

frontier

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DOUBLE SCREW ON PAKISTAN

FOR the second time withdrawal of troops by India and Pakistan from each other's territory has been postponed. The reason officially given out is delay in delineation of the border on maps to be exchanged between the two countries. The international boundary is said to have been delineated, but the far more controversial line of actual control in Jammu and Kashmir is yet to be plotted on maps. The procedure adopted at Suchetgarh and Wagah for boundary demarcation is not new. On both sides of the border there are experts who have been at this kind of job since independence, and neither Government can plead ignorance of the intricacies involved. All of which must have been taken into consideration when Mr Bhutto and Mrs Gandhi agreed at Simla that the withdrawal of troops would be completed within thirty days of ratification of the Agreement, which period expired on 4 September. Both sides had a second look at the programme in New Delhi, and the new date of September 15 was fixed obviously providing for sufficient cushion against unforeseen difficulties of the type that had, in the mean time, upset the earlier schedule. It seems assumptions of Simla have not come true; nor of New Delhi. The double postponement cannot be explained away on childish grounds like disparity in sizes of the maps produced by the two countries.

Technical difficulties can be easily removed. But the work of boundary delineation on maps can go on endlessly if political considerations are allowed to come into play. The delineation of 1300 odd miles of border between West Bengal and East Pakistan could not be completed in the years of independence; Berubari alone held up progress for nearly a decade. The creation of Bangladesh has sent the matter into deep freeze; otherwise the exercise would have continued even now. The political compulsions behind the deadlock at the military commanders' meeting are a matter of guess only. As the immediate beneficiary of delineation will be Pakistan which will get back several thousand square miles of its territory against its declaration of peaceful intent at Simla, it seems unlikely that Pakistan will try to throw a spanner into the work. If Pakistan is unable to secure vacation of its areas, Mr Bhutto will lose credibility with his people; they will refuse to believe that he will be able to get back the prisoners of war through bilateral negotiations

with India. On the other hand, after the Chinese veto in the Security Council blocking Bangladesh's admission to the United Nations, India has reasons to put the screw on. It is no secret that after Simla what stands in the way of normalisation of Indo-Pakistan relations is Bangladesh; India is prepared to surrender the spoils of the December war only if Pakistan will recognise Bangladesh. Whatever assurance Mr Bhutto might have given at Simla in this regard remains unfulfilled; and it is quite possible that on second thoughts India finds that soft-peddling on troops withdrawal may help in breaking Pakistan's resistance to recognition of Bangladesh.

Mr Bhutto has blamed it all on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman. He says the Bangladesh Prime Minister has gone back on the promise to discuss with him future relations between Pakistan and Bangladesh. Mr Bhutto should have remembered that promises made in duress are seldom to be honoured. Mujib has refused to amend his stance even after Mr Bhutto's declaration that the moment the Bangladesh Prime Minister meets him anywhere any time, recognition will follow. This inflexibility, even if acquired in the solitude of the Swiss sojourn, received Indian imprimatur during the Bangladesh Prime Minister's brief halt in New Delhi. With India to look after the international front he is now free to direct all his attention to silencing his critics in Dacca. If Mr Bhutto is counting on any accommodation from Mujib, he is in for disappointment; he cannot expect any from India, either. The reported London plan to dismantle the Pakistan may not be correct; but there are other reasons why India and Bangladesh should stay put in their present positions and refuse to help out Mr Bhutto. If by their intransigence they can force Mr Bhutto into recognising Bangladesh in spite of the Chinese stand in the Security Council, that will embarrass China and may have a deleterious effect on Sino-Pakistan relations. They want to explore this possibility.

Any agreement on the modality of boundary delineation and troops withdrawal seems unlikely before Pakistan recognises Bangladesh.

Kashmir

Only time can tell how enduring will be the Sheikh Abdullah-led United Front's thumping victory in the civic polls in Kashmir last week. It has, however, created some interest among political observers who are speculating about its after-effect. The local Congress and its mentors in New Delhi have played down the victory, shrugging it off as another non-event in the general functioning of Indian democracy. Despite this nonchalance the Sheikh and his men will find in this victory a lengthening image of their party and all it stands for. But what his next move will be is now the biggest question mark in Kashmir politics.

The United Front won even before the polling started. Just before the election Sheikh Abdullah managed to forge a union with the Awami Action Committee, after weathering a severe inter-party storm. Earlier, the Congress had decided to stay away from the local elections in order to "keep it free from politics". With the Congress out the UF made short work of the local Jamaat-e-Islam whose communal taint and dated politics could not match up to the UF's vigour. In the election the UF even bettered the Congress feat in the last general election by bagging 46 out of 51 seats, about one-third of which it got uncontested.

The Congress attributes this landslide victory to its grace. No doubt its decision not to contest made the UF's task easier. But it would be wrong to deny altogether that there has been a weakening of the Congress organisation and some erosion of its base after Sadiq Ali's death. At least the new leadership stands on unsettled ground and does not want to show it. That the

Congress influence has been waning in the Valley also was earlier evident from its plight in the Jammu civic polls. There it suffered ignominiously at the Jana Sangh's hand in spite of its good record in the last Assembly elections.

Sheikh Abdullah has not yet indicated how he is going to use his election victory. But if the pre-poll utterances give any inkling of his mind, he will be working for a new identity of the Kashmiri people. The point is how far he can go in his bid. Though he is the most popular political figure in Kashmir today, he has no means to impose his intentions on New Delhi. And the people of this subcontinent have enough evidence of how New Delhi reacts to anything that it does not like. Periodic imprisonment and internment might have lent greater charisma to the Sheikh; it has not helped his cause. Besides, his idea of a separate Kashmir is said to have grown somewhat unreal in the region's power matrix after the last war and the dismemberment of Pakistan. Has it really?

An Incident

The former Deputy Chief Minister and Home Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu of the CP(M), was unable to conduct a public meeting at Baruipur, near Calcutta, on Sunday and his car was damaged by Congress hooligans, along with two other cars, one of which belonged to Intelligence men. This happened despite the fact that the Inspector General of Police had been told beforehand by a CP(M) MP that trouble was apprehended.

According to Mr Basu, about

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10,000 men were present at the place which was adjacent to the Baruipur police station. There was a contingent of armed police led by a few officers. When a group of 15 or 20 people approached the dais he appealed to the police for action, not to "my men" because in that case the police would have beaten them up, not the troublemakers. The hooligans cut the electric cables, the microphone did not function, it was dark, one of the stones thrown hit Mr Basu. He asked the people to disperse after pointing out how 'democracy was functioning. According to other reports, the meeting broke up in a pandemonium. On his way back home Mr Basu went straight to the IG to show him the damage to his car and to complain that "adequate" police arrangements could not prevent the incident.

