

# frontier

Vol. 2: No. 6

MAY 17, 1969

PRICE 35 PAISE

## On Other Pages

COMMENTS ..	2
<i>View from Delhi</i>	
ANOTHER ARMS BONANZA FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT ..	6
<i>Assam</i>	
A PROTEST MARCH ARUN KUMAR CHAKMA ..	7
NAXALBARI: BETWEEN YESTERDAY AND TOMORROW—I SUMANTA BANERJEE ..	8
THE STUDENT LEFTIST DILIP SIMEON ..	10
CALCUTTA DIARY CHARAN GUPTA ..	11
<i>The Press</i>	
THIRD PARTY RISKS ..	13
BOOK REVIEW PHILIP G. ALTBACH ..	15
VARIED FARE MRIGANKA SEKHAR RAY ..	16
LUMINOS AND ALUMINOS ..	16
LETTERS ..	16

Editor : Samar Sen

PRINTED AT MODERN INDIA PRESS,  
7, RAJA SUBODH MULLICK SQUARE,  
CALCUTTA-13 AND PUBLISHED WEEKLY  
BY SAMAR SEN FROM 61, MOTT LANE,  
CALCUTTA-13

## EFFECTS OF AN ENORMITY

PURISTS may disapprove of the American variety of the English language, but it is not without its uses. In the first week of this month, the U.S. authorities announced that they had lost a total of some 2,600 helicopters in the Vietnam war and that the losses had been the heaviest in recent weeks. This, an American military spokesman said, was due to "the enormity of the operation". Probably he meant enormousness, but most people in the world would perhaps find "enormity" more appropriate; for in the English language the only meaning of "enormity"—to quote an authoritative dictionary—is "monstrous wickedness; crime". The crime continues, but with mounting failure. So disastrous have been the effects of the enormity that Mr Clark Clifford, the former U.S. Secretary of Defence, had recently to admit before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that during his 11 months in office he had been increasingly disillusioned about the progress of the American war effort in Vietnam. He went further to state that at present the USA was in a hopeless military situation. It would be interesting to hear the comments of those—not only in America but also in other countries, including India—who had been claiming that the North Vietnamese and Vietcong operations had been total military failures, the dying spasms of a shattered people.

It is really remarkable how much has changed. Even a few months ago, the Americans would not even look at the National Liberation Front's programme for a political settlement in South Vietnam; before the famous Tet offensive, there was even talk of the Americans and their puppets fighting the war to the finish—Mr McNamara had indeed specified dates by which American troops would return home after fulfilling their mission. There is talk of troop withdrawals even today, but without any suggestion of the job having been done. The American fighters for Asian freedom are getting desperate to go home before the going becomes still more painful. So the latest NLF plan, only an elaboration of principles enunciated earlier, is no longer unworthy of attention. Naturally, Washington finds some NLF proposals still unacceptable, but what is important is that it has also discovered in the NLF plan elements which—as Mr William Rogers, Secretary of State in the Nixon Administration put it last week—"might offer a possibility for exploration". And from Saigon's representative in Paris has now come the quite astounding statement: "We do not reject out

of hand any proposal or suggestion."

This is not all that the enormity has done to those who have perpetrated it. After the Vietnam experience, "the mood of the American people is to take a hard look at the limits of U.S. military power in the world." This is the conclusion of Louis Harris who conducted, on behalf of *Time* magazine, a survey of American opinion as affected by the course of the war in Vietnam. Some of the findings are likely to give sleepless nights to people in many parts of the world, not excluding India, who still hope to meet the communist menace with the support of American might. If North Korea continues to capture U.S. spy-ships or shoot down U.S. aircraft, no more than 21% of the representative sample of Americans interviewed by the Harris team would favour their country risking nuclear war. If South Korea is invaded by communist military forces from outside, no more than 33% would support the use of American military force in its defence; for Taiwan, the support would be from only 26%; for Japan, from 27%; for Thailand, from 25%; for Malaysia and Indonesia, from 20%; and for India, from no more than 22%. Not more than 26% would support the use of U.S. military force in defence of West Berlin. Even the countries in the more specifically American sphere of influence should not feel more secure; not more than 25% Americans would be in favour of the use of military force in defence of Bolivia, and not more than 34% in defence of Brazil. *Time* magazine itself admits that the Vietnam experience has been chastening; Louis Harris has even discussed a deep desire "to work out some way to peace and detente with the communists". He has not specified which communists, but that is not the main point at issue. The main thing is that the Americans have learnt a lesson or two, and may have to learn quite a few more in the years to come. Those who depend on them may be slower in learning—and sorrier.

## The U.S. In Japan

Nobody is certain what lies in store for Japan in 1970 when the U.S.-Japanese Security Treaty is scheduled to be reviewed. Only Mr Sato knows that the year is not going to be particularly pleasant for him. The series of demonstrations that have convulsed Japan since January 1968 have given him ample foretaste of things to come. Even on the personal level he has to sneak into the airport through the backdoor while travelling abroad, not to speak of the honourable guests from Washington who have to be "as heavily guarded as a bullion shipment". Mr Sato must have noticed that the American decision to return 50 of the 148 military bases in Japan to the Japanese Government early this year has not abated the fury of the students, workers and peasants. The bluff of returning "military bases" like a few rusting air-strips, golf courses or laundry was called. The U.S. air force continues its marauding and spying missions from Japanese bases (the spy plane EC-121 recently downed by the North Koreans started its journey from one such base) and nuclear-powered American warships continue to contaminate Japanese waters.

The plight of the U.S. occupied Okinawa is worse. One million Okinawans might try to forget the ignominy of being bossed over by the G.I.s, but not the danger of absorbing a heavy dosage of radioactivity or for that matter the fear of getting killed by a crashing B-52. In November last a Japan Science Council symposium was told that the water of the Naha port in Okinawa, frequented by nuclear-powered U.S. submarines, showed abnormal levels of radioactivity and the fish caught in the port contained detectable amounts of cobalt 60. The knowledge that one is sleeping on the top of a huge stockpile of nuclear-warheads is not very comforting. After years of passing resolutions demanding withdrawal of B-52 and nuclear submarines and peaceful demonstrations for the reversion of Okinawa to Japan the patience of the

Okinawans is running out. Sato's coming visit to Washington to discuss the fate of Okinawa is crucial and in Okinawa fingers are being kept crossed for the day. There are, however, reasons to expect a change in American policy towards Okinawa. Its strategic importance has been progressively devalued by the horizontal and vertical breakthrough made by ICBMs and the orbiting bomb. If the Vietnam war ends, that would also reduce the importance of the B-52 base at Kadena. Washington cannot also overlook the danger of running a base surrounded by a hostile population.

The American attitude towards the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty is, however, less clear. Tokyo on its part does not appear to be particularly eager to part company with the Americans. The same bunch of warmongers who bombed Pearl Harbour are now being encouraged, by a curious turn of history, by the "heroes" of Hiroshima and Nagasaki to go in for the bomb. Renunciation of a few more unimportant bases might well form part of the deal to equip Japan against the "Chinese nuclear threat". The militant Zengakuren students do not have any illusion about the Sato Government, nor do they seem to share the faith of the Communist Party led by Myamoto that the Americans could be thrown out by just serving a "notice" after a communist electoral victory. That Mr Eisaku Sato is more interested in cracking the skulls of the demonstrating students than in the revision of the treaty is evident from the frenzied preparation for 1970. While the Japanese riot police are now reportedly preparing for "the civil war next year", the 'Self Defence Forces' have been practising riot control. With the typical Japanese readiness to learn from others. Riot control experts were rushed to Paris during the May upsurge to observe from close quarters the skill of the French riot police, popularly known as CRS thugs. All this is because the Government has found "indications" that the radical students plan to employ disorder in 1970 as a "detonator for the designed revolution!"

## Centre As Thief

What the Fifth Finance Commission will recommend—if anything at all—for a stable re-ordering of Centre-States financial relations is an open question. The battle over the allocation of resources for the Fourth Plan too has only bene joined. As Mrs Gandhi's statement last week in Parliament shows, in her lexicon, nothing is final. But, meanwhile, the States have continued to be under pressure. On paper, the State Governments together owe to the Centre the formidable sum of nearly Rs 5,000 crores, on which they have been forced to pay out interest charges as well. Occasionally, there have been defaults, and, in consequence, acrimony; also the by now familiar phenomenon of old Central loans being paid back with the help of fresh loans obtained from, again, New Delhi. All this has been grist to the ego of the Union Finance Minister, who has kept up an abrasive attitude of moral superiority vis-a-vis the State Governments. Nobody has bothered to remind him that the behaviour of the States in relation to the Centre is no worse or no better than the demeanour of New Delhi itself in relation to several of the creditor nations abroad: it is all in the image of God.

But is it that, till now, the story of Centre-States financial relations has been told in an unduly one-sided manner? For last week there was the startling revelation that in its turn, the Centre too owes money—and heavily—to the States. It seems the Centre has defaulted on payments to the State Governments to the tune of almost Rs 400 crores, being the amount of advance income tax collections. What is worse, it has done so on the sly. Apparently the money credited over the last sixteen years by thousands of income tax assesses as advance payment to the authorities has not been transferred to the divisible pool for distribution to the States under the provisions of Article 270 of the Constitution. No rendering unto Caesar what belongs to Caesar here. On the

contrary, the Centre has made use of these funds for sorting out its own ways and means position.

Clearly, the Constitution has been flouted. At the practical level too, what has been the Centre's opportunity has meant that much of financial deprivation for the State Governments. The extent of the Centre's default is the extent to which the States have been forced to borrow additionally from either the Centre or the Reserve Bank, or to look around for alternative modes of financing. Nor is the plea that since in any case money collected as advance tax is to be subsequently distributed to the States following the finalisation of assessments, the latter have lost nothing substantively, is enough of an apology. For the issue is in regard to deprivation *in the interim*, and the burden of interest charges implicit in this deprivation. Besides, at the rate at which New Delhi has been injecting inflation into the system, all money to be paid in future will be, in real terms, so much less money compared to what it will be today.

None of this, of course, condones the fact that, in the majority of instances, the States have been managing their finances in a scandalous fashion or the fact that a big part of the problem of resources for the States is due to their class-biased reluctance to tax the rural rich. But moral superiority as aired by Mr Morarji Desai ought to be out. The foundation of a federal financial structure is the assumption that trust begets trust; the federal entity will be respected and listened to only if the federating entities know that they are being dealt with fairly and in a spirit of give-and-take. Once however suspicion gains ground that the Centre is practising *mala fides*, the federal arrangements are bound to crumble. It is the beginning of this decay that we are witnessing now. From begging and borrowing, the Union Government has now migrated to outright stealing. It is a new role, and, to mark the occasion, on the marquee one could as well inscribe; the Union Government as Thief.

