting some of the proposals into operational realities.

\* \* \*

It is all a great pity. The Ford Foundation team has now been in Calcutta for nearly eight years; apart from an expensively printed volume of projections-run-wild and a few scattered surveys on the problems of traffic and transport, it has precious little to show as end-product of eight years' toil and outlay. Since there had to be a counterpart to the lavish Foundation apparatus in the form of the CMPO, the expenses incurred by the State Government too assumed a capital-intensivity extremely difficult to justify in the present economic circumstances. I might have said this on earlier occasions, but let me state once more: if only the quantum spent over the years by the Foundation and the State Government for maintaining the paraphernalia of the CMPO were invested in one or two actual projects, such as an expansion

of sanitation facilities or a programme for slum-razing, at least something worthwhile would have emerged. The priorities for Calcutta are fairly well known ; and one does not really need an over-elaborate, pseudo-sophisticated long-range development programme for an appropriate phasing of these priorities. What is required at the margin is precise and detailed blueprints of individual projects which could then be quickly pushed through. In the matter of spelling out concrete schemes what the CMPO has done is just trifle. Possibly, a concrete reason exists for this particular lack of enterprise. One feels attracted to detailed project reports when one is confident that the projects in question are going to be financially cleared reasonably soon. Since, during the period they were at it, there were no prospects of money coming from anywhere for Calcutta, the CMPO and the Foundation experts could behave altogether irresponsibly and continue with their pipedreaming exercises. What is worse, neither the Foundation nor the CMPO nor the State authorities could even use up the Rs. 10 crores specially earmarked by the Centre for the city under the Third Plan. Much of the current griping against the Central Government on Mr Jyoti Basu's part will sound hollow till so long inefficiencies of this kind are repeated at the State level : When money sanctioned cannot be spent effectively, hollering for extra funds is both unseemly and uncalled for.

\* \* \*

The Foundation experts may depart, but Calcutta's problems will remain. If I were to repose total faith in the Naxalbari line, I would welcome the progressive degeneration of the city's facilities. The more the squalor, the greater the discontent, the greater the possibility of hastening the process of social alienation ; if, as a result of such alienation, cadres, steeled in revolutionary determination, emerge, so much the better. There is however the other side. While the Naxalites need not abide any-

body's question, for those who have sworn by the parliamentary path, there is no easy salvation. None of the famous thirty-two points provides any clue about what the UF Government wants to do about Calcutta. The more outstanding problems are obvious and I can list them seriatim : (a) an enlarged and improved infrastructure for water, drainage and sanitation ; (b) a phased programme of slum clearance ; (c) an overhauling of the transport facilities within the city limits ; and (d) a better deal for the city's transient population. If one were to make a thorough job of it, each of these objectives would demand an investment of anything between Rs. 50 crores and Rs. 200 crores ; the very magnitude of the financial problem might make the UF panicky and push it into inaction. Granted that if only the country's defence budget could be slashed from Rs. 1100 crores to, let us say, Rs. 800 crores and that too just for one year — we would have enough wherewithal to save Calcutta. But till so long as power is not captured in New Delhi, all such talk will be totally academic. While I will go along with the United Front Home Minister that a running fight has to be kept up with the Centre in the matter of allocation of resources, certain things can nonetheless be accomplished by the State Government itself : there need not be any indefinite passing of the buck.

\* \* \*

Take for instance the finances of the Corporation of Calcutta. Bombay has a population scarcely more than 60 per cent of Calcutta's, and yet, the annual revenue collected by that city's Corporation is something like Rs. 80 crores, as against the twenty-odd crores of rupees on which the Calcutta Corporation has to fend. It is no use waiting for the Godot of the Government of India finally shelling out the money. Even an extra ten crores of rupees each year would go a long way to improve the facilities for water supply, drainage and sanitation. If the United Front is interested, a small

group of economists and lawyers between them can easily work out a number of alternative schemes which could yield either to the Corporation or to the Government of West Bengal an annual sum of Rs 10 crores through a levy on urban property and similar fiscal devices. The Front, if it wants to, might even turn shamelessly sectarian and concentrate its fiscal attack on the five Assembly constituencies which did not vote for it in the mid-term election, namely, Jorabagan, Jorasanko, Chowringhee, Barra Bazar and Bow Bazar. Some of the constituents of the Front might be hesitant to impose taxes on the affluent urban groups if only because some of them have already started receiving hush money from these groups. If normal scruples do not bother them, they ought yet to ponder over the consequences of not taxing the urban rich.

Let me be quite blunt about it. As a seasonal gimmick, it may be perfectly all right to shift the blame on the Centre and to keep on complaining that nothing could be done for Calcutta since the funds are not forthcoming from New Delhi. But, beyond the first few months, it is unlikely that the gimmickry will cut much ice. Once the realisation spreads that nothing is going to be got done, disenchantment with the Front is bound to spread and the Naxalbari elements will start asserting themselves. To confront the latter "politically" will be an impossible task when, even in the sphere of economism, the Front's success is minimal.