The incident, then, shows that 15 or 20 Congress rowdies can terrorise 10,000 men, because the police are in league with the Congress. It shows that Mr Jyoti Basu and his comrades have still a touching faith in the police boss, if not in the lower ranks. It also shows that the Calcutta police are far worse than their London counterparts who helped Mr Basu to hold a meeting threatened by Maoists.

The question is what do the CP (M) leaders propose to do? Since 10,000 men cannot stand up to a group of 15 or 20 because the police are behind them, the situation will repeat itself. The situation is the same on the trade union and office front. Innumerable organisations are reported to have been neutralised or gone over to the Congress. What happened to the 100,000-strong Red Guards whose salute the CPM leaders used to take during the United Front

days? This paper used to point out then that the air of militancy the CPM had generated in offices, trade unions and on the kisan front on the basis of a neutral police (the Home Minister then was Mr Basu) would evaporate as soon as the police went on the offensive. If Mr Basu has to beat a retreat before a group of 15 or 20 while trying to address a crowd of 10,000 CPM sympathisers, what will the rank and file do? They cannot go straight to the Inspector General or the Chief Minister or write to the Union Home Minister, Mrs Gandhi. They cannot ask for police escort either. We hope there will be another Politbureau meeting to discuss the situation and at least a 10,000-word resolution.

Vanishing Railings

Last weekend a few people watched with a shock the iron railings in front of Presidency College being pulled out and the old-book sellers who used to display their books on those railings standing ready with wooden frames for installation at the place of the vanishing railings. The railings were withdrawn; probably these were considered insufficient protection for students from the outside world; the brick-walls are meant to add to their privacy and scholarship. Who-soever's brainwave it may be, with the pull-out of the railings and wooden kiosks installed, the hideous businesslike look of College Street is now complete. The classic buildings of the Senate, Hindu School and Sanskrit College had been demolished earlier. The expanse and grandeur of the locality has been replaced by utilitarian houses which put more premium on the number of students than on architecture. In a way this reflects the spirit of the times. The feudal grandeur of an environ built for the nobility has yielded to mass industry that is education today. The kiosks in front of Hindu School and Sanskrit College do not only look ugly; these sell text-books and

more note-books than text books. The railings were not substantially better, but there was always an odd chance of bumping across a gem among the heaps of trash. It had been sheer pleasure to see illiterate booksellers at the railings looking vacantly at a treasure of a book and giving it away for nothing. With permanent kiosks, they will no doubt follow their Hindu School and Sanskrit College fellow businessmen and stock nothing but academic trash. The queer sight of a Bihari bookseller handling old Bengali dictionaries, verses of Vidyasagar, stories of Aurobindo will be no more. Those uneducated booksellers have been the last feudal vestiges of old Calcutta, the standing reminder that education in this country is wholly a matter of uneducated people. Printing presses abound with compositors who can no more than identify letters, proof readers can check only with the manuscripts, writers go about happily with a scandalous sense of word-spellings and grammar, publishers do not know a writer from a hack, booksellers know only the titles and prices, academic syllabus makers will not change text-books lest this affects the vested interest of note-makers. College Street is full of bookshops but there is not a single shop where a book lover can go and browse, where nothing else is available but text-books and birthday and marriage ceremony literature. A whole year may pass by without a single book being published that can engage an honest book lover. Our historians, economists, sociologists go to foreign publishing houses rather than to the vernacular press; their going back to English is not for cutting across the language barrier in India; they write for overseas markets; they contribute to foreign journals, they hanker after recognition abroad. We are now seeing the process, initiated long ago, of jumping, in the cultural sphere, from the feudal to the comprador age.

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Selective Confrontation

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE Prime Minister, albeit as part of an exercise in auto-suggestion, and her sycophantic lieutenants are welcome to the theory that behind the current wave of agitations and violence is a sinister opposition plan to denigrate Mrs Indira Gandhi's sedulously built image. The theory has acquired some refinement. It is pointed out that at this stage of the country's development, the image of the leader is more important than the Congress ideology (if any). Mrs Gandhi had acquired the image since 1969 and the opposition was conspiring to scuttle her ideological objectives by denigrating her image through agitations and violence. The Congress leadership dare not propagate this theory in public and so their *benami* President, Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma, was authorised to issue a statement alleging a political conspiracy by the parties of the cussed Grand Alliance behind the agitations and lawlessness. The Opposition parties walked into the trap, joining issue with him and this was exactly what the Congress wanted to achieve.

Significantly, Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma briefing newsmen, would not say a word about the CPI which claims all credit for the Patna student agitation and is now talking of a switch from selective support to Mrs Gandhi's government to "selective confrontation" as suggested by Mr Dange at the last National Council meeting. There was some pattern to Dr Sharma's attack on the four parties which once constituted the Grand Alliance while placing the two communist parties on a different footing.

Mrs Gandhi never had it so easy and so good as during the five successively good monsoon years. One bad crop year was enough to expose the weaknesses of the economy. The

situation is reminiscent of what the country witnessed in 1966-67 on the eve of the Fourth General elections—drought, recession, scarcity, agitations not led by any political party in particular but prone to lapse into unorganised violence, a general mood of defiance and a tendency to break the law at the slightest provocation. That was anti-Congressism at its peak. The country has returned to the same mood now. It does not require any political party for angry people to go into action. The *garibi hatao* slogan is a worn gimmick. The roused expectations are about to explode into rising frustration, the logical sequel to any populist gimmickry. To the power elite in New Delhi it is a law and order problem and no more. Mrs Gandhi is said to have asked for tough handling of the situation by the law and order authority. What seems to be at stake for her is her max-factored image and not the "will and aspirations of the people" she is supposed to represent.

Even the worm turns. The CPI was forced to settle for a line of selective confrontation. (Despite Mr Bhupesh Gupta's sentimental plea for a soft line, Mr Dange prevailed. A telling point Mr Dange made at the National Council meeting was that while the Government in all spent Rs 700 crores on the Bangladesh refugees and the war, it had collected Rs 1,200 crores from the people and wanted more by way of taxes. The drought was there no doubt but there was little justification for the scarcity and high prices. It remains to be seen to what degree the CPI is prepared to push its confrontation beginning with October 2 but the National Council's resolution is a measure of the growing mood of anti-Congressism in the

country. The CPI had to recognise it, even if it is just a tactical manoeuvre to regain its identity as an opposition party.

October will witness a deepening of the economic crisis and perhaps more violence and more agitations, this time largely organised by political parties. But luckily, the next elections are far off and the defence spending is adequate to handle any domestic turmoil. Even if law and order fails over large areas, the country is large enough and the Central authority can be re-established with diabolical precision.

