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On Other Pages

COMMENTS	..	2
<i>View From Delhi</i>		
OH. FOR A BOMB...		
FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT	..	6
<i>Letter From America</i>		
THE HAWKS' OPTIONS		
ROBI CHAKRAVORTI	..	7
ON LENIN—III		
MONITOR	..	9
IN AND AROUND JADAVPUR		
B. BOSE	..	11
A NOCTURNAL PROTEST		
BY A CORRESPONDENT	..	12
THE JANA SANGH IN DELHI		
SURAJ SINGH	..	13
THE DISSENTING CHAMBERS		
A. P. M.	..	15
PL-480 FUNDS		
GOPAL TRIBEDY	..	16
LENIN UNDERDONE		
MRIGANKA SEKHAR RAY	..	17
LETTERS	..	18

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A LIMITED CAMPAIGN ?

NIXON is anxious to reassure his people that his Cambodian expedition is strictly time-bound—seldom has a rapist been known to show such a considerate preference for coitus interruptus. If a mass killer decides to set a time-limit to one of his major operations, there must be compelling considerations. One of course is the wave of unrest in America itself; Nixon must show that he has not committed his country to another unlimited war, that the Cambodian campaign is no more than a painful necessity to hasten disengagement from Vietnam. So long as he can go on promising that the war-weary American boys will be back home reasonably soon domestic dissent may not be uncontrollable. But was the announcement of a timetable for withdrawal no more than a mere tactical concession?

A close scrutiny of the reports on the first few days of fighting would show that even Nixon must have seen the military futility of the exercise. The so-called Vietcong headquarters in Cambodia which the Americans and their stooges had set out to destroy seemed to have disappeared into thin air. Both in Phnom Penh and Saigon foreign correspondents were frankly sceptical about American claims of seizure of communist arms; as for communists claimed to have been killed, even British and American reporters suggested that most of the victims must have been unarmed civilians. The communist forces, in fact, had simply moved away from the border areas. How far would the gallant Americans move in hot pursuit? Clearly Nixon was getting a little nervous. But he could not give the impression of having totally failed. So he announced what might appear to be a limited objective; his men would devastate a limited area and kill or maim all the people there and then return with the claim that the communist sanctuaries have been smashed. The more hazardous task of chasing the communists deep into Cambodian territory would be left to the South Vietnamese lackeys. The aggression will continue, but with relatively little danger to precious American lives.

At least, that seems to be the present plan—if one is to take Nixon at his word. But he may yet discover for the benefit of his silent majority that Cambodia needs a longer military commitment. Besides, the Cambodian campaign may also have been partly designed to prepare public opinion for a similar expedition in Laos. It may be no mere coincidence

that the announcement of Nixon's schedule for disengagement from Cambodia was accompanied, and has been steadily followed, by reports of increasing communist operations in Laos, and it has long been known how "news" from Saigon, Phnom Penh and Vientiane is managed by the American military authorities. The Pathet Lao has every reason to intensify its struggle when the Americans are largely preoccupied with Cambodia and it may well have done so. But the way reports of new communist offensives in Laos have been timed to synchronize with Nixon's protestations of "moderation" in Cambodia is intriguing. In fact, as early as May 1, the Thai Foreign Minister, after a meeting with the American Ambassador in Bangkok, hinted that American and South Vietnamese ground forces might be sent into Laos as well. After all, if the so-called Cambodian sanctuaries had to be attacked for the security of American forces in Vietnam, the Ho Chi Minh trails in Laos, long subjected to indiscriminate bombing, should also be a legitimate target for American ground action. And other areas too, where the communists are said to be newly active. Nixon is now fighting what Bernard Fall described as the second Indochinese war soon after the American involvement in Vietnam. "Whom God would destroy He first sends mad." If you wish, for God read History.

So Many Shivajis

In Maharashtra the signs have been ominous enough for a pretty long time. The situation there is marked by a compact over several courses, including border issues, between the Congress (R) Government and the sons of the soil, the Shiv Sena. It was inevitable that, with the indulgence the SS gets, the rampage against the poor non-Maharashtrians would turn against tribals and political parties. It did against the latter the other day, with the declaration of Bal Thakre that his men were re-

solved to save the country from the communists. That the Muslims would be involved, along with non-Maharashtrians, was foreseen. Large numbers of both Muslims and non-Maharashtrians are fleeing from the burning mills and homes of Bhiwandi, where the workers must have taken part in arson and murder. The senas set up road blocks at many places checking and interrogating people. The origin of the trouble is familiar, as familiar as the origin of our species. As in Ahmedabad, Chaibasa and elsewhere, a Hindu procession is 'attacked' and the 'reprisal', planned in advance, is swift, savage and widespread. The atrocities evoke some lip-sympathy—but, of course, the burning of a few pictures or books is more outrageous than the roasting of men, women and children. The politicians are provided another pretext for integration committees and conferences at a cool summer resort. They soon return, without batting an eyelid, to the theme of the breakdown of law and order in West Bengal where Gandhian values are being attacked.

It may turn out that the murderous Shivajis of Maharashtra have fired a big salvo in the current election campaign in Pakistan. In East Pakistan—as well as in the West—the forces of Maulana Maudoodi are resolved to deflect the tremendous upsurge of 1968-69 into channels with which we are all too familiar on this sub-continent. Clashes between leftist forces and the Jamaat-i-Islam have been numerous in East Pakistan as well as West; as a result of election tension and economic distress, an exodus of Hindus to West Bengal is on, despite the fact that the people of East Pakistan as a whole have shown exemplary maturity in their relations with the minorities ever since 1964. But an election year is different and dangerous. The bloody incidents of Ahmedabad last year, the minor and frequent eruptions here and there, the flare up at Chaibasa in Bihar the other day and now the big bust-up in Maharashtra—all this is likely to be exploited by the counterparts of the RSS-Shiv Sena in

East Pakistan. If they succeed the 'reaction' of the West Bengal patriots would be out of proportion and, maybe, welcome to the compatriots of L. P. Singh and company as a way out of the troublesome situation. But it is also likely that the peoples of West Bengal and East Pakistan will overcome the provocateurs. Let us hope so. The hope lies in East Pakistan.

Planners From Delhi

The august visitations from New Delhi last week have partially unfolded the Central plan for West Bengal. Not that the Central intentions were in doubt ever. Yet there might have been people prone to dismiss uncomplimentary forecasts about President's rule as cynical; to them the meeting of minds in Calcutta should be an eye-opener. For days the secretariat was swarmed by officials from North and South Blocks. It is not possible to say exactly how many of them had descended on Calcutta, or who they were, or what were their specific purposes. For instance, a top brass of the Central intelligence seems to have suddenly remembered that once upon a time he belonged to the West Bengal cadre. As if in search of time lost he has started visiting Calcutta frequently to call on old friends and colleagues. Maybe he is genuinely smitten by nostalgia, maybe he exchanges reminiscences only—both harmless signs of ageing; but somehow all his friends are those who are responsible for restoration of law and order in West Bengal. His visits have been surreptitious. But certain others have been trumpeted, either because the visitor is so important that his movements cannot remain a secret or because publicity suits the purpose of the Centre.

In the latter category is the visit of the Union Cabinet Secretary, Mr Sivaraman, accompanied by a host of officials, to discuss measures to save Calcutta. The city lacks many things but it always had a surfeit of

saviours—from the presidents of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to the evergreen Mr Nanda, who has promised to produce a tube railway from his Gandhi cap in four years. The availability of funds had never been in doubt either; one could almost arrange a glittering parade if it were possible to recollect the names of all the financial institutions which had, some time or other, offered to untie their purse-strings for Calcutta. Even the business tycoons who threaten to shift their industries from the State every time a left government assumes office have not lagged behind; they also are prepared to invest, if no restraint on profits is guaranteed. There is no reason to hope that where others have failed Mr Sivaraman or Mr B. B. Ghosh will succeed. For two decades the Congress could do what it liked about Calcutta; but it did not go beyond making empty promises. Calcutta's development has become a political slogan; it is a bait to hook voters, though by the election results it would appear that it hardly works as a bait. Much more will be heard about the Centre's concern for Calcutta before West Bengal goes to polls again; and it is equally certain that all its problems will remain as acute as now. In the mean time, Mr Sivaraman and Mr Ghosh will shuttle between New Delhi and Calcutta to remind the voters how dear the city is to the Congress rulers.

No publicity was, however, sought for the most important of the series of visits—that of the Union Home Secretary, Mr L. P. Singh, the man who had proved himself more powerful than his Minister when Mr Nanda had the rashness to clash with him. He stayed at Raj Bhavan as if to underline his new authority over this State in the Presidential regime; he did not visit the Secretariat even once and held his durbars at Raj Bhavan itself, though Mr Sivaraman, his superior in rank, had all his discussions at Writers' Building. What concrete plans have been evolved to cure the people of West Bengal of their waywardness are not all known. There is no doubt, however, that he

did not find the repressive machine geared to the needs of the situation. His so-called refusal to arm the State Government immediately with a preventive detention law has no meaning, for in the Parliamentary Advisory Committee on West Bengal, which is the final arbiter in the matter, Congress members are in an overwhelming majority, though the party has ceased to be a force in the State. His readiness to help the State Government with as many contingents of the Central Reserve Police and the Border Security Force as necessary is ominous. West Bengal knows what the CRP are, and it should know that the BSF are a para-military force which do not have such comparatively harmless weapons as lathis and tear-gas shells. The BSF solely depend on fire-arms for enforcing the rule of law. Now that Mr Singh has found the normal police inadequate, the task of maintaining peace will be entrusted to this para-military force. The simulated cry over absence of law and order is nearing its pre-determined culmination.

