

frontier

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UNREST IN W. PAKISTAN

AS tension is rising in East Bengal over the savage, strange massacre of many intellectuals—strange, because some at least of the victims had somehow managed to co-exist—tensions of another kind are erupting in West Pakistan, Yahya Khan, who has proved himself a bad general and a worse politician, has quit the stage. But even though Mr Bhutto has taken over as President and Martial Law Administrator, the military cannot be ruled out overnight as an influential factor even in a civilian set-up. The defeat in the east, the loss of East Bengal, will continue to rankle; there is no chance of peace and goodwill descending, though this is the season for such sentiment.

About the great question of East Bengal, there may be two attitudes in the west: Either to treat it as a kind of Taiwan—though this Taiwan has a much bigger population than the heartland of Pakistan—or to make a last attempt to return to the letter and spirit of the Lahore resolution of 1940 which envisaged more than one sovereign, independent Pakistan. But this, in view of what the Pakistani army has done to the people, of geographical discontinuity and of the role of India, the land of Chanakya, may amount to just wishful thinking. The predictable future is of continuing tension between India and West Pakistan, which means great-power tension too. There will be many kinds of forces contending for subtle control in East Bengal—it is a big market and has strategic significance—besides the local forces.

The rejoicing in East Bengal over the short-cut victory is genuine. It is true that between the feeling of independence and the facts of life there is a big gap, but this is not always obvious. In 1947 the communists said the transfer of power to India was sham. But the withdrawal of the physical presence of the British was enough for people to celebrate their independence. As for neo-colonialism, it is too abstract a thing for the masses to understand. The physical presence of Indians in East Bengal may begin to irk after a while. Trade penetration is another matter.

The rejoicing in India continues. There is already an arrogance of power in many quarters. Mrs Indira Gandhi, who was the midwife in the birth of Bangladesh, has never had it so good. Her followers in West Bengal are also riding high—and roughshod. The terror against

the CPM is being resumed. Mrs Gandhi's popularity and the strategy employed in the Burdwan civic elections will make it very difficult—to say the least—for the principal, legal opposition party, the CPM, in the coming elections. Besides, people always tend to vote for the principal actors in a drama, not their cheerleaders.

A Willing Tumble?

As everyone sees it, American diplomacy has taken a tumble in East Bengal affairs. The Nixon administration says, but few care to believe it, that it was almost successful in persuading Yahya Khan to grant full autonomy barring foreign affairs, defence and currency to East Bengal, to withdraw troops from the Indian border, to grant amnesty to refugees who fled to India, and to start talks with Bangladesh leaders. But for the intransigence of Mrs Gandhi, who would not allow Bangladesh leaders to talk with Yahya, and who would not hold off for three more weeks, civilian rule would have been restored in East Bengal without a war. That was why Nixon was annoyed with Mrs Gandhi. He was not anti-Indian, his administration never called India an aggressor. Why then did it withhold 35 per cent of the current U.S. economic aid programme in India? Because a country like India cannot, unlike the USA which can, conduct a war and development works simultaneously. India would have misappropriated the funds for development works for the war effort.

The truths, half-truths and lies underlying this public American posture apart, it is indeed a fact that Mr Nixon did not try to prevent Mrs Gandhi from attaining her well-known objective except through his peace efforts in the UN and a token threat by directing the Seventh Fleet towards East Bengal. By all accounts the attempt was feeble. Even the cut in the aid did not materially touch India which can buy cut-up aid items like fertilisers in East Europe on even bet-

ter terms, if it at all needs these. In fact the cutback of aid by Japan was more substantial. The half-hearted effort of the American Government appears all the more surprising, because of the existence of several treaties, public and secret, under which the U.S. was obliged to haul Pakistan out of the fire it was put into. All this leads to one remaining guess—the U.S. Government considers India more valuable than Pakistan and all its efforts to stop the war were for Pakistan's consumption. The military surrender of Pakistan—whoever heard of nearly one lakh trained troops surrendering after a two-week war—which did not even use its strategic reserves in the west and more or less stood still on that front is another mystery. That it was ordered or forced to do so when the expected help did not materialise is the only plausible answer, assuming that the hawks there could not have suddenly developed a great wisdom and stepped down from the seat of power. True, Pakistan is invaluable for the U.S. Government because of its strategic position in the Middle East but so is India. If the U.S. has to share its sphere of influence in India with Russia, it has to share it in Pakistan with China. Therefore it would be wiser to see Indo-Pak affairs in the context of the Russo-American and Sino-American confrontation or detente. With the impending visits of Nixon to Russia and China, which have a great global significance, the Indo-Pak confrontation is indeed a tiny bit of nuisance which had to be suffered by the superpowers.

The insignificance of the present Indian-American strain becomes all the more glaring if one notes a news item published in the *American Reporter* of December 1. The U.S. has, the report tells us, approved licences worth \$528 million for the export of equipment to Russia for her Kama River truck factory. These licences bring the amount of American private capital for the factory to \$1,000 million. Earlier, in November, Nixon sold \$125 million worth of grain to Russia and announced a new era of understanding with the Russian peo-

ple. The magnitude of these trade pact_s is obvious. The current economic aid programme of the U.S. in India happens to be only \$229 million and in Pakistan \$57 million.

The U.S. Government has been of course unpopular with the Indians for its stance on Bangladesh. But it must be very confident that it can tide over the adverse wave; it had done so in spite of its stance on Kashmir. Not for nothing did the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University back out from his promise to take part in the agitation before the American Consul's office in Calcutta on Saturday last. Bangladesh's Ambassador-designate to the U.S., Mr Siddiqui, held a Press conference in Washington on December 17 and sought a helping hand from the U.S. to reconstruct his country. He has been of course superseded by Mr Tajuddin Ahmed, the Bangladesh Prime Minister, who would not accept any U.S. aid. It remains to be seen how long the Bangladesh rulers retain their subjective indignation in the face of objective compulsions to accept U.S. aid and trade, to which Indians and Russians are not immune.

Dollar Retreats

Though apparently the Azores declaration and the Group of Ten meeting in Washington last week are less dramatic than Nixon's proposed visit to Peking and his economic policy statement on August 15, the outcome of the former is not likely to be less effective than either of the latter. That the U.S. is willing to devalue the dollar as part of a larger package of realignment of parities of major world currencies was evident at the "Group of Ten" meeting in Rome in September last, though the final form of commitment had to be postponed till the Azores meeting perhaps to enable Nixon to get the feel of his own ground at home. In the communique after the meeting, the U.S. readiness to devalue the dollar was avowed. And at the meetings thereafter in Washington last week,

the group gave it precise forms. It said that the dollar is to be nipped by 7.9 per cent, raising its gold value to \$38 an ounce which, in other words, means that the principal world currencies will be revalued on an average by about 5 per cent (for example the Japanese yen is to be revised up by 7.66 per cent and the West German mark by 4.61%). Further, under the new arrangement the margins of fluctuation rates are to be raised by 2.25 per cent above and below the new rates. The surtax of 10 per cent, imposed by Nixon as a booster to U.S. exports, is also to be waived. All the proposals have been dittoed by the IMF.

The adjustments are expected to end the international monetary crisis set off by the unilateral announcement from the White House to close the dollar-window and the imposition of the 10 per cent surtax on all imports. The crisis was the outcome of a monolith monetary system evolved in the Bretton Woods agreement which conferred on the sacrosanct dollar—at the height of its economic power then—the job of keeping up the 'free world' exchange system. Since then, however, things have suffered substantive changes. Pursuit of gun-boat diplomacy, the undertaking of responsibility for aiding the ailing partners in the West and in the neo-colonies as also the flow of finance capital out of the country have bled the U.S. economy white—and the golden dollar lost much of its glitter. Its present policy of disengagement, however apparently, does little good to its war-oriented economy. But the Western powers and Japan—Washington's chief allies—have succeeded in wiping out their battle scars and are now seeking to assert their economic identity. The current crisis is an outcome of these changes in power relations and the transformation of attitudes that they entail. And the purpose of the present adjustments in the gold-dollar relation and the parity rates is to accommodate these new forces so that the present monetary system does not crumble down. Its other aims are to restore the U.S. balance of trade, and

confidence in the dollar and ultimately, to substitute an international reserve unit for the dollar as a further token of freedom.

But what significance have these arrangements for the Third World? Neither the Azores talks nor the subsequent meeting held anything particular for the underdeveloped nations though none of them can avoid the decisions concerning convertibility. For example, not only India's vital exports but also other dollar reserves will be affected by the

downward revision of the dollar in relation to gold. Already her exports to free-exchange areas are not encouraging; they rose by 5 per cent when the general trend is 8.5 per cent and threaten to go down further. The export situation in rupee payment areas is not rosier either. With the rouble linked to the dollar, however indirectly, the competitiveness of Indian exports on the Eastern European market will be affected and the possibility of export diversion to the newly found Bangladesh market will be a poor alternative.

View from Delhi

Tenuous Cease-Fire

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE father had only glimpses; but the daughter made history. We owe this knowledge to one of the series of PR ads in questionable taste from a hooch house with vested interest in patriotism: it sells rum for the jawans. Whether the daughter benefited from the father's glimpses of world history or not, other children did because Mr V. K. Krishna Menon edited them in a book which still fetches handsome royalties.