## Two-Level Existence

*A correspondent writes :*

On May Day, Mr Dange's All India Trade Union Congress joined hands with the Jana Sanghites to organise a "workers" rally. Here in West Bengal, a particular former Chief Secretary, who had served the Congress party for long years truly and well, is appointed Special Adviser to the United Front Government. In Parliament, members belonging to the different parties make a great show of being furiously antagonistic towards one another and one another's point of view; come sundown, they are seen exchanging camaraderie in the same club or cellar.

Ideology is already reduced to being something to be worn on only special occasions and not to be flaunted round the clock. Ideology, that is to say, is more for the sake of record, a species belonging to the genre of labelling which makes it easy to identify x from y. But nothing more than that. Convictions need not be followed through, because, in the first place, they are perhaps not even there. Jargon is necessary to please the crowds, to keep in trim the rank and file; they are however not for empirical transliteration; that would be silly, that would be akin to flouting the compulsions of objective factors.

The leadership therefore exists, simultaneously, at two levels: at the level of cliché-mongering, with much sprouting of revolutionary abracadabra, and at the level of bourgeois civility, where class enemies have a way of converting themselves into ardently loyal advisers. To establish a bridge between the two levels of existence is not as frightfully difficult as might appear *prima facie*. Man being a rational animal, the awkward kinks in a frame of logic can be easily smoothed; a few obfuscating quotations from the scriptures, and it would be established to the satisfaction of most of the rank and file that, once subjectivism is shed, ideological adversaries are the staunchest of friends. Those who keep on demurring can be expelled.

Suppose those who are hounded out gather umbrella of a new party. In the beginning, it will of course be declared that it is going to be a new kind of party, uncompromising in ideology, radical to the core, and the rest of the usual auto-compliments. No doubt, the younger generation, who are yet innocent of the artifice of two-level existence, will start flocking to the new organisation. But we have been here before. Despite the concept of dialectical progress, the fact remains that the new party too will consist of leaders with the same class background as of those manning the parties of yester years. To have a new mould of the old organism may be departure of a sort, but whether it is a revolutionary departure depends upon the particular definition of the expression 'revolution', which in turn depends upon the person or persons rendering the definition; some may even say it depends upon the time of the day.

Does it mean then that, once and for all, we have to abandon all hope? Even while we are groping for an answer to the query, in the interim, it is impossible not to wail over the immense waste of investments involved in the whole process. Time after time, a skilled organisation is built, cadres are trained, a certain quota of enthusiasm and expectation is germinated in the system. Then, as a breathtaking illustration of the diseconomies of scale, the past investments are mauled and dismantled, and everything started afresh. Whether the setback from aborted investments will be more than compensated by the gains through the claimed-for ideological advance is something which only the future could tell. But if the future is going to reveal itself as the replica of so much past history, we would prefer to play hooky.

## Midnapore

The Midnapore voters have proved that they are mature—they had no hostility towards a man whom the Congress described as an outsider and maintained cool heads even when some

women 'victims' of Rabindra Sarobar were produced by the Congress. That the hold of the United Front has increased is shown by the large number of voters who went to the polls and the impressive margin of Mr Menon's victory—while in the mid-term election the UF secured a margin of about 10,000 votes over the Congress in the seven Assembly constituencies, that of Mr Menon is over 100,000 votes. In the Kharagpur town constituency which had returned a Congress candidate, Mr Menon secured a majority of more than 13,000. The thought of what would happen if parliamentary elections were held now must be haunting many Congress leaders, both here and at the Centre. In the Corporation elections also, the Congress is being reduced to a minority. But the garbage will remain. That is the trouble with us. The people may be wise when they vote. But the political garbage remains.

## Watchman On Campus

This is the season for Calcutta University examinations and the University authorities feared trouble. The reason is short supply of invigilators. Even in a land of unemployment, no one seems eager to earn five bucks from a pleasant saunter through rows of benches for six hours. Gone are the days when semi-educated men did not feel ashamed to swagger among students sitting for higher mathematics or Latin; the time used to be even exciting for some who delighted in detecting underhand practices. Not so these days. The invigilators who try to stop what has come to be known as unfair means can do so only by risking their limbs. Their reluctance to take up the job is, however, differently interpreted by the Syndicate members who consider that five rupees as honorarium is inadequate and discouraging. They recommend an increase.

Things have come to such a stage that it is highly doubtful whether an increase would induce anyone to be an invigilator, particularly one who feels indignant when a student goes on

cogging. The thankless job would invariably fall upon the unwilling college teachers. Not unnaturally, they take the line of least resistance. Some are not brave enough to face the music, if they try to stop the 'unfair means', out on the streets. Some feel that unfair questions cannot but be answered by less than unfair means.

There is a point in the latter view. Why does a question-setter set a question which can be answered by copying from a book? Why should the University continue a method of education that stresses cramming and nothing but cramming? If the analytical faculties of students are put at a discount, it is but natural that students would try to pass the examinations by cramming or the next best method—copying.

Some colleges are reported to have resorted to a novel method to ensure the physical safety of their invigilating teachers. Members of student unions have been requested to assist the invigilators. Those students who, of late, would not brook any threat to peace in the State, have gladly volunteered. Styling themselves as examination watchmen, they come to examination halls ten minute before the answer-books are distributed and issue dire warnings to candidates to the effect that any disturbance in hall or attack on invigilators would rebound. In some notorious locales, during the last examination session, the threat paid good dividends and no chairs or heads were broken.

Whether this should be considered student participation in academic matters or sublimation of the hooligan instinct is for the Syndicate to decide.

## Ulster

The worst riots for many years have led to political changes in Ulster during the past few weeks. If the condition of the disenfranchised and impoverished Catholic minority remains unchanged, a spark could again set off a fresh wave of violence, plunging the six counties in a full-scale civil war. There has been street fighting in Londonderry, Ulster's

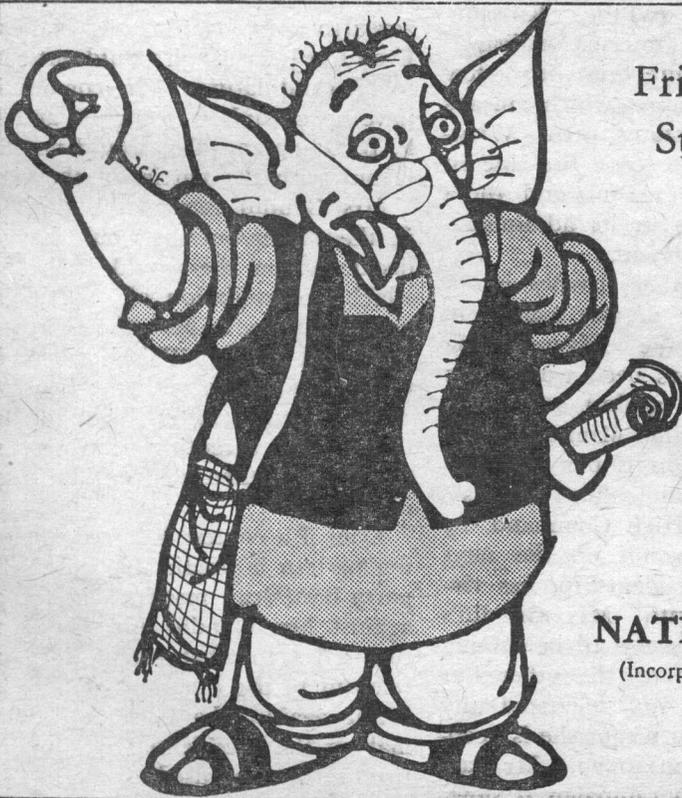
second largest city, between the Protestant storm-troopers of the Rev. Ian Paisley (he has just served a six-month prison term for illegal assembly last November) and Catholics and civil rights advocates. The police intervened when both the Protestants and Catholics took positions on Londonderry's historic walls to stone the rivals. True to its form, the Royal Ulster Constabulary—a force almost wholly composed of the Protestants—swooped on the Catholics. The service of British troops stationed in Ulster was requisitioned to guard power stations, communication network and reservoirs. Meanwhile, opposition against the former Prime Minister, Captain Terence Marne O'Neill's reform programme of one-man, one-vote began to mount in the Unionist Party, which in recent months has moved further to the right following the Paisleyites' success in increasing their influence at ward and constituency level. The Catholic leaders

never believed in Captain O'Neill's promise that within two years the principle of one-man, one-vote would be translated into law. Moreover, the proposals still leave the Catholics in a hopeless minority in most of the redrawn local authority areas. Captain O'Neill's failure to inspire confidence among Nationalist and Labour Opposition at Stormont led to his inevitable defeat in the hands of the diehards in the Unionist Party.

There is now growing realisation among the minority community that mere electoral reform would not automatically confer the long overdue basic rights of fair allocation of jobs and houses. The Unionist Party which controls about 90 per cent of property in the provinces will never run short of means for staying in power. Its political and religious bigotry has kept divided the working class people of Ulster and prevented the growth of any effective radical movement. But, according to some reports, a new stage

has been reached with the acceptance by all progressive sections that the formation of a citizens' army to defend and protect the people of Ulster is now an immediate priority. The civil rights leaders are no longer saying that the changes they sought could be achieved by peaceful methods. Even Miss Bernadette Devlin, MP, who only a few months ago said "no cause is worth the loss of one life" recently harangued the demonstrators to build barricades to defend themselves from police attacks. There is already an opposition ready to deploy all sorts of protest techniques, including violence.

Captain O'Neill resigned the Unionist Party leadership and Prime Ministership on his own admission that he had failed to fight out the ancient hatred between reigning Protestants and the Roman Catholic minority. His wish that some others might succeed where he had failed borders on unreality.



Friends, face the future without fear  
Start saving, open a new frontier.

Saving is surprisingly easy at  
National and Grindlays.  
You need only Rs. 5/- for a start.

**NATIONAL AND GRINDLAYS BANK LIMITED**  
(Incorporated in the United Kingdom. Liability of members is limited)

THE BANK FOR ALL BIG AND SMALL

NGB-29/68

## Another Arms Bonanza

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

IT needed Mr S. A. Dange's intervention, according to CPI sources, to bring Mr Kosygin to New Delhi last week and to be sure, it was more than a mere protocol visit. The Soviet Prime Minister failed to convince New Delhi that there was a dialectical compulsion underlying his country's arms sale to Pakistan. So to make up for his failure, he promised another bonanza of military hardware to India.