A Bluff Exposed

If it is a matter of choosing between the Government of India's earlier bombast and present despair, there is no doubt that all will welcome the latter because it corresponds more with the reality. In the past, not very remote, both the External Affairs and Defence Ministers have often said that India would not tolerate foreign presence in the Indian Ocean. What she could possibly do if foreign navy ships really entered the Ocean or how she could drive away the 'intruders' was beyond the common man's comprehension. There have not been many coconut-cracking ceremonies in this country (very fortunately; the latest ceremony that launched the second frigate cost the nation Rs 20 crores). And the warships that have been launched so far are all suspected, as a Rajya Sabha member did, to be so many sitting ducks.

So long foreign navy ships did not enter the Ocean or sailed on it apparently casually, the bombast of the two Singhs went unchallenged. But when the American and later Russian ships did enter and not so casually, they had to remind themselves that the 'Indian' of the Ocean did not confer any particular rights on India over it. If ships really used the high seas, they were all respectful to the international convention. All that the Singhs could do was to request the two super-Powers to honour the Indian territorial waters; it would be a hell of a time in Parliament otherwise.

It would be a good thing however if Chinese ships are increasingly seen on the Indian Ocean. In fact the Minister of Defence Production had already reported that these were. The Chinese presence would be sufficient to create panic among the Indians suffering from Sinophobia, a neat alibi to ignore the presence of the American and the Russian fleet on Indian territorial waters, and a case for a naval umbrella.

It is no more a matter of speculation as to who will fill the power vacuum, whatever it means, when the British start their pull-out in 1971. More Russian navy ships have been seen on the Ocean during 1969 than in any previous year. Russian vessels have been shadowing Chinese freighters shuttling between Shanghai and the coast of East Africa. These have been, as a matter of routine, sailing all the way from Siberia down to New Zealand. The Soviet Pacific fleet operates primarily out of its eastern maritime provinces. It includes about 160 vessels, more than half of which are submarines and about 20 of which are stationed in the Indian Ocean.

No matter what the Russian chiefs say about their fleet—that it does not require stable base facilities—suspicions are rife that they are frantically trying to secure these facilities. The Indian Government is rumoured to be hard pressed to offer the facilities under some sort of cover. The Russians have already gained harbour facilities from Mauritius for their 're-

search' ships, promising in lieu to build up its fishing industry. The Bay of Bengal is reported to be an ideal place for these base facilities.

Labour Participation

New Delhi is hell-bent to make this country socialist. The air is thick with talk of labour participation in industrial management. The Lok Sabha was told by the Labour and Employment Minister that the Government was considering schemes to give shares of industrial undertakings to their workers. The schemes are going to be placed before the Indian Labour Conference and the Standing Labour Committee for their approval. If they approve, the Government will try the schemes in public sector undertakings. If these succeed, the Government will ask the private sector to please follow suit.

This done, everybody should hope, there would be no more alienation of workers from management, the alienation Marx was so vehement to condemn. There would be then a greater sense of involvement among workers, more production, more prosperity, more happiness all around.

Mr Gulzarilal Nanda, Minister for the Railways, the biggest public sector in the country, has been exceptionally prompt to chime in. It appears that he too, despite his heavy engagements in travelling third class to know the travails of passengers, has been busy in evolving schemes of labour participation in the Railway management. Not that he has any idea right now, but he is confident of turning up something presentable. He developed cold feet, however, the moment some concrete suggestions were made to him. Mr Chandrashekhar asked if Mr Nanda would accept a trade unionist on the Railway Board. After all the Administrative Reforms Commission has commented adversely on the structure and functioning of the Board. Mr Nanda said, nothing doing.

Mr Nanda, compared with Mr

Chandrashekhar, is chicken-hearted. Isn't it surprising that after all his labour experiences he is scared of trade unionists? Too preoccupied with sadhus and cows, he must have forgotten that labour aristocrats like trade unionists are so many safety valves in the capitalist system. It would have been so much easier to control labour with their representatives on the Board, keeping the system otherwise unaltered.

Enlightened capitalism has its charms; it can so successfully delude people. Take Maharashtra sugar mills for an instance. Labour there was being crudely exploited by the millowners. The Maharashtra Government took on a scheme of cooperative sugar mills, distributing shares among workers. It worked eminently. Some workers owning a considerable number of shares have given rise to a new class of suckers, behaving like mini-capitalists. The bourgeoisification of these workers notwithstanding, the system is going strong, with other workers successfully duped.

It may be funny to remember it now but when the idea of joint stock companies was first propagated, it was done under the camouflage of socialism. Weren't shares distributed among thousands of common people who thereby owned an industry and directed its course? Why go so far back? Don't most of us believe that adult franchise makes nice democracy? Mrs Gandhi and her ilk will survive till the air is taken out of these socialist myths.

Arab Commandos

No matter how many SAM-3 missiles Russia installs in the UAR, Israel's military superiority cannot be altered. There is the American commitment. Besides the regular military assistance programme, Washington is selling an unspecified quantity of surplus military equipment to Tel Aviv. If the Arabs, in spite of their huge numerical superiority, are being humiliated by Israel, the rea-

son is their leaders' reliance on imported arms. As in some cases local hands are not found to operate missiles and aircraft, the assistance of Russian personnel is perhaps being requisitioned. But this is not enough to meet the Israeli challenge. The situation in the Middle East calls for mass mobilization and a war of attrition until Israel gives up the idea of a settler State at the expense of Palestinians. But there is scant reference to the Palestinian problem in either Big Power parleys or in the UJN forum. Only when commandos hijack an airliner or clash with any Arab government do they hit the headlines.

The commandos are ready to turn over a new page of history by offering to discuss the mechanics of a Palestinian State where Jews will share a common destiny with other communities. An important point to remember in this context is that the commando struggle is not against the Jewish people but against Zionists. If the commando objective was to throw the Israelis into the sea, so many non-Zionist Israelis and non-Israeli Jews would not have been critical of the Golda Meir regime. It is paradoxical that while Israel insists on direct negotiations with the Arab countries she continues to ignore two-and-a-half million Palestinians: Unless the Palestinian problem is solved, any arrangement that may be arrived at with the UAR and Jordan will be insecure.

Palestinians are in no mood to compromise as they have nothing to lose but tents and misery. They have chosen a long-term war strategy as the enemy has access to unlimited funds, arms and technical know-how. The importance of this strategy is to eliminate the gap in the Israeli army between relaxation and readiness. That the commandos primarily rely on the human element is evident from their eagerness to engage the enemy in battles like the one at El Karamsh. Although their policy is not to interfere in the internal affairs of Arab governments the fragmentation in the Palestinian liberation movement has sometimes en-

couraged the reactionary regimes to clash with the guerillas. On several occasions, the local people of Jordan and Lebanon—though not opposed to the Palestinian liberation struggle—have shied away from them. This is because serious efforts were not made to win their sympathy. However, the Unified Command, comprising the ten major commando organizations, after having decided on working arrangements with the Arab governments, is now set on a course to improve relations with the local people. Some splinter commando groups with the belief that any publicity is better than none are bent on performing PR gimmicks. Their actions often detract attention from the real struggle.

Manila Again

Late January this year President Marcos of the Philippines, who had just won his second term with a record margin of votes, was running for dear life. Wave after wave of demonstrators faced him. While his riot squads went berserk with the young demonstrators outside the Presidential palace, inside a huge helicopter was at the ready to take the President and his family off if necessary. The world was forced to take a closer view of what Marcos called a "social volcano" that is the Philippine society today. Commentators suddenly became aware of the gap that existed between the affluent, who comprise less than 5% of the population and the remaining 95% who subsist on marginal incomes or starvation wages. It was discovered how inflation and spiralling prices were tightening the noose around the com-

mon people, how growing unemployment (2 million out of 17 million potential workers are unemployed) was driving the youth to desperation. *The New York Times* came out with a touching account of the misery of millions of Filipino cane-field workers whose lot was said to be worse than that of Roman slaves. An emaciated Filipino peasant told the *Times* correspondent, "There is no way things will get better. If the communists come here, I will go back with them to the hills. If they give me a gun I would kill the hacenderos (plantation owners)". If Marcos could not immediately solve the pressing problems, everybody seemed convinced, the Philippines was in for a violent revolution.