The choice is straightforward. Either the Government of West Bengal and the Corporation raise enough additional resources on their own, or they keep up pressure on New Delhi, or they try to encourage the flow of funds from external sources. Self-sufficiency, however, should begin at home. Those gentlemen, who inveigh incessantly from all available platforms against foreign aid and PL480 shipment of foodgrains, owe it to themselves to work out, in their own sphere, the empirical correlate of development without external aid. In

## Telengana Tangle

KAJAL SEN

TELENGANA is back in the news. The region first attracted attention about 25 years ago during the reign of the Nizam of Hyderabad when the communists, thinking the time to be ripe, started a peasant uprising there. The movement continued for two years; there was much bloodshed but Telengana did not become the Yanan of India. Now after 25 years, another movement has started, this time for a separate Telengana State, conducted by a section of Congressmen and other interests who have donned the not too dissimilar caps of the Swatantra Party and the Bharatiya Kranti Dad—perhaps from the Telengana action will emerge the Swatantra-BKD unity with Congressmen like Dr Chenna Reddy choosing sides.

The movement has continued for over five months. The Union Government, which became so nervous over the law and order situation in West Bengal in 1967 that it had to dismiss the first U.F. Ministry, has not intervened. In Andhra the Centre has full faith in Mr. Brahmananda Reddy's ability to control the situation. Efforts have also been made by Mr Chavan and his cronies to divert public attention from Telengana to the happenings in another part of the State, in Srikakulam; efforts in which they were ably helped by the country's leading newspapers whose demands just fell short of a full-scale military attack on the communist revolutionaries there. On the Telengana issue, however, they advocate only disciplinary action against the dissident Congressmen provided all other ways of solving the problem fail. That being the ultimate action advocated any other cannot be too drastic. Meanwhile the State Ministry may continue in office, shooting down people who, in their turn, might carry on activities which are certainly not aimed at bringing any social change.

this endeavour, by all means let the Union Government be pestered for extra resources. A theory can even be built that an element of colonial exploitation was involved in what the rest of the country had done to Calcutta over the last half century, and there ought to be retrospective compensation now on account of that. But, short of going to war—which is the same as the blooming of a thousand Naxalbaris—New Delhi cannot be forced to transfer funds if it does not feel inclined to do so. The Front will then be placed in an impossible corner unless it is able to raise resources internally. The alternative to raising fresh revenue from within is to accept external aid in some form or other. If external aid too is to be ruled out, the alternative is non-development which will mean conceding to the votes of Naxalbari. The United Front will therefore have to choose.

\* \* \*

As to external aid, the World Bank is simply waiting in the wings. The Bank has recently started a Department of Urban Development and will be more than eager to help out Calcutta. Reports suggest that nothing has impressed Mr McNamara more than the show put up by the Naxalite students here; even if political considerations were not involved, he would love to take on Calcutta as a challenge. But in any case the tantalizing prospect of saving Calcutta from communism will be a major point with the Bank. What the United Front's attitude is going to be if the Bank puts out a feeler is a matter to which the leaders of the Front should devote some time. A clear-cut

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For FRONTIER contact  
Shri PABITRA KUMAR DEKA,  
Assam Tribune,  
Gauhati-3  
Assam.

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attitude would be to argue that an agency which is headed by the person, who perhaps more than all others, with the exception of Lyndon Johnson, was directly responsible for the escalation of the Vietnam war, and which in any case is dominated by American interests, is to be shunned for ever. The contrary argument could be that India herself is the member of the World Bank, and our taxpayers' money—including money of taxpayers from West Bengal—is invested in the Bank; so why not accept back part of the money to re-build Calcutta? It will be an interestingly dangerous game for both sides: the Bank anxious to give money to save West Bengal from communism, and the communists accepting the money with the object of further digging themselves in.

\* \* \*

It is not for me to suggest what the UF should do: it has in any case plenty of "inside" advisers. All I would state is that, having agreed to administer West Bengal for five years, the United Front Government cannot escape making certain choices. The choices are confined to the following: (a) maintain a relentless pressure on the Centre so that funds are diverted from elsewhere for the development of Calcutta, (b) accept external assistance, including money from the World Bank, and (c) try to raise resources internally. If alternative (a) does not yield any dividends, one has to go over to alternative (b) or (c). The three alternatives are not mutually exclusive either. But in case the UF is not able to squeeze funds out of the Centre and, at the same time, is reluctant to accept foreign money, it has no option but to tax certain population groups heavily. If it is not prepared to pursue this particular alternative too, then there is the final alternative, namely, handing the State over to Mr Kanu Sanyal and his comrades. Between Mr Morarji Desai, the World Bank, and taxing the Birlas and Bangurs, and, ultimately, Mr Kanu Sanyal, Mr Jyoti Basu has still a choice: the decision has to be his.

In commenting on the 'Telengana Tangle' the *Hindu* voices the concern of the well-wishers of the people of Andhra, at the turn of events in the last five months. With the formation of a separate Telengana Pradesh Congress Committee by dissident Congressmen, hopes of retaining a single Telugu-speaking State seem to be receding. The movement could not have gained in dimension without the backing of a widespread distrust among the Telengana people of those running the State Government. And at this stage one might wonder if even a stepping down by Mr Bramhananda Reddy in favour of a Telengana Chief Minister would stem the tide of the separatist movement. Stern official action to curb violent acts on the other hand might appear as repression to the public mind. What is needed urgently is a fresh initiative from New Delhi which might take the form of a leaders' conference under the aegis of the Prime Minister. The situation can yet be saved if the broad masses of the Telengana region can be convinced by bold and psychologically effective steps. It is clear that the present policy of drifting serves no one's interest.