New Delhi must have realised the efficacy of its own pressure tactics, especially in the context of the new Sino-Soviet border tension. It is in Moscow's interest to give away bigger and bigger arsenals to keep the Asian confrontation alive. This is escalation at a higher level. The Soviet Government even seems to have arrived at a ratio that needs to be maintained between India and Pakistan in the matter of arms supplies. Everything will be within the broad matrix worked out. India gets more military hardware and Pakistan complains and in turn gets more arms. India feels perfectly justified in voicing muted protests and the result is an-

other arms bonanza. The dizzy game goes round after round. What the United States did in the early fifties is being re-enacted in a changed context by the Soviet Union. It is cheaper to get Asians to fight Asians, as ye olde Dulles knew long ago.

Once the arms race has been started on the sub-continent (the Soviet Union picked up exactly where the United States left off after the 1965 Indo-Pakistani war) there is no sense in the talk of maintaining a "parity" or a "balance" between the two countries.

Alongside, Soviet pressure for a Kashmir settlement seems to have been stepped up. The formula is nothing new. It had been mooted on several occasions in the past, by the Americans first in a slightly different form and by the Russians later. It involves "internationalising" the present cease-fire line with a few minor modifications which means legitimising the status quo. Whatever lies across the cease-fire line in Kashmir goes to Pakistan and India keeps whatever is in its administrative control at present.

But New Delhi is hardly in a position to think of any gambit in this direction because belligerent Jana Sanghi opinion has been worked up to a high pitch against any such settlement. A Prime Minister whose main preoccupation is her own survival in office cannot afford the risk.

The Congress High Command, by postponing discussion on the next candidate for Presidentship, has virtually played into Mrs Gandhi's hand. Everyone seems to be talking of one candidate or the other but Mrs Gandhi has not suggested any name so far which means she is keeping all her options open. Mr Jagjivan Ram's crash campaign is slowing down but the leadership should be realising now that it would be

difficult to resist the demand for his election as President because there is a few million marginal Harijan votes to think of in 1972. The pro-CPI Press is heading the campaign for Mr Jagjivan Ram which should prove a liability for him at the crucial moment. No one knows how left Mr Jagjivan Ram is with his predilection for gimmicks like partial decontrol of sugar which sounds something like partial chastity.

The Congress thought it could profitably put off the coalition issue for the present but the Presidential election forces on it the hard choice. A candidate acceptable to all the parties, even if he is a non-party man, can be ruled out safely. Jayaprakash Narayan would be acceptable to the two socialist parties and Mrs Gandhi would stand to gain by agreeing to his choice. In that case the pattern of the coalition at the Centre would be predetermined. The Congress would have to go with the PSP and the SSP to be able to retain its majority in the Lok Sabha in 1972. Certainly the communists would not agree to Mr Jayaprakash Narayan. Even the Jana Sangh would not agree to his candidature. The communists have no candidate to suggest and Mr P. B. Gajendragadkar would not find favour with the parties of the right.

Mrs Gandhi retains the initiative in the matter but she would have to decide whom she would back and which constellation of parties she would carry with her—the rightist or the leftist parties. This is where her personal equation with the two communist parties matters. She can talk them into accepting anyone she chooses and then confront the rightist parties.

Even if a contest is forced, the voting pattern is predictable now. The party bosses can match their strength against Mrs Gandhi and assess for themselves to what extent they are relevant to the situation. There is a revolt against the bosses all round, making the Presidential election picture rather confused.

### Naxalites

Consensus is a thing to be mani-

A. I. E.  
M/s. ASSOCIATED INDIAN ENTERPRISES  
PRIVATE LTD

Are  
LEYLAND MAIN DEALERS  
for

WEST BENGAL and BIHAR  
CALCUTTA, SILIGURI, PATNA,  
RANCHI, MUZAFFARPUR

225C Acharya Jagadish  
Bose Road,

Calcutta-20

pulated and not a thing to be arrived at, be it over the next President or over action against the Naxalites. Last week Mr Y. B. Chavan declared his intention to consult the Opposition parties about how they should go about it. But following Mrs Gandhi's letter to the Home Ministry sometime ago asking for some action, an exercise has been going on. An amendment to the Unlawful Activities Act to cover political groups that do not believe in parliamentary methods was knocked together the moment the Naxalites called for boycott of elections in West Bengal. The amending Bill is ready for introduction in the monsoon session and the meeting of Opposition leaders Mr Chavan has called is only a formality.

Yet the meeting will serve an important political purpose. The CPI(M) leadership, in its sheer arrogance of power, has been making belligerent statements about crushing the Naxalites. And a United Front leader of West Bengal went crazily off the rails when he said the Naxalites were a problem for the Centre and not the State Government. This was exactly what Mr Chavan must have been waiting for.

The justification for the urgency about the proposed amending Bill is Mr Chavan's contention that believing in armed revolution was one thing but forming a political party to carry out such a programme was a serious matter. In the past, Mr Chavan had talked of a political action to fight the Naxalites. A bare fortnight ago in Faridabad he said the police force was no answer to the Naxalites who thrive in the fertile soil of injustice. But he is going about it with a new sense of urgency.

May 11, 1969

#### NOTICE

Articles cannot be returned unless accompanied by return postage.

Business Manager  
Frontier

MAY 17, 1969

## Assam

### A Protest March

ARUN KUMAR CHAKMA

RECENTLY the tribal people of Khasi and Jaintia Hills took out a two-mile-long procession at Shillong, the biggest ever in Shillong's history, to protest against the Government of India's decision to expel the foreign missionaries from Assam. Although it was a silent procession, the placards they carried were eloquent: "We are hungry, who will feed us?" "We are sick, who will look after us?" "We are naked, who will clothe us?" "Retain the missionaries". To many passersby the scene was macabre. Some of them were tempted to compare this protest march with the historic Civil Rights March in Washington a few years ago, but perhaps it was not noticed by many that there were thousands, most of them young, amongst the marchers who were whistling gaily as though unable to feel the depth of the demonstration while others mechanically caught the refrain. Some elderly potato-growers were talking about bazaar prospects. The rear of the procession was formed by rural folks whose all too bony faces lacked the lustre of the known faces forming the vanguard. They seemed eager to grasp the meaning of the procession. Young girls were donning the smartest of their clothes, casting curious glances around every now and then. All the same it was a protest march.

For some time past there has been an undercurrent of disquiet among the Christian tribes about the pretty old topic of foreign missionaries. It now seems to have left a trail of bitterness amongst a section of them, not because they should be genuinely concerned with it, but because the Government of India has done much to muddle the issue. Sometimes vacuous emotions have also been worked up over it by the so-called hill leaders in collaboration with their foreign masters as a smokescreen to push the problems of the hill people into the background. The foreign missionaries

had made the task of the Government smoother. What the Government found difficult to do even under "progressive" verbiage could be done easily by the missionaries from the pulpit. As the hill people started growing restless over many of their burning problems, the missionaries stepped up their anti-communist activities, to the great relief of the ruling class. But even after so much good service, both the Centre and the Assam Government were compelled to conclude that the missionaries were not the harmless icons they were thought to be. The first time the Government of India came into a direct clash with the foreign missionaries was over the Naga issue. Though this confrontation did not last long, both parties found themselves facing each other again from the same platform when the Naga rebels refused to play into the hands of the foreign missionaries and preferred to follow a different line.

It was not the displeasure of the Government as such but the pressure from the Jana Sangh and the Ramkrishna Mission that compelled the Government to take the apparently drastic step against the foreign missionaries. The Jana Sangh's anti-Muslim prejudices alone could not make things easier for its entry into Assam politics in spite of backing by some important Cabinet members of the Assam Government. Hence the Sanghites raised the issue of the missionaries when the anti-reorganisation sentiment engulfed the Valley. There were also sinister rumours from the Ramkrishna Mission maharajs as the prospects of Christian missionary activities became brighter. The relation between the Ramkrishna Mission and the Christian missionaries which had never been warm deteriorated and touched a new low when the former successfully resisted the RKM's move to open a school at Shillong. Even the Governor and Ministers, big business magnates and major-generals and brigadiers who used to take their valuable time off from night clubs to devote it to the RKM failed to secure a plot for the proposed school. So when the RKM felt the need to get rid of the foreign

missionaries, help from the Jana Sangh made the Government bend to their will.

The hill people's exasperation over the Government's decision is not without reason, especially when some other agencies, no less dangerous, are seeking to fish in the troubled waters. The question of one's religious faith apart, the Ramkrishna Mission maharajs are no match for the foreign missionaries so far as their modus operandi is concerned. While the foreign missionaries prefer to 'serve' the destitute, the Ramkrishna Mission prefers to serve the wealthy because they are realists enough to accept that poverty is not god's glory. It was the foreign missionaries who came first to the hill regions to 'serve' people who were rotting in poverty and disease and were being trampled underfoot by the then feudal lords. They were given the Bible but they were also given food, clothes, medicine and education, and the feudal lords were shown how to hold in firm grip the exploiting machinery.

In any case, the protest march of the hill people is significant in the context of the problems they are facing today. The marchers raised some very basic questions in which we are all equally involved. We need food, clothes, medicine and education, but that we have to depend on some agencies for all this is the greatest tragedy of our time. It is a truism, however cruel, which the hill people cannot also escape. The fight for food is on throughout the world. Even the missionary sermon, whether RMK or Christian, which normally ends with a diatribe against communism as the epitome of horror, could not prevent the Vietnamese from fighting the imperialists and their lackeys on whose charity they are asked to live. And it is a fight thrust on us by the course of history and we all are inescapably involved in the agony of winning this fight.

---

FRONTIER is available from  
SUNIL KUMAR MAHANTA  
Collectorate Compound  
P.O. Balurghat, W. Dinajpur

## NAXALBARI :

### Between Yesterday And Tomorrow—I

SUMANTA BANERJEE

**T**HE Naxalbari movement that began as a heroic upsurge, although abortive, back in May 1967, now seems to be dominated by city-bred adolescents who shout the borrowed language of popular insurrections. Some think that the rot set in when the centre of the struggle shifted from the countryside to Calcutta, that the revolutionary organization which it sought to create has been rapidly swallowed by the routine of Bengali middle-class political life.

Yet, if we return to the source of the Naxalbari movement, we may find that the spring is still ready to spout. The problems that gave birth to the movement are not only a living reality but are fast maturing into a crisis and may throw up a series of similar uprisings in the near future.

The United Front Government may congratulate the people of West Bengal on their rejection of the Naxalite call for the boycott of elections, but it has yet to find an answer to the fundamental question brought to the fore by the Naxalbari uprising and also by its own experience during its nine-month regime in 1967. The question is : how far can parliamentary reforms bring West Bengal nearer to the radical solution for which the country's basic problems have been crying out ?