After all this apocalyptic vision how soothing indeed it is to learn that what so long President Marcos has witnessed in Manila is nothing but illusion—*maya!* The famous RAND corporation which often conducts "research" for the Pentagon has come to this conclusion in a 300-page report. To view the Philippines as a nation on the threshold of revolution is to commit an optical error which the report has set out to correct. "The Philippines has been viewed as a nation in crisis partly because of the kind of information produced by Philippine reporting systems." But the RAND researchers with their own efficient reporting system had obviously no difficulty in finding out the truth. A few samples: The country "appears to be politically stable. That stability rests in a rural sector voting along traditional lines with politicians responding primarily to rural demands." The Philippine people, by their voting behaviour, "in a sense have revealed their preference for the kind of economic performances they are getting". President Marcos might have heard the young demonstrators shouting against corruption but statistics convincingly prove this to be unreal. "When the corruption question is tabulated by age", the report says, "younger voters do not appear to be any more disaffected than other voters. In fact, those in the younger age groups see

politicians as a little less corrupt than do the other groups." Going into the "so-called unemployment problem," the report states that by international standards the Philippines has a 7.5% unemployment rate—quite respectable for any developing country. This figure again includes people who are not at all interested in getting employment! The report concludes that "unemployment does not appear to underlie any political crisis. There is no evidence that the unemployed are alienated from politics and (are) angry, or that they are demanding some special attention to their problem. If we are looking for signs of imminent revolution, you won't find them in this group." But what about the economic crisis—inflation, growing trade imbalance, dwindling growth rate? Nonsense! The people have got exactly the kind of economy they want. Moreover the actual economic situation is really unknowable. As the report says, there are contradictory figures from various government agencies which make it almost impossible to tell really what the growth rate is.

Never mind the demonstrators. The report has soothed the frayed nerves of President Marcos by giving the information that the Filipinos are very proud of their democracy. "This pride in democracy and optimism about the future suggests that it would probably be difficult to organise and carry out a revolution." Although the report has no recommendation to make it is self-evident. People revolt when they know they are poor and since this knowledge "has its roots in poor and often distorted information", what President Marcos needs to do is to make this well-informed RAND report compulsory reading for every Filipino.

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Oh, For A Bomb

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

LAST week's New Delhi politics was a bizarre permutation of the bomb, the political cow, communal riots and the Young Turks. The bomb indeed is the most respectable four-letter word in the cocktail circuit and everybody wants it for keeps because China has it. For the Government, an up-or-down decision involves the same kind of policy constraints as, say, the never, never small car. But the bomb that India might never make confers on a tottering Government some much-needed leverage vis-a-vis the super-Powers. At least nobody is serious about Cambodia in New Delhi because the bomb is the thing to talk about.

It has always suited New Delhi to keep both a bomb lobby and an anti-bomb lobby alive and step up the campaign of the one or the other depending on the compulsions of a situation. The Chinese space feat, by some sinister Maoist design possibly, coincided with the Defence debate in Parliament. The poor Mr Ram Avatar Shastri of the CPI did not bargain for all the trouble when he innocuously suggested that India should congratulate China on the achievement. Parliament would have applauded even the most trivial achievement of a third-rate white nation but to talk of greeting China was high treason, an unlawful thought not covered yet by the Unlawful Activities (Prevention) Act. But the Chinese satellite provided New Delhi the opening needed for a fresh round of horse-trading with the super-Powers. The bomb lobby took over. It is made to appear as though the Chinese achievement was unexpected and it adds to the threat to India, though American experts had predicted it for early or later 1970. There could be no new element to the imaginary nuclear threat from

China but the lobby had to be activated to traffick in public credulity. The bomb debate now on is unreal and the bona fides of some of the new converts are suspect because the prime motivation is an anti-Chinese hysteria. As it always happens, the political charlatan crowds the more rational elements out. Yet, a new feature noticed is the emergence of a new school of bomb advocates who do not see in Chinese nuclear capability a threat to India but think India might be a victim of nuclear blackmail by the two super-Powers someday. But the policy planners in New Delhi would not see a nuclear threat from any quarter other than China and a permanent state of hostility with China is their major premise. The bomb hysteria being built up would help New Delhi manoeuvre for more conventional arms from both the United States and the Soviet Union and this is the main reason India has been refusing to sign the Non-Proliferation Treaty.

Indian socialism may yet come through the bomb because once a decision is taken, the Jana Sangh would have to choose between having the bomb and protecting all the Sankaracharya's cows—it cannot have both. The country cannot afford the kind of property relations it has, all the private industrial houses and the kind of low-level equilibrium politics it has now. All the same, no Government in New Delhi will decide on a bomb but would only use it as a political issue for immediate ends.

To talk of calculating the cost for the benefit of the MPs or the public, without a change in the basic decision on making the bomb, is taking someone for a ride. What is the exercise worth if the decision not to make a bomb stands? Certainly it is not for the edification of the public or the MPs. When the Government

has answer to the strategic or political arguments in favour of a bomb, the cost issue is trotted out to give the debate a new twist. Perhaps, six months from now nobody would be talking about the bomb at the highest level. The Government's role behind the sudden reactivation of the bomb lobby is a political gimmick to help it live down its ignominious role over Cambodia.

One cannot help being struck by the spread of the bomb lobby in Parliament. It covers large sections of both the Congress parties, besides the Jana Sangh, the PSP and the SSP. Having abetted the lobby's campaign, the Government leadership finds that the Opposition is making use of the issue. So it would be in the Government's interest to de-escalate the bomb issue as early as possible, making sure that the purpose, namely more arms against China, is achieved.

Riots

In any case, there are other imponderables for the Government leadership. The communal riots in Maharashtra have damned the Congress-R's image, and more particularly Mr Chavan's. It would not have been so bad for both had the Congress-R not tried to make political capital out of the communal riots in the neighbouring Syndicate-ruled Gujarat. Short of dismissing the Hitendra Desai ministry for its failure, the Centre did everything to damn it. But last week's riots in Maharashtra provide a cynical footnote to the Gujarat episode. Mrs Gandhi gets a new handle against Mr Chavan.

The Mrs Gandhi-Chavan fight has split the Young Turks. The polarisation is broadly between the former PSP men (Mr Chandrashekhar and Mr Mohan Dharia, notably) and the former CPI men (Mr Chandrajit Yadav leading them). At a recent meeting of the Congress Socialist Forum two groups of Young Turks nearly exchanged blows. The group led by Mr Chandrashekhar and Mr Mohan Dharia are for defying the leadership if necessary because the policies and the style of working of the

new Congress have not resulted in anything dramatic. Their identification of this group with Mr Chavan might have nothing to do with the present rift. Nor Mr Mohan Dharia's campaign against Mr Jagjivan Ram's dual role, as Minister and Congress President. The crypto-CPI group in the Young Turk camp does not want anybody to embarrass the Prime Minister and see in the snipings at the leadership an anti-Prime Minister move. This roughly corresponds to the CPI's private line.

The CPI's call for a broad-based front sounds so phoney to those who know its functioning in Parliament (the party does not seem to have any other form of functioning). Its parliamentary group is for all purposes an extension of the New Congress Parliamentary Party and Mrs Gandhi is behaving like the leader of the joint parliamentary party, of course with the CPI leadership's approval. As for the CPI(M) the hard-liners, it is said, want the ouster of the power politicians, that is, Mr Namboodiripad and Mr Jyoti Basu from the Politbureau. The attitude to Mrs Gandhi and the attitude to the "Naxalites" are the two issues threatening to fracture the party. The appeal in the Party journal to the Naxalites against "playing into the hands of the enemy" represents the thinking of the section which wants a line of accommodation towards the extremists outside the party's fold as a sop for the extremists inside. The imminent danger of a large extremist group quitting the party is worrying this section. But the soft-liners want a line of accommodation towards the Prime Minister's party instead.

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Letter from America

The Hawks' Options

ROBI CHAKRAVORTI

SAN Francisco: Sitting down to write this despatch approximately seventy-two hours after Nixon's nationally-televised broadcast on the Cambodian invasion, I face problems. There are so many unknown elements in the situation that it is difficult to make predictions. The story, as a newsman will say, is still breaking and the events may overtake what I dare to write today, to be printed days later.

And yet, Nixon's decision is of such a magnitude that I cannot resist putting down my thoughts for *Frontier* readers. I have to be wary of the unknown elements, and let me list them before I write down any impressions. We do not know what tactical thinking is motivating the communists in Cambodia; nor do we know the tactical planning of the Pentagon. We do not know, for example, whether Giap has used the "sanctuaries" as a feint to draw away the best of the South Vietnamese and American troops so that he can direct attacks against them in vulnerable spots in South Vietnam. From the American side, the validity of the intelligence on the importance of the "sanctuaries" is an open question. They have failed in their estimates in the past, but there is always the first time even for a chronic bungler.

With these two caveats, I can proceed with my own estimation of Nixon's move. It is obvious that Nixon eventually submitted himself to the pressure of the Pentagon who had long wanted permission to attack the "sanctuaries" in Cambodia. The news-reports tell us that the Pentagon initiated the move and the State Department, after some hesitation, decided to go along with it.