The nation is beginning to believe that it is already a happy-ending story but it is a tenuous ceasefire and much depends on the pattern of developments in Pakistan. The United States lobby here collapsed circa 9 August 1971 and the super-power not yet discredited in India was the one to look to. With the advent of the Seventh Fleet into the Bay of Bengal, the stampede into the Soviet lobby was complete. Nevertheless, New Delhi still looks nostalgically to the halcyon days of Indo-United States amity and clings sentimentally to the hope that U.S. economic aid will be resumed in due course now that a ceasefire has been agreed to. The State Department openly claims credit for the cease-fire, pointing out that from the beginning it has been

in touch with the Kremlin and played a crucial role in bringing about the ceasefire. It would be well to reconstruct the sequence.

The war was formally declared by Pakistan on December 4. The same evening the Moroccans were telling third countries that the Seventh Fleet would intervene in the war. By about Wednesday Soviet sources here had passed on the gossip to two of the tabloids close to them. Ironically early the following week, a pro-Soviet daily was alleging that the United States Embassy was circulating the story. This links up with Rao Farman Ali Khan's appeal to U Thant. The theory widely believed here is that he had General Yahya Khan's clearance and the move was meant to secure UN intervention. The task force of the Seventh Fleet was to be vested with the status of a UN task force to evacuate Pakistani personnel and others. But when it leaked out at the UN, General Yahya Khan was forced by the hawk generals around him to disown the move.

What is surprising is that while the Indian Government expressed apprehensions about the Seventh Fleet's intentions, (Mr L. K. Jha sought clarification from Mr Sisco of the

State Department), the reported movement of the Soviet naval units into the Bay of Bengal was reported in the Indian press approvingly and there was no expression of concern by the Indian Government. If India's known stand is to keep the Indian Ocean a tension-free zone, the logical course would have been to denounce gunboat diplomacy by either of the super-powers. Some eight days the nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, *Enterprise*, accompanied by the frigate escort *Bainbridge*, cruised in the Andaman Sea and the Indian Ocean and it is now confirmed that Soviet submarines "locked" themselves to these ships and trailed them throughout.

It was known here that the moment *Dacca* fell, India would offer unilateral ceasefire. The next stage of the plan, yet to be gone through is the recognition of the Bangladesh Government by a number of East European countries.

The Jana Sangh might be the lone party trying to 'cramp the style of the Prime Minister in the negotiations with Pakistan. There is considerable territory in Indian hands and a large number of prisoners. Besides, Indian forces have wrested strings of key posts on the Kashmir ceasefire line. The old ceasefire line is gone. In this situation, parting with occupied territory or wrested posts will be difficult. The first discordant note came the moment the Prime Minister announced the ceasefire offer in the Lok Sabha. Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee of the Jana Sangh seemed to suggest that it should only be a ceasefire and not the end of the war.

The Soviets and the United States might claim credit for the ceasefire because both of them have re-established their "Asian presence", as a result of close understanding and coordinated action. The movement of the Soviet ships into the Bay of Bengal, clean three days behind the United States Seventh Fleet, appears an intriguing manoeuvre to prove that the Indo-Soviet treaty was of some practical use.

The UN General Assembly vote, which reflected the new alignments,

partly forced by the Indo-Soviet treaty, is more a debacle for the Soviet Union than for India. But Soviet propaganda now is aimed at proving that the very first Security Council vote after China's UN entry was proof of Sino-United States collusion. The Soviet veto was exercised a second time to establish the same theory. The objective is to convince the communist countries and parties that the Soviet Union is more revo-

lutionary than China. But only four months ago the *New Times* was raving that only imperialists wanted the disintegration of Pakistan!

The delay in Soviet recognition of Bangladesh stems largely from an anxiety to stabilise the truncated Pakistan as an ally, even as covetous eyes are being cast on Cox's Bazar as a potential naval base for the new Indian Ocean strategy.

December 19, 1971

The Seventh Fleet Mystery

PRADIP BISWAS

THE U.S. Seventh Fleet, spearheaded by the nuclear-powered *Enterprise*, hit the headlines by its ominous presence in the Indian Ocean. It wrung nearly every emotion—from apprehension to pride, from the perversity of the relishing closeness of the U.S. imperialist war machine to the brilliant exposition of anti-U.S. imperialism of the millions—from the Indian people. The 7th Fleet then disappeared!

It was spotted at Singapore and reported to be moving northwards into the Indian Ocean. Some unofficial sources reported its movement towards Chittagong. New Delhi described it as a "psychological force". However, no source even accurately pin-pointed its movement and position.

Another thing that was not publicised was the continued massive presence of the Russian flotilla in the Indian Ocean. The news about Russian warships in the Japan Sea ("apparently in pursuit of the U.S. 7th Fleet") tried to make-believe as if the Russians were never there in the Indian Ocean. The whole episode acted as a "psychological force" in pushing the Indian people to the bosom of the Russian bear, by the hollow phrasemongering against the U.S. imperialists.

Did the 7th Fleet try to bail out the Pakistan Army from the eastern theatre? Or was it a retreat from Indochina, specially from the Viet-

namese waters of the Gulf of Tonkin?

It must be noted that 21 February 1972 is approaching Nixon at a very fast pace. Chou En-lai has already made it clear that nothing much should be expected out of Nixon's visit to Peking and that, though Taiwan is an important question, the issue of U.S. troop withdrawal in totality from the three countries of Indochina is of greater importance and takes precedence and priority over everything else.

Withdrawal of U.S. troops from Indochina is taking place at a high rate. The countries in the U.S. camp have already set themselves with the deadline of February 1, 1972, for complete withdrawal of their troops from Indochina. The U.S. air force is not stationed in Indochina. It carries out its murderous missions from Thailand, *Guam* and nearby aircraft-carriers like *Enterprise* and others. Thus, U.S. bombings in Indochina can be stopped without any 'movement' in Indochina itself. The problem remain with the U.S. Navy and its aircraft-carriers. Besides, it was the U.S. Navy, spearheaded by its 7th Fleet, that started the aggression on the people of Vietnam. Since then it has been almost continuously prowling in and around the Gulf of Tonkin.

Before Nixon arrives in Peking, it is imperative that the U.S. Navy's 7th Fleet moves out of the seas and gulfs around Indochina. During the

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forthcoming talks with the Chinese the only way Nixon can show his sincerity and credence is by carrying out a total and complete withdrawal of U.S. army, navy and marines from the land and waters of Indochina and completely stopping the bombing and other missions of the U.S. airforce. The present retreat of the spearhead section of the U.S. 7th Fleet is perhaps a step in that direction.

Moving out 'a part of the 7th Fleet' has been on the cards for quite some time. The Japanese news agency Kyodo reported on December 17, 1970, that the U.S. was to move a part of the 7th Fleet from Indochina to the Indian Ocean because of recent advances of Russian naval forces into the area. However, the issue involved is one of complete withdrawal. To do this in the otherwise 'ordinary times' would undoubtedly amount to a rich tribute to the heroic struggle of the Indochinese people. It would have been an outright and clear success for China's line in foreign affairs. It would also have meant a great loss of 'prestige' and might have been interpreted as giving up the challenge in face of the "super navy" of the Russian social-imperialists. Therefore, Nixon and his aides and accomplices took the opportunity of utilising the diversionary excitement offered by Ind'a's war with Pakistan. The bulwark of the 7th Fleet thus retreated from Indochina. Imperialists never give up so easily, they try to attack even in their deathbed. The 7th Fleet's retreat from Indochina to the Indian Ocean constitutes a positive threat to all countries on its coasts and even in its hinterland.

At the same time, there was no plan to launch an attack or intervene in Chittagong or elsewhere. This was a foreknown fact to the Russians at least. They were even "assured" of this. Mr Kuznetsov, 'our man in Delhi', had even conveyed this assurance to Mrs Gandhi (*Hindustan Standard*, December 14, 1971). Thus the possibility of the *Enterprise* bailing out the Pakistan army was nothing but a mere hoax to the Indian people. This was done with the sole

purpose of stirring up their genuine feelings against U.S. imperialism and at the same time create an illusion about the Russian social-imperialists, who are only too eager to enlarge and strengthen their all-round stranglehold on the Indian people.

The Russians too did not publicise the truth and "assurance" about the movement of the 7th Fleet. The U.S. imperialists, on the other hand, did not disclose the real purpose behind this significant movement for more than one selfish reason. The bipartite mystery and silence merely underlined once again the collusion rather than opposition between U.S. imperialism and Russian social-imperialism, for the purpose of dividing the world people and territories into their exclusive spheres of influence.

The true dimension of the Russian flotilla's presence was not exposed on this occasion. But as early as December 14, 1970, Mr Jagjivan Ram had admitted in Parliament that the Russians had more ships in the Indian Ocean than others and had added that it would not be proper to protest against the same. Since then Russian naval might in the Indian Ocean has steadily increased. In this area their flotilla always maintains, among others, 5 guided-missile destroyers, 3 submarines and several intelligence, communication, supply and tanker ships. Broadly speaking this Russian flotilla is divided into three units—a fishing fleet operating southwards into Antarctica, a combined complex for space-efforts and ICBM testing and the third being the combat force.

Now, the U.S. imperialists are stepping up their naval presence in the Indian Ocean. Their active partner in this aggressive gunboat-gendarmerie role is the bankrupt British imperialists. They have jointly developed a huge naval, air and communication base at the British-occupied island of Diego Garcia. Diego Garcia is located 1200 miles from Cape Comorin i.e. midway between India and Mauritius. (Russians have naval and air landing rights in Mauritius). But the Indian Government does not really object to the

U.S. presence in the Indian Ocean. Mrs Gandhi said in an interview on December 13, 1970, that "both the powers that are present there (Indian Ocean) are countries with which we have friendly relations, even if we don't belong to either of the military blocs". (Since August 9, this year India has a defence treaty with the Russians).