To begin with, the Naxalbari movement threw a fierce light on the cobwebbed, discreetly shadowed corner of India's socio-economic life—the world of the landless labourers and sharecroppers fast being reduced to one of the landless. The mass of these people, looked down upon by Leftist parties, dismissed till recently as serfs beyond redemption from the influence of the landed gentry, remained at a distance from the main current of political struggles.

According to a Government of India survey, out of 16.3 million agricultural labour households in 1956-57, 9.4 mil-

lion did not possess a strip of land for supplementary occupation. About 4.35 million were attached labourers contractually tied up with prosperous peasants.

In spite of the appalling exploitation, little has been done among agricultural labourers by the communist parties compared with their trade union activities in the industrial field. The Kisan Sabhas remain dominated by the middle peasantry. The organization of agricultural labourers is almost non-existent.

It goes to the credit of those among the communists, now known as "extremists", that they had the foresight to realize that any revolution in India would have to be spearheaded by the rural proletariat who, more than the industrial urban workers, fit into the role assigned by Marx for the revolutionary proletariat of 19th century Europe—"the workers have nothing to lose but their chains."

In under-developed countries like India, the rural proletariat consisting of the landless and sharecroppers are the worst exploited. The industrial proletariat, particularly in the public sector today, suffers less as a result of the manipulative capacity of the trade unions to wring some palliatives for them from the management or the State. In 1950-51, an agricultural labourer family's annual per capita income in West Bengal was Rs 160 against Rs 268 of an industrial labourer's family. (Dr B. Ramamurti—*Agricultural Labour*).

#### Basic Question

Quite understandably, the industrial workers are not so much concerned with the acquisition of political power as with gaining a fair share of economic wealth. On the other hand, a change in the lot of the agricultural worker is bound up with the basic question of changing the entire rural

economic set-up which is at present sustaining the growth of economic wealth in the urban pockets.

It may be argued that the UF Government, on assuming power in 1967, proposed to alleviate the sufferings of the land-hungry cultivators, but that the impatience of the Naxalbari 'extremists' compromised those plans; they repaid with black ingratitude the benevolence of the Government.

But let us here pause to ask what the UF Government could have done or can even do now, to solve the problem in the existing administrative framework? Its aims will not go beyond what E. M. S. Namboodiripad said about land reforms on the eve of the second general elections. He hoped that the installation of an alternative government in Kerala would be followed by "legislative measures providing for prevention of evictions, rent reduction, fixation of ceilings, distribution of surplus and waste lands, etc.—measures which are so modest in their character that they do not go beyond what has been agreed to in the Land Reform Panel of the Planning Commission." (*Agrarian Reform—a study of the Congress and Communist approaches* 1956).

How are these to be implemented in West Bengal? The conditions under which agrarian legislation, including ceiling laws, are enforced, are not only determined by the omnipotence of the bureaucracy, but the opposition of vested interests, the jotedars and rich peasantry, who at every stage take the help of some law or other to block or delay the implementation of legislation unfavourable to them. The classic case is that of the fate of the Zamindari Abolition Bill enacted by the Bihar Assembly in 1948. How successful the zamindars of Bihar were in obstructing its enforcement is related by the American scholar, Mr Daniel Thorner who, visiting Bihar in 1956 found: "Eight years after the Bihar legislature voted its acceptance of the principle of zamindari abolition, the majority of the zamindars of Bihar were in legal possession of their lands." (D. Thorner—*The Agrarian Prospect in India*.)

While the decision to enforce agrarian

legislation through popular committees as envisaged by the UF Government might eliminate to some extent the distorting control of the bureaucracy, what can effectively cripple the recalcitrant group of rural vested interests, who can always fall back in case of any emergency on the sacrosanct legal system, riddled with lacunae and moth-eaten by time?

As for the law on ceiling, it needs reconsideration. The present law presupposes a ceiling on existing holdings that would preserve the small and middle landholders and rich peasants. Since more than 60% of the landholdings in India are under five acres, the fixation of the ceiling at 25 acres in West Bengal might lead to further concentration of the land in the hands of landlords and the rich peasantry through the bankruptcy of small peasants forced to sell their lands.

The UF Government, therefore, would be required to carry out a law inherited from its predecessor—a landlord-bourgeois ruling clique. The real purpose of the law was to convert the landlords and rich peasants into landowning farmers of the capitalist type.

In spite of a ceiling granting adequate breathing space to the rich peasantry, the latter lost no chance to cheat the Government of the surplus land it owed to the West Bengal State under the Estates Acquisition Act. According to a study undertaken at the instance of the Research Programmes Committee of the Planning Commission, about 105,000 acres might be estimated to have been transferred mala fide during 1952-54 for evading ceiling restrictions. (*Land Reforms in West Bengal* by S. K. Basu and S. K. Bhattacharya).

As a result, till 1965, the State Government was able to secure only 7.76 lakh acres as surplus, out of which 4.35 lakh acres were leased out on a year to year basis to the peasantry. This would hardly be enough to satisfy the West Bengal peasants' land hunger.

Even after they become owners of tiny, uneconomic holdings, the condition of the peasantry will not improve perceptibly, because the old feudal

structure of the rural society will remain the same, marked by the age-old exploitation by traders, moneylenders and monopoly capital in the form of unequal exchange between town and country.

The measures of the UF Government therefore, however benevolent they might be, will not change the basis of the social structure of the Bengali village, which alone can guarantee the success of any land reforms.

### Seizure of Power

It is in this perspective that the Naxalbari uprising assumes importance. It was no a movement for the occupation of land as made out to be by some of its friendly critics, but went beyond the limited aim of land redistribution by giving the call for the seizure of power. The plan, according to its leader, Mr Kanu Sanyal, was to smash once for all the village feudal society and create peasants' bases to run the administration. No wonder, one of the main aims of the movement's 10-point programme was to cancel the hypothecary debt, lying like an incubus upon the landless labourer and daily growing upon him. (Kanu Sanyal's Report on the peasant movement in Terai, November 1968).

This task the UF Government would have found difficult to accomplish, clogged as it was by constitutional and legal inhibitions. Since it accepted the premises of the bourgeois State—order, constitutional limits, parliamentary procedure, etc—to wrest power, it now finds itself difficult to bypass them.

In this context, the next important question raised by the Naxalites deserves notice—the problem of working with an administration which is a legacy from the past, which assures a very perfect conservation of anti-people, outmoded ideas. With its enormous bureaucratic and police organization, with a host of officials, this appalling parasitic machine enmeshes the body of Indian society like a net and chokes all its pores.

During the nine months of its stay in office in 1967, the UF Government found itself being swamped into the morass of the present administrative

system. This time it may atone for its past mistakes of not removing notorious officials, by overhauling the administration, particularly the disreputable police force. But its powers are limited by the Constitution, drawn up under the duress of the British imperialists. We have seen already how the position of the Governor was used by the Centre to subvert the United Front Government.

Thus a pathetic paradox becomes inevitable in the actions of the UF Government. It has to swear allegiance to the holy Constitution at every breath to gain permission from the Centre to rule West Bengal. At the same time, it has to demand amendments to the provisions of the Constitution to bring about radical changes in favour of the people.

As a result, we are entertained at intervals with hair-splitting debates about the powers of the Speaker and the Governor and exchanges of idle phrases interpreting the contradictions of the Constitution—all quite far away from the problem of starvation.

The other stumbling block is the legal system. The stock-pile of archaic laws is still exploited by the ruling class in defence of anti-people measures. An anti-democratic judgment becomes sacrosanct once it is delivered, it is immune to public protests. How can the UF Government hope to provide the minimum relief to the people, without first smashing up this holy order?

(To be concluded)

---

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

---

For FRONTIER readers in  
West India can contact  
S. D. CHANDAVARKAR  
10, Kanara House  
Mogal Lane, Mahim  
Bombay-16

## The Student Leftist

DILIP SIMEON

THIS begins bravely but deteriorates into a sop. Like most middle-class student leftists. Pity the species. Their fathers, income goes against them. But if they weren't middle class, they would most probably not be students, either. Nor would they be leftists. An amusing paradox. While he is a student, our middle-class leftist can afford to ruminate. The more he learns, the further left he goes. The more he learns, the closer he gets to that haven of middle-class status-seekers, the bureaucratic limbo that is the IAS. Or the glamour-now-curses-later IFS. The future promises ennui, platitudinous mouthings in public, pointless drawing-room conversations, endless pen-pushing. What has become of our well-meaning hero? Where is his leftism? Hundreds of millions of people still walk in hunger, poverty, disease, ignorance...the rich get richer, the poor poorer...the State is obviously an instrument of class oppression...but then, dammit, our hero is part of the State. Can he go further than sporadic sanctimonious outbursts of radicalism—even as a student? Or can he ever shake off the tenacious hold that 'cash' has on his brain? Some of his species are already preparing to enter the ferocious rat race of perquisite-seeking called the Private Sector. Does his conscience say—declass yourself and join the Revolution on the side of the oppressed; or does it say—fool, give up your leftism, or you won't be able to enjoy your cash, that is, if you get any, at this rate? Or does he shrug his shoulders and sink helplessly into the mire of petty-bourgeois existence, muttering all the while, "It was true, then, that matter has an influence on mind?" Perhaps he tries to convince himself that he is undergoing mental torture, that his conscience is pricking him, while in reality revolution

doesn't bother him one bit. One could speculate endlessly...there are types and types.

As a student, he is a parasite, and, while his father finances his bourgeois education, he reflects on the rottenness of society. It starts with anger...why should the productive process, with the capacity to produce enough for everyone, deprive the majority of food and the basic necessities while the opulence of the minority leads them to fritter away their time devising means of spending their money? Full of indignation, our student leftist thinks of ways to eliminate the cocktail swilling socialites, the uncouth nouveau-riche, the pompous bureaucrats, and the potbellied landlords that make up the ruling classes. He is still young and his revolutionary ire is not dampened by the realization, yet to come, that he will one day augment their ranks. The system is all wrong! Capital is sick! The chorus inspires him. Gradually his emotional commitment is replaced by a sober rationality—does not a study of economics vindicate socialism? Does not history contain a movement generated by class struggles? Is not capitalism totally outdated and doomed to ultimate destruction? More middle-class leftists—coffee house Marxists and other variegated armchair revolutionaries—encourage his beliefs. He looks to leftist organizations, for he must have the steady rock of a Party Which is Always Right. Bourgeois socialism deludes him for a while, and if he is lucky, he will stay deluded. But sometimes he sees through the facade of incessant rationalizations and the plea—parliament is an instrument of the ruling classes, but you might as well vote communist while you're about it—infuriates him. All politicians are the same! All political parties, Swatantra to CPI (M), are working to preserve the status quo. But he is helpless. The parliamentary cretins are firmly entrenched. It looks as though their clueless chanting will go on forever.