There is a certain logic in the Pentagon's pressure, and this logic follows inexorably from Nixon's policy towards Vietnam. Reading between the

lines of his earlier statement on Vietnam which preceded the Cambodia statement by only ten days, one finds that the Administration is opposed to a compromise that may lead to a communist take-over of South Vietnam. On the other hand, the communist position is to demand the withdrawal of military and economic props from the pro-U.S. Saigon regime so that it collapses.

Unless and until the present Administration changes its political objective of maintaining a non-communist government in South Vietnam, its overall military strategy of sufficiently weakening, if not destroying the communists, cannot be changed. The political strategy, thus is linked to the military strategy.

If this analysis is correct, then it follows that Washington has to do something to weaken the communists further so that Nixon is able to pull out some troops from South Vietnam without jeopardising the Saigon regime's existence at least in the near future. The concern for the protection of American troops that was expressed in Nixon's statement hides the other, no less important, concern namely, the survival of the Saigon regime, at least until the time when American troop strength has reached a level acceptable to the American public opinion.

The Pentagon, it seems, never gave up the hope of sufficiently weakening the communists' strength. I have a feeling that American generals had long given up the hope of winning the war in Vietnam, but they still nurse the hope of hamstringing the communists so that they slow down their military action. It is only within this perspective that the tactic of attacking the communist bases in Cambodia acquires some sense. This tactic is of the same order as the bombing of the North

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and of the Ho Chi Minh trail. As American generals were forced to de-escalate their military objective from complete victory to a limited control over communist military activities in South Vietnam and that too, for the time being, they have to escalate military activities in areas where communists cannot hit back strongly. The bombings of the Ho Chi Minh trail and of North Vietnam were tactical moves as part of the strategic goal of victory, but as the Pentagon's aim was lowered, these tactics were nonetheless retained, for without them the Americans in Vietnam would be pushed to the sea. To these tactics is now added that of directly and openly attacking the so-called communist "sanctuaries" in Cambodia.

Nixon's and the Pentagon's problem now is strategic. Tactically, the Pentagon has expanded the war—from the bombings of North Vietnam, the Ho Chi Minh trail and Cambodian "sanctuaries" to a massive ground attack across the Cambodian border. Suppose, this latest move also fails as did other moves in the past. What are Nixon and his military advisers going to do? Bomb Hanoi and Haiphong harbour? The tactical options are fast shrinking, and yet the strategic goal, either the original one of victory or the recent one of limited control over communist activities, is no nearer fulfilment.

There is, thus, a strange contradiction behind the Pentagon's action. By expanding the war, the Pentagon is using up options and to that extent, justifications for its failure to wind up the Vietnam war. The American generals, befitting a country which is more arrogant than humble, more impulsive than patient and more righteous than rational, can never question the premises of their action. But a situation will arise sooner or later when the very premises of the American military action have to be faced. The generals and the present Administration are not ready to do that yet because they do not want to lose their face. Americans describe the fear of the loss of

face as an "Oriental" weakness. It is time they started looking at the mirror.

In the short run, though, Nixon is likely to survive the crisis at home. Radicals may demonstrate in the campuses, newspapers may write critical editorials, Congressmen may throw up their hands in panic but Nixon, if he keeps his cool, is likely to win the support of the "silent majority" behind his Cambodia adventure, provided, of course, it does not end up in an unacceptable loss of lives.

The monsoon is scheduled to break over South Vietnam in about five weeks, and there will be a natural lull in fighting during monsoon months. And, during this lull, America will be readying for the mid-term elections. There is a good chance that whatever the outcome of the Cambodia action, unless it is expensive in American lives, Nixon can always exaggerate its importance to the American public. He has little to lose in the short run—except some expendable lives of GIs. His problem is long-range and there he seems to be in the same position as his predecessor. It is interesting to note in this connection that while he compared his Cambodia decision with military decisions made by Woodrow Wilson, FDR, Eisenhower and JFK, he never mentioned Johnson's decision to bomb the north to which his recent decision bears parallel; comparisons with the decisions of the Presidents he mentioned were inappropriate.

Nixon is playing politics with his Vietnam decisions and he is doing this cleverly up to now. But his options are running out and pretty soon time will.

May 3, 1970

Our agent at Alipurduar

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MAY 16, 1970

On Lenin—III

MONITOR

LENIN'S law of uneven development of capitalism culminated in his theory of imperialism.¹ Marx's model, as is well-known, was basically competitive capitalism though he could discern the tendency to concentration and centralisation of capital within the system of 'free' competition itself leading to monopoly. Engels, towards the end of his life, saw some of the changes that competitive capitalism was undergoing and on the basis of what he saw he carried Marx's analysis further along the same line.² But neither Marx nor Engels had the opportunity of having a full view of the actual dimensions of the new phase of capitalism which came to light only at the turn of the century. From an economic point of view (which of course can never be separated from the political point of view except for analytical purposes) Lenin showed that, in the first place, whereas in old capitalism 'free' competition held undivided sway, in new capitalism competition yields place to its exact opposite—monopoly; that, in the second place, whereas the former phase of capitalism was typified by the export of commodities, the latter phase is typified by the export of capital; and that, in the third place, whereas in the earlier period capitalism was mercantile and industrial, in the later period capitalism is increasingly financial. A word must be said about each of these features.

Lenin pointed out that monopolies are not content to divide the domestic market among themselves for a regular outlet of their products and a higher profit, they also transcend national boundaries and divide up the world's markets. Secondly, competition though engendering mono-

poly ineluctably is not completely suppressed by the latter. Though the movement towards the formation of trusts and cartels proceeds with the force of necessity it is extremely uneven as between different industries and almost never complete. "Monopolies," wrote Lenin, "which have grown out of free competition do not eliminate the latter, but exist over it and alongside of it, and thereby give rise to a number of very acute, intense antagonisms, frictions and conflicts."³ Hence monopolies far from suppressing the chaos inherent in capitalist production aggravate it, far from eliminating the crisis of capitalism—as Kautsky and other right-wing opportunists of the working class movement would have it—accentuate it and make it more violent. Finally, the division of the world's markets by the monopolists leads to the political division of the world itself into colonies and 'spheres of influence' by the states representing those monopolies—that is, the imperialist states.

As regards the second aspect of new capitalism Lenin pointed to the enormous growth of the forces of production and, consequently, of the amount of capital in leading capitalist countries. This surplus of capital necessarily led to diminishing investment opportunities—form the point of view of bourgeois profitability—in the advanced capitalist countries compared to the underdeveloped countries where "profits are high, for capital is scarce, the price of land is relatively low, wages are low, raw materials are cheap."⁴ Thus while "typical of the old capitalism, when free competition had undivided sway, was the export of goods, typical of the latest stage of capitalism, when monopolies rule, is the export of Capital."⁵

As a consequence the backward countries are "drawn into world capitalist intercourse" where "the export of capital affects and greatly accelerates the development of capitalism."⁶

The third aspect of the new phase of capitalism rises out of the new rôle of the banks. The original function of banks is to serve as middlemen in the making of payments; they collect all kinds of money revenues and place them at the disposal of the capitalist class. However with the development of banking and its concentration in a small number of establishments the banks grow from humble middlemen into powerful monopolies having at their command almost the whole of money capital of all the capitalists and also the larger part of the means of production and of the sources of raw materials of the given country and in a number of countries. "This transformation of numerous humble middlemen into a handful of monopolies represents one of the fundamental processes in the growth of capitalism into capitalist imperialism."⁷ Added to this is the close connection between banks and industry—where "the new rôle of the banks is, perhaps, strikingly felt." The result of this process is that the industrial capitalist becomes more and more completely dependent on the bank and that, at the same time, there develops the merger between the banks and the biggest commercial and industrial enterprises through the acquisition of shares, through the appointment of bank directors to the board of directors of industrial and commercial enterprises and vice versa. Rudolf Hilferding, the Austrian Marxist, had already referred to this new rôle of banks in his pioneering work at the beginning of this century.²⁰ Lenin accepted Hilferding's thesis on finance capital arising out of the utilisation of bank capital by industries but he criticised Hilferding for not bringing out the most vital aspect of this relation—the aspect of monopoly. As a matter of fact finance capital results from the

¹ *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism* (1916).

² In his unfinished supplement to *Capital*, vol. III. See Marx-Engels, *Werke* (Berlin) Bd. 25 S. 453-54, 895 ff.