The *Indian Express* has realized that the Telengana situation rules out any complacency either at the Centre or in the State itself. With the Congress in power at both places the problem should have been dealt with expeditiously and a solution, satisfactory to all the interests concerned, found. The fact that such has not been the case shows the growing incapacity of the party to grapple with difficult situations. The central leadership of the party was taken unawares when Telengana Congress leaders formed a separate Congress Committee, which only shows how completely out of touch it has been with the state of popular feeling in that region. Of course the Andhra Pradesh Government is also to be blamed for not keeping the Centre posted with the latest developments. Or was it itself ignorant of the happenings around it? The Government with its apathy towards the grievances of the Telengana people

has completely lost their confidence. As to why the Centre opposes any bifurcation or even reorganisation of Telengana, the paper points out that such a solution might set off a chain reaction weakening the unity of the country. Maintenance of unity, on the other hand, would call for the creation of a necessary climate; if needed the Andhra Pradesh Government should be reconstituted. Peace and progress in Andhra Pradesh are more important than any individual to whatever organization he might belong.

The *Hindustan Times* also calls for a firm handling of the situation. Of all the possible solutions to the problem, the paper feels, none would be more hurtful to the nation's interest than conceding the agitators' demands. The demand for Mr Bramhananda Reddy's resignation has undergone a metamorphosis and the appeal now is for President's Rule, with consequent elections, which cannot be conceded at this juncture. The party High Command should also take note of the formation of a separate Telengana PCC which is clear notice of the split in the State Congress. The dissidents will seek recognition from the High Command. To compromise would be to concede the essence of the separatist demand. Incidentally the Telengana situation should make the country consider whether the formation or reconstitution of States would require no more than a simple majority in Parliament, which is the present system and which is why the eyes of the dissidents are so firmly fixed on the Centre.

The influence of foreign and domestic monopoly interests in the Telengana agitation has been felt by *Patriot*. The interests might not be serving any particular leader or group but might be acting according to the principle of weakening Central authority through a divisive struggle. A poverty-stricken Telengana State with the remnants of feudal traditions is a tempting bait for "investments". What might help clear Andhra Pradesh of these pests and allow the people to think coolly about the problems that face them is Cen-

tral administration for six months. In this connection the paper points out that the happenings in Hyderabad if they had taken place in West Bengal or Kerala would have led every Congressman to clamour for a Central take-over. The demand has not been raised regarding Andhra, though the Prime Minister and other Central leaders must be aware by now that Mr Brahmananda Reddy cannot be put together like some humpty-dumpty and a more fundamental approach has to be evolved.

#### Bengal Watchers

Preoccupation with Telengana has, however, not prevented editorial writers and special correspondents from continuing with their West Bengal watching. Indeed it is strange to find news items on the State featured on the front page of outstation papers which in the local Press have not been able to do much better than secure remote corners in inside pages. Thus the successful demonstration by some Naxalite students against the screening of a Hindi film has received a four-column spread on the front page of *Hindustan Times*. In a long report the correspondent wonders whether we are living in India or China and draws the Union Government's attention to the film's fate in Calcutta.

At least two papers have also remembered to write on the United Front's 100 days of office. Whether such an assessment continues to be of any use in the modern context has been questioned by *The Statesman*. Such evaluation, however, can help to judge whether the start has been good or not. No claims have so far been put forward for any achievement, the reason being the lack of unity among the Front constituents. Gherao and the Front's failure to take any definite stand occupies more than half of the column-long editorial. The rest of the space takes note of the UF's double-standard as seen in the Council abolition affair, the controversy over the UF convenor and the tram fare reduction, which has proved as costly mistake. The paper says that the United Front does not even seem

to be moving in the right direction, leave alone the question of achievements.

The *Times of India* correspondent writes from Calcutta that the political uncertainty that plagued the State after the 1967 general election has been replaced by a gnawing uncertainty in regard to official policies whose effect has been no less debilitating. Inter-party controversies and clashes have been on the increase while there has been a perceptible re-

laxation in the attitude of the State leaders towards the Centre, since the Delhi visits of the Chief and the Deputy Chief Minister in April. The current inter-party clashes are the outcome of the determination of individual parties to extend their areas of influence. It realized, however, that these clashes might endanger the unity of the Front and it will not be surprising if the UF Government renews its confrontation with the Centre to stop the recurrence of these.

minimised the influence of atheism. Theism has been taken as the chief current of Indian philosophy and atheism ascribed to the Carvakas only is more often treated as non-philosophical. The real picture is, however, somewhat different. Jainism and Buddhism are avowedly heterodox. They have not only refused to admit the authority of the Vedas, but also denied the existence of God. In the various orthodox systems which admit the authority of the Vedas we find features of atheism present in every school except the Vedanta. This is a serious claim. The way in which the writer has substantiated it shows that he has tried to do full justice to the importance of the claim. Even scholars would admit that.