He cannot stand the naivete of his relatives, his friends. Why the hell

# Calcutta Diary

CHARAN GUPTA

can't they understand? How do they manage to be so utterly shut minded and stupid? He can almost hear them say of him, "Never mind. All youth is idealistic, anyway. He'll grow out of it." Then, suddenly, he grows up. I am mature, says he (the notion is abstract enough; everybody is some sort of a neurotic, so how can they tell?). He begins to understand why *they* can't understand and anyway—his arrogance reasserts itself—he shall remain a leftist till the end of his days. But he fails to see that the end is fast approaching, of his leftism, not of his days. If this is the case, he will disappear silently into the ranks of reaction. If he realizes, however, where he is going, he might just give up, or try and re-invigorate his ardour.... The Americans are raining billions of dollars worth of incendiary destruction on Vietnam every month.... imperialism is ruthlessly plundering the Third World.... the Indian revolution is gaining strength daily.... domestic and foreign reaction will inevitably suffer defeat.... Perhaps one in a thousand middle-class leftists shall successfully detach his mind from the magnetic attraction of a fat salary and take on the arduous tasks of a revolutionary.

The rest shall deteriorate into sops. Disgusting, bourgeois, liberal, sops, stuck with the "secure boredom of middle-class routine" for the rest of their lives.

I still am a middle-class student leftist....

---

For FRONTIER contact

S. P. CHATTERJEE

Statesman Office

Steel Market

Durgapur-4

---

For FRONTIER contact

Shri PABITRA KUMAR DEKA,

Assam Tribune,

Gauhati-3

Assam.

MAY 17, 1969

**PERSPIRATION.** The odour of it. A dilapidated CSTC bus emitting a morbid trail of black smoke. Burnt-out grass, dead grass, butts of crushed cigarettes, rags, pieces of paper, a quiet coexistence inside the two parallel lines of the tram track. A three-and-a-half-storey building which perhaps had got a coat of paint on the outside the last time in 1938, a building which cannot quite decide whether it should crumble onto the pavement right now or three-quarters of an hour later. Revolutionary truth on the wall. Or at least a version of it. Beggars. A leper and his comely wife. Suddenly a tree, about twenty feet tall, thin branches all over, blushing with flowers. Home-bound schoolboys, pelting stones at one another. Marketplace, the blended odour of fish and vegetables and unwashed human species. Some counter-revolutionary truth, this time plastered across a film hoarding. Hindi make-believes, possibly of Madras vintage, *minicholis* and *mini-saris*, breasts suggestive of infinite elasticity. Crows, statutes with negative aesthetic quotient, statues which cry out for Lohiaesque removals. More poets per square kilometre than even football fans. A newspaper kiosk, poetry magazines by the dozen, more revolutionary truth. Revolution in the tropics, love in the tropics, writing insipid poetry in the tropics. The red triangle, the vulgar society, ethos travelling down from New Delhi. A ration shop, the Law of the Green Revolution, a morsel of another kind of revolutionary truth—the more the success of the Revolution, the higher the price of wheat. Aspects of dialectics, facades, speeches at the Maidan and negotiations over lunch at the Calcutta Club. Painted women whom history has not yet caught up with, golf, Saturday nights, the oasis of shopping during the indolent afternoon hours around Park Street, cars

installed with air-conditioners. Beggars, pickpockets, policemen in worn-out uniforms, a hydrant leaking since morning. A sharp nor'wester, flooding of streets, a couple of tired trees come down on top of the power line. Talk of over-utilisation of capacity, the civic facilities originally intended for eight hundred thousand now extended to eight million. Anti-thesis, human beings who are under-utilised, small engineering firms, retrenched labour, unabsorbed young engineers. Political parties who couldn't care less, incapable of caring more, the books speak of situations in Russia or China or Cuba, no clue to Calcutta 1969. Clenched fists, Mao's Red Book, violence in the air, to be met by matching violence, vapour, the meaning of meaning. Teachers in a procession, women with high fat content addressing shrill meetings, society for the protection of ersatz uterus. Clerks equally incapable of maintaining the ledger or manning the barricade, lack of nutrition, yet the sprouting of spitfire vocabulary. Wives alternating between kitchen and lying-in, several who die before reaching thirty, children who go astray. Lack of nutrition, but nervous energy comes marching in, nervous energy expended in abandon. Gang fights, chasing uncertain-looking, unsure girls, lack of food, but tea-stalls abound, some migrate to local liquor. The youth have to be revolutionised, pocketful of Lin Piao, revolution in the revolution, other voices, other interpretations of insurrectionary truth. A bank gets looted, unscrupulous journalists, journalists parading as philosophers, journalists parading as statesmen, journalists who assume that between Tagore and them the history was a vacuum. The law of revolutionary exposure, the more uncompromising a revolutionary, the greater the hankering for space in the haute bourgeois newspapers. The other law, regarding

the immutability of energy: the more you expend on fulmination, the less you have for the culmination. Nobody really worries about the culmination, the United Front is in Writers' Buildings at least for five years, all's right with the world. The gleam of 1972, from Hindusthan Park to South Block, from Siliguri to Srikakulam, young men in terylene trousers, the Red Flag, the hammer and the sickle, how many hammers and how many sickles, the emancipation of the peasantry, workers to down tools, workers hankering for transistor radios, workers who couldn't be bothered about whether economism is the opium of tired souls. Students who have scored seventy per cent or more to have got admission to Presidency College, some join the Baker Laboratory, some sit for the IAS. Books, bookshops, the coffee house agog with conspiratorial sounding gossip, girls who combine poetry-writing with processing of plastic bombs, girls from refugee homes, boys on an uncertain equipoise between sincerity and unscrupulousness. Dusk, whining drizzle of rain, slush, mud and, smoke. Is it hopelessness, or the lull before the insurrection, may be again an equipoise. Dusk, Tagore songs amenable to many interpretations, a crowd returning from a football match, a minor riot, the hallmark of normalcy. A free fight, a bus overturned, some urchin run over, please, do not set fire to the bus or the approaching streetcar, Mr Jyoti Basu has been informed, he is coming, he is going to address you, he would urge you to be calm. Revolutionary calmness, discipline above all, the cadres must be taught to be still and how not to be still. But too many red flags, ego colliding with ego, Bengalis—somebody points out—are three-quarters mongoloid. Eighty million of them across the border, robust peasant stock, three-quarters mongoloid. Never mind the tropical indolence, if the Vietnamese could achieve what they have done, why not you, three-quarters mongoloid? Meanwhile, cadres must be taught my version of revolutionary truth, my revolution by

definition is superior to yours. More revolutionary posters, more than half-hidden by others invoking votes for the Corporation election. Power grows, power grows in Writers' Buildings, power grows at Durgapur, power grows as the bargadars get settled on disputed and not-so-disputed land. Power grows out of the barrel of a gun, whose gun, what barrel? Power grows as a Hindu peasant refuses to break bread with his Muslim neighbour, it grows as a Hindu worker joins the rogues and the ragamuffins to demolish a mosque, power grows as a Communist Corporation Councillor presides over the neighbourly Durga Puja Celebration Committee, it grows as a party comrade draws up the battle plan for the capture of the Cricket Association of Bengal. Power grows in a zigzag ambivalence, power also had grown in Indonesia, at least till October 1965. Remember Mao Tse-tung's conversation piece, excellent, Comrade Aidit, you have now so many men in Parliament and in the army, *mais oui*, but when are you going to the mountains? Mountains of files, mountains of revolutionary literature, mountains of poetry. Poetry and drama and song and dance. Ah, where are the heroes of the Indian People's Theatre movement, they have not gone to the mountains, they have entered the jungle, the jungle of careerism, the jungle of money. You need money for a revolution, a revolution is for the even distribution of cash, money is life-soul. Another bank is looted, the ripple reaches the women of easy virtue, there are too many virtues at work, an excess of virtuous definitions. It is the interchangeability of virtues which should stop the crowd, enthral the crowd, one never knew about this rich proliferation of non-antagonistic contradictions. Anything goes, everything goes into anything else: communism, a government job, revolutionary speech-making, employment in an American advertising firm, producing a Bombay-type film, the Red Book, forming yet another Communist Party. Like proposals for a new bridge across the Hooghly, every day a fresh new party, the more the

merrier. If so many try, never mind even if severally, we are bound to arrive somewhere. Let a thousand thoughts contend, each thought will have a representation on West Bengal's United Front, or on the anti-United Front, if only somebody cares to set up one such. The workers couldn't care less, the students couldn't care less, the clerks couldn't care less, the *boxwallahs* couldn't care less, the housewives couldn't care less. The housewives care for cheap novelettes and cheaper-looking morons who appear in films. Yet the bulk of them will vote for a version of communism, they cannot wait for the Revolution to commence; like the namby-pamby of an Almighty in the more atrocious of Tagore's poems, the revolution is all things to all Bengalis. Dust. Heat. Asphalt melting under the feet. Roads in a horrible state of disrepair. United Front or no, Kanu Sanyal clutching the Red Book or no, some people in Jorasanko - Jorabagan - Burrabazar - Bowbazar-Chowringhee continue to mint money, they will offer you a kerb quotation even for the revolution. It doesn't add up. Nothing does in Calcutta. South of Park Street, here and there, residual blotches of that peculiar cross of Victorian colonialism and Eisenhower America, Chinese manufacturing sad-looking shoes for years on end, pimps splitting the takes with worm-ridden Bhutani prostitutes, of all things, a Hindi version of Ionesco before corpulent 'upcountry' ladies in air-conditioned splendour. Suddenly, a procession. Suddenly the splinters fly. Suddenly, some blood-letting. You ask the hawkers, two people got killed on this very spot in the early afternoon, the hawkers couldn't be more indifferent. Nothing adds up in Calcutta. Neither revolution nor rivationism. Neither Satyajit Ray's alleged pretensions nor his acclaimed genius. Neither the poetry nor the experimental plays. Neither the potholes nor the glorious oleander trees. Neither the slum-dweller's listlessness nor the reputation of the social butterflies. It is a fearful, disturbing coexistence. Every-

body mingling with everybody else, X running down Y in a morning editorial, X going to Y's cocktail in the evening. Altogether, too many revolutions in the revolution. Nobody can understand Calcutta, the incorrigible, the impossible. Summertime. One hundred nine degrees Fahrenheit in the shade. A procession. A meeting. The Internationale. What Lenin said when. And why. My quotation is superior to your quotation. I am unemployed, you are unemployed,

they are unemployed. I am a revolutionary, you are a neo-revisionist, they are with me, they have been temporarily hoodwinked by you. I quote the Red Book, you quote the Red Book, they couldn't care less. Yet they are the stuff of which revolutions are made. The blood is three-quarters mongoloid. You are confessing to your social-fascist instincts by referring to the blood count. But I can counter you, revolutions in the revolution....