³ *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, ch. VII.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. IV.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Lenin's emphasis.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, ch. II.

fusion of the capital of some big monopoly banks with the capital of monopoly groups of industries. "The concentration of production; the monopolies arising therefrom; the merging or coalescence of the banks with industry—such is the history of the rise of finance capital and such is the content of this term."⁸

From the discussion of the nature of imperialism Lenin concluded that imperialism has five fundamental characteristics⁹ (a) concentration of production and capital: monopoly, (b) merger of bank capital with industrial capital: financial oligarchy, (c) export of capital, (d) division of the world's markets by the international monopolies, (e) territorial division of the world by the leading capitalist states into their colonies and spheres of influence.¹⁰

Imperialism arose at a definite stage of the development of capitalism when certain of its fundamental characteristics began to change into their opposites. The substitution of 'free' competition by monopoly is the most important thing in this process, so much so that imperialism can be most briefly defined as the monopoly stage of capitalism.¹¹ However, as we have indicated above, monopolies do not eliminate competition, rather the competition among monopolies becomes fiercer. Ignorance of this fact and in fact its opportunistic evasion led Kautsky, the ex-Marxist, to propound his theory of "ultra-imperialism." Kautsky held that the tendency to concentration and cartelisation would also manifest itself in the foreign policy of imperialist powers who would unite and not struggle among them and thus ensure "the joint exploitation of the world by internationally united finance capital." This theory of "ultra-imperialism, characterized by Lenin as "ultranonsense" could only arise out of the ignorance or evasion of the simple but fundamental fact that the

rule of finance capital does not lessen the unevenness and contradictions of world capitalism but in fact accentuates them. When the reality showed the vast diversity of economic and political conditions, the extreme disparity in the development of the various countries and the violent struggles among imperialist states Kautsky came out with the "silly little fable about 'peaceful' ultra-imperialism." "Finance capital and the trusts do not diminish but increase the differences in the rate of growth of the various parts of the world economy. Once the relation of forces is changed what other solution of the contradictions can be found under capitalism than that of force?... What means other than war could there be under capitalism of removing the disparity between the development of productive forces and the accumulation of capital on the one side and the division of colonies and 'spheres of influence' for finance capital on the other?"¹² Thus Kautsky's thesis on imperialism is irreconcilable with Marxism and "serves only as a preamble to propaganda for peace and unity with the opportunists and social chauvinists precisely for the reason that it evades and obscures the very profound and fundamental contradictions of imperialism."¹³ Not only that, Kautsky also held that imperialism is not a "phase of economy" but a special policy. To him imperialism is not capitalism at a particular stage of its development. It is only "a special kind of capitalist policy" and as such the 'ugly' features of this policy could be avoided and the 'healthy' ones retained. Thus Kautsky, "the petty-fogger and socialist, trickster, twister evades the essence of the matter."¹⁴ Lenin insisted on the parasitic character of imperialism. The export of capital from the advanced capitalist countries, though aimed at their prosperity

in fact leads to its opposite by the process of the withering away of industries from these countries. The industrialisation of the colonies and semi-colonies is half-hearted and incomplete but at the same time it is pursued to the detriment of the working class of the capitalist countries. The super-profits from the colonies as well as the operations of finance capital enable a small number of capitalist countries to accumulate an enormous amount of money—capital with the consequent existence of a social stratum of rentiers separated from the process of production and hence parasitical. This also "sets the seal of parasitism on the whole country that lives by the exploitation of labour of overseas countries and colonies."¹⁵ Simultaneously the 'metropolitan' working class receives a portion of the colonial super-profits and that becomes the basis of the bourgeoisified "labour aristocracy" which can, together with the bourgeoisie, delude the bulk of the proletariat into accepting and even defending, for the time being, the bourgeois social order.

The rentier state, the state of parasitic, decaying capitalism "cannot fail to influence all the social-political conditions of the countries affected in general and the two fundamental (that is, revolutionary and revisionist) trends in the working class movement, in particular."¹⁶ Lenin was careful to point out that the imperialist ideology also penetrates the working class; "no Chinese Wall separates it from other classes." Witness the leaders of the German Social Democracy "justly called social imperialists, that is, socialists in words and imperialists in deeds."¹⁷

Imperialism, however, is the highest or the last stage of capitalism both because all the contradictions of capitalism have reached a stage where they can no longer be solved within the framework of the existing relations of production and also because the transformation of competi-

⁸ *Ibid.*, Lenin's emphasis.

⁹ *Ibid.*, ch. IX.

¹⁰ Lenin—Notes on Kautsky, published posthumously in *Notebooks on Imperialism in Collected Works* (Moscow) vol. 39, pp. 116, 268.

¹¹ *Imperialism*, ch. VIII.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, ch. IX.

⁸ *Das Finanz-Kapital* (Finance Capital), 1910.

⁹ *Imperialism*, ch. III.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, ch. VII.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

tion into monopoly resulting in an immense progress in the socialization of production reveals at the same time "the feature of the epoch of transition from capitalism to a higher social and economic system all along the line."¹⁸ But imperialism is capitalism which is dying, but not dead. Only the proletarian revolution can destroy it. "Imperialism is the eve of the social revolution of the proletariat."¹⁹

(To be continued)

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, ch. VII.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Preface to the French and German editions (1920).

EPIC THEATRE

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In And Around Jadavpur

B. BOSE

A series of incidents involving people connected with Jadavpur University occurred in April. A teacher, Mr Soumen Pal reportedly a CP(M) supporter, was assaulted in North Calcutta while returning home. On April 29, Rajat Ghatak, a Naxalite student, was assaulted in the Chittaranjan Colony. He died in hospital on May 1. On April 29 night a CP(M) student was attacked in the University. On Thursday, April 30 the University was closed sine die, violence being anticipated. The same night, however, a group of rowdies entered the dining hall of the SPT Hostel and a boy, one of the residents, was stabbed to death. The boy was reportedly a Naxalite sympathiser, but had no direct party affiliations.

The question cannot be avoided whether, if proper and timely measures had been taken by the authorities, the rowdies could have entered the hostel premises or made their escape after the crime apparently without any difficulty whatsoever. A short statement was issued by the Registrar on May 3, expressing his grief over the death and commenting that it was the inevitable consequence of party clashes. But, the personal safety of students within the University campus being at least partly the responsibility of the University authorities, it is hardly satisfactory as an explanation for this gruesome and unprecedented occurrence.

True, it was a spill-over from the murderous tension in a wide zone. In the revolutionary belligerence between the CP(M) and the CP(ML) in the Jadavpur-Haltu areas of 24-Parganas, knives and bombs are used freely. In those areas the CRP and Eastern Frontier Rifles protect the party offices of the CP(M) and also the residential homes of individual CP(M) leaders. But the problem is a bit deeper from the CP(M) point of view. Almost in every CP(M)

family younger members are either Naxalites or their sympathisers. Only the other day a Naxalite student of 17 was beaten by four or five aged revolutionaries of the CP(M) on the pretext that he was certainly connected with a previous skirmish. The uncle of the Naxalite victim is a veteran CP(M) member of the locality who, it is reported, sleeps in the same bed with his Naxalite nephew. When another Naxalite young man was beaten to death at Garia his CP(M) uncle lamented that unlike other Naxalites his nephew was not to be blamed for Naxalite adventurism. On another occasion at Kazi-para when some CP(M) processionists entered a CP(M) member's home in search of the latter's Naxalite son and stabbed him, the CP(M) father left his own house on being threatened retaliation by his son's comrades according to whom the father must have acted as an informer of the CP(M) hooligans!

Such incidents are common in the entire area. Most of the Naxalite victims are not "Congress-sponsored goondas". As a matter of fact, most of them were at least one year back strong activists of CP(M).

The history of the present three-month-old state of tension and conflict between the two parties can be traced to the last period of UF rule when in the CP(M) itself a psychological gap was growing steadily between its relatively aged cadres and the younger ones. The gap mostly arose from (i) the leadership's different tactical moves in the local trade union movements in Krishna Glass factory, Sulekha Works or Jay Engineering Works (ii) mutual distrust among the cadres in the peasant movements of Kalikapur; (iii) different political assessments of the Naxalite movement throughout the country; (iv) and alleged suspicion of the militant cadres among the leadership and promotion of those cadres to the higher echelons of the party who are apathetic to struggles but loyal to "dadas" in the matter of spying over the militant cadres or satisfying the personal ambitions of the local leaders. A few months

back a big section of the party's younger cadres came out of the CP(M) and joined the CP(ML).

Mutual distrust between the two parties has infected the entire area and the result was at least five murders of CP(ML) supporters or members and at least one murder of a CP(M) supporter. On both sides there are cases of innumerable physical assault, just short of murder. Every evening one sees CP(M) processions chanting slogans like "we want blood for blood" "Congress-Naxal same, don't forget, don't forget."

In the battle the CP(M) enjoys some advantage over its opponents. In the first place, undesirable local elements entered its ranks during the UF rule. Secondly, the CP(M) has no fear of the police to the extent CP(ML) has, mainly because of the police witch-hunt for the Naxalites. As a result, while the CP(M) can take out processions the CP(ML) cannot. Thirdly, the CP(M) believes in taking the help of the police getting the Naxalites rounded up and therefore it can run to the nearest police station in case any of its sympathisers is assaulted, while the Naxalites cannot afford to do that. The CP(ML) has to bank fully for shelter on the local people who for political and other reasons are more anti-CP(M) than pro-Naxalites.

Petty Bourgeois Feature

From the study of the various incidents taking place in the Jadavpur-Santoshpur-Haltu areas one cannot avoid making certain observations.