### Book Review

## Indian Atheism

GAUTAM SANYAL

PHILOSOPHY, we are told, is a product of the social milieu. However, most people are not much concerned with the detailed logic and working out of various philosophical issues, though these are said to have resulted from social realities. They are, of course, not indifferent to the broad slogans of the various issues and choose those slogans which they think are suitable. This does not mean that they live according to the slogans. When a particular philosophy is no longer alive they do not even care for the broad slogans. Moreover, philosophical questions which have less bearing on our everyday life are still less cared for. Metaphysical and theological questions belong to this category. Inclusion of theological questions in this category may provoke objections. Are we totally free from the pressure of religious prescriptions? Do we not still follow the do's and don't's of religion in our daily conduct? But it is not the same thing, to be religious and to be concerned with the theoretical aspect of theological questions. For, we may be religious even as a matter of habit. So while writing a book like *Indian Atheism*\* the writer

must have given up any hope of popular response to it.

The points raised and discussed in it are purely technical but the credit of the writer lies in that he introduces these issues in such a way that even lay readers would not feel baffled. At the same time he has not done it at the cost of precision.

We have known Mr Chattopadhyay as the author of *Lokayata*, in which he gave an account of Indian atheism and materialism. In his latest book he works out another thesis: that atheism, which is popularly believed to be the sole feature of lokayata philosophy, is present in most of the systems of Indian thought. Even as a positive creed, atheism is as old as Vedic theistic thought and has been referred to in the 'Svetasvatara Upanisad'.....the direct and obvious recorded evidence of the beginnings of Indian atheism is to be sought in those lines of thought which the earliest theists belonging to the Vedic tradition considered hostile to their own and which moreover suggested some principle other than God to account for the mystery of the origin of the universe.

Popular notions about Indian philosophy, from Max Muller to Radhakrishnan, have magnified spiritualism and theism in Indian philosophy and

### Without God

While analysing the character of atheism present in the various Indian systems, two points have been particularly emphasised in the book. More often than not it is thought, the different Indian philosophical schools including the orthodox ones, have been zealous to explain the creation of the universe without any reference to God. They have given naturalistic casual explanations in some form or other which is rooted in Svabhavavada. Thus according to Samkhya, "primeval matter moved by the laws of motion inherent in it (svabhavavada), adequately accounted for the origin and development of the world. . . There was no question of any supernatural principle guiding either of the processes. There was no question of assuming God as the *nimitta-karana* of the world." (P. 81.) In Buddhism the concepts of rigid being and rigid non-being are rejected in favour of becoming. As such it cannot admit that there is any creator external to this universe. Jainism argues that we need to conceive God as the cause of the world only when we admit that the latter is an effect, that is, it is not ever-existing. But in fact the world is ever-existing and as such God cannot be said to be its creator. The Mimamsa school of philosophy may be called the most orthodox school as it admits the autho-

\**Indian Atheism: A Marxist Analysis*. By Debiprasad Chattopadhyay. Manisha, Calcutta. Price Rs. 15.

riety of the Vedas most rigidly. Nevertheless, God has no place in the system. The Vedas are 'apauruseya'; but this, to the mimamsakas meant that even God did not reveal the Vedas. There is no God or gods. The Vedas mention various gods and deities. But these names merely stand for sounds or words, and as sounds or words they have a certain efficiency. These gods have no real existence; the only existence which they have is merely verbal. In the history of Indian philosophy, the Nyaya-Vaisesika system is usually labelled a theistic system. In fact, when the other schools of Indian philosophy had worked out their atheistic contentions they attacked the exponents of this system. So it may be rather odd to say that this system takes God as the creator of the world. The fact is that in the original works of the Nyaya-Vaisesika written by Gautam or Kanada, existence of God as the creator is denied. Originally the Nyaya-Vaisesika did not admit Paramatman or the Supreme Self. It was only the exponents of the school who admitted Paramatman or Supreme Self or God. They introduced God and tried to prove His existence with elaborate and thorough-going logic. In doing this they deviated from the original position of the founders of the systems who had held that "the world came to being out of the mere material cause as explained in the Svabhava-vada". There is no ground to think that God is the efficient cause of the world. Nor that He is the dispenser of the results of human action. According to the original Nyaya-sutra, liberation or apavarga is to be attained by true knowledge for which the grace of God is not needed. Later commentators took liberation in a somewhat different sense and held that worshipping God was the real means to liberation. Nor does the original Nyaya-sutra hold anywhere that the Vedas are authoritative because they are revealed by the omniscient God. Gautama admitted the validity of the Vedas only "for the purpose of placating those who demanded of the philosophers the definite recognition

of the Vedic authority".

#### Treatment of Evidence

The other point that has been emphasised is the treatment of the evidence for the existence of God. In the works of later exponents of the Nyaya-Vaisesika system we find attempts to establish His existence on rigid, detailed and meticulous inferential proofs. Various systems have treated atheism so seriously that they have put forward counter-arguments equally painstakingly. Thus in the Samkhya-sutra we find atheistic arguments, in later Buddhism Nagarjuna refuting theistic arguments with his negative dialectic, and in Jainism, Gunaratna refuting the inferential proofs about the existence of God put forward by the Nyaya-vaisesika system.