The Government of the day is going about its job with its usual smugness. Drought and rising prices are dirty words, no longer discussed at cocktail parties. The image of the leader and her ability to lead the country to its manifest destiny is the thing. The "leftists" in the Government have discovered new virtues in the managerial efficiency of the Tatas and communists of yore who joined the Tatas make good executives for the government. In comparison the Birlas are a clumsy lot, running their business houses as family fiefs. So much so, even Mr Siddhartha Sankar Ray has summoned courage to tell the Birlas to pack up from West Bengal if they do not like doing business there. The House of Tatas is the one to pamper because if it could provide the know-how to run Air-India efficiently, it can well help run India as a going concern for the ruling elite and its leftist executives. The Tata memorandum was drafted after the Tata representatives had met leaders including Mrs Gandhi and the redoubtable Mr Mohan Kumaramangalam. No wonder the two million tonne TISCO expansion is going to be in the joint sector, the "in" thing with the economic czars of the Indira Gandhi Cabinet.

The Planning Commission is in a mess, with Mr D. P. Dhar preoccupied with extra-curricular matters. One school wants either foreign aid or a cut in defence expenditure to keep up an adequate level of plan spend-

ing. But Mr Dhar seems to believe that neither of these is necessary. He looks charmed by his own unoriginal discovery that planning in the past did not involve the masses and, given this corrective, everything would be just fine.

What should surprise one most is that the CPI (M), which talked of militant mass action at Madurai, could not get a single worthwhile movement off the ground and is content to look to the CPI's support for united action. In any case, did the parties have to wait for an auspicious day like October 2 to launch the threatened agitation? Political parties have by and large abdicated their role in action and have been satisfied calling for imaginary mass mobilisation and passing lengthy resolutions analysing the class nature of the government's policies, all to ensure that Dr Shankar Dayal Sharma does not bracket them with the reactionary parties. The CPI still looks to the Congress "democratic and left" elements to join the paper combination of forces that would constitute the national democratic front—against price rise!

September 17, 1972

Kerala

League Bares Its Fangs

RAMJI

MR Syed Abdurahman Bafaky Thangal, President of the Indian Union Muslim League, has cast aside all the secularistic fig leaves, of his party and come out as a crusader for communal interests. Those like the CPI and the Indira Congress itself, which had opportunistically absolved the League in Kerala of all communal tinge, now find their words being thrust down their throats by the League.

Mr Thangal, ignoring splinter parties, like the CPI, with no strength of their own, is concentrating his

attack on the source of all power, the Indira Congress. Apart from open verbal broadsides against the Pradesh Congress, he has been attacking the fountainhead of power, Smt Gandhi, and her government at the Centre. He has been addressing mammoth rallies of Muslims in Malapuram district and elsewhere, sounding dire warnings to the Congress to mend its ways or face doom at the hands of the Muslim League. With a fair background assessment of the role of the Muslim League in making and marring parties in Kerala, he keeps on hammering the historical fact that the League holds the key to power here and without it the Congress would be nowhere in this State. He points out that it was the League that helped to reduce the Congress in the State Assembly to just nine seats in 1967 and that it was again the League which helped the Congress to become the biggest among the ruling parties in the 1969 elections. And Mr Thangal has made it plain that if the Congress runs counter to its interests the League would not hesitate to discard it and once again team up with the Marxists. He charges the Congress with breach of faith towards the Muslims, since it has now begun to turn round and criticise the Muslim League. Mr Thangal says the Congress is moving fast towards dictatorship. He has denounced it for trampling down the interests of minority sections, particularly the Muslims. He has denounced the Aligarh University (Amendment) Act as an open example of the unscrupulous and dictatorial tactics of the Congress to trample down the rights of Muslims in India. According to him, Aligarh University was founded and fostered and developed by Muslims for Muslims and the Act is a direct violation of the fundamental rights of the minority section and an example of the double dealing tendency of the ruling party. Both Mr Thangal and Mr Sait, the Secretary of the League, have warned the Centre to desist from crushing the "secular-democratic" rights of the Muslim minority through

such measures as the Aligarh University Act.

The immediate provocation for this change of face by the League in Kerala is the attacks by the student and youth wings of the Congress against the double-faced role of the League in the campaign of the Congress and the Government against the private college managements. The League is alive to this. With an eye if not positively on the side of the managements. In the Pradesh Congress there is a distinct anti-League section which is becoming more vociferous and less controllable. The League is alley to this. With an eye on the future it is now angling for a new opportunist alliance: a technique which has paid off well for the League so far. For, if the League is a force in Kerala politics, it is solely because of the help rendered to it, first by the Marxists and then by the Congress. Both in 1965 and 1967 the Marxists made opportunistic alliances with the League on the reasoning that it would ultimately help to radicalise the Muslims. But it turned out differently. The League became strong and this proved a magnet for attracting fresh blood to the League. Finding that the Marxists would no longer be a tool to further its interests the League ditched the party and ganging up with the CPI, RSP and other splinter parties, plus the Congress, helped form the Achutha Menon Ministry. And in the 1969 elections, the League was prominent in the fray with Muslim-Congress-bhai-bhai slogans and what not. This too paid off and the League has been waxing fat on its political double-dealings. Now, sensing a change in the atmosphere it is striking an independent note in the hope that this would be a bait for the Marxists to swallow. Time alone would show whether the Marxists would fall for this and allow history to repeat itself.

An index of the fantastic power politics in Kerala is the role of the RSP, sorry the KRSP. The RSP in Kerala became the KRSP when the all-India body, refusing to ditch principles, did not permit the State unit to

gang up with the Congress. The State unit defied the mandate and formed a new all-India party—the Kerala RSP. The KRSP which has all along been more loyal than the king in defending the present ruling gang, the Muslim League and the CPI and above all in dragging down the Marxists in place and out of place, has begun to sing a new tune now. For some months it has been a valiant and vociferous champion of the Muslim League. And now that the League has come out in the open with harsh criticism of the Congress, the KRSP too has started doing it. Recently at a KRSP public meeting in Quilon, Mr N. Srikantan Nair, MP and other KRSP leaders, including the KRSP Ministers in the Kerala cabinet made the assertion that in the private college tussle, the managements have won hands down; the Government and the people have been vanquished. This is sacrilege pure and simple and cuts the ground from under the feet of the Congress party and the Government who have been celebrating the “victory” over the private college managements.

The KRSP has taken a leaf out of the League's book of political opportunism. Like the League it has got its own pockets, smaller ones though, in and around Quilon, where there are also considerable numbers of Muslims. The KRSP-League combine could be a thorn in the flesh of other parties in their respective pockets in Quilon and Malapuram. The KRSP, whose leaders have reached the top bracket in affluence, has begun its campaign for functioning as the balancing factor in Kerala politics, by securing more seats, and for emerging as a well-entrenched party which could exert profound influence in any election.