The murderous moves and counter-moves between the two parties are characteristic of individual areas and areas inhabited by middle-strata people. Such features are conspicuously absent in Bankura, Birbhum, Midnapore, Jalpaiguri and even in the interior areas of 24-Parganas where in the villages the CP(M) comes rarely into conflict with CP(ML) supporters. This may be due to a tacit understanding between the two parties that their respective areas should not be disturbed by each other. The stronger reason may be that as both

the parties confront common enemies like jotedars, moneylenders and other village parasites, they can hardly afford mutual quarrels over ideology and action. Besides the Naxalites do not preach land-grabbing as the only way out. Such quarrels are reserved for the petty bourgeois staying in the town areas and far away from the actual scene of grim class struggle in the countryside.

In most of the towns, younger people are turning more and more to the Naxalites. The CP(M) leaders can hardly attract this generation because of their stereotyped economic slogans and the growing gap between revolutionary precept and parliamentary practice. In essence, the areas where the CP(M) has come organisationally into conflict with CP(ML) supporters, the actual fight takes place between the old generation who are psychologically inert or lukewarm on the question of immediate destruction of the status quo (which, they hope, may offer them good dividends in terms of MLAs, MPs and ministry-making) and the younger generation who find no ray of hope (not even parliamentary rewards) and therefore find nothing to lose from the quick destruction of the system. In the middle-strata areas, therefore, it is a fight between surreptitious craving for parliamentary rewards resulting in conservatism in practice, and frustrated impatience leading to some adventurist actions.

These conflicts dig the revolutionaries, own graves in the town areas and the result may be an upsurge of counter-revolutionary forces out to destroy particularly the Naxalites and then, similar to the fate of German Social Democrats, the CP(M) cadres. By any calculation, the Naxalites should be the dearest ally of the CP(M) ranks if the latter truly believe in and practise revolution. The main danger in Bengal today is the different shades of revisionism within and outside the CP(M). Every Naxalite dead rings the death knell of the militancy and revolutionary practice, if any, of the CP(M) cadres.

A Nocturnal Protest

BY A CORRESPONDENT

THE teachers of Visva-Bharati have at last gone in for direct action. To realise their long-standing demands and expose the serious lapses and mismanagement in the administration of the university they observed cease-work and squatted all night on April 26 in front of Uttarayan. It involved some 300 teachers, including a fair number of women. The night scene of protest seemed so "disgraceful" to the authorities that they felt it necessary to take disciplinary action against two teachers. This has helped teachers to consolidate their forces and fight more directly against what they call the bureaucratic machinery and corrupt administrative set-up. The long simmering movement of Santiniketan adhyapaks (teachers) is now getting into stride.

Perhaps it is only in Visva-Bharati that teachers have no scope to express their views and place their suggestions, based on their day-to-day experiences in class rooms, before the university policy-makers at the official level. The 15-member Executive Council (Karma Samiti), the administrative body which determines the major policies of the university has no representatives of teachers, students and non-teaching staff. The teachers have been agitating for representation for the last two years under the banner of the Teachers' Council (Adhyapak Sabha) formed in 1967. The Executive Council is mainly composed of nominees of the Acharya, the Upacharya and the President of India. Two are elected members from the Alumni Association. Strangely the membership figure of the Alumni Association does not exceed 150 in spite of the fact that about 20,000 students passed out from the university during the past 10 years.

The incidents that took place on the Visva-Bharati campus on April 26, according to a spokesman of the Adhyapak Sabha, were not isolated

ones. As a matter of fact these are the consequences of the design and attempt on the part of the authorities to throttle the democratic movements of the Adhyapak Sabha. On February 7 when the Chancellor of Visva-Bharati, Mrs Indira Gandhi, visited Santiniketan, a delegation on behalf of the Adhyapak Sabha presented a memorandum drawing her attention to "the growing bureaucracy at Visva-Bharati, the deliberate and conscious violation of the University Statutes and Ordinances, gross irregularities in the administration by the vested interests and the authorities' stepmotherly attitude towards Sriniketan affairs." The memorandum urged the Chancellor to consider the proposals made by the Adhyapak Sabha for amendments to the Statutes. It demanded among other things (1) representation of teachers, workers and students on the Visva-Bharati Executive Council, two from each category; (2) increase in the number of teacher representatives in the Samsad to be elected by the Shiksha Samiti; and (3) an end to the discrimination amongst members of the Visva-Bharati Alumni Association at the time of election of Executive Council members (at present those who happen to be university employees are not allowed to seek election).

The memorandum also urged the Chancellor to give Bhavan status to some Sriniketan institutions and to appoint principals and vice-principals on the basis of election from among the teachers of respective bhavans.

Mrs Indira Gandhi was reported to have agreed to consider their demands and she placed the memorandum to the Samsad meeting. The teachers were told that their suggestions for amendments to the statutes would be discussed and settled in the Executive Council meeting on March 7.

But on getting information that their amendments were not included

in the agenda of the Executive Council meeting on March 7, about 100 teachers assembled in front of the venue of the meeting at Udayan. As requested by the Vice-Chancellor, the Secretary and one executive member of the Adhyapak Sabha met the Karma Samiti members and requested them to honour the directive of the Samsad by including the amendments in the agenda. It was decided that at the next meeting things would be settled. But the Adhyapaks were surprised when they knew that at a later meeting of the Executive Council held, the amendments were not included in the agenda. Not only that. Some members of the Karma Samiti moved a resolution asking the Samiti to take "appropriate action" against the Secretary and the aforesaid executive member of the Adhyapak Sabha. This led the teachers to resort to a strike on April 26, the first in the history of Visva-Bharati. After spending the whole night in the open compound in front of Uttarayan the teachers submitted a memorandum to the Vice-Chancellor in which they stated that the Adhyapaks would go in for an indefinite cease-work movement if their demands were not immediately conceded and the portion of the Karma Samiti resolution asking it to take disciplinary action against two teachers was not expunged.

The charges brought against the Visva-Bharati authorities by the Adhyapak Sabha are that there are no service rules for the teachers or for the non-teaching staff in spite of the fact that Visva-Bharati was given Central University status in 1952; that the authorities have managed to retrench quite a good number of teachers without showing any satisfactory reason. A spokesman of the Adhyapak Sabha says that even after two or years' three service teachers are not made permanent. In their 18-point charter of demands the Adhyapak Sabha points out that appointment of teachers in many cases is made through the "back-door" and non-academic persons are selected as heads of academic institutions.

The Jana Sangh In Delhi

SURAJ SINGH

IT was the second week of February 1967 when on the eve of the general election, the then high priest of the Delhi Congress, Mr Brahma Prakash, MP, congratulated Congress volunteers and issued an appeal to the citizens of Delhi to vote for the Congress. It was an appeal from a person confident of victory. But to his dismay and to the surprise of lakhs of people in Delhi, the election results went totally against his party. The Jana Sangh came to power.

After the elections, when various political parties sat to analyse the results in Delhi, there was a fair degree of agreement among them that the Jana Sangh victory was due to anti-Congress votes. The voters of Delhi were fed up with Congress misrule of about two decades. They wanted to get rid of them. Finding no other party strong enough to defeat the Congress, they voted for the Jana Sangh.

The Jana Sangh took over both the Delhi Corporation and the New Delhi Municipal Administration. Thus the leadership of the party got an opportunity to fulfil their long cherished desire to Indianize (or Aryanise) the Union Territory of Delhi. As we apprehended, it started work in two directions; encroachments on the residential areas of the weaker sections of society and consolidation of its position in those areas where it had lost to the Congress or to some smaller groups and parties. For instance, at the very outset the Jamuna Bazar people were uprooted and thrown several miles away from their places of work. No arrangement was made for their stay. Encroachments on the Muslim localities of old Delhi were also made time and again. In the name of beautifying the city, thousands of poor people of Delhi are still being uprooted. But in effect, the Jana Sangh is habitating

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its own men in those places, with residential houses, cinemas, beautiful bazaars etc. In this process the Sanghis have won over many of their opponents and tried to consolidate their position.

The Delhi people were promised that their regional languages, i.e. Hindi, Urdu and Punjabi, will be given proper place in the administration and the educational set-up. The Jana Sangh administration hardly did anything in this direction. Whatever it has done is only for Hindi at the cost of the other two languages. The route plates on DTU buses are only in Hindi, much to the inconvenience of the non-Hindi people of the capital. The name plates on roads, parks, official buildings etc. bear the Hindi script invariably. Other scripts like Roman and Urdu are used here and there according to whim. The Gurumukhi script is seen nowhere. Sanghis have been successful in manipulating the change of names of roads and important places. The changes have been so frequent that if anybody who visited Delhi three years ago comes to Delhi now, he will be at a loss to locate certain places.

As regards the place of Urdu in the administration and education, the Jana Sangh has completely backed out of the promise given to the Urdu-speaking people of Delhi by the Government of India. The Union Government is silent over the matter. Urdu-speaking children are compelled to study through Hindi. An application written in Urdu is supposed to be accompanied by its Hindi translation. Congress and progressive councillors have often complained that English is constantly used in the offices of the Corporation and the administration. It seems the Jana Sangh is keen to see Urdu uprooted, but is not keen to see English replaced by the regional languages of Delhi. Punjabi in the Gurumukhi script is not encouraged. The Sangh wants Punjabi to be given recognition in Delhi only if it adopts Devanagari as its script.