India has acquired an unspecified number of Russian missile-boats (Komar class) equipped with Styx missiles. (See *The Indian Express*, November 3, 1971), which can score a sure-hit from as far as 15 miles with pinpoint accuracy. The Indian Navy is now the strongest among the coastal countries of Asia and Africa.

Both the super-powers have immense stakes in the Indian Ocean. "Nearly 50% of Europe's oil, 90% of Japan's and 80% of Africa move across the greasy waters" of the Indian Ocean. The Japanese Navy is not yet actively present in this area. But it is only a matter of time. Politically and militarily the peaceful coexistence of the two super-powers in the Indian Ocean most definitely aims at encirclement and blockade of socialist China. Both the super-powers have their accomplices. All these factors greatly threaten the peace of this area, the peace in the relevant coastal countries of Asia and Africa and also the countries in the hinterland of this ocean. It even threatens the safe movement of the merchant ships of those countries which do not have matching naval might and those who do not want to bow down to the super-powers at the cost of their national independence and sovereignty. The U.S. Defence Secretary Laird has said that with the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, more resources will be available for a stronger showing in the Indian Ocean.

Logically therefore, the non-super-power and non-aligned countries around the Indian Ocean have started a move to declare this Ocean a "peace zone". Surprisingly, the super-powers have also shown their "keenness" on the subject. So far the

"peace zone" proposal does not clearly debar the super-powers from exercising their naval power in this area. Even if the super-powers are debarred from the Indian Ocean, their camp-followers and subordinates located around this Ocean would be there. The Indian Ocean can be made a

peace zone by debarring the presence of the super-powers, restricting the warships (of all varieties) of the peripheral countries strictly to their well-defined territorial waters and allowing only merchant ships to ply freely in the high seas and adjoining numerous 'bays' and 'seas'.

people's army or that it is fighting in the interest of the people of East Bengal or even that of West Pakistan?

(2) What, from the point of view of a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary, is the importance or significance of the territorial integrity of a country ruled by some exploiting classes? How does it matter to China or to any revolutionary which bourgeois or comprador-feudal country violates the territorial boundary of which other comprador-feudal country? If indeed the territorial integrity of countries having class-divided societies could be attached so much importance by Marxist-Leninists, one wonders what was the quarrel Lenin had with the communist parties of the Second International. It is strange that China should worry about the territorial integrity of Pakistan at a time when it has nothing to say about the aspirations for national liberation of a well-defined linguistic and cultural group—the people of East Bengal.

(3) It has been said, China cannot show interest in the struggle of East Bengalis as that would be interfering in the domestic affairs of another country. If that indeed be the reason for China's lack of interest in the cause of the East Bengali people, then one wonders what the quarrel between China and the Soviet Union is all about. After all, what has made the Soviet Union into the "social-imperialists" they are but their line of establishing diplomatic relations with various non-socialist states and refusing to give any help to the communist movements within these countries, all in the name of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries? How can revolutionary internationalism be compatible with treating revolutionary movements as internal matters of sovereign States ruled by reactionary classes? How can China claim for itself the role of leader of world revolution and at the same time respect the sanctity of reactionary State powers above the interests and aspirations of peoples and their expression in movements and agitations? If China does not believe in interfering in the internal affairs

China In The Bullshop

ASHOK RUDRA

TRUTH is stranger than fiction and the latest confirmation of the old adage is the spectacle of China voting for the first time in the UN Security Council and the General Assembly, following the lead given by America and supporting Pakistan's 'just war'. Indian expansionism—yes, Indian jingoism—yes. Let China condemn that and let us, too. But nothing whatsoever whitewashes China's sin in not condemning even once the rape of East Bengal by Yahya's army. China's stand in support of the military dictatorship of Pakistan is morally wrong and politically disastrous. It is opportunist to the very last degree, just as Soviet Russia's support of India is. If the Soviet Union's political commitment to India and the Arab world has the sole purpose of strengthening its position as a super-power in certain parts of the world, China's commitment to Pakistan is just that, having absolutely nothing to do with world revolution. If it had, China would have been able to show some reasons for having such an implacable hostility for India and such political love for Pakistan. If India is a comprador-bourgeois-cum-feudal society, is not Pakistani society even more comprador and even more feudal? India's parliamentary democracy is indeed sham, but it would be difficult to argue that it is more reactionary than Pakistan's military regime. This is not just a matter of Pakistan versus India. There is a third party and that is the people of East Bengal. China has not had one word to say about the economic ex-

ploitation of East Pakistan by West Pakistan nor about the tyranny that was exercised over the former by the latter, nor about the repeated bloody suppression of popular agitations and revolts in the eastern wing. Whether India is making political capital out of the 10 million refugees or not, they are a fact and a very grim fact at that. It cannot be said that so many refugees have come over here to have a picnic. Yet China is yet to express one word of sympathy for the refugees. Far from expressing sympathy, China's spokesmen have the cynicism of comparing East Bengal refugees fleeing into India with Tibetan refugees coming into India after Tibet was brought under control by the Chinese army. It is difficult to think of a more maladroitness comparison. Is it being suggested that China carried out massacres in Tibet comparable to the one carried out by the Pakistani army? Or is it suggested that the refugees have fled from the same kind of revolutionary reforms that was the cause of the flight of the Tibetan refugees?

China has been talking about Pakistan's 'just war', and about Pakistan's territorial integrity and Maoists in this country have been justifying China's non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries. One would like to ask in this connection the following questions:

1) What is the concept of a 'just war' in terms of Marxist-Leninist theory? Can any war be just if it is not a war waged by a people's army for the protection of their interest? Can it be said that the Pakistan army is a

of other countries, how could Mao Tse-tung make the pronouncement hailing the Negro movement in America? If China could hail the national liberation movements in Africa, why cannot the same support be extended to the national liberation movement in East Bengal?

(4) A great deal of nonsense has been said, and this by some Maoists in India who judge things not in terms of Marxism-Leninism or even by the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung but by the diplomatic moves of China, about Mujib being anti-communist, an agent of Indian-American-Soviet imperialism which latter is making East Bengal a base for starting a war against China. It of course requires faith with a capital F to believe this cock-and-bull story. Mujibur Rahman may indeed be anti-communist and pro-American, but it requires a vision blinded by faith to see more anti-communism and more pro-Americanism in Mujib and the Awami League than in Yahya Khan and his junta. It indeed requires a very curious vision, for America must be seen as only pretending to give arms to Yahya Khan, pretending to ban military supplies and economic aid to India which is passing the supplies to the East Bengalis; America must as a matter of fact be seen as giving support and aid to its East Bengal stooges through very secret channels. And China must be fighting this aid to East Bengal in a very private and secretive fashion while publicly siding wholly with America.

The fact of the matter is that China has been selling the revolution down the drain on the Indian subcontinent exactly in the same way as the Soviet Union has been all the world over. And for very similar reasons—its own interests and world power. China's giving help to the Ceylon Government to overcome the ravages to the economy caused by the insurrection attempted by the JVP; China's severance of relations with all left parties in India, including the CPI(ML) which has not received any moral support during the past one year from China, let alone any material help, China's silence over the rape of East

Bengal and support of the military junta—these are failures of revolutionary leadership amounting to sins that cannot be washed away by the talk of Indian expansionism and Indian jingoism. Indian jingoism cannot be made into a reason for justifying and supporting Pakistani jingoism. India's motive to economically exploit East Bengal in the future cannot be the reason to mitigate West Pakistan's economic exploitation of East Bengal during the last 20 years. Mujibur Rahman's possible role in the future as an American agent cannot provide the justification for forgetting the present role of Pakistan as an outpost of American imperialism. It was the duty of China to champion the liberation struggle of East Bengalis, use its influence on Pakistan to restrain its brutal force and thus prevent the movement of the East Bengalis from falling into the lap of Indian expansionists; to work for a gradual take-over of the national liberation movement by communist elements among the East Bengalis who should have received direct and substantial assistance from Peking. By its alliance with the military regime of Pakistan China forfeited the chance of performing this revolutionary task. There is no evidence that it has given any assistance to the communist guerrillas of East Bengal. Politically it has let the movement pass under the leadership of the Indian army and got itself trapped in the position of enjoying the company of America in the arena of world politics, in a common front against the Soviet Union. Now, for all the sins of the Soviet Union, it would require some unwritten volumes of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung to make a case for treating it as a greater enemy of the people of the world than American imperialism is. It should not however surprise a great deal that China should behave thus in the bullshop that is the United Nations. China's foreign policy has all along been extremely muddled—ill-informed, rigid, doctrinaire. Its diplomatic success among the African and Arab countries has been very poor indeed; in South-East Asia

the success of the counter-revolution in Indonesia owes a great deal to the fact of the Indonesian party following Chinese advice. This record stands in very sharp contrast with the magnificent record of progress achieved in establishing a socialist society inside China. Disapproval of China's foreign policy does not entail minimisation of its achievements on the domestic front, but it does pose a genuine problem: how can the same political leadership be so wise and so perceptive in domestic matters and so ignorant and so wrong on foreign matters? Does the explanation possibly lie in the fact that foreign policy is a matter in which the Chinese leadership has no means of applying the techniques that they use for guiding themselves on formulating domestic policies, namely listening to the people, making the masses participate in all important matters of decision-making, making ideas go constantly up and down between the bottom level of workers and the top level of leaders, through all the intervening layers of social leadership? The masses cannot have any knowledge about foreign countries and therefore they can never offer either any positive ideas on any correctives about foreign policy matters. So that foreign policy has necessarily to be left to the care of bureaucrats with no contact with the masses and with no first-hand knowledge about countries beyond the frontiers of China.