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Tamil Nadu

Kamaraj Snubbed

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

THE Congress (O) unit of Madras had not expected Mrs Gandhi to refuse to show the minimum courtesy to their leader, Mr Kamaraj at the Cape Comorin railway function. Though Mr Kamaraj was invited he was not allowed to address on the occasion. The Congress (O) had expected that Mrs Gandhi would ask Mr Kamaraj who sat at one end of the first row to say a few words from the same platform while inaugurating the function. The refusal of Mrs Gandhi was a rude shock and a section of the volunteers of the Congress started shouting, in vain, “Let Kamaraj speak”.

The second shock was her reply regarding the alleged CBI probe against Mr Karunanidhi. The Prime Minister clearly said that she was not aware of any such probe. The Congress (O) dailies in Tamil had already carried on propaganda that Mr Karunanidhi had been smuggling diamonds ever since his return from the USA. Rajaji also expressed some doubts regarding this and urged the Central Government to release the details about the alleged CBI probe. There was no response from the Centre to Rajaji's statement. Mrs Gandhi's reply regarding the subject satisfied the DMK leaders and disappointed the leaders of the Congress of both varieties.

Perhaps Mrs Gandhi would have taken Mr Karunanidhi in her confidence as he satisfies her needs. Mr Karunanidhi seems to be her most obedient servant compared to other Chief Ministers of her own party, though the colour of the DMK flag is different. The cry for state autonomy by the DMK has become hollow and they themselves are not serious about it. The slogan of “State autonomy” is another weapon along with “Long Live Tamil” to divert the minds of the public

from the economic sphere. If there is another election in Tamil Nadu, the anti-DMK united front will ultimately be satisfied with a few more seats. Winning over the DMK is only a dream, at the present stage. Mrs Gandhi is aware of this bitter fact. If by chance the anti-DMK united front won, none other than Mr Kamaraj would qualify to become the Chief Minister. Mrs Gandhi might have felt that Mr Karunanidhi is a better choice than Mr Kamaraj. Further, Mr Karunanidhi is dancing well to her tunes, at the moment.

In dealing with the Simpson affair, Mr Khadilkar joined hands with Mr Karunanidhi. Two workers on hunger-strike were arrested under Section 309 IPC (committing suicide) on the 10th day of their fast. Further, 50 workers were arrested on September 8 for picketing in the factory units at Mount Road and Sembian, including two keymen next to Mr Kuchelar. The problems of Simpson have become much complicated after the illegal arrest of Mr Kuchelar. It is too much to expect Mr Khadilkar to mediate between Marxist workers and the management and between the Marxist workers and the DMK ministers. The problems of Simpson cannot be solved until Mr Kuchelar opens his mouth. But this way is sealed off by the Tamil Nadu police. Therefore, Mr Khadilkar need not waste his time in Madras. He should rather listen to the cries of workers in Calcutta or Bombay where his attention is actually required.

Our agent at Varanasi
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SEPTEMBER 23, 1972

Gurus Off The Warpath

SUGAT SINGH

As reported by a fellow-correspondent, the teachers of Delhi University had really been on the warpath for the last one and a half months. The focal point this time happened to be the establishment of 'college councils' under a Presidential Ordinance issued on June 30, 1972. The teachers who launched their struggle in right earnest were ultimately duped to go off the path of struggle when the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Sarup Singh, apparently clarified the position that administrative arrangements with regard to the controversial college councils would lapse in the wake of the Delhi University Amendment Bill. He told the members of the Delhi University Teachers Association (DUTA), who were on *dharna* in front of his office, that as soon as the President "signs the amended Bill, statutes regarding the councils would become infructuous". It would then be necessary for the Academic Council and the Executive Council to frame new statutes. The jubilant teachers ended their agitation forthwith and might not come in the way of their leaders who were known to be keen to participate in a dialogue with the Vice-Chancellor over new statutes. This opportunity happened to be a godsend for the leaders of the DUTA. They would have fast faded into insignificance had the agitation continued for another fortnight. The continued agitation had hastened the process of taking the revolutionary mask off many of the left parties including the CPM, now in the leadership of the DUTA. With the passage of the Bill, the Congress, CPI and a rival CPM group (in Delhi University) had already deserted the movement and the teachers were awaiting the official CPM group to follow suit. The official CPM group, being very influential with the University authorities, managed to persuade them to see the danger of continued agitation

and got the declaration mentioned above issued by the Vice-Chancellor.

Strangely enough, the Congress, CPI and CPM held similar views on the nature of the whole agitation. This can be gleaned from the speeches of the Congress members and the attitude of the CPI and CPM members in the Rajya Sabha on August 28. The Congress MPs one after the other, started calling the whole agitation Jana Sangh-oriented. Their move was to weaken the agitation. The CPM units in Parliament and in Delhi University, due to lack of confidence on their part, started having the same realization. Significantly enough, the CPM members in the Rajya Sabha did not participate in the debate there, whereas the Jana Sangh members put up strong opposition to the Bill. Ironically, the Jana Sangh in both Houses of Parliament and also in the University apparently came forward with a more militant approach. The weak and cowardly approach of the so-called left parties made the Jana Sangh the hero of the movement. Their fear that the Sangh might cash in politically goaded them to reach an early settlement with the Government and the University authorities. Under these circumstances, the communist revolutionaries in the University had to find out a correct path. Finding the DUTA leadership and the Action Committee unable to give a concrete programme, they put up a programme of their own, which of course was not acceptable to either the Sangh or the CPM leadership. Both were afraid that any long-drawn agitation would unmask them completely and reveal to the teachers of DU that they were involved in the struggle only for their sectarian political ends.

The Lok Sabha also passed the Bill on September 1 with equal ease. The teachers along with the Karmcharis (non-academic employers)

continued to be on strike from August 28. On September 2 the DUTA held a rally on the Convocation Ground, which ended in pandemonium and confusion, with free use of fists and elbows. The DUTA President, Mr Chakravarty, was not allowed to make a speech and declare a further programme, by the Jana Sangh roughs. They started hooting and shouting at him, to the bewilderment of the CPM members and sympathisers. The Sangh activists were demanding continuance of the general strike, whereas an equally large number of teachers stood for a 'pause' for further preparation.

It is now obvious that the Sangh demanded an indefinite strike for their petty political ends. According to their calculations, the teachers would not be able to continue the strike very long without salaries and the Delhi University Students Union (DUSU) under their leadership (the election was held on September 1 when the Sangh got absolute majority) would help them to pose as the most trusted champion of the cause of the teachers and other sections of the University community.