Mr Chattopadhyay claims his book to be a Marxist analysis of Indian atheism. He, however, does not try to read Marxism in Indian thought. On the contrary, in the last section of the book he gives a brief account of Marxist views on religion and a comparison between the scientific atheism of Marxism and Indian atheism in order to show to what extent the latter falls short of scientific atheism. But this has been done summarily and is rather disappointing. The writer mentions the weakness of Indian atheism but does not explain it sufficiently. In a Marxist analysis of atheism the reader expects at least two principal questions to be discussed, which Mr Chattopadhyay does not. The questions concern the relation between Indian atheism and materialism and the relation of Indian atheism with established institutionalized religions and the former's role as a socio-cultural force. A Marxist analysis would require us to accept two propositions. First, a consistent atheism must be a necessary corollary of materialism just as a consistent materialism must lead to atheism. When we examine Indian atheism we find that none of the systems (except the lokayata) is materialistic. At best they have accepted dualism and as such have admitted consciousness to be a prin-

ciple ontologically independent of matter. This must have weakened their atheism. Accordingly, all of them spoke of liberation, acceptance of which means prescribing a way to emancipation from the worldly situation (consisting mainly of suffering) in an illusory manner. Though the account given in the book would not contradict this, this has not been brought out clearly. Secondly, without referring to the historical context a Marxist analysis of atheism is likely to remain incomplete. The various systems have given theoretical justification for atheism. But how were they related to the actual historical practice? In which way such theories served as a cultural milieu for the respective contemporaries? These questions are particularly important with reference to Buddhism and Jainism. So far as other schools concerned they cannot be altogether ignored.

## The Anti-Leader

ASHOK RUDRA

COHN-BENDIT is important. The French Communist Party might have wished to dismiss him as an irresponsible adventurist and even as a provocateur working for de Gaulle. But the editor of no less a journal than *Le Monde*, in a recent article, described de Gaulle's defeat in the referendum as a political murder and named the murderer as Cohn-Bendit. Cohn-Bendit's criticism and condemnation of the French Communist Party and his search for the roots of its betrayal in the history of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union are important. Especially for those of us in India who are shocked and stupefied by the spectacle of E. M. S. Namboodiripad using the hated and ill-reputed Malabar police to hunt down Ajitha and her comrades and trying them as *criminals* for attacking some police outposts, and Jyoti Basu launching a police campaign to disarm the Naxalites. When some Marxist leaders of only yesterday begin to use the re-

pressive forces of the bourgeois State apparatus to defend it against rebels from their own following, the time has surely come to pay greater heed to those who have been attributing anti-revolutionary motives and actions to much of the communist movement in many parts of the world. Even the most obdurate devotee of Moscow, even one who remained undisturbed by the rape of socialism in Czechoslovakia by the Red Army, even one whose loyalties either to Russia or to China remained unshaken after the bloody border clashes between the two so-called socialist powers, even he, if he be born in this sub-continent, cannot be unaffected by the sight of how these two great socialist Powers have helped the military in Pakistan to drown in blood the biggest mass revolutionary movement that ever took place on this sub-continent. The interest of a book\* that describes communism as obsolete cannot therefore be denied.

One impression is corrected: the image that was built up of Cohn-Bendit by press reporters was of a volatile and dynamic agitator. That he probably is, but the book gives evidence of a theoretician as well. Given that he is only a student leader, Cohn-Bendit's maturity of understanding of history and his capacity to think logically and analytically is remarkable. In contrast he seems to lack the narrative skill. The poorest part of the book is the first part, devoted to a recounting of the events of May 1968. Here one is disappointed. One expected a view of things from the inside.

But one does not really come to know anything more than what one knew if one followed French journals. The story is the same everywhere, as narrated by him. From campus to campus, from factory to factory, the wild fire spreads: everywhere it is a spontaneous uprising from below. Everywhere the official leadership—the major student organisations, the trade unions, the party representatives—

\* *Obsolete Communism: The Left-Wing Alternative.*

By Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Gabriel Cohn-Bendit, Andre Deutsch.

does everything possible to change the fundamentalist character of the demands to purely material ones. Everywhere it is not the employers, not the brutal riot police of de Gaulle but the workers' own leaders who urge them to give up the strike and go back to work.

But Cohn-Bendit does not over-rate the possibilities that were there. Even though at one time (around May 22, 1968) "everything was still possible, authority no longer existed, except as a thread, and even part of the professional army was known to be sympathetic to the strikers", "the public debates that went on almost continually at the time showed that the majority were not yet ready to manage their own affairs. . . . The authorities had been reduced to utter helplessness, the workers know it, and yet failed to seize their opportunity, overwhelmed no doubt by the unexpected vistas that had suddenly opened up before them". Cohn-Bendit goes on to write: "this failure cannot be explained simply in terms of treachery by the working class organisations, for it is basically due to the erosion of initiative within the capitalist system. The ideological submissiveness and servility of the wage slaves must not be condemned, which serves no purpose, nor deplored, which helps to engender a moral superiority, nor accepted, which can only lead to complete inaction—it must be fought by an active and conscious assault, if necessary by a minority, on the system in every sphere of daily life".