Naxalites and confine them to the darkness of neglect and isolation. When the new party begins to act on its revolutionary beliefs and tries to take the law into its own hands, Mr Jyoti Basu would be well advised to do his duty. It is the job of the police to maintain law and order, and if Mr Basu entrusts it to his followers among the people at large, the Centre will be failing in its duty if it does not intervene directly to meet the challenge to lay and order. The threat posed by the Naxalites cannot be treated as a private feud between Mr Basu and Mr Kanu Sanyal or Mr Charu Mazumdar to be settled in the streets by rival mobs. What happened on May Day on the Calcutta Maidan should alert the Centre and indeed the country as a whole to the dangers ahead.

*The Press*

## Third Party Risks

COMMENTATOR

**M**OST of the national newspapers have been prompt in commenting on the formation of the third Communist Party in India, announced by Mr Kanu Sanyal at the Maidan rally of the Naxalites on May Day. Most of the papers do not concede that the Naxalites are going to emerge as a big force in the near future, but they all agree that the CPI(M) is on trial. Maybe because of Naxalbari, they seem to presume that the activities of the new party will be confined mainly to West Bengal and it will be more a problem to the United Front than any other State Government. For the Maidan clashes they have held the new party responsible and warned that such clashes would be more frequent at the instigation of China. Some papers have sympathised with Mr Jyoti Basu for his predicament and asked him to draw a lesson from the fact that his gesture in releasing the Naxalbari prisoners has failed to mollify the extremists. Advising him to be firm with the new party, they have reminded him of his responsibility for maintaining law and order as the Home Minister of the State. Suggestions have been made that the Naxalites should be put back to prison and the party banned. At least one paper feels that if Mr

Basu does not take these steps, the Centre should intervene.

Noting that Mr Kanu Sanyal was largely silent on the programme of the new party *The Indian Express* comments sarcastically that it will perhaps be revealed on Chairman Mao's birthday. Meanwhile, the paper says, it is possible to guess the action, programme, and tactics of the new party. The revolution has been betrayed by the two communist parties and now Chairman Charubabu and Comrade Kanu Sanyal intend to set matters right and keep faith with the workers and peasants. The bourgeois institution of parliamentary democracy is not for them, and the only reliable vehicle of revolutionary change is the armed strength of workers and peasants, particularly the latter in a country where the peasants form an overwhelming majority of the people. All this might sound a little mad but it would be a mistake to ignore the significance of the new Maoist party. Their capacity to recreate Naxalbari in rural pockets in various parts of the country should not be under-estimated. Mr Jyoti Basu talks nonsense when he says that his Government can curb the Naxalites' activities in West Bengal in a day if it wishes to do so. Nor does it make sense for him to say that the people themselves will deal with the

Writing in a similar vein *The Times of India* says Mr Kanu Sanyal does not feel beholden to Mr Basu because he released him and his colleagues. The Naxalites regard the CPI(M) leadership as their worst enemy because in their view it has betrayed the cause of revolution and because it challenges their claim that they are the only true revolutionaries. The battle is joined as far as the extremists are concerned. They neither seek nor will they give any quarter to their opponents. They have the blessings of China which will continue to egg them on to greater and greater violence in the name of revolution and the thought of Mao Tse-tung. It is for the other side, principally the CPI(M), to decide whether it is interested in survival and how it proposes to fight back. But the CPI(M) leadership will be naive if it takes the romantic view that the issue is wholly political and can be settled through a debate. The Naxalites do not believe in the efficacy of political debates. Power for them grows out of the barrel of a gun. The activities of the Naxalites constitute a serious threat to law and order. It is the duty of Mr Jyoti Basu, the Home Minister, to see that peace of the State is not disrupted. If it involves sending Mr Kanu Sanyal and his associates back to jail, there should be no hesitation on his part. Like the Telengana revolt in the late 'forties the Naxalite

phenomenon is relevant primarily in the areas of serious peasant discontent. As such it can be isolated and dealt with. But there is another facet to the problem, especially in West Bengal. Extremism and violence appeal to a sizable section of the student community in Calcutta for various historical, social and economic reasons. This cannot but be a matter of serious concern for the State Government as well as the Centre. It will be absurd to suggest that these grievances must be removed, before the city becomes entitled to peace. An irresponsible section of students cannot be allowed to hold the city to ransom every now and then. The CPI(M) leadership will have to face up to the fact that certain onerous responsibilities go with power. It is on test because its title to rule in West Bengal and elsewhere depends on its willingness to take unpleasant decisions.

*The Hindustan Times* says the CPI (M) came into being as a reflex against Moscow's stranglehold on the party, only to find as it moved out of the Soviet ambience that it was getting into Peking's vice-like grip. Today, without accepting Tito's position the CPI(M) keeps clear of both Moscow and Peking. The vacuum was bound to be filled and the former Naxalites under the leadership of Mr Charu Mazumdar and Mr Kanu Sanyal have become the standard-bearers of Mao Tse-tung's thought. Mr Jyoti Basu has dismissed the new party as of no account. It is true that their present support extends only to a few middle class student groups and some peasant pockets. But they may well become a formidable force in days to come as the policies of the United Front Government fail to satisfy the radical sections in Mr Basu's own party. It is significant that while Mr E.M.S. Namboodiripad in Kerala can imprison his Naxalites, Mr Basu has released his. Obviously, opposition inside the West Bengal CPI(M) is not as total as Mr Basu would have the public believe. The chief disadvantage from which the new Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) suffers, apart from its adolescent-extremism, is that it has little following outside West

Bengal. The brunt of the new party's attack will have to be borne by Mr Jyoti Basu. As a vocal and strong champion of the States' right to implement law and order, he will have to take action against those whom he himself has described as consisting largely of "anti-social" elements. If he does, he will have to face criticism from a section of his party. If he does not, he will be blackmailed into making one concession after another to the new party. Either way he is in an uncomfortable position. And this is one situation where he cannot blame the Centre.

#### No Prairie Fire

*The Statesman* thinks that the Naxalbari spark may help in burning some buses and trams in Calcutta or setting fire to a few village huts in Andhra and Kerala; but plans for starting a prairie fire all over the country are unlikely to be taken seriously yet. The Naxalites have not said what their plans are—or how they propose to carry them out. No doubt the CPI-(M-L) will now anxiously wait for more detailed guidance from China than has hitherto been available from Peking Radio's calls for revolutionary armed struggles all over the world. It is equally certain that Mr Mao's men will be generous with their advice. They will have no hesitation in encouraging disruptive forces in India in the name of revolution while extending full support to the military regime which has suppressed all popular movements in Pakistan. Ridiculing the Naxalites for the name they have chosen for their party the paper says they could not think of anything but a "Leninist" addition to the CPI (M)—though they left nobody in any doubt about their faith in the Chinese Communist Party's contention that Mao Tse-tung's thought is the Marxism-Leninism of the era. Chairman Mao can not approve of such timidity; nor is he likely to be pleased at Mr Kanu Sanyal's reported suggestion that Mr Charu Mazumdar, said to be a Naxalite theoretician, is equal to the Chairman in revolutionary wisdom.

*Patriot* says that the stupid brawling by a handful of political adven-

turers who call themselves "Naxalites" in Calcutta which eventually led to injuries to a number of citizens, the utterly foolish "Maoist" posters that are reported to have appeared in certain places of Madras, the mock-heroics of the dubious "revolutionaries" who have left Mr Namboodiripad's party in Kerala and the formation of a third Communist party by Mr Kanu Sanyal on May Day are of no political significance yet. But unless they are treated as warnings by the two Communist parties and the entire Indian Left, they will become a nuisance requiring serious action in the not too distant future. This is so, not because the mischief-mongers, agents-provocateurs, and the desperately frustrated political misfits who are behind them have hope of gaining any kind of political stature. They have to be heeded because they will certainly be exaggerated and exploited by reactionaries and conservatives of all varieties to spread alarm in the middle class and strengthen the anti-socialist argument that any degree of true social and economic democracy is dangerous and to defend the dirty conspiracies conducted by vested interests. What has to be grasped by all elements of the Left in the country, whether they belong at present to secular-democratic trends in the Congress, to the socialist and communist parties or are progressive individuals unidentified with any of these parties, is that the so-called Naxalism and the foul politics of monopoly are two sides of the same anti-democratic, anti-socialist, anti-patriotic medal. Silently and secretly they support and sustain each other. If this is realised, it will not be difficult to understand that they can be exposed, discredited and purged only through unity and a minimum national programme of patriotic democratic socialist action by all those opposed to them. The elements that will inevitably have to constitute the core of a secular democratic national movement for a socialist transformation of the economy are today wasting their energy and time in esoteric controversies the people cannot under-

stand. It is their uncertainty and incapacity to see things as they are and to realise what the people expect of them that gives opportunity to anti-

patriotic adventurers of the Left and the agents of foreign and Indian monopoly on the Right to create the kind of confusion they are able to today.

Ehrenreichs point out that the French Communist Party played a reactionary role in the May 1968 events, that the German Social Democratic Party hounded out the radical SDS from its ranks in the late 1950s, that Italian students do not identify with any of the three left-wing parties, and that British student activism is sparked in part by disillusionment with the ruling Labour Party.

### Book Review

## STUDENT REBELLION

### Confrontation : Student Revolt & The Universities

Editors : Daniel Bell and Irving Kristol. New York, Basic Books, 1969. \$5.95

### Long March, Short Spring : The Student

### At Home And Abroad

By Barbara and John Ehrenreich, New York. Monthly Review Press, 1969. \$1.95

THESE two excellent volumes approach the always exciting issue of student revolt from opposite points of view, yet are surprisingly complementary. The Bell and Kristol book, an expanded special issue of *The Public Interest*, is basically critical of student activism, while the Ehrenreichs, themselves student activists, write from a sympathetic viewpoint. Each volume is looking at different aspects of the question. The essays in *Confrontation* seek to understand and analyse, mostly from the point of view of outside social scientists, the phenomenon of the student revolt—its causes, the types of students who become involved, and some specific case studies. *Long March, Short Spring*, on the other hand, is valuable precisely because it describes—some of the major student disturbances from the viewpoint of the movement itself. It is strange, and highly significant as well, that there is a tremendous gap between the analyses, as well as the style, of these two books.