The Sangh members in the University are comparative well off. For many among them, the teaching profession happens to be a side business. This was also a factor why they opted for an indefinite strike. The CPM unit, on the other hand, was keen on an early settlement so that they could be saved from total exposure. In such a tense situation, the President hurriedly announced the decision of the Action Committee and added that the teachers would sit in *dharna* on Monday, September 4 and the Action Committee would go on hunger-strike, if the *dharna* proved ineffective. It seems the Action Committee had authorised the President to make this announcement only after seeing the indignant mood of the teachers. This change in programme aroused the Jana Sangh. They tried to encircle (not gherao, of course!) the DUTA President. Finding the CPM members and sympathisers overwhelmed by the Sangh

roughs and RSS hooligans. The revolutionaries then joined the fray.

The teachers dispersed with fear of disunity. But on September 4 they unitedly sat in *dharna* in front of the Vice-Chancellor's office. And there, to the surprise of many teachers, the so-called clarification regarding college councils was announced. The jubilant DUTA leaders suspended their agitation.

In the whole episode, one more fact remains to be mentioned. In the DUSU election already referred to the student wing of the Jana Sangh i.e. Akhil Bharatiya Vidyarthi Parishad, won with a thumping majority. This crucial election had become a prestigious one for both the Sangh and the Congress. The leadership of both the parties (Mrs Gandhi and Mr A. B. Bajpai) was directly involved. Three Cabinet Ministers (Dixit, Kumaramangalam and Gujral), the Congress General Secretary, Mr Chandrajeet Yadav, Delhi Congress councillors headed by Mr Radha Raman, the Delhi Congress Chief, Mr Bhagat, etc. were actively canvassing for the Congress candidate, Mr Deepak Malhotra. On the other hand, former and sitting Jan Sangh MPs and councillors of Delhi and many local, well-known business houses were seen active for their candidate, Mr Shri Ram Khanna. It is now commonly known in Delhi that Mohan Meakin Breweries, Gaziabad, had loosened their purse strings to help the Congress in the election. The former DUSU President, Mr Bhagwan Singh, was lured to defect to the Congress with some of his associates. According to some estimates, the Congress spent nearly Rs. 3 lakhs in the election. The hard-won victory of the Jana Sangh in DUSU tilted the balance in favour of the teachers. The DUSU leadership threatened to launch an agitation against the formation of college councils. Thus they paid their *dakshina* to their gurus who worked silently for their victory in the DUSU election.

Not The Least, Education

TAPAS DATTA

THE indiragandhification of Indian education proceeds — as indeed does that of the multiple facets of socialism of hers and theirs. The symptoms are manifold and easy to come by; prices soar, unemployment grows, the police entrench themselves, bureaucracy proliferates, corpses of leftists accumulate in and out of jails. The accent distinctly is on growth, perhaps with social justice too of the Tata vintage. It was natural to expect that education could not lie too long beyond the ken of the perspicacious Mukti Surja. With the freshly mastered elan in the administration of the Home Department she turned to the 'governance of Indian universities'. It was discovered that the basic malady lay in the governance—in the first flush of euphoria following the so-called independence the Indian universities permitted themselves a degree of democratisation which is now adjudged incompatible with socialism. The jagged ends will now be smoothed out with the weight of the awful wisdom of a commission.

The privilege of primary attention went to Visva-Bharati. It was again a midnight ordinance. In this new era of educational socialism all the university bodies are purely and entirely nominated bodies. The university court has been reduced to a decorative body and to a rendezvous of CPI intellectuals to solve the ruling party's progressive conscience and to fulfil the election contracts. The nominated Academic Council will be a model of docility. The only policy-framing and policy-implementing body is, of course, the Executive Council, which embodies a cynical rejection of the principle of self-government through elected representatives. It precludes any involvement of the community of teaching and non-teaching workers of the university in any affair of the

university. In fact, the community has been degraded into a batch of alienated wage-earners. One does not need more than a pair of eyes to detect the tentacles of dictatorial centralism. Some invisible excellency's behests are being steadily carried out. Circulars have gone round threatening disciplinary action on various grounds. A teacher must be present at his department each and every working day of the college. By another administrative fiat invigilation at the examination centre has become part of the normal duty of a teacher. This needs must be the idea of normalcy in a State under perpetual emergency.

The Executive Council of Aligarh University is similarly nominated. Eradication of communalism from Aligarh is all bunk. What every self-respecting man ought to oppose in the Aligarh University Act is the imposition of nominational socialism. What is even more outrageous in that Act is that the constitution of the Teachers' Council should be drawn by the Executive Council. Nurul Hasan surely has something up his sleeve which will stamp out communalism from the private thoughts of Aligarh teachers. That is the royal road along which comes Hitler.

The progressive facade of the Executive Council does not last long enough; it develops cracks and chinks through which the ugly interior becomes visible. A nominated big gun of the Visva-Bharati executive failed to put his appearance from the very beginning and had to be hastily replaced. The replacement meant, of course another induction from the State Mortgaging Bank of Scientific and Economic Talent. The rejection of the significance of society, why, ignoring the very existence of society, cannot be

made up by the prophylactic of talent; the distillation of talent with the sieve of Congress socialism will in any case yield pretty little.

Well, there is more political philosophy in university acts. At a meeting of the Teachers' Council of the Visva-Bharati University it was reported that the Minister of State for university acts had a special message for the teachers. The minister had set his mind upon revolutionising Indian education. As a first major experiment teaching and examination at Visva-Bharati will be placed on an entirely new basis. The minister who boasted an acquaintance with the system of education in the free world was deeply appreciative of the need of freedom and democratic right in academic life, especially under the new dispensation proposed at Visva-Bharati. But the chameleon Mr Nurul Hasan could not keep it going long, and he had to reveal the basic tenet. The teachers were called upon to give up the idea of elected representatives in the policy-making bodies of the university. It has been his experience—devolving, no doubt, from a more illustrious source—that election cannot ensure the right candidates. The cry indeed is for the right candidates. Right candidates ought, therefore, to be guaranteed by the truly democratic mechanism of nomination. Election is unworkable as a democratic machinery. This cuts at the very root of the representative form of government. Do you need a philosophy of rigging in the elections? You have it here readymade. If the best-educated electorate cannot separate chaff from the grain, how can the vast, unwieldy electorate consisting mostly of illiterates be trusted to do so? Mrs Gandhi's solicitude for the wretched Indian electorate is moving, isn't it? Let elections be jettisoned and the ship of state will race to the haven of socialism. And if the nominated Executive Council can disgorge a constitution for the Teachers' Council why can't the ruling party with its resounding majority spawn the salvation of the In-

dian people? The Indian electorate has performed once for all its task by sending its irreplaceable representatives in the shape of the Mukti Surja and her majesty's loyalists. The Indian electorate, it appears, has earned a well-deserved sleep and one does not know how long the potion will be made to work.