#### No Superiority

But this critical attitude towards the working class is not based on an assumed superiority of the students, which would be no doubt naïve. Cohn-Bendit distinguishes himself from the *blouson noir* "who refuses to conform and yet expects all the goodies of capitalist society to fall into his lap: cars, electric guitars, clothes, and records. But even if his way of acquiring these treasures—theft—is one that strikes at the very roots of society, once he begins to enjoy these comforts, the *blouson noir* is only too

happy to settle own to a life of humdrum conformism".

Discussing the elements which constitute an explanation "both of the relative ease with which they become involved in political activity and of the often superficial nature of this involvement", Cohn-Bendit goes on to admit that "politically conscious students" like himself "realised full well that the main body of students were far more interested in furthering their careers than in social justice" and that they "exploited student insecurity and disgust with life in an alienated world where human relationships are so much merchandise to be used, bought and sold in the market place."

This is Cohn-Bendit's reaction to the criticism of the student movement which pointed out that the students were after all predominantly of bourgeois origin and therefore may not be depended upon to be genuinely revolutionary. Also: "The 'right thinking' Left concentrates its fire on the class structure of French higher education, but stressing that only 6 per cent of the students are the sons of workers, when in fact they should be attacking the social function of the university: the production of a managerial elite."

But Cohn-Bendit's interests go much beyond the condition of the students and workers in France in 1968. His positive values are clearly stated: "Every revolution, every radical transformation of society, means the conscious and creative participation of the working and peasant classes, and not simply their participation as a malleable mass. . . ." And so also his action programme:

"We should never have allowed them to divert us, should have occupied the Ministries and public buildings, not to put in a new lot of 'revolutionary' bureaucrats, but to smash the entire State apparatus, to show the people how well they could get on without it, and how the whole society had to be reconstructed afresh on the basis of workers control".

#### No Leninist

Cohn-Bendit is no Leninist. Workers' control does not, for him, mean

control by the Party, control by the Central Committee of the Party, finally by the General Secretary of the Party. He means direct control by all workers. He is not only against any State: he is against any leadership. It is a theoretical discussion of *obsolete communism* on the plank of this theme of conflict between leadership and workers' spontaneity that he launches upon in the second part of the book. No wonder he does not stoop to criticise such grossness as that of Stalinist dictatorship. The young intellectual engages himself in a criticism of Leninism and Trotskyism. He elaborates on the argument of Trotsky that in 1918 "The masses at the turning point were a hundred times to the left of the extreme left party." But Cohn-Bendit's attempt to show that the Bolshevik Party was but a reluctant leader of the October Revolution inadvertently demolishes his own argument by giving all the credit to Lenin's personal leadership, which after all was a leadership! Thus, "in October, Lenin could only impose his view by going over the head of his Central Committee... in so doing, he had to break the very rules of democratic centralism he himself had formulated".

"The break between Lenin and the Party may prove Lenin's genius when it comes to changing the political line, but it also proves how ill-fitted a party of the Bolshevik type is to deal with a revolutionary situation". For his analysis of the role of the Bolshevik Party during the October Revolution Cohn-Bendit depends primarily on Trotsky's history and it is at least delightful that his verdict on Trotsky is "... he is honest or stupid enough to list the facts that contradict his every conclusion." He never uses such outrageous language when it comes to Lenin, though he directs some attacks on him in the dignified language of Rosa Luxemburg. There is a chapter on what is described as the Makhno movement (named after a 'leader' and therefore a contradiction with the principle of no leaders); another on Kronstadt; and the last chapter is a kind of manifesto of the anarchist standpoint and programme. Earlier

there are chapters on the role of the French Communist Party at the end of the Second World War, which, to Cohn-Bendit, is one of its first betrayals, that of 1968 being its second.

There is no doubt a great deal of substance in the observation that party organisations left to themselves inevitably lead to their bureaucratisation and that bureaucratic party organisations come in conflict with spontaneous mass movements. It is no doubt true that the representative system of democracy is far removed from direct control of their affairs by the masses. But is it not at least doubtful whether such direct democracy is really possible beyond a point? Cohn-Bendit does not convince that these very real problems of civic society can be eliminated altogether. After all merely talking about workers' management and workers' control is not enough: one has to work out institutional sys-

tems for making them more and more real and effective. Cohn-Bendit does not do any such thing, and as such does not do justice to the anarchist political philosophy, if there be any properly worked out philosophy of that description.

All the same, Cohn-Bendit deserves to be saluted. Despite his not believing in leaders, he was one of the leaders of a youth movement which finally destroyed the magic appeal of de Gaulle. Senile one-time revolutionaries have always scoffed at the revolutionary enthusiasm of students and the youth whenever they could not use it for their own purpose. The fact remains that it is impatient youth that has rekindled revolutionary fervour every time it has tended to die out and the one great sign of hope one sees today is the spectacle of student defiance of the established order in every part of the world.