From Leftist Angle

Shafikul Hassan's

**MUKTIR SANGRAMEY PURBA
BANGLA**

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China And The World

L. VENKATARAMAN

FROM the crude racialism of "the Yellow Peril" to the nauseating hypocrisy of "Mao has taken China from true Communism"—there have been many variations upon the single theme of "Chinese infamy". Chinese foreign policy has been represented as a mixture of hysterical dogmatism and cunning subversion.

That a country like China, which has pulled itself up by its bootstraps, is without any external or internal debt, is attracting hundreds and thousands of visitors every year, is a nuclear power, is superbly battling the super-powers, is able to aid so many countries and battles of liberation, must have had a cohesive foreign policy, has been studiously ignored by India's rulers and their pseudo-socialist friends.

Yet, over the years, China has repeatedly and openly declared its foreign policy. The speech at the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party of China, in 1969, by Lin Piao, could be cited as one such example. These have been studiously ignored so far as their principled content is concerned. They were only used by the so-called "free" press to twist, pervert, and corrupt isolated portions, in order to further blacken the Chinese. The brains of the comprador-bureaucrat-feudal ruling classes of India and their lackey intellectuals are so blunted by years of subservience that they fail to realise :

- (a) that, China, in spite of being a poor, heavily populated, aidless, Asian country, is a country with military strength, economic power, political freedom and international friends; and
- (b) that, even to fight China on behalf of India's imperialist masters, it is better to know the Chinese reality than to drowse in fantasy.

The speech given by Deputy Foreign Minister, Chiao Kuan-hua, leader of the Chinese delegation to the UN on 15 November 1971 is the

most recent and complete statement on Chinese foreign policy. Important sections of his speech, subject-wise, are reproduced below, for friends as well as for enemies.

"Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution. This has become an irresistible trend of history."

"Human society invariably makes constant progress through innumerable revolutions and transformations. It was owing to the victory of the revolutionary war of 1776 led by Washington that the American people won independence. And it was owing to the great revolution of 1789 that the French people rid themselves of the yoke of feudalism. After mankind entered the 20th century, the victory of the 1917 revolution led by the great Lenin opened up a broad path to freedom and liberation for the oppressed nations and peoples of the world. The advance of history and social progress gladden the hearts of and inspire the peoples of the world and throw into panic a handful of decadent reactionary forces who do their utmost to put up desperate struggles. They commit armed aggression against other countries, subvert the legal governments of other countries, interfere in other countries' internal affairs, subject other countries to their political, military and economic control and bully other countries at will. Since World War II local wars have never ceased. At present, the danger of a new world war still exists, but revolution is the main trend in the world today. . . . twists and turns and reverses in the peoples' struggles, adverse currents against the people and against progress, in the final analysis, cannot hold back the main current of the continuous development of human society. The world will surely move towards progress and light, and definitely not towards reaction and darkness."

"The Chinese people have consistently opposed the imperialist policies of aggression and war and supported all the oppressed peoples and nations in their just struggle to win freedom and liberation, oppose foreign interference and become masters of their own destiny. This position of the Chinese Government and people is in the fundamental interests of the peoples of the world and is also in accord with the spirit of the UN Charter."

"The continued existence of colonialism in all its manifestations is a provocation against the people of the world. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the people of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea (Bissau) in their struggle for national liberation, and resolutely support the people of Anzania, Zimbabwe and Namibia in their struggle against the white colourist rule and racial discrimination. Their struggle is a just one and a just cause will surely triumph."

"The independence of a country is incomplete without economic independence. The economic backwardness of the Asian, African, and Latin American countries is the result of imperialist plunder. Opposition to economic plunder and protection of national resources are the inalienable sovereign rights of an independent State. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the struggles initiated by Latin American countries and people to defend their rights over 200 nautical mile territorial sea and to protect the resources of their respective countries. The Chinese Government and people resolutely support the struggles unfolded by the petroleum exporting countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America as well as various regional and specialised organisations to protect their national rights and interests and oppose economic plunder."

"We have consistently maintained that all countries, big and small, should be equal and that the five principles of peaceful coexistence should be taken as the principle guiding the relations between countries; the people of each country have the

right to choose the social system of their own country according to their own will and to protect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own country. No country has the right to subject another country to its aggression, subversion, control, interference or bullying. We are opposed to the imperialist and colonialist theory that big nations are superior to the small nations and small nations are subordinate to the big nations. We are opposed to the power politics and hegemony of big nations bullying small ones or strong nations bullying weak ones. We hold that the affairs of a given country must be handled by all the countries of the world, and that the affairs of the UN must be handled jointly by all its member States, and the super-powers should not be allowed to manipulate and monopolise them. The super-powers want to be superior to others and lord it over others. At no time neither today nor ever in the future, will China be a super-power subjecting others

to its aggression, subversion, control, interference or bullying."

"We all have held that the just struggles of the people of all countries support each other. China has always had sympathy and support of the people of various countries in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. It is our bounden duty to support the just struggle of the people of various countries. For this purpose, we have provided aid to some friendly countries to help them develop their national economy independently. In providing aid, we always strictly respect the sovereignty of the recipient countries, and never attach any conditions or ask for any privileges. We provide free military aid to countries and peoples who are fighting against aggression. We will firmly oppose certain countries trying to control and plunder the recipient countries by means of 'aid'. However, as China's economy is still comparatively backward, the material aid we have provided is very limited, and what we provide is political and

moral support. With the population of 700 million, China ought to make a greater contribution to human progress. And we hope that this situation of our ability falling short of this wish of ours will be gradually changed. We will stand together with all the countries and peoples that love peace and uphold justice and work together with them for the defence of the national independence and state sovereignty of various countries and for the cause of safeguarding international peace.³

These quotations illustrate the Chinese position vis-a-vis various world problems and also clarify the Chinese stand on the Indo-Pakistan conflict. Given the Chinese assessment of the super-powers, and of the role of non-super-power countries, the attack by one non-super-power country upon another, must be condemned as such. Therefore, whatever may be the emotion evoked by the Chinese support for Pakistan and their condemnation of India, it cannot be surprise, shock or puzzlement.

Some Trends In India's Economic Development = I

PARESH CHATTOPADHYAY

THE following work tries to analyse, in an extremely short and necessarily simplified framework, the main trends of India's economic development roughly over the last two decades. The analysis is confined to the basic spheres of production—agriculture and industry. The first and the second sections discuss, respectively, the broad developments in agriculture and industry. The third and the fourth sections analyse, respectively, the roles of the State and of foreign capital in India's economic development while the fifth and last sections are devoted to showing some of its consequences. Given the importance of agriculture in India's economy the length of the first section compared to that of any other should be self-explanatory.

With 1949-50 = 100 the index of production rose from 95.6 in 1950-51 to 161.8 in 1967-68, coming down to 158.7 in 1968-69¹. This shows that the growth rate of agricultural production has been rather slow, exceeding slightly the rate of growth of population which is about 2.5 per cent per year. But, then, even this modest rate of growth seems to be quite high compared with the rate of growth during the previous regime. Thus from 1900 to 1924 food-grain production in India seems to have increased at an annual rate of 0.3 per cent and between 1924-1948 it declined at the rate of 0.02 per cent per annum,² whereas the compound annual rate of growth of foodgrains production in India during 1949-50 to 1968-69 has been 2.79

per cent.³ A part of this growth is explained by the extension of the area of cultivation. But from the middle fifties the last factor seems to have played a comparatively minor role in the increase of production. In fact, since the middle fifties the dominant trend is that of higher yield from the acreage cultivated. Increasing application of better inputs to agriculture seems to have been an important factor in this growth though favourable weather conditions undoubtedly had also a non-negligible share. Thus the area under irrigation increased from 51.5 million acres in 1950-51 to 96.9 million acres at the end of the Third Plan.⁴ With regard to the agricultural machinery the increases are as follows:

Table 1: Inputs in Agriculture

	1951	1956	1961	1966
Tractors (000)	8.6	21	31	53.97
Oil engines (000)	82	123	230	441
Sugarcane crushers (000)	526	568	624	587
Electric pumps (000)	8.5	47	160	366

[Source: *Indian Livestock Census, Indian Agriculture in Brief* (op. cit.) 1956, vol. I, p. 4 and -p. 53]

As regards fertilizers the consumption of nitrogenous and phosphatic fertilizers has gone up, between 1956-1957 and 1965-1966 from 130,636 tonnes to 540,803 tonnes and from 21,967 tonnes to 156,489 tonnes respectively.⁵

It follows that this development of production and the forces of production, by all evidence much faster than that in the pre-1947 period, though far from satisfactory considering our requirements, could not have been achieved on the basis of a totally stagnant agrarian structure. Let us now see what modifications this structure has undergone and in which direction.