The Delhi University Act also has been receiving surgical attention. A protest against some changes proposed went up in Parliament. At the intervention of Bhupesh Gupta, that eminent conscience-keeper of Congress socialism, (whose exact contribution to the new Visva-Bharati Act will, alas, be never known) the Delhi University Act will probably be referred back. But to whom and for what purpose? Mr Gupta has not spelt out. Delhi University has long enjoyed the distinction of proximity to parental care until another of unsurpassable socialist credentials and with unrivalled claim to parental piety has been brought into being. Delhi will doubtless undergo a spell of decommunalisation. In short the reform of universities, implemented as well as contemplated, is not even remotely connected with any academic policy worth talking about; it is all covert political action entirely consistent with Mrs Gandhi's political philosophy of weeding out all ideological opposition and concentrating all power in one ruthless, senseless hand, perpetuating forces of reaction and darkness.

Even the apparently rational claim of decommunalising Aligarh University does not bear a moment's scrutiny. Mrs Gandhi's Congress is incapable of doing any such thing for the simplest of reasons—practising the shameless politics of expediency, it cannot make up its mind as to what communalism is. The manner in which the Congress has fallen in and out of love in this State and that with the Muslim League, the most sought-after damsel of Indian politics, shows that a bad practitioner cannot be a theorist. Its promiscuity has made its bonafides unacceptable. The Aligarh

University Act is another political measure unredeemed by any sense of commitment to secular amity or academic value. It is another of the low tricks, not sufficiently sophisticated though, cried up with mighty fanfare by the loyalist party and capitulating press.

The Calcutta Game

The preparation for the toppling game in Calcutta University is somewhat elaborate, though predictably crude and unscrupulous. Calcutta University has been an institution around which revolved all the militant nationalism of bourgeois Bengal; it embodied something of a challenge to British imperialism, it became a symbol of the national self-respect of the Bengalis. Hence the inevitable trepidation preceding the rape of this university, due to come soon. The rivalry in henchmanship is on, and somebody is sure to take the plunge in order to deserve the prize at Mrs Gandhi's hand. Nobody probably will hold a brief for Calcutta University, but it will be equally fatuous to expect anything remotely approaching good sense from the present administrators. Mr S. S. Ray ably presided over the liquidation of the examination system. Naxalite bigots burned down a few school laboratories, and Mrs Gandhi as the union Home Minister during President's rule issued orders to shoot them down. What is this lady doing when her devoted camp-follower undertakes this comprehensive and centralised subversion of education? Her intense concern for education as displayed in the killing of Bengali youths is an alibi for misuse of state power for her personal political consolidation. It is the same game that will now be played at the cost of Calcutta University. A gang of hired hoodlums will be let loose under police protection within the campus of the university and the creaking machine will soon grind to a halt. Intervention will be necessary and the old story will repeat itself. Official wisdom and bureaucratic beadledom will take over to start

the blackest chapter of Bengal's capitulation.

We should not also overlook actions which have started on other fronts too. I am not referring to RAW which must be doing brisk business all the while. The reference is to the UCG committee of experts. The announcement of a Government of India award to one of the members almost immediately after the launching of the committee makes the linking between such committees and the State Mortgaging Bank of Scientific and Economic Talent irresistible. The middle class as a class is incapable of ingratitude. Moreover, nobody can bar the government from sitting over committee reports when all arts of persuasion and other manoeuvres fail. The ruling party cannot leave this university alone. Even Presidency College, the notorious stronghold of reaction cradled the first batch of middle-class revolutionaries. How much more explosive indeed are the potentialities of Calcutta University which is a huge meeting-incubus of a colonial education upholding social relations of an exploitative structure? Sometime back students of one department successfully agitated for the inclusion of Mao Tse-tung's works in their course. Such tendencies imply serious consequences for the ruling class and it cannot long remain inactive. Fangs will be bared from behind the highly respectable university act.

This high-sounding reform of education at the university level constitutes a new aggressive thrust of the ruling class. Universities the world over have been left to themselves. This neglect is a measure of their innocuousness. The ruling classes in these countries feel confident that the small minority of intellectuals, whatever their revolutionary pretensions, could make little impact on the larger population. In the bargain these intellectuals become the popularisers of the notion of the liberalism of the ruling class. The government, on the other hand, keeps firm control of

the mass media. This is not used crudely for purposes of political propaganda. It is put to the far more subtle and sinister purpose of imparting the cultural patterns of the ruling class life and this has a far more fundamentally corrupting influence than the mere primitivistic propaganda. In India the press has been tamed into complete submission, but in a country in which seventy per cent of the population is illiterate the press can scarcely be an effective weapon of political and cultural corruption. It has been put to the limited purpose of brainwashing the middle class. Success in this limited sphere has been significant.

Mrs Gandhi has, however, completely captured the radio and in respect of her use of this medium which reaches the remotest parts of rural India she will tolerate no compromise. She has put this official medium for the exclusive purpose of projecting her personal image. Let the party and its political philosophy fend for themselves, what matters to Mrs Gandhi is Mrs Gandhi. That is why the entire resources of a medium have been geared up towards this one single-minded achievement. Here also the gain reinforced by that of IAF helicopters has been something to be complacent about. The radio also has tried the insidious art of corruption and confusing the cultural values and cultural patterns prevalent among the masses. The task, it appears, was left to inept, amateurish hands, hence the gains have not been spectacular.

Cultural Narcotics

These half-successes and part-successes have made the ruling class impatient. So this desperate enterprise at the cost of the universities. Mrs Gandhi, of course, has partly safeguarded the class interest of the rulers by keeping, on this pretext or that, sixty-nine per cent of the Indian population illiterate. There may be more than meets the eye in the steep fall of the literacy rate in West Bengal. The fall has been the swiftest during the period of Mrs Gandhi's

able stewardship of the State. Secondly, the sheer number of collegiate students has arrested the maximum attention of the ruling class. If you fail to create employment, well, create universities, the crafty cushion of the unemployed. Contain their hunger and soften their heads. In sedentary West Bengal a far larger group will opt for university education even supposing that the pressure of the over-multiplying unemployed population was somewhat eased. The student power all over the world today has taught the ruling class a lesson or two. On the top of it, Mrs Gandhi who has used the Chhatra Parishad in West Bengal and Kerala knows well enough that such a force is bound to turn bitter too soon. She knows she has to hold the leash in her own hand. Hence also the recent, precipitous concern, especially for the universities. There must be a more systematic onslaught on the cultural life of the people.