## A Man For All Seasons

PRABODH KUMAR MAITRA

FRED Zinnemann's *A Man For All Seasons* is based on the play by Robert Bolt who is responsible for the screenplay of the film. It is an excellent adaptation to the requirements of a different medium. Bolt withdraws the Common Man which is of course a suitable device for the stage. Here Matthew is just a servant of More and is none the worse for the truncated role. The Spanish ambassador is also taken off. But mercifully much of the original dialogue, witty, crisp and crafty, is retained.

Zinnemann shows an astonishing range as a director of such an impressive array of actors. One sees Orson Welles after quite some time. The majestic presence of the old master and the poise so natural to him in the brief role of the Cardinal is unforgettable. Paul Scofield as Sir Thomas More turns in a sustained and confident piece of performance. Zinnemann keeps the camera on the faces of the

characters most of the time and Scofield's expresses the anguish of the private conscience which is pitched against the petulance of the king and his crooked courtiers. In the ordinary everyday happenings of his family life much of More's character is explored. The obedience he commands, the reverence with which he is received by the family and the people give an insight into his strength of will. All these details are deftly touched upon by the director in etching the profile of a man who is condemned for his obstinate opinion.

Zinnemann shows remarkable ingenuity in introducing characters like Rich or the king himself. The impetuous king comes to More in the royal boat. The henchmen follow suit. The king's peal of laughter becomes infectious too. His fits of temper, the wheedling and bullying of More are in sharp contrast to the latter's quiet reticence and cool determination not to give in. When the

king's task is taken over by Cromwell much of the dialogue that flows seems lawyer's chatter but the flamboyance remains.

Zinnemann is greatly aided by the stunning colour photography of Ted Moore. The river, the green bank, the palace and the castle become integrated to the texture. The study of the faces is an eloquent device to heighten the impact of the tragedy that haunts More from beginning to end.

*Bullitt* is the funny name for a very unfunny character and a cop at that, who is assigned to protect a killer, a prize witness for an ambitious politician. Complications ensue as politics gets mixed up with gangsterism and the real identity of the captive becomes a confused quantity. But *Bullitt* remains steadfast in his pursuit of chasing the criminal to the latter's bitter end.

The film has all the ingredients of a thriller. A chase along the basement corridor of the hospital, a car chase for a couple of minutes which is one of the most remarkable of its kind seen on the screen, and the final one along the runaway and the lounge of the airport—all three executed with precision which often make the viewer sit on edge. The story is not without a girl for the cop, but the poor self hardly fits in. Only at a point she expresses her anguish that she does not like to be ensnared by violence which has become the bloke's way of life. His confession that perhaps he cannot remain unaffected has a ring of sincere truth.

Steve McQueen as *Bullitt* and Robert Vaughan as the politician give confident performances.

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JUNE 14, 1969

## Kalpurush : A Mixed Ballet

ARUN RAY

ON June 4 the Academy of Arts and Culture held a function. There were two solo recitals of Rabin-dra Sangeet by Sm Suchitra Mitra and Mr Debabrata Biswas. While the former looked fresh and presented some jems from Tagore with immaculate control over her golden voice, the latter looked like a weary soldier of many a battle rendering the song in his typical style with the limitations of touching 'Khad and 'Tar'.

Then the 'Mixed Ballet' started. The ladies came out and went inside from behind the side-screen all through the show, simply to disturb the audience. The story originally written by Mr Narayan Gangopadhyaya, promised to bring a 'new concept' to the ballet. One does not understand whether trying to stand on the toes, faulty twists (by many), the cabaret dance (by the 'Enchantress') or presenting three ghost-like characters, said to be 'robots', have anything new in them.

Rythm, picturesqueness and speed, the essence of a ballet, were not there. The producers tried to utilize Mr Jogesh Datta, the famous pantomimist who, though in his usual form, failed to create any overall impact. Neither the script by Mr Nirmalya Sen Gupta, nor the choreography by Mr Santi Bose, nor the music by Mr Kumar Kishore could make any impression. Light by Mr Panchugopal Mukherjee was also of a very ordinary nature.

They should not have presented the ballet in such a hurry. Every new thing is not accepted by the public just because it is an experiment.

Letters

## 'Unity In Action'

Your editorial 'Unity in Action' (May 31) is interspersed with such comments as do not befit a weekly like *Frontier*. While discussing unity in action, you have suddenly changed the topic, simply in order to have a dig at the CPI (M). Its attitude towards the Soviet Union has not changed since it became critical of the CPSU. I can cite any number of quotations to vindicate my assertion. Your comment 'The annoyance with China, on the other hand, is more vocal' bears ample testimony to the fact that you expect the CPI (M) to follow China blindly as the Naxalites do. If a party of the Marxist hue does anything anti-Marxist, it must be subjected to severe criticism. The CPI (M) committed a blunder in not extending its support for the Naxalbari movement. But that single blunder did not warrant a 'split'. The CPC committed a far more serious blunder when it openly, through radio and press, began to call CPI (M) leaders 'imperialist stooges, lackeys of imperialism, agents of the bourgeoisie' etc., and to cap it all, at the Ninth Congress, the CPC went so far as to incorporate in the party constitution the policy of secession! The entire Ninth Congress Report is replete with such anti-Marxist utterances. The CPI (M), this time, is hundred per cent correct in exposing this shameful outrage on Marxism.