The Indian bourgeoisie who by and large had led the national movement against imperialism was bent upon carrying India along an independent capitalist path. But this was out of the question as long as the countryside remained semi-feudal, to which state it was reduced by imperialism. The Congress party, the political party of the Indian bourgeoisie, was aware of this at the hour of transfer of power. In fact the report of its Agrarian Reforms Committee published in 1949 was quite a radical document from the bourgeois point of view. It recommended the abolition of intermediaries, giving of land to the actual tiller, protection of the tenant from rack renting, commutation of rent in kind into cash. The Committee envisaged small and medium size farms following the allotment of land to the tenants. Thus the whole programme seems to have envisaged full-fledged capitalism in agriculture based on peasant proprietorship, resembling, in important respects, what Lenin called the "American path of land distribution" in contrast with the "Prussian path" leading

to landlord-type capitalist farming.⁶ By the time the Congress governments in different States were enacting and later "implementing" the land legislation the original programme was however greatly diluted in favour of the rural vested interests—both as regards heavy compensation and as regards the definition of personal cultivation resulting in the intermediaries taking on huge areas of land by evicting millions of tenant-cultivators.⁷

Limited Reforms

There were several factors behind this step backward. The local and state leaderships of the ruling party were much more seriously compromised with the landed interests than the national leadership. Secondly the widespread mass struggle in the country at the hour of transfer of power, specially the armed struggle of the Telengana peasants that preceded the various measures of legislation had a dual effect on the bourgeoisie—on the one hand it felt the necessity of undertaking land reforms to a certain extent to eliminate the stark exploitation in the countryside and on the other hand of not going too far about this so as not to antagonize the powerful vested interests in the rural area who could be its allies faced with a popular upsurge. Thirdly, the triumph of the Chinese Revolution followed by the victory in the first phase of the national liberation war in Vietnam also had almost an identical dual effect on the Indian bourgeoisie. Consequently the land reform measures did not come to much; however, to a certain extent, they resulted in some modifications of the old mode of production, though unevenly as be-

tween different States. For example, in Saurashtra a sample study among 124 *girasdars*—i.e., the landlords—showed that whereas before the land reforms they had 4,455 acres of self-cultivated land, after the reforms they had 5,764 acres of self-cultivated land, 26 *girasdars* securing additional lands under *khudkash*⁸ allotments—all of which could be effected through the dispossession from land of the previous tenants. On the other hand in Rajasthan the *khudkash* area held after the reforms was 26.4 per cent less than the operational holdings of the intermediaries before the reforms.⁹

The success of land legislation regarding abolition of sub-letting or leasing of land was also mixed. In Andhra, for example, leasing increased from 8.8 per cent of owned lands before the reforms to 10.7 per cent after the reforms, while in U.P. the extent of sub-tenancy including share-cropping was estimated to have declined from 13.98 per cent to 10.50 per cent of the total cultivated area of the sample villages.¹⁰ On the whole, as a competent student has observed, "there is no evidence to show that the tenancy practices changed for the better as a result of the abolition of the intermediaries though the former tenants became owners *under the law*".¹¹ The ceiling on land offers us more or less the same story. The law in various States fixed the ceiling on existing holdings in such a way that it would preserve the middle holders and rich peasants; for with more than 60 per cent of landholdings in India under five acres the ceiling fixed by the different States ranged from 14 to 300 acres.¹² At the same time the intermediaries were able to retain huge amounts of land by underhand means. Thus in West Bengal between a quarter and a third of land that could be available under the legally fixed 25 acres ceiling went to the landlords through malafide transfers.¹³

We shall say a few words here about usurious capital. It is well known that, historically, usurious capital, which is often connected with

merchant capital, manifested through private money lending, has preceded the capitalist mode of production.¹⁴ But *ipso facto* neither usurious nor merchant capital leads to the capitalist mode of production. Everything depends on the particular stage of historical development.¹ However, it is perhaps not too much to say that usury, even if it does not, *per se*, strengthen the feudal or semi-feudal mode of production, at least does retard its dissolution and the corresponding transition to commodity produc-

tion and capitalism.¹⁶ In our country about 54 per cent of the rural households are indebted and the share of private moneylenders in the total farm credit is 62 per cent.¹⁷ However there has been some, though modest, progress here over a decade. The following table shows that the grip of private moneylenders has to some extent diminished and the share of government and cooperatives in total farm credit has to some extent increased over a decade.

Table 2: Share of Various Credit Agencies in the Whole Farm Credit

Credit Agency	Percentage share	
	1950-51	1961-62
Government and cooperatives		
Traders	6	15.4
Agriculture & Professional Money-lenders	6	7.2
Relatives	70	62.0
Landlords	14	6.4
Commercial Banks	2	0.9
Others	Less than 1	Less than 1
	the Rest	the Rest
Total	100	100

[Source: *All India Rural Credit Survey* (1950-51) and *All India Rural Debt and Investment Survey* (1961-62)].

One of the first things that strikes a student of India's agrarian situation is the extreme differentiation among

the peasantry as regards both the size of landholdings and the value of different assets possessed. The following

table shows the distribution of operational holdings in Indian agriculture as it prevailed in 1961-1962.

Table 3: Household operational holdings and area operated by size (All India)

Size groups (acres)	Percent of holdings	Percent of total area
upto 0.49	8.55	0.32
0.50— 0.99	8.58	0.95
1.00— 2.49	21.94	5.59
2.50— 4.99	22.62	12.32
5.00— 7.49	12.84	11.73
7.50— 9.99	6.96	8.97
10.00—12.49	5.05	8.25
12.50—14.99	2.90	5.95
15.00—19.99	3.75	9.58
20.00—24.99	2.29	7.39
25.00—29.99	1.31	5.38
30.00—49.99	2.18	12.05
50.00 and above	1.03	11.60

Average size—6.49 acres

[Source: *National Sample Survey*, 17th Round, September 1961-July 1962].

On the basis of the above table we know that a little less than two-thirds of all the operational holdings having less than 5 acres—which is well below the average of 6.5 acres—hold about a fifth of the total area operated, whereas at the very top 3 per cent of the households with more



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than 30 acres have under them about a quarter of the total area operated. As regards the assets at the disposal of the peasantry their distribution also shows great differentiation as the following table shows.

Table 4: Distribution of cultivator households according to the value of assets (All India)

Asset group	Percent of households	Aggregate value of assets (crores of rupees)
Less than Rs. 500	6.5	99.4(0.3)
500—1,000	9.7	366.3(1.1)
1,000—2,500	24.8	2,124.1(6.3)
2,500—5,000	23.3	4,215.9(12.5)
5,000—10,000	18.6	6,587.8(19.5)
10,000—20,000	10.7	7,498.6(22.2)
20,000 and above	6.4	12,885.6(38.1)
All Asset Groups	100.0	33,777.6(100.0)

[Figures in brackets are percentages to total for all asset groups
Source: All India Rural Debt and Investment Survey, 1961-62, Table I in Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, June, 1965].

The same story is told in fixed capital formation in farm business. Here are the global data:

Table 5: Fixed capital formation in farm business (All India)

Asset group (Rs.)	Proportion of cultivator households reporting (%)	Average per household	Aggregate (crores of Rs.)
Less than 500	10.1	3.4	1.1(0.7)
500—1,000	13.1	4.2	2.0(1.2)
1,000—2,500	16.9	6.7	8.4(5.1)
2,500—5,000	22.2	12.9	15.1(9.2)
5,000—10,000	27.5	30.9	28.9(17.6)
10,000—20,000	35.3	65.4	35.3(21.4)
Greater than or less than 20,000	49.3	229.5	73.9(44.9)
All Asset groups	23.3	32.7	164.7(100.9)

[Figures in brackets show the percentage contribution of each asset group to the total for all asset groups.

Source: All India Rural Debt and Investment Survey, 1961-62, Table XVII in Reserve Bank of India Bulletin, June 1965].

The cause as well as the consequence of the differentiation among the peasantry is reflected in the data concerning profit and loss per acre as the size of the holding increases. The farm management data from different

States, studied by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, shows that the loss decreases and profit increases per acre as the size of the holding increases. Here are the figures for Punjab:

Table 6: Profit and Loss per acre on Crop Production

(Average of 1954-1955—1956-1957)

Holding size group (acres)	Profit or loss per acre (in Rs.)
0— \angle 5	—39.33
5— \angle 10	—16.99
10— \angle 20	—7.33
20— \angle 50	—0.02
\geq 50	+16.03

[Profit or loss has been derived by deducting the value of input from the value of output. A minus sign precedes loss and a plus sign precedes profit.

Source: Studies in the Economics of Farm Management in the Punjab. Combined Report (1963) Table 4.10].

With minor definitional differences and some minor internal variations this picture is basically confirmed by the following more recent data on larger farms in the same state:

Table 7: Per gross acre sale receipts 1967-1968

Size groups (acres)	Net cash receipts (in Rs.)
20—25	179.92
25—30	162.15
30—40	174.10
40—50	194.71
50—75	164.22
75—100	182.98
100—150	255.78
150	591.52

[Net cash receipt is arrived at by deducting total cash expenditure from total sale receipts. Source: Ashok Rudra—Big Farmers of Punjab. Table 17 in Economic and Political Weekly (Bombay) December 27, 1969].