The ruling class cannot dominate the culture of a people. It has therefore to be left to the trusted care of hirelings from the literate and literary, conservative and conceited section of the middle class. The universities will now be the recruiting as well as the operation centres for the expanding militia for cultural corruption. So university acts will have to be amended, all in the name of socialism and parliamentary majority. An examination of the free world of India's literary and cultural life shows eloquent facts. By far the largest section is held by the middle class but the culture patterns transmitted by the literature of the middle class have precious little to do with the life of the middle class, let alone the rural lower middle class. The cultural patterns of the none too visible ruling class are being imposed on the language of the middle class. The proletariat cannot evolve under a pseudo-democratic capitalistic set-up its own language of self-expression. The proletariat therefore yields to the effects of slow poison by borrowing the language of the middle class. This, in an im-

palpable surreptitious manner, imports the culture patterns of the ruling class. The mischievous drug-ging goes on, paralysing the proletariat from within. The universities then will have to be the manufacturing factories of middlemen in this sordid trade of cultural narcotics and cults.

Mrs Gandhi may have been dismayed to detect that the performance of the trade so far has not been adequately extensive and penetrating. The isolated attempts by some rare group of students to overthrow the burden of colonial education are disturbing symptoms. The student community is assuming unprecedented political significance. There are tentative efforts by a small idealist

and entitled section of the middle class to create a multi-faceted cultural movement seeking to project the culture patterns of the proletariat, holding up the nefariousness of bourgeois values, and directing attention to the phase of the class struggle in our country. These are signs of the approaching storm and this has thrown the ruling class into some serious thinking about its defensive strategy. There are careful preparations on many fronts. And last but not the least, education also has been drawn into the web of bourgeois conspiracy. The institutions for the defilement of learning will hereafter become the centres for maiming of manhood and obliteration of idealism.

Venice Film Festival

MRINAL SEN

AT Venice this year two events of considerable importance took place: the holding of a contra-festival where left-wing politics was the dominant theme and a two-week-long Chaplin Retrospective running to a packed house at the official fete. The latter was stupendous and the former, the contra-festival, was a political achievement.

In 1968, as a sequel to the May events in France, a significant noise was made at Cannes. As a consequence the festival at the French Riviera was forcibly closed. Since then a radical group have been regularly organising a parallel festival at Cannes at the time of the official one where one can clearly see much less glamour or nothing at all but more seriousness. There has been a similar scene for the last few years at Berlin where the official secretariat has come to somewhat of an "understanding" with the rebel group. The rebels in Berlin, however, remain quite active and have been expanding their area of operation. Venice too had it this time and one can only hope that it has come to stay.

The voice of the anti-establishment front in Europe, as one can realise today, is growing from strength to strength.

At Lido, at the official festival in Venice, there were too many films this year, good-bad-indifferent lot, all accommodated in more than half-a-dozen sections. But the most fabulous was the Chaplin session. At the closing ceremony, after the rituals were over and the "selection awards" given to the participants, quietly appeared on the stage a man, 84-year-old, who, perhaps because of his age, did neither talk nor listen but only felt how intensely the people of the world love him. The man was Charlie Chaplin, almost seized with infirmity. The men of the world at St Marco's famous opera house La Fenice, went wild. It was like offering homage to a living memorial. For five minutes we lived in ecstasy. As the curtain fell after five minutes Chaplin dropped into a chair, all exhausted.

For two weeks I saw Chaplin, the inimitable "little tramp". I saw him walking into an unending jour-

ney embracing a large variety of funny adventures, always buffeted by life but, in the process, preserving small treasures of life such as human compassion and then walking out towards a glowing horizon. The spirit of the tramp remained ever-undaunted and as I watched him during an unceasing two-week session I laughed and thought and grew.

In 1940 the tramp in the shape of a Jew barber confronted the "double" called Dictator Hynkel. Here, in this film, with all the reverence of a renewed experience I could see in Chaplin the glorious image of a brilliant propagandist championing the cause of human sanity and telling a naive story between the two wars "when humanity was kicked about and liberty torn asunder."

"Democracy stinks!" shouts Hynkel.

"Liberty stinks!" he adds.

"Freedom of Speech stinks!" he reiterates.

With all these lofty ideas the great dictator Hynkel defies all conceivable human logic and assures his aides and admirers that liberty shall henceforth be meant only for the "worthy". The unworthy appears on the scene—the extension of the tramp—who, having indulged, as usual, in Chaplinesque "nonsense", turns desperate. In violent desperation the barber now makes a speech, a full-throated speech the like of which Chaplin had not done before. It is a non-stop speech for five minutes, uncinematic (according to minority fashionables but to me and to most of us one of the most memorable sequences that the act of the cinema can ever offer to the civilised world. As I watched this film, in the midst of hate, suspicion and greed raging in world politics, I found in the five-minute-long speech a glowing testament to the persecuted who will soon turn militant.

In 1947, after the war was over but when neo-savagery was let loose, Chaplin made his greatest film *Monsieur Verdoux*. The story dates back to the years of depression but it sharply reflects the post-war poli-

tics manifesting itself on international issues. It is no wonder, therefore, that the State Department at Washington got terribly annoyed with Chaplin. It is no wonder, therefore, that a minority group of enlightened aesthetes found Chaplin to be dimming. The film is macabre, it is sad and bitter and it is most trenchant in its attack.

The last three of his films are not certainly the ones I could be enthusiastic about. *Limelight* has, of course, some tragic power at places. But in its totality and in his *A King in New York* (1957) and *A Countess from Hong Kong* (1966) I did not find much that could be spoken of in glowing terms.

A Stupendous Journey

And, on the whole, after two weeks' continuous run of *Il Tutto Chaplin* (The Whole of Chaplin)—from *Making a Living* and *Kid Auto Races at Venice* made in 1914 up to *A Countess from Hong Kong* made in 1966, I feel I have discovered in Chaplin a stupendous journey, a journey through terrible decades, through social injustice and political treachery, a journey in search of peace and happiness. What I found most striking is that here, in him, I see a man who, even without undergoing any organised political schooling, responded splendidly to his own time. As is quite evident in his films, such response has always been immediate and spontaneous. In 1918, in *Shoulder Arms*, an unnamed soldier arrests the Kaiser amidst a lot of laughter and brings the captive to the allied camp. Instantly appears on the screen a line: "And peace to the world". From such studied naivete Chaplin attains Shavian heights when, in a more complex world, the condemned Monsieur Verdoux, charged with 12 killings, says: "One murder makes a villain, millions a hero. Numbers sanctify."

Chaplin, as I watched him for two continuous weeks, is undoubtedly one of the greatest wonders of this century and a living inspiration to all who consider all arts as social en-

ties. But an eminent British critic told me that he had found in Chaplin a certain meanness.

I looked at the critic. I made sure that he was not joking.

II

In the main section of the official festival, films selected by an official committee were shown at the rate of two films per day. All of these films together with films shown in the critics' section received awards. Europe was adequately represented, with three films coming from Great Britain including Stanley Kubrick's *A Clockwork Orange* and Ken Russell's *Savage Messiah*. Conrad Rooks brought his latest film, Herman Hesse's *Siddhartha*, shot in India with an Indian cast and made in the USA. Two more feature films came from his country. From Brazil came one, one from Japan by Nagisa Oshima and one from India: *Calcutta 71*. Jean-Pierre Gorin and Jean-Luc Godard withdrew their *Tout Va Bien* at the last moment and showed it at the contra-festival.