JAYAYNTA K. CHOWDHURY  
Englishbazar

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Correction

Shri Rajendranath Bandyopadhyaya in the letter entitled "A Request" (May 31) was a misprint for Shri Brajendranath Bandyopadhyaya.

## CPI(M) On China

The CPI (M) says that the Chinese Communist Party has deviated from

Marxism-Leninism and is trying to impose Maoism on the ideas of Marx and Lenin. The Chinese are also blamed for interfering in the affairs of other Communist Parties.

The revisionists are there, the extremists are also there, and the CPI (M) is the only Communist Party of the world which is keeping the balance between right and left deviations! The rift with the Chinese came when the CPC criticised the CPI (M)'s participation in the UF Government and the way in which it crushed the democratic peasant movement in Naxalbari. The CPI (M) leaders accused the CPC of interference in its internal affairs. Not long before, the CPI (M) politbureau supported the Russian action in Czechoslovakia. Was it not a case of Soviet interference in the internal affairs of the Czech Communist Party?

In fact, the CPI (M) has practically no ideological difference now with the rightists. Like them they say that the Thoughts of Mao are different from the ideas of Marx and Lenin, they support the social-imperialist action of Soviet Russia in Czechoslovakia, and recently they have started preachings 'Peaceful Revolution'. Mr Jyoti Basu, while addressing a youth conference at Tripura, gave a call for carrying out social and economic revolution peacefully. We shall not be surprised to see a CPI-CPI (M) merger in the near future. But inner party struggle, particularly among the cadres at the lower level, is inevitable.

GAUTAM SANYAL  
Chakdaha, Nadia

### A Lost Hope

How correct Charan Gupta is when he points out in his Calcutta Diary (May 31) the UF leader's indifference to the goodwill that intellectuals and the working mass have for them. Many young engineers, accountants, doctors, and enlightened workers of the Durgapur Projects Ltd. offered information, facts and figures regarding the malpractices of corrupt and wayward officials, and promised to help in the working of this biggest in-

dustrial undertaking of the State Government. They met the Minister concerned again and again, fed data, information, adduced evidence to prove their contentions, went to court, sent the copy of the judgment to the authorities concerned and offered further help with no expectation of promotion or pay rise, but the newly constituted management under the UF is kowtowing to the same group of officials about whom the Hon'ble Judge of the Small Causes Court made scathing strictures. S. CHOWDHURY

Durgapur

### Durgapur

It has again happened—hunting with the hounds. This time the targets were the students of the local R.E. College. Unlike the previous occasion, the armed and uniformed hoodlums of the UF appeared in a more organised manner and left the campus, with one killed and more than a hundred with broken limbs. Later in the afternoon the Central forces were called in to take charge of the campus. Immediately after these incidents, the biggest partner of the Front started a vigorous whispering campaign that although it may be bad for the police to enter the campus, it is good that the R.E. College boys have been taught a lesson because they had become unruly.

However hard the UF leaders try to hide their true colour, in the coming days more and more people will be able to understand their real nature. They must realise the consequences of spilling students' blood, whatever may be the pretext. N. G. Durgapur

### Doctors

The weird logic pervading the article 'Wanted a Health Programme' (May 31) reminds one of the story "Hero in Home-spun" by Stephen Leacock. First let me quote him, then Sri Dutt:

"The Waldorf-Astoria was in need of a chef. Hezekia applied for the place.

"Can you cook?" they said. "No"

said Hezekia, "but, Oh Sir, give me an egg and let me try—I will try so hard." Great tears rolled down the boy's face. They rolled him out into the corridor.

Next he applied for a job of a telegrapher. His mere ignorance of telegraphy was made the ground of refusal.

But Dutt writes: "The Government has to make it obligatory that all future promotions should depend on the officer's length of service in rural area."...cf. "I shall try so hard." Then again he plans to deflect doctors from town with the government's help if only it "prefers rural doctors to those exuding knowledge from inside air-conditioned cubicles."

One should have thought that in technical appointments skill and knowledge counted most. Surely a person trained in Mt. Sinai Hospital, New York, should be preferred to one who has spent his life, say, in Belakoba Health Centre for a professional appointment.

Doctors flock to town because it offers them the best scope to display their talents. Give them a good hospital in a village they would rush there too. The example is Mayo Clinic.

It has been ordained that after the MBBS examination the successful candidate must do six months of 'begar'. This unconstitutional act is euphemistically called Pre-Registration-Clinical-Assistantship training. After that the more zealous and better ones must go to village to acquire eligibility for promotion and higher training. Doctors are powerless to apply their knowledge except in the sphere of the hospital, as medicine today has advanced tremendously and the Government controls the hospitals.

One is merely waiting to see the stage envisaged by Shakespeare in *King Lear*:

"Kill thy physician and the fee  
bestow

Upon thy foul disease."  
So may the quacks, whose cause you championed in these pages, inherit medicine. P. BHATTACHARYA (MRS)

Kenduadihi, Bankura

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