This implies that small farmers find it increasingly difficult to stay on in farming and first try to supplement their land income through non-farming occupations and ultimately swell the ranks of landless agricultural labourers. An official report in

the early fifties already spoke of the first phenomenon.¹⁸ Normally we should expect that the process will first lead to an increase in agricultural labour as a percentage of active agricultural population and ultimately to an increase in the landless agricultural labour as a percentage of total agricultural labour. The reality, however, does not present us with such a straightforward answer. On the basis of available data it seems that forces are moving in two opposite directions. Thus according to the Census Reports, of the total agricultural active population, cultivators excluding agricultural labourers increased from 70 million in 1951 to 99.5 million in 1961 thus registering an increase by 43 per cent whereas agricultural labourers increased from 28 million to 31.5 million only during the same time thus registering a rise by only 14 per cent.¹⁹ There may be several reasons for this apparently paradoxical phenomenon. To start with, the definition of the particular categories of the agricultural population differed as between the two censuses.²⁰ But a more important reason seems to be a gradual though slow lessening of the inequality as regards the size distribution of operational holdings among agricultural households. Thus if we compare the national sample survey data for two years, 1953-1954 and 1961-1962—that is roughly speaking—those taken before the implementation of land reform legislation and those taken after—we see that whereas according to the earlier data about 71 per cent of the households at the bottom having less than 5 acres operated 15.6 per cent of the area according to the later date about 61.7 per cent of the households having less than 5 acres operated about 19 per cent of the area.²¹ We shall later give some indication of crop sharing in the different states of India. Then again one should also try to see to what extent small and impoverished cultivators are migrating to other occupations in the rural or urban areas—a phenomenon into which, unfortunately, we cannot

enter here for lack of comprehensive data. One must not, however, forget that even under full-fledged capitalist agriculture small-scale farming, though, on the whole, technically inferior to large-scale farming, has a strong tendency to persist and act as an obstacle to the proletarianisation of the peasantry for reasons into which we cannot enter here.²² Of course we do not doubt that the accentuation of the process of the formation of agricultural labour, like other manifestations of transitions to commodity production and capitalism, has also been seriously hampered by the old mode of production which is still very strong in our countryside. On the other hand we get a clear picture of the increase in landless labour as percentage of agricultural labour, as the following figures show :

Table 8: Percentage of Agricultural Labour Households (All India)

	1950-51	1956-57	1963-64
With land	49.93	42.87	38.83
Without land	50.7	57.13	61.17
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00

[Source: *Agricultural Labour in India* (Labour Bureau, Department of Labour and Employment, Govt. of India), 1968, Table 2.12].

Effect of Disintegration

There is an important consequence of this disintegration of the peasantry. If we refer to the data on the size distribution of operational holdings we find that on the supposition of 7.50 acres constituting an economic holding (striking a balance between 5 acres suggested by Nanavati and Anjaria and 10 acres suggested by Professor Dantwala), about 70 per cent of the area cultivated is already organized into units above the size of economic holdings operated by a quarter of the households. It should be obvious that the bulk of the produce from this area is meant for the market. In other words, it seems commodity production prevails in about two-thirds of the area cultivated in India. That the extent of com-

modity production has in fact been growing is also seen from the data on comparative growth rates of foodgrains crops and non-foodgrains crops as well as the respective areas under them. Thus the compound growth rates per annum of production of foodgrains crops and areas under them between 1949-50 to 1964-65 have been, respectively, 1.34 per cent and 2.98 per cent. The corresponding figures for non-foodgrains crops are higher, they being 2.52 and 3.61 per cent respectively.²³ Our position is further strengthened by the figures of inter-state movement of cereals by rail and river. Thus the quantities of cereals moved were 3.20 million tons in 1955-56. They grew to 9.25 million tons in 1966-67.²⁴

From the discussion above it appears that there is a definite, though slow, trend towards the disintegration of the old mode of production in agriculture. But can we speak of a capitalist mode of production already prevailing in agriculture? The most definite evidence of the degree of capitalist penetration should be the extent of wage labour in agriculture.²⁵ According to the census figures roughly a quarter of the active agricultural population in India consists of agricultural labourers, which compare favourably with the U.S. and the German figures at the turn of the century.²⁶ *Secondly*, as we have already noted, there has been an increase in the share of landless labourers among the agricultural labourers. *Thirdly*, the share of wages in income of agricultural labour households rose from 76 per cent in 1950-51 to 81 per cent in 1956-57.²⁷ However, as against these "advances"—in the objective, historical sense—there were some retreats. The ratio of those attached to casual labour increased between 1950-51 and 1956-57 from 10.90 to 27.73.²⁸ *Secondly* the share of cash in wage-payment declined from 56 per cent to 49 per cent in the same period.²⁹ Finally, we can only mention that according to the calculations of the Soviet author, G. Kotovsky, the area cultivated wholly

or mainly by hired labour in the middle fifties was 25 to 30 per cent, which perhaps enables one to say that a quarter of the area cultivated was then under capitalist mode of production.³⁰

On the whole one must not go away with an exaggerated idea about the dissolution of the old mode of production—basically semi-feudal³¹—and the development of the capitalist mode in Indian agriculture. In spite of some undoubted progress—qualitative and quantitative—in the instruments of production in the post-1947 era compared to what prevailed before, it does not come to much if we take the absolute picture. Thus after a decade of economic development the total value of the equipment used in farm business—excluding transport equipment—was of the order of rupees 486 crores constituting a paltry 0.3 per cent of the total value of tangible assets of the cultivator households of India which was of the order of rupees 33,275 crores.³² Secondly, even after the “implementation” of the land reform legislation, survivals of the old system are still very strong. Unfortunately exact data on tenancy, sharecropping, and lease of land are very difficult to come by. Still some idea can be had from the accounts given in this regard by a report of the Planning Commission concerning different States. Thus “in Andhra where substantive areas were cultivated through tenants and sharecroppers... they were not recorded. The Andhra Tenancy Act has been ineffective”, in Assam large areas are cultivated through tenants-at-will and sharecroppers. According to the 1961 Census 37 per cent cultivators were either tenant-cultivators or partowner-part-tenant cultivators; in Bihar “crop-sharing is widely prevalent. According to the Census of 1961 about 25 per cent cultivators were part-tenant and part-owner cultivators and another 7.5 per cent were pure tenants. The tenants usually pay half the gross produce”, in Madhya Pradesh “Tenancy law which was soundly conceived had become ineffective due to

lack of adequate steps for implementation—the law prohibits leasing (except by disabled persons). In practice, much leasing goes on in the form of crop-sharing and the sharecroppers are generally not recorded”; In Madras “in several districts large areas are cultivated through tenancies, mostly oral leases. There was much concealed tenancy”; in Mysore “in several parts of the state large areas are cultivated through sharecroppers and other tenancy arrangements but land records do not contain information about them”, in Orissa “there is fairly common practice of cultivating land through share cropping. The sharecroppers have no security of tenure in practice. They were being evicted at the will of the landlord. The rents paid by them amounted in many cases to half of the gross produce”; in Uttar Pradesh “the law prohibits leasing but permits partnership in cultivation. In practice, leasing or crop-sharing is increasing. The sharecroppers usually pay half the produce as rent. They are not allowed to remain on land for any length of time lest they claim tenancy rights. Such arrangements are not generally recorded, and the sharecroppers are unable to claim any rights under the Law”; in West Bengal “according to 1961 Census about 34 per cent cultivators were pure *bargadars* that is, sharecroppers (13.4 per cent) or *part-owners and part-bargadars* (21%). Between 25 and 46 per cent area in different districts is cultivated through sharecroppers. The rent payable is 50 per cent of the produce if the landlord provides plough cattle etc., and 40 per cent in other cases”, etc. etc.³³

Usurious Practices

Thirdly we have seen earlier that though there has been some progress as regards rural indebtedness, still more than 60 per cent of total farm credit in India comes under usurious practices of private moneylenders. Worse still; interest paid by the agriculturists—excluding agricultural labourers—more than doubled, from 4.7 per cent to 10.3 per cent of the total

income from agriculture over the period 1951-52 to 1960-61.³⁴

From the foregoing it follows that there were no real agrarian reforms in the countryside—some of the reasons for which we have already referred to earlier. The result was that the overall growth of the economy began to be seriously hampered by the lagging agricultural sector. The planners were practically convinced by the static agricultural level during 1960-61 to 1963-64 that the state of agriculture was seriously undermining the industrial development of the country. In 1964 the planners announced “a fresh consideration of the assumptions, methods and techniques as well as the machinery of planning and plan implementation in the field of agriculture.”³⁵ Two points were emphasized. First, development effects would be concentrated in the areas having assured supplies of water—constituting about a quarter of the total cultivated area, and second, within these areas there would be a systematic effort to extend the application of science and technology. In October 1965, the new policy was put into practice under the so-called Intensive Agricultural Areas Programme (I.A.A.P.). A model for this existed in 15 districts under the so-called Intensive Agricultural Development Programme (I.A.D.P.), beginning in 1961. This new approach—which under the so-called High Yielding Varieties Programme (H.Y.-V.P.) was later called the New Agricultural Strategy—in essence emphasized the necessity of providing the cultivator with a complete “package of practices”—including credit, modern inputs, price incentives, marketing facilities and technical advice—in order to increase yield. Shorn of all verbiage this “new strategy”, boils down to the strategy of accelerating the growth of capitalism in agriculture *without* basic agrarian reforms—a modified version of what Lenin called “the Prussian Path”, a path that was being followed, though in a different context, in pre-revolutionary Russia by Stolypin. Though the full effects would take time to mature

there is no doubt, on the basis of available evidence, that there has been an accentuation of class differences in the districts operating under the "new strategy".³⁶ As is to be expected the large and to some extent middle farmers have increasingly taken advantage of the official assistance in relation to credit and new inputs in modern investments of production and in relation to high prices for agricultural products and low taxes. After a careful survey of the "green revolution" in four districts in widely separated parts of India Francine Frankel comes to the following conclusion: "the gains of the new technology have been very unevenly distributed. In Ludhiana (in Punjab) where the majority of cultivators have economic holdings of 15 to 20 acres or more... the benefits of the new technology have been most widely, albeit still unevenly, shared. Probably only the bottom twenty per cent of farmers, holding ten acres or less, have experienced a serious relative deterioration in their economic position for want of sufficient capital to invest in indivisible inputs, necessary for profitable adoption of the new techniques. Yet, Ludhiana is a typical even for Punjab and much more so for large parts of the wheat growing belt. For example, in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, major wheat growing areas, over 80 per cent of all cultivating households operate farms of less than eight acres. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that the relative percentage of cultivators who have received significant benefits from the new technology compared to those who have been left out are almost exactly the reverse in these areas than in Ludhiana. Certainly, this has so far been the case in the rice growing region where the overwhelming majority of the cultivators have uneconomic holdings of two and three acres".³⁷ Ladeinsky also comes to the same conclusion. "The green revolution", he writes, "affects the few rather than the many not only because of environmental conditions but also because the majority of the farmers lack resources or are 'institutionally' precluded from taking advan-

tage of the new agricultural trends... The situation of the multitude of tenants is even more difficult than that of small farmers... The old squeeze whereby tenants are reduced to share-croppers and eventually to landless workers is being accelerated as more of the bigger owners become involved with the new technology. The basic provisions of tenancy reforms are less attainable than before the advent of the green revolution... The new type of agriculture is labour-intensive... However the technology is both labour-absorbing and labour-displacing... Looking ahead, additional employment and better wages are not for ever, for new farm practices are bringing in a host of labour-saving devices... Thus the outlook is for an overcrowded, low-wage farm market regardless of the scope of the green revolution"³⁸.