Favouritism

Favouritism, nepotism and patronage to party men and sympathisers are the order of the day. In this respect they have surpassed even the Congress. Thanks to the expansion of college education, the Delhi Administration has established some colleges. This gave the Sangh an opportunity to install their men in different capacities. In the colleges where it has got influence or control over management, the academic freedom of the teachers is curtailed. A teacher belonging to the SSP was dismissed from Shahdara College and another teacher, presumably subscribing to Marxist ideology, was thrown out of job from the DAV College. Harassment and intimidation are, in fact, normal routine. The Delhi University authorities are too weak to assert themselves in any effective manner. When the Jana Sangh leaders in Delhi went out of the way to oppose the appointment of Dr K. N. Raj as Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University, they had in mind that Dr Raj is a communist and hence they might find it difficult to carry out their dirty game. Even now when they clash with Dr Raj in the University (he was gheraoed for 12 hours), they always try to force him to quit like his weak kneed predecessor, so that their nominee can be installed as Vice-Chancellor.

On the other hand, the position of the CPI and the CPI(M) groups in the University is opportunistic. They want Dr Raj as Vice-Chancellor because that helps in the fulfilment of their ambitions. They want to become Readers and Professors and occupy other important positions. Both right reaction and revisionism are in total agreement that the University set-up should remain as it is. Whatever reforms are called for should be within their scheme of things. The task of the revolutionaries is to demolish the bureaucratic and undemocratic set-up and replace it with one that can make it a people's university. (The principal contradiction in the University is between the authorities and the democratic stu-

dents, teachers and karmacharis). This can be done by only a real democratic front.

Even during the Congress regime the morning and evening parades of RSS volunteers were a familiar feature in Delhi. Complaints against misuse of public parks by such parades were made a number of times. But since the Sanghis came to power, the number of such parades has increased, Guru Golwalkar, the RSS chief, often visits Delhi and addresses RSS volunteers at central places. A number of vyayamshalas (gymnasium) are running with the direct or indirect patronage of the Jana Sangh administration. The Sangh leaders vie with each other in inaugurating matches and tournaments of this or that sort. They introduced the Bharat Keshari Dangal (wrestling tournament) which has attracted a fairly large number of wrestlers from neighbouring States. But every year it is Master Chandgi Ram who is declared winner. Meherdeen of Punjab and others are reported to have returned with unpleasant memories. Maruti Mane of Maharashtra never appeared in the Delhi Dangal, Sadiq of Lahore who defeated Chandgi Ram in some other dangal, did not join the one in Delhi, though it is reported he was present in India at that time. Recently a Marathon race was organized in Delhi. One more novelty goes to the credit of the Jana Sangh administration. It is the Vasant Mela organised at the time of Vasant Panchami. Another distinguishing feature of the Sangh administration is that it encourages certain films to be screened free of entertainment tax. The film *Shivaji* was tax-free (even then it did not run more than two weeks). *Preem Pujari* is being screened tax free in Delhi, the same film which infuriated the revolutionary youth of Calcutta.

Indianization

The slogan of Indianization is so much heard in the streets of Delhi that no account of Delhi under the Jana Sangh would be complete without a reference to it. In the name

of Indianization, these fascist reactionaries are distorting the whole history of India. In their zeal for glorification of India's past, they are watering down the popular movements and revolts led by the revolutionary people of various nationalities in India. In reference to many foreign races who came to India and settled here, the Jana Sangh claims that they accepted India's religion, culture and languages. But the fact is that all such races and people were so absorbed in the Indian society that they lost their identity, because of the fact that at that time Buddhism was one of the dominant religions in the sub-continent popularly known as India. The universal brotherhood of Buddhism attracted these people and absorbed them. After the decline of Buddhism, the Buddhists either embraced Islam or Hinduism. A decadent society as that of the Hindus cannot absorb any races or people. It cannot assimilate new ideas. For its survival it always looks back and tries to put out a bright picture of the past. The scientific discoveries and inventions of the modern man are ascribed to some obscure personalities in the Vedas, Upanishada, Mahabharata, Ramayana and the Puranas. Those foreign rulers who attacked our country, conquered and subdued us are depicted as defeated: Alexander, Chengiz Khan, Babar etc. were insignificant people, Taj Mahal, Kutub Minar etc. were Hindu palaces! So on and so forth. To such people only those persons are Indians who honour their glorified heroes, worship certain cattle and animals, rivers and places. The rest are, according to them, unIndian. But they forget, that it is the people who make India, not rivers, mountains, seas. If any party or individual works against the people, he is unIndian.

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MAY 16, 1970

The Dissenting Chambers

A. P. M.

THE local Press is fast building up a scare over the 'mounting flight of capital' from the 'Red State' of West Bengal. The stories usually have a common characteristic—vagueness. The reason is simple. Nobody is prepared to substantiate the alleged drain. The newspapers are making good the apparent dearth of facts by being deliberately vague.

What one generally misses in the stories is the interesting divergence of opinion on the issue displayed by the city chambers of commerce. When required to speak officially, they all agree that a capital drain is indeed taking place. But speaking informally, only two chambers of commerce, both dominated by the local Marwari businessmen, reiterate the statement. All the others, four in number, add a good many qualifications to it. This difference is better explained when one examines the attitudes of the two leading chambers, one situated on India Exchange Place and the other on Netaji Subhas Road. One of these is, actually run by the Birlas. Its chief executive is a faithful Birla man. Indeed, the influence the Birlas exercise over this monolith is surprising. Not unexpectedly, therefore, it is this chamber of commerce which is even now playing the main role in refuelling the Press with stories of a capital drain. There is another factor. It was in 1969 that the employees' union was formed in the chamber, an event widely welcomed in the erstwhile UF circles. The union is still sufficiently active, a situation which the management is desperately trying to wreck.

The other chamber ("From these rooms the British Raj once used to rule") is maintaining an interesting silence over the issue. The reason partly is the complete absence of any Birla influence over it. Till now it has represented substantially the British business interests in India. Early in 1969, when the second UF

rule was established in West Bengal, all the six chambers set up a consultative committee to facilitate joint approaches to the State government. The unity thus established, however, soon petered out, as the chamber of commerce on Netaji Subhas Road refused to "dabble in politics", as its President explained then. Not only this, this chamber and the federation of chambers supported by it together drew up a policy to avoid being dragged into politics so as to devote themselves to "more relevant issues". This policy is still being pursued.

The other three chambers which are not participating enthusiastically in whipping up the scare represent diverse interests. One, the largest of the group, is predominantly Bengali in its representation of business interests. Even though some of its member-firms have recently established factories elsewhere which could have been set up in this State, and which have had extensive labour troubles recently, the chamber has not yet issued a statement on the capital drain. Speaking informally, its officers condemn the scare being engineered by the pro-Birla business interests in the city. They also refer, apparently honestly, to the rapport which existed between the chamber and the last UF government ("It is only here that I am confident I shall be quoted faithfully", they quote Mr Jyoti Basu as having said).

Of the remaining two, one represents the local Muslim business interests. For various reasons, this chamber usually displays more common sense when dealing with tricky issues like capital drain than the others do. The present issue, however, is less delicate for it than for the others because most of its member-firms would gain little by moving elsewhere. In any case, it displays no enthusiasm for joining the scaremongers. The other, though overwhelmingly Marwari-dominated, is also reticent, but the reasons are rather singular. Its ambitious president has made a habit of striking a conspicuously different approach each time the chambers make public pronouncements on various issues. The

idea is to obtain as much free publicity as possible. This was demonstrated clearly last year, when a press conference convened by the four leading chambers in order to issue a public warning to the UF government

coincided with another called by this chamber to express its support for the government. The trick paid out well, and the following day Mr Jyoti Basu referred to "the dissenting voice" with apparent approval.

USA in India and for assistance to third countries like Nepal and Burma. Principal repayments and interest on loans granted out of the Funds are available for the uses of the Government of the USA. So 67.2 per cent of the original Funds would be self-expanding through lending and re-lending in India and this ever-increasing amount of Indian currency along with 13.1 per cent of the original Funds is left to the discretion of the US Government for its use in India.

PL-480 Funds

GOPAL TRIBEDY

AMERICA has already accumulated a huge amount of Indian rupees in the PL-480 Funds. The process which has led to the growth of such funds will come to a halt after 1970. The accumulation of the Funds involves economic exploitation of the country through the sale of American agricultural produce under bilateral agreements with the Government of India, political domination over the country through the new technique of neo-colonialism, and the inflationary impact in India.