Barbara and John Ehrenreich's short volume, which might have been titled "Student Movements We Have Seen," provides an activist's view of the student revolts in France, Germany, Italy, England, and the Columbia University crisis of last year. The Ehrenreichs had an opportunity to speak to European student leaders, and have put together one of the most readable and at the same time reasonably analytic accounts of the European student

revolts to appear to date.

The Ehrenreichs make no pretence of "objectivity"—they are committed to the values and politics of the European student militants. They make the unique contribution of actually describing the substances of the student demands in the various European countries—a factor which many scholarly analysts often ignore in their efforts to be "sociological." The crisis in European higher education, created by the need for technological manpower and the inability of the universities to make significant reforms in the face of expansion of enrolments, is a common theme in Western Europe.

*Long March, Short Spring* links the university crisis with the perceived breakdown of parliamentary oppositions in West Germany, France, and Italy, and with internal development of radical student movements. The ideological orientations of such groups as the German SDS, the French March 22 Movement, and the British Radical Student Alliance are described clearly, if a bit too simply.

#### Catalysis

The Ehrenreichs have no illusions about the revolutionary potential of the student movements they discuss. Students may be a catalyst for social change, but are usually unable to implement change themselves. A good deal of the revolutionary activism in Europe has been stimulated, at least in part, by the conservatism of the traditional leftist political parties. The

*Confrontation* is a balanced analysis of student activism, in the United States, from what has come to be known as the "liberal Establishment" point of view. Most of the essays are balanced and thoughtful, and the volume provides perhaps one of the best sources of analysis of the crisis of the American university. Most of the critical issues in the area are discussed by well-known academics. Seymour Martin Lipset summarizes available research on the student activists. Talcott Parsons, in a rather rambling essay, discusses some of the sociological aspects of the American university, while Nathan Glazer takes a throughout after-view of the Berkeley revolutions, and Daniel Bell and Roger Starr discuss the Columbia situation. Irving Kristol's proposal to restructure the university by giving grants to individual students rather than to institutions is one of the most thought-provoking essays in the book.

John Bunzel's chapter on "Black Studies at San Francisco State" expresses the liberal's dilemma. Bunzel, one of the earliest supporters of a black studies programme at the college, later found himself attacked by the militant black students and the white left for not going far enough. Bound by traditional notions of the university. Professor Bunzel could not accept some of the implications of student participation in decision making, and the increased politicalisation of the university.

The contributors to *Confrontation* analyse the student revolt from a variety of approaches—seeking to look at student opinion, the institutional factors, backgrounds of activists, and other factors. They give only scant treatment to the demands of the activists, and seem to accept as "given" the crisis in which the society

finds itself. The students on the other hand, are unable to look beyond the Vietnam war and the racial crisis to the abiding positive aspects of the university. To the activists, the social crisis is everything, and if the university must be disrupted or perhaps even destroyed in order to bring a solution, then this is an acceptable price for social change. The authors of *Confrontation* place great emphasis on the university as an important and positive institution in American life.

These two volumes, each from its own point of view, sheds a good deal of light on the crisis of the university and the student activists who helped to focus national attention on this crisis.

PHILIP G. ALTBACH

## Varied Fare

MRIGANKA SEKHAR RAY

AMONG all the spy-nonsense churned out from Bombay and Madras, *Shatranj* (directed by the redoubtable S. S. Vasan of Gemini fame) must be the limit. It spells thrill, entertainment and patriotism, everything with a vengeance. The story is the pretty run-of-the-mill theme of the Indian spy pitted against the Chinese and the eventual triumph of the Bond-hero, with a beautiful girl thrown in as a bonus. This time stupidity is boundless as the main action takes place on the mainland of China and the Indian agent Rajendrakumar smashes the enemy almost singlehanded. Mehmood and Helen are of course there to help him, but their time is mostly devoted to hamming and belly-dancing. Waheeda Rehman as the Indian dancer held by the Chinese, wriggles out a couple of hip-swinging feats, may be just to relieve Rajendrakumar of the worries of his tough routine. The Chinese, of course, painted not only as arch-villains but also as blundering fools and the ease with which Rajendrakumar moves about in the enemy centres might help to dispel all the prevalent notions about the lack of

personal freedom in China. In this film, it is useless to dwell on the technical qualities. Everything is muck—only it is a pity to find Waheeda rotting in such a gutter. One thing still baffles me. How could the censors, who are touchy on some minor points, allow such a vile propaganda against a friendly country?

While *Shatranj* carries the Indian morons into far-off China, *Bhai Bahen*, *Tumse Acchha Kaun Hai* (directed by Promod Chakravarty) and *Pitaputra* (directed by Arabinda Mukherjee) have their protagonists feeling around inside the country. *Bhai Bahen* has Sunil Dutt as a waster reformed by the mother-image of Nutan, after a whole yarn of incredulities spun out for the benefit of the audience. Shammi Kapoor in *Tumse Acchha Kaun Hai* is a clowning Samaritan hired by millionaires to reform her wayward granddaughters, which he does very efficiently and wins the most ravishing of them. Here and there good bits of national integration are sprinkled in the form of songs and speeches. *Pita Putra* is a poor comedy of errors in which Tanuja and Swaroop Dutta as the romancing couple fail to lend any life and grace to their roles.

## Luminos And Aluminos

BY AN ART CRITIC

AN interesting and unusual exhibition, Dilip Bakshi's 'Luminos and Aluminos', was held at the Academy last week. Bakshi, who comes from Gujarat and now lives in Delhi, does not use brush, canvas or paper, and in the case of luminos, even pigments to do his paintings. Luminos are prints on photographic paper of abstract designs and sometimes representational shapes in black and white and various tonal shades. He executes these designs with scratches on the emulsion of unexposed negatives, then developing and subjecting them to a process of complicated and multiple printing. That the intensity of the light, properly manipulated, can bring out fascinating

shades of black and white and other tones on photographic paper was evident in almost everyone of the 48 or so luminos on view. Bakshi's fine sense of abstraction was also similarly seen in almost all the luminos and a few were of a superior order. Among those in which recognisable forms could be seen, the best were the face of a girl with flowers in her hair, the figure of a woman, done in nervous calligraphic lines, and another which looked like a sad moon against a jet black background. Bakshi's aluminos were coloured designs printed on the anodised surface of aluminium sheets. It is no use describing the technique which involves, among other things, giving the sheets baths in tanks containing various colour solutions. In comparison with the luminos, the aluminos suffered. But there was at least one which could hold its own in good company—an unfinished building in a delightful shade of pink against a background of copper and a rather unusual shade of green.

### A Group Show

A group of seven young artists from Uttarpara, all members of the Chaitanya Kala Bijnan Kendra, held their fourth annual show at the Academy last week. To be quite candid, but for a few exceptions, the paintings on display had nothing much to recommend themselves. The exceptions were some dark-toned paintings of Kali and other subjects, a couple of miniatures by Tripti Mukherjee, Suprio Raha's oil 'Composition 1', and two or three small sketches by Sukdeb Chattopadhyaya.

### Letters

#### 'Our Commonwealth

I do not know what Mr A. Thakur (letter 3.5.1969) is fuming (or weeping?) over. Three young Englishmen spat on his face. Another time rotten eggs thrown at him spoiled his clothes. And he tells us that Indians in Britain are being treated badly, humiliated or beaten up, and the police do not care. If that is how it is, for heaven's

sake, why does he stay there? They will go over there for the extra honey, and then rant that they are not loved. They know very well that they are not wanted. What's the big idea of settling in that country? Let's face it, in spite of all this, thousands of Indians are settling there and thousands more clamouring for the opportunity.

It is ugly, this colour problem. It is obnoxious, this racial problem. Agreed. Down with the racist. Down with all those there who are beating the Indians badly. But, before they can stand up to accuse those people, they must not forget that India is one of the most colour conscious countries in the world. It might be wise to remember that the African students in India face just as much, if not more, discrimination as the Indians might in the U.K.

Those Indians who have chosen to settle in the U.K. have no identification with that country and its people. They do not therefore have any sense of loyalty or duty towards that society. They have shunned their own country, and as a result, after some years, underneath their shiny clothes and smooth skins one sees dead souls, souls without moorings, without purpose, without pride. They cling together in bunches, hardly ever integrate with the people of the land, and keep themselves alive through gregarious activities like Saraswati Puja and Durga Puja in London. And although they brag about India, and Indian culture etc. to the British and the Europeans, they consider themselves superior to the Indians who actually happen to live in India. After all, when they, if ever, return to India, they will have the special rubber stamp 'England-returned' or 'Europe-returned' on their foreheads.

MOHIM ROODRO  
Calcutta

#### CORRECTION

"The most promising young poet who follows Samsur Rahaman" (Page 9, column 3 of last week's *Frontier*) is Aaur Rahaman, whose name was printed as "After Rahaman".

## A Pathetic Show

Mr C. K. Arora is very right to advise the so-called "Muslim leaders" to give up their habit of isolating their community on real or imaginary issues (April 19). These upper strata Muslim leaders have done the greatest disservice to their community from the very dawn of the independence movement. The audacity of the Presiding Officer in not allowing them to take the oath in one of the 15 languages on the Eighth Schedule can only be compared with the stupidity and callousness of those who do not have the guts to fight for a cause. The greatest danger to secularism is not only the Hindu fanatics of the Jana Sangh, Congress, SSP etc. but also these self-styled Muslim leaders.

Urdu is one of the richest languages of India and it is an asset to the development of Indian literature. In years to come, Urdu will form a forum for cultural and literal exchange between the vivisected, tragically and artificially partitioned parts of the subcontinent—India and Pakistan. The time is not far off when a radical and revolutionary change in the socio-economic structure of both India and Pakistan will usher in an era of understanding and friendship in this subcontinent. At that auspicious hour, Urdu in the west and Bengali in the east will take their due place as a link and as a language of conciliation and compromise.

SISIR K. MAJUMDAR (DR.)  
Jamnagar

## Exams. And All That

The recent deliberations of the Vice-Chancellors about the need to change the examination system once again showed how, unreal the whole thing is. Reforming the examination system without thoroughly reorganising education is to put the cart before the horse. Such attempts have been made, not infrequently, by the newer universities and they all have met with failure. For instance, when North Bengal University introduced viva voce, the colleges, eager to show a higher pass percentage, soon entered

the race to outshine one another in awarding more marks to their students. If some teacher or institution registered failure, the University itself declared the detained as having passed in its eagerness to show that the system was a success. However, the systems had to be withdrawn by another Vice-Chancellor, who has introduced English (meant for college examinations only) in the degree science courses. This English receives lip service only. Some fake marks are sent to the University after what the heads of institutions still love to term annual examinations.