(To be concluded)

Reference notes will be given in the concluding part of the series.

The Ugly Duckling

BY A CORRESPONDENT

THE annual ritual of selecting films for the various National Awards is just over. A Kanarese film, the first ever, has been adjudged the best. The Bombay-Madras-Calcutta axis of traditional film centres is giving way to a wider berth based generally on the languages spoken in different areas and in this context the four South Indian states have stolen a march over the rest of India in the number of productions each year. This is no judgment on quality of production at the moment, but the infrastructure has been well laid for sustained production in this zone and as the Kanarese film shows, quality may not remain an unknown or unachievable quality when a spurt in production in new film centres backed by their states' efforts is patronised by film-goers. A discerning group of movie-goers may not be far way.

A few years back the bureaucrats of the Central Information Ministry decided that the award presentation function would be held by rotation in the film centres of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta—since the inception Delhi had monopolised the venue. Accordingly it was held in Bombay and last year in Madras. This year it was Calcutta's turn. But several weeks ago the venue was unceremoniously shifted to Bombay without assigning any reason. The apparent reason was that Calcutta was not safe enough because of the so-called law and order situation. The reaction of the law and orderwallahs of the Central Home Ministry is not known to this peremptory action on alleged grounds which fell under the Home Ministry's purview because after all West Bengal is under Central rule and the doing of one arm of the Centre shows the stronger arm in lurid light. As far as the Information Ministry is concerned, however, such cavalier treatment of Calcutta is nothing new. Take the case of Films Division, for instance. For years on end we heard that it would be decentralised and part of it shifted to Calcutta. Apparently well meaning Ministers went on record to announce such measures. But the stranglehold of bureaucracy gave it short shift. Meanwhile the Films Division has appointed an Additional

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Chief Producer in Delhi. Some two months ago a procession of Central Ministers including Mrs Satpathy and Mr R. N. Mirdha of the Home Ministry made public protestations about the state of "awareness" of the Centre relating to the film industry in Calcutta. Nothing emerged; all that was pep talk.

Again, take the proposed T. V. station. The bigwigs decided that after Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta would have their stations. What happened? The Bombay station is nearly complete but the claim for Srinagar has been given precedence over Calcutta. Reason? Attracting American tourists? There is evidence to underscore the conviction that a very powerful section of the Ministry somehow never misses an opportunity to deprive Calcutta of its legitimate due. That the whole thing is conceived perhaps, as a matter of doling out charity rather than planning on a sound footing.

In 1968 when Dharma Vira was Governor he pointed out while inaugurating the AIR commercial service in Calcutta that through radio licence fees and Films Division takings from showhouses the Central Information Ministry earned considerable revenue from this State but it had never considered the case of Calcutta with justice and sympathy.

The emergence of Bangladesh has added a new dimension, in the eastern segment of the country. Let us see how the information outfit, both at the Centre and in the states, faces the new situation. Whether the Delhi-Bombay axis continues to remain centralised for the bureaucrats' privileges.

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Blitzkrieg Across Bangladesh

It took only twelve days for the Indian Army to smash its way to Dacca, an achievement in brutal swift-moving warfare highly reminiscent of the *blitzkrieg* across France in 1940. The strategy was the same: speed, ferocity, and flexibility. And the Pakistani Army's mistakes were the same as the French. They relied on a Maginot line strategy, sticking to doggedly prepared bunkers, concrete defence works, and barbed wire entanglements across all the main roads. The Indians almost invariably attacked through the fields, along dust tracks, or along rivers. And they used small tanks, armoured personnel carriers, and jeeps to do it. From the air even now you can see the elaborate patterns of Indian manoeuvring in the tank tracks, which always cross the fields rather than main roads. For some incomprehensible reason the Pakistanis never seemed to expect this. As General Niazi confessed to his conquerors in Dacca... "You always seemed to come round behind us."

The other Pakistani mistake was that they expected the Indians merely to want to capture a limited amount of territory. Pakistani intelligence continually stressed that the attack would merely secure a small slice of East Pakistan, mainly along the western border with India, so that the Bangladesh Government could be established in such territory and refugees moved in so they would no longer be a burden on the Indian economy. Therefore all the defences were designed to stop such a wide territorial attack. Instead the Indians raced in on narrow fronts never bothering to capture cities, continually shifting direction, basing their advance on improvisation and the swiftest possible crossing of rivers. For this they had an estimated extra ten thousand or so civilian trucks, as

well as every available army vehicle, and old World War II Bailey bridge spans: they used five hundred of them in the end.

Bangladesh should have been one of the most easily defensible countries in the world. It was Indian engineers, and those old Bailey bridges that really broke it open...

The entire countryside knew the Indians were winning. The Mukti Bahini, as is the fashion with guerilla armies, grew tenfold more brave with each new Indian victory. Troops advancing on Dacca were being so rapturously received that, for instance, they were able to re-employ all their cook-house staffs for normal logistical support. The local populations were spontaneously feeding the troops. And intelligence information dropped into Indian hands like April rain. Minute after minute apparently idle civilian wanderers were arriving with exact placements of Pakistani bunkers, ambushes, and roadblocks. The troops coming down from Mymensingh even knew the menus at Pakistan officers' messes day by day.

Another secret of the Indian success was the flexible use of transport. Throughout the Army made a habit of commandeering the tiny rickshaws and motorised trishaws. With slight ingenuity small field guns, and rocket launchers can be screwed to these vehicles, and raced into position. With repetitive encirclement the Pakistani nerve broke. In the last four or five days it needed only two or three of these rickshaw mounted guns to get round the back of Pakistani units and they, by habit, assumed that large Indian forces were there, and surrendered...

The Pakistani Commander, General Niazi, had a total of 93,000 troops under his command, if one counts the more military of the unofficial razakar forces. If one counts all men carrying guns for West Pakistan, his forces were probably 98,000. Even with such numbers, his resistance collapsed with remarkable swiftness. At Dacca on Thursday (December 16) he was a shattered man. It was difficult for him to speak. His bluff, overgrown schoolboy military

manner now appeared that of an overgrown schoolboy near tears. Even the Indian officers present, many of whom knew the man from old British Army days, were moved. "It is terrible to see a defeated soldier. Very sad, depressing, and even degrading. Even if he is an enemy," said one Colonel who had been in Dacca on Surrender Day. (Nick Tomalin in *The Hindustan Standard*).

Letters

The War That Was

In your Comment 'Hawks and Sparrows', (December 11) your mild tone of rebuking the government was somewhat disappointing to me. What it has done is incompatible with the declarations of five principles which it so frequently trumpets before the world. In order to establish democracy in another country can one resort to war? What stand has India taken over Vietnam which has shown the world the cruellest farce of 'democracy'? After the Geneva conference, India has behaved like a perfect lackey of U.S. imperialists in maintaining the Gandhian way of passive acceptance of the brutal crimes in Vietnam.

Mr. Gandhi has confirmed the open secret that the purpose behind America's arming Pakistan was to contend Chinese communism. Recently the U.S. Ambassador expressed his confidence in the Indira government by saying that there was very little chance of communism coming to India. This is nothing but an active approval of what the government has done with the communist revolutionaries. Now that China is trying to resist Soviet manoeuvres in this part and U.S. interest is in contradiction with Soviet interest, the comprador-bourgeoisie are speaking of Chinese collaboration with the U.S. And the petty-bourgeois politicians are wagging their tails in full understanding.

The sparrows need not remember the days when they stood for the British imperialists against the fascist

powers who promised Netaji a free India.

ASOKE ROY
Uttarpara

The recent Indo-Pakistan war has thrown many of those fence-sitting on to either the side of Indira Gandhi or against her. Those like the CPM who were posing as anti-Indira but could not analyse objectively her so-called progressive actions are in a quandary and dilemma. Officially, the CPI(M) took or rather had to take its position regarding the recent conflict on this subcontinent in clear and unambiguous terms, unlike during the other two wars in the past decade, when it, rather its embryo, could not define the aggressor or the aggressed.