The origin of the Funds is this: The American government has been following the domestic farm price support programme since the days of the New Deal measures. The essence of the programme is that whenever surplus domestic production tends to depress the prices the government appears on the market as a buyer to protect the profits of the producers. If the producers were to dispose of their commodities on the domestic and international markets, there would be a worldwide price depression which might lead to an unrest in the agricultural community. Primarily to avoid the political crisis of over-production, the government has adopted the price support programme as a measure of some built-in flexibility in the American economic system. In course of time, a huge stock of surplus agricultural commodities piled up in the government stores. In order to stop further accumulation of these surpluses, the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 was passed. The Act provides for the sale of agricultural commodities ab-

road in return for payment in the currency of the recipient country through bilateral agreements on prices and uses of the currency. The currency is deposited in the recipient country into a fund which is known as the PL-480 Fund. Through successive acts of the U.S. Congress, the original Act of 1954 has been extended up to December, 1970. After the expiry of the Act, new transactions on this account will cease but the Funds acquired during the sixteen years will continue to have their impact on the economy and politics of the recipient country for a long time to come.

Since August 1956, India has signed ten PL-480 agreements with the USA for the import of agricultural commodities valued at \$4445.5 million. The Government of India deposited in the Account of the Government of the USA with the RBI rupees equivalent to the dollars paid to the suppliers in the USA. These rupee deposits were made at the rate of exchange prevailing at the time of dollar disbursements. So far India has imported agricultural commodities worth Rs 2,410 crores at Rs 4.76 per dollar till June 6, 1966 and Rs 7.50 per dollar after that date. The total rupee deposits on May 31, 1969 were Rs 2,100 crores.

Utilisation of the Funds is made according to the terms of the various agreements. On the average, 19.7 per cent would be given as grants and 60.7 per cent as loans to the Government of India, 6.5 per cent as loans to private enterprises and 13.1 per cent would be used for the expenses of the Government of the

Through the sale of the agricultural produce under bilateral agreements America has exploited the importing countries by charging prices higher than what they were in America and what they potentially would have been, if the stocks were released on the world market. This point has been aptly shown by economists like H. G. Johnson, J. A. Pincus and T. W. Schultz. Moreover, the compulsion of carrying the commodities in U.S. ships and paying the freights at a higher rate in dollars was another method of exploitation.

The PL-480 Funds are Indian currency holdings of the USA and as they are not convertible into dollars, they must be held in India and spent for payments in India. Such payments may run from financing of the electioneering of certain parties which are friendly to America and selling American culture, ideology and way of life to establishing American enterprises under the collaboration schemes and building a new American State in India. In the context of American foreign policy, the Funds provide an instrument of neo-colonialism.

As regards the inflationary impact of the Funds in India, an Experts' Committee was appointed by the government under the chairmanship of A. M. Khusro to report on the problem. The Committee reports that once food imports are stopped and repayments of loans are completed, this will lead to an accumulation of funds in US hands in India, which will become a major

source of inflation, unless remedial action is planned. The inflationary impact, however, depends on the uses to which the Funds are put. If their use increases the flow of money expenditure without raising the real output, it must be inflationary. But the main point is that such a huge amount of Indian currency is left to be released on the Indian market without the control of the RBI. The magnitude of the problem will be realised if the Funds are compared with the total money supply in India. In 1968-69 the currency supply was Rs 3,682 crores, demand deposits of banks were Rs 2,097 crores, and the total money supply was Rs 5,779 crores. So about 36 per cent of the total money supply, an amount more than the total demand deposits of banks, is in the hands of the USA for its discretionary use in India. This is more than sufficient to destroy the potency of the anti-inflationary monetary policy of the RBI.

Lenin Underdone

MRIGANKA SEKHAR RAY

SANDHYANEER'S production of *Mahanayak Lenin* (written and directed by Asoke Sen) is another example of exciting material being spoiled by inept presentation. The production is modelled on Brechtian style, with a commentator sitting in a corner of the stage, supplying the historical data of Lenin's life and times. The play traces Lenin's career in three phases, as an enquiring schoolboy, as a youthful organiser and as the mature leader of the masses. Krupskaya plays an important role and the Lenin-Krupskaya romance dominates a major scene. But somehow the production is sadly devoid of any pace and colour and

the gigantic forces of history never come to the fore, however much the artificial tremulo of the narrator's voice tends to create a kind of false emotion. The three Lenins are equally ineffective, the worst of them being the old Lenin with Fu Manchutype bearing. The peculiar qualities of Lenin's character, his childlike enthusiasm, strange jerks of emotion and a merry archness are completely lacking in the portrayals and the actors do not have that natural grace of movement and high sense of plasticity through which these characteristics could be successfully conveyed. The construction of the whole play is also very loose; the actions are thoroughly ill-rehearsed and the tremendous tension of revolutionary drama is lost in a confused medley of didactic debates.



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Problem Of Leadership

I beg to differ with your editorial "A Problem of Leadership" (April 4).

You have blamed Mr Ajoy Mukherjee for toppling the UF Ministry as a stooge of Mrs Indira Gandhi and made him solely responsible for manoeuvring to form a mini-front government. You think that the CPM was engaged in class struggle from the seat of power. It is very easy to commend the CPM-dominated Ministry as a very progressive and revolutionary one from your secure Editor's table. But it was quite a different thing for me, a poor member of the intelligentsia, who was expelled from CPM membership after two decades of intense party activity. I was brutally assaulted by my CPM brothers twice during the last year and I had to stay for months in a hospital in a critical condition.

I fail to agree with you when you draw a sharp difference between the CPM leaders and Mr Ajoy Mukherjee and others from your class point of view. The difference is not basic, but superficial. Leaders like Ajoy Babu believe that they can serve the people within the framework of the present Constitution, even associating with a section of the Congress on an agreed programme. The CPM did the same thing by agreeing to form the UF with the Bangla Congress. While you blame Mr Ajoy Mukherjee for his attempt to form a mini-front, why did you spare Mr Jyoti Basu?

You have blamed the CPM leaders as victims of parliamentary politics. But when and where had they done anything which was not motivated to create illusion among the rank and file and the masses so that they can reach the seat of power through ballots? They have launched several petty bourgeois revolutionist movements to woo the restive masses, in which many valuable lives were sacrificed. But has a leader ever been killed? They took shelter in jails as political prisoners or went underground and stayed in the houses of

their influential friends from the affluent society and came out with added fame to lead the battered masses to the polls.

Do Mr Jyoti Basu and other CPM leaders belong to the proletariat by class? No. Have they de-classed themselves? No. They live a life of ease and contentment in the midst of the affluent society and in the cosy atmosphere of Writers Building and the Assembly, while thousands of their party members and sympathisers cannot manage even a square meal a day. So the problem is not of leadership. The problem is of ideas which are unfortunately not translated into reality.

SANJOY BASU
Nabagram, Hooghly

Looking At Naxalites

It is clear from 'Frankly Speaking' (May 2) that Sanjoy has a fascination for the Naxalites. But what is not clear is his tendency to make some of his utterances appear ambiguous. The real thing is that he is a typical petty-bourgeois suffering from all the vices associated with the class and as such he has fallen a prey to the catchy slogans and the romantic outpourings of the Naxalites; but, at the same time, he finds it difficult to reconcile himself to the fact that what the young revolutionaries are practising is at least not Marxism-Leninism. Besides, it is advertised almost regularly in the leading dailies that the Naxalites are honest political elements and that many of them are 'brilliant students'. One of the leading bourgeois newspapers of Calcutta even asks its readers to think how far it would be correct to treat the members of the CPI(ML) as misguided. Now, my humble question is: Is it possible for a perpetually vacillating intellectual to avoid such a clever trap set by the entire capitalist press?

JAYANTA K. CHAUDHURI
Englishbazar (Malda)

'Real Revolutionaries'

Apropos Mr M. N. D. Nair's letter (May 2), who will 'grab' the

state power? Some middle-class, educated intellectual youths? Some daring adolescents?

The working class is being ignored. Can the CP(ML) claim itself as the representative of the working class? I am sure, this is the question which has created so many factions in the revolutionaries. The CPI wants to be destroyed, but not by petty-bourgeois revolutionaries. The CPI wants to bring socialism under the leadership of the national bourgeoisie, the CP(ML) under the leadership of youth. What the CPM can do, we have to see.

ABDUL MATLEB
Calcutta

No "Fetish"

Let me, a regular buyer of your journal, congratulate you for the excellent leader, 'Liberate Lenin' (April 18) which could not be more timely, as well as for the article on Leninism by N.P.G., which is distinguished by an entirely new approach—an approach from the viewpoint of creative Marxism. The clarity, fluency and simplicity of style, particularly its successful effort to deal with practice, will be very useful for those young revolutionaries who are fighting on the battlefield.

I disagree with only one of his remarks about Stalin (April 25, page 11, 1st para—Even Stalin had made a fetish of this theory...). That it is not fair has been proved by his last two booklets on *Linguistics* and *Economic Problems*. Though victory through his leadership in World War II expanded the frontiers of socialism, the capitalist encirclement did not vanish but was only pushed back somewhat only in Europe. Add to this the fact that imperialism and capitalism still ruled two-thirds of the globe and it becomes clear that Stalin cannot be blamed for any "fetish". Belittling Stalin is a symptom of petty bourgeois philistinism and egoism.

SATYASHARAN RAI
Calcutta

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