Indeed, every thing is rotten in the academic sphere. A school grows on deceit and falsehood: false rolls are shown, false accounts are preserved, full pay is not given (a teacher has to state that he receives Rs 160 or so, while he actually receives Rs 60 or 70). Over ninety per cent of even those who are entitled to full pay do not get the full pay packet.

As regards the curriculum, it is an excellent archaism. It neither forms character (personality) nor informs one of the world around. And of late, it does not even ensure livelihood. What worth is it then? Why make such ado about it? Do it whole or leave it.

CHANDRA PRASAD  
Malda

## The Ussuri Clash

Your readers must have appreciated Mr N. R. Kalpathi's "The Sino-Soviet Frontier" (April 19 and 26) and the documentary letter, "The Ussuri Clash" (April 26). But I want to clarify one point which Mr Kalpathi just mentioned in passing. Why did Peoples' China not press her rightful claims on the territories under dispute when Stalin was alive?

Lenin did declare after the birth of the Soviet State that all unequal treaties forcibly imposed on neighbouring countries by the Tsarist Government would be annulled and such treaties with Persia, Turkey, etc. were annulled but the treaty of 1860 with China remained. Why? Because in the middle twenties the Chiang Kai-shek

coupists were not in control of the whole country, there was no authoritative Central Government in China and the armed revolutionary struggle for liberation was already under way. The situation was fluid, with the Japanese domination over Manchuria and the imminent threat of Japanese aggression. In such a situation what useful purpose would have been served by handing over some territories with their population to the Chiang group? Chiang too did not raise any territorial claims.

The situation altered radically after the defeat of Japan in World War II which liberated Manchuria for China; there was the ultimate countrywide victory of the Peoples' Liberation Army as well as the rebuff meted out to the U.S. invaders in Korea by the Korean Peoples' Army with the fraternal assistance of the Chinese volunteers equipped with Soviet arms. The Sino-Soviet border became a border of peace between two socialist countries following identical policies. The Chinese gave precedence to reconstruction of the economy and did not allow themselves to be distracted by the border question.

In the early fifties, on the eve of Stalin's death, the Boundary Commission was formed to settle the matter. After a few preliminary sessions of the Commission Stalin died. After the 20th Congress the Commission was put in cold storage more or less except for a few occasional formal sessions. Everybody knows the march of events after that. The Kremlin in its backward march has reached the stage of social imperialism. And imperialism is synonymous with expansionism and hostility towards genuine socialist countries. As a result the Sino-Soviet border cannot but turn from a peaceful to a hostile border. That is precisely why time is now ripe to settle the border accounts with the Kremlin. The problem is now mature.

One can draw an analogy between the Sino-Soviet and Sino-Indian border questions. As long as the Sino-Indian border was a friendly, peaceful one, China did not press her claims to the disputed areas. She pressed

them only when, along with the Dalai Lama's escape to India and the political asylum given to him here, the Sino-Indian border lost its friendly and peaceful character.

T. C.  
Calcutta

### May Day Rally

I congratulate you on your success in splitting the communists. I do not know how much you get from the CIA for your excellent service. Dear comrade, I did not find even a single peasant in the May Day rally of the so-called 'brilliant' revolutionaries, but saw a good number of upper middle class boys (who never know what poverty is); nor did I find any representative of the working class, though a large number of petty-bourgeois intellectuals were there. I was shocked to realise that these typical counter-revolutionary elements had so long been associated with the Marxists. And you, once our beloved poet and favourite with the Bengali intelligentsia, feel no qualms of conscience in crying 'thief, thief' like the thieves.

JAYANTA KUMAR CHAUDHURI  
Calcutta

### New Party

The leaders of the extreme left parties seem to have forgotten the maxim that 'united we stand, divided we fall', and are bent upon spoiling the broth of revolution by instituting too many communist parties intent more on slinging mud at one another, than furthering the cause of revolution. They are causing confusion among the masses and making it virtually impossible for the workers to unite under one banner.

AKAYGEE  
Calcutta

### Schooling Is Over

Mr Abheek Dasgupta likes his path to Moscow via Delhi rather than Peking via Naxalbari (April 19). He has got every right to do so. He also

contends that the method of schooling advocated by Naxalites is long over. That reminds me. Two months ago I met one of my friends in Calcutta, a wholetime worker of the CPI(M). At the first sight he gave me the news that he has joined a school as a teacher only a month back. The other friend commented, they have just completed a revolution and are now enjoying a retired life. I understand, the schooling is over.

N. K. PAUL (DR.)  
Midnapore

### Andhra Women

Will those champions of Indian womanhood who are vilifying the UF Government in West Bengal over the alleged atrocities against women at Rabindra Sarobar on April 6 visit Andhra Pradesh where the 'democratic' Congress is in power, and enquire about the atrocities committed against Andhra women under the cover of the Telengana agitation and read the most obscene writings on the walls against Andhra women in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad and elsewhere in Telengana?

ELKAY  
Hyderabad

### A Raid

It looks from your paper as if India comprises cities alone. While your contributors roam in and around Parliament or the State Assemblies, the atrocities committed by Mr Chavan's police on communist revolutionaries go unnoticed.

For instance, on March 24, in Banskhera, a village near Kashipur in Nainital district, a group of 340 armed policemen headed by an SP raided the houses of two communists, Mahinder Singh and Bhagat Singh, in their absence without giving any reason. All the members of the family, including a child of 8, were beaten up, ornaments snatched, clothes torn off, and even the milk and food meant for the children were destroyed.

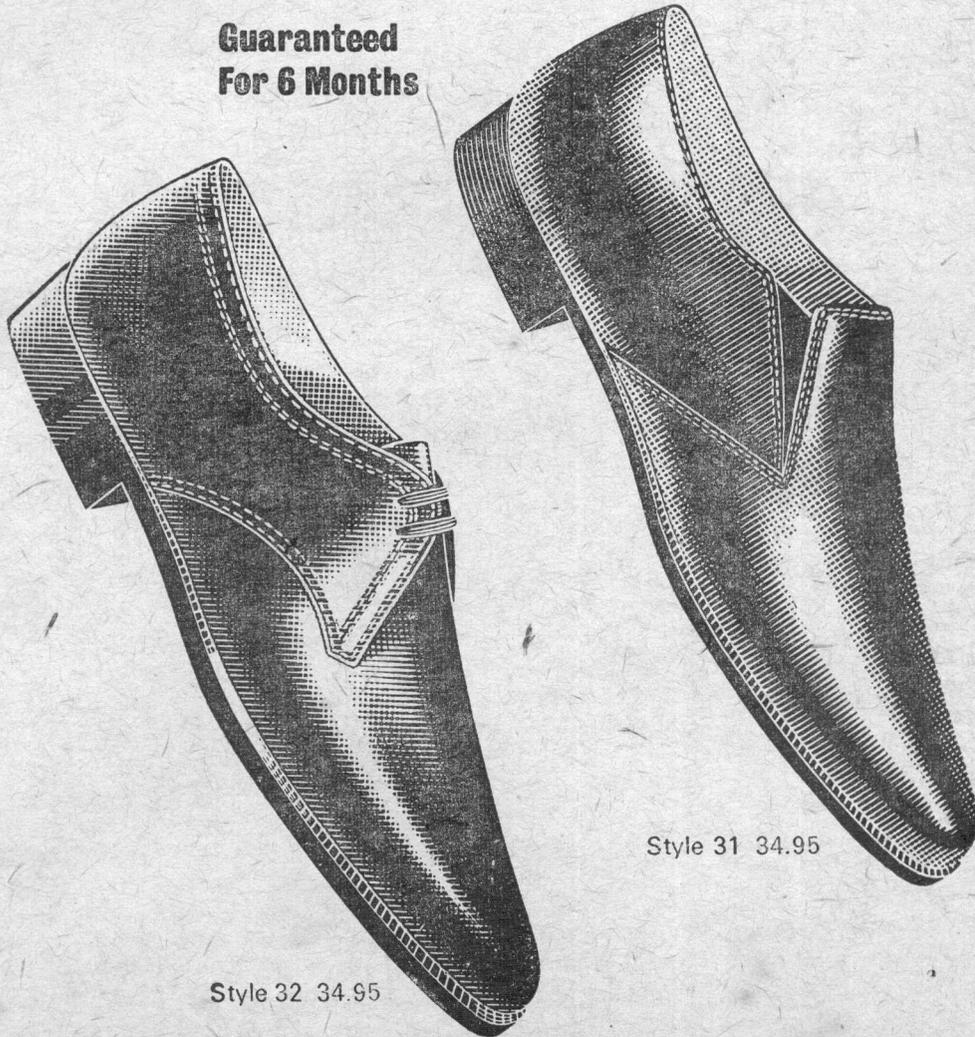
RAJU  
Delhi

## **Wear-Tested to give you more comfort**

Direct Injection Process locks the upper to the sole for the life of the shoe. No nails. No stitching. There's nothing to come loose and give way with D I P soling. Is lightweight and flexible. Is guaranteed for 6 months. Bata D I P Walkmaster is wear-tested for comfort. This means that the original model is actually worn under ordinary day-to-day conditions, is checked and adjusted and altered until, when finally approved for production, it has an extra step of comfort you don't usually get in other shoes.

# *Bata DIP Walkmaster*

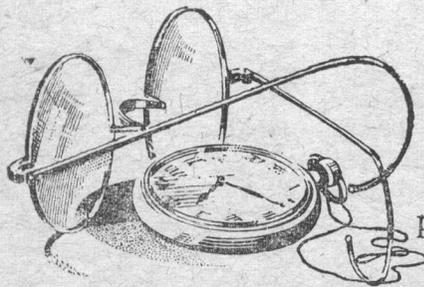
**Guaranteed  
For 6 Months**



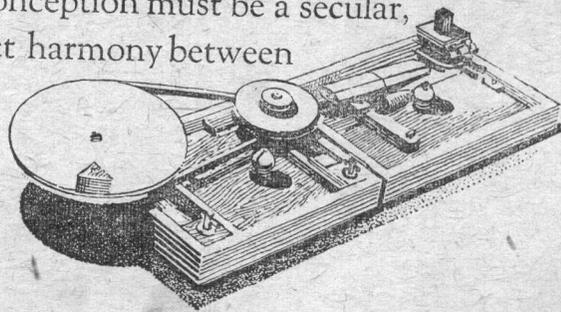
Style 32 34.95

Style 31 34.95

# One nation: One people



“There is so much in common between people in the same State, under the same flag and owing undivided allegiance to it...that those who believe in India as a nation can have no minority or majority question. All are entitled to equal privileges, equal treatment... The state of our conception must be a secular, democratic state, having perfect harmony between different units.” —Mahatma Gandhi



INDIAN OXYGEN LIMITED