But though the official CPI(M) line is pro-Indira, though it actively tried to mobilise its resources for the war effort, the actual happenings in the party are perhaps not so easy. On talking to CPI(M) ranks it is clear that a large part of them, mostly the pre-'67 and after-'70 cadres, are disgusted and puzzled at the line

which some of them term as liquidationist. In Chandernagore, which was the venue of the inconclusive (they say for the emergency) district session of the CPI(M), posters and wall-writings in the name of the CPM and its youth wing, the DYF, condemning the war as an imperialist plot hatched to suck East Pakistan and its people are found frequently in some areas. In other areas a recent poster appeared in the name of the CPM which described the activities of Indian armed forces in E. Pakistan as one of liberation. There is a rumour that the CPM leadership had to get one of its top activists of this district arrested under the MISA because he held views opposite to the official line on the question of E. Pakistan, just before the District Conference, in order to make the session 'peaceful'.

Do these and the significant postponement of the provincial session the Politbureau meeting indicate yet another rift in the organisation, which is the only organisation yet to face a vertical split after participat-

MAO PAPERS

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ON LENIN

Notes towards a Biography

LEON TROTSKY

Translated by Tamara Deutscher

Leon Trotsky, apostle of the doctrine of permanent revolution, gathered together some notes for future biographers and for what he hoped would be his own tribute to Lenin. The projected Lenin biography was never completed, so that this work, following so closely on the events which it describes, becomes crucial to an understanding of both Lenin and Trotsky. The text includes items never before available in English.

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ing, in the State Government during the past three years?

NIKHIL SEN
Chinsurah

China And Bangladesh

In two consecutive editorials (4.12.1971 and 11.12.1971) you have tried to belittle India's role in the Bangladesh liberation struggle in your usual cynical way. You have talked derisively of India's bold stand vis-a-vis the liberation struggle of her neighbouring 75 million people. But in none of your editorials you have uttered a single word criticising (let alone condemning) the role of China who is overtly supporting the feudomilitaristic-theocratic regime of Yahya in her radio broadcasts, newspapers and in the international forum of the U. N. (Her voice in the U. N. is more strident than America's in supporting Yahya and denouncing India and the Soviet Union.)

I am quite aware of the class character of the Indian Government and am no less an admirer than you of China's colossal achievements in her socio-economic life. But I could never take Peking's Quixotic feats as genuine revolutionary overtures of a communist country believing in world revolution because of the ever widening chasm between her preachings and performances. When I think that China has betrayed the revolutionaries of Ceylon by denouncing them as foreign agents and offered financial aid to the Ceylonese Government, when I think that she has to date uttered not a single word condemning the genocide in Bangladesh by the yahoos of Yahya and, on the other hand, is trying to bolster up the tottering fascist regime of that very Yahya with moral and material support, when I think that she still allows the British colony of Hongkong and U.S. held Formosa to thrive under her very nose and yet call upon others to rise in revolt against their exploiters. I cannot bring myself to believe that she can really deliver the goods for the revolutionary masses of the colonial and semi-colonial countries of the

world. Is it not then all sham with her and with her revolutionary preachings?

Humanitarian consideration or rather commiseration for the downtrodden and the afflicted, and not rank opportunism or sheer political exigencies, is one of the basic postulates of socialist humanism. And China is guilty by all norms of socialist ethics. For she has uttered not a single word denouncing the butchery of one million innocent people of Bangladesh, dropped not a tear for the fifteen thousand women who have been raped, killed, reduced into camp whores or, sold away to the Arab countries like human livestock. Nor has she felt any pang in her socialist heart for the babies who have been torn away from their mothers' arms and bayoneted to death or maimed by tearing apart their limbs. According to her, these are all concoctions of the 'Indian expansionists' and the 'Soviet social imperialists!' Even the ten million refugees who have fled to India from Bangladesh is nothing but a figment of imagination to her!

To all, and to us Indians in particular, China stands thoroughly exposed. And the Sinophiles in our country like the 'Washington patriots', will now be thrown into the garbage of history despite all their revolutionary protestations.

AROON SEN GUPTA
Asansol

Some leftminded people are violently agitated over the Chinese stand on the developments in East Bengal. They assert that socialist China should have openly denounced the military brutalities and demanded a negotiated settlement. When it is pointed out that such open denunciation of a government with whom normal relations exist runs counter to the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of countries having different social systems—which is an integral aspect of the foreign policy of a socialist State, the basic premises of which are the recognition of each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each

other's internal affairs—these people assert that socialist China should have severed her relations with Pakistan, for no socialist State can have any peaceful relation with a murderous government.

When they are asked to name any feudal-capitalist government that does not oppress its people and deprive them of their basic political and social rights (in various forms and varying degrees), they admit they cannot do so, for no such government does and can ever exist. They admit that every feudal-capitalist State is an armed dictatorship of the oppressing classes. When it is explained to these gentlemen that the policy they advise the Chinese government to pursue strikes at the very conception of peaceful coexistence, they evade the question, but persist in their irrationality.

They demand, as ardent friends of socialist China, that she should come out in open support of the liberation struggle of Bangladesh. But which liberation struggle should China support—the one being led from outside with immense financial resources? Or the other being built up inside East Bengal with immense sacrifice and hard toil by young revolutionary elements? Of course, the second trend growing inside should have China's support, they say. But how should China support this potentially revolutionary trend? For one thing, this trend is still feeble; it is scattered, it is yet to gain a clear perspective of the movement it needs to build; it is yet to grow into a united force ideologically, politically, organizationally.

Should China expose this newly emerging force in its gestating stage by open support through her radio and press, won't that be the surest way of killing it in the womb? For, reactionaries from inside and across the border will make a united front to crush this emerging revolutionary force.

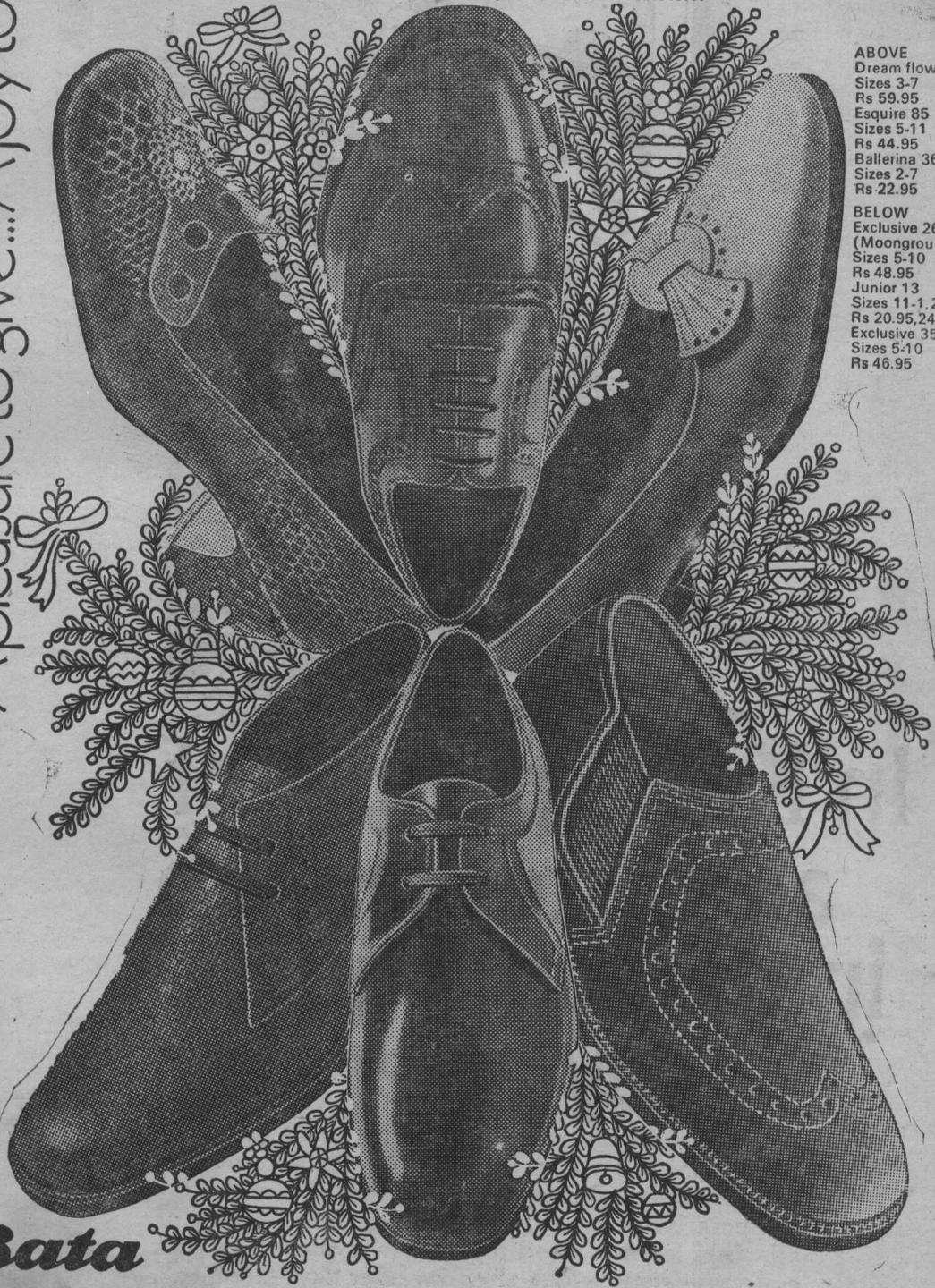
If these friends are truly interested in the real liberation of the East Bengal people, they should ponder a bit more deeply.

S. GUPTA
Calcutta

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