From different countries came quite a number of feature films shown in three other sections: Critics, Young Cinema and Information. An old operatic film from Peoples' China was presented at the Information section. Besides, there was a long list of long and short documentaries coming from all over the world. As usual, there was also a fairly lengthy session of Italian feature films and a very attractive Mae West retrospective too. And, then, to complete the programme, five days were allotted to special showings of African, Indian, Iranian, Soviet and East German films which were immediately followed by relevant discussions.

In such an unwieldy crowd of films we could not help missing some. As some of us sat through a film in a certain theatre, some others had been enjoying another in another theatre. There were still others, the most enthusiastic of us all, who preferred to miss none, seeing one-fourth of a cer-

tain film in a certain theatre and then rushing to another to see a part of another and finally spending a quarter of an hour or even thirty minutes in a third auditorium. Everything was in a mad hurry. To make up our minds and to draw up our daily schedule was indeed a very hard task. I for one, made a point to see four films and half or full every day which, of course, included the whole lot of Chaplin. I chose to miss the Mae West session except two made in the thirties.

One could see trends developing in a particular region and disappearing in another. One could see various attempts operating at several levels; attempt at metaphysical enquiries, at probing the man-woman relationship, attempt at non-conformism, at nihilism, at defiance, at finding roots, attempt at driving home political points. I liked some, disliked many and I felt I had spent my time very well.

Os Inconfidentes by Brazil's De Andrade is one of the few films I liked most. It is the story of a conspiracy which took place in the 17th century when Brazil was still a Portuguese colony. The film is made on the basis of the dialogues taken from the proceedings of the trials and from the poems of Gonzaga, Da Costa and Peixoto who were also members of the conspiracy. It is somewhat of an enquiry made to reconstruct a historical truth through the analysis of the behaviour of the conspirators facing defeat and the terror of colonial repression. Told fairly largely in verse, the main scene of the film is in the prison where the conspirators including the poets are interrogated and terrorised. At the centre of this continuing torture appears the figure of a man—Tiradentes is his name—who alone accepts reality and pays with his life for his ideals. The intellectuals, however, can no longer hide their pseudo-revolutionary character and their "delicacies". At the end dies the germ of revolution, the man is killed and the poets are allowed to live. The irony comes in a kind of epilogue when a

news-reel coverage shows an official function of the present rulers offering homage to the great martyr of the 17th century, Tiradentes. It is a film so close to my heart, capturing a terrible past but bitterly reflecting the most contemporary attitude.

Nagisa Oshima's *Dear Summer Sister* is an allegory (Oshima calls it a melodrama) shot and made in Okinawa immediately after Okinawa reverted, for the third time, to Japanese rule on May 15, 1972. It is the disturbing story of an Okinawan boy in search of his half-sister who, he presumes, lives in Tokyo. The sister and the brother are allegorical representations of Japan and the Ryuku archipelago of which Okinawa is the mainland. The sister, having received a letter from the Okinawan brother, comes to Okinawa. The little sister, defined as a creature in need of protection, wanders about in search of her "big brother". In the film, Oshima has reversed the political and historical relationship of the protector and the protected. And according to Japanese ethnology, the sister deity, even though it is younger and frailer, is the one who controls the elder brother through her power of witchcraft. What Oshima attempts in his sweet and sour film is projecting a bitter grievance as a Japanese citizen: he challenges the little sister's witchcraft and her right to rule. That Oshima is opposed to Japanese expansionism is very clearly presented in the film. I found it a highly stimulating film shot in extreme hurry on 16 mm and immediately blown up to 35 mm. One interested in international politics would love to know how the film is received by the Okinawans and the Japanese and how the ruling power reacts to it.

Exquisitely photographed, *Sidhartha* is an atrocious film: infantile, crude, vulgar and expected from the American establishmentarians.

Senseless Pursuit

A number of films shown in the main section as well as in others show the emptiness of affluent socie-

ties which, in the process, drive the young adventurers to run away and seek another life: some take to hippie-way, some go to the tribals, some are lost on the way. *La Vallée* from France is one such film indulging in the luxury of a brief adventure into the community of tribals. To be frank, it could be good material for an anthropological study, but an awfully disgusting film otherwise. Here I see a class who will hate to part with their parental fortune but will embrace temporary hazards (!) of a primitive existence. With no real love and respect for the circumstances in which the primitives live and with no effort to communicate with them, these handful of affluent people in self-imposed exile are in a senseless pursuit of more excitement and selfish pleasures. All this is vulgar and pretentious, it is sheer hypocrisy. Thank God, the underprivileged of the world can no more be beguiled by such parade of affection offered by the fashionable radicals!

Nidhanaya (The Hidden Treasures) by Ceylon's Lester James Peries is a quiet film marked by utmost restraint. It is the story of a broken man's mad hunt for money and prosperity.

The Indian section showing *Samaskara* and *Santata, Court Chalu Ahe* shown in the Critics' section made considerable mark at the festival. Satyajit Ray's *Seemabaddha* shown in the Information section and *Bas Ya Bahar* made by Kuwait's young director Khalid Siddik shown in the Young Cinema section were considered by one of the Critics' organisations (Friepesci) as the best in the festival. Another group of critics found Yugoslavia's *Maestro Margarita* to be the best. A third group rated yet another as the first. Anglo-Saxon critics, in particular, found Ray's to be a highly stimulating film. They found in it a subtle portrayal of social exploitation. The performances, included Harin Chattopadhyaya's, according to a British critic, were of a very high order. He, however, found Girish Karnad of *Samaskara* to be

somewhat of a conventional actor. I violently differed.

In the documentary division there were a good number of films, extremely well-made, making sharp points on social, political and economic issues. *Black Fantasy* by Lionel Rogosin and Steve Hornick's *The Twilight of the Mayans*, both from the USA, are worthy of special mention.

I missed *A Clockwork Orange*, a much-publicized film by Kubrick, but rejected by a large majority at Venice. According to many, it was pornography and pointless violence.

Since *Calcutta 71* is my own film and since discretion is the better part of valour, I desist from reporting on it. I am happy: that is all I can say.

In spite of too many films exposed to a great variety of spectators having diverse tastes, the festival at Venice was indeed very exciting.

Book Review

TECHNOLOGY AND ALIENATION Away With All Pests

An English Surgeon in Peoples' China

By Dr Joshua S. Horn
With an Introduction by
Edgar Snow
Paul Hamlyn
London/Sydney/New York/Toronto
1969.

TECHNOLOGY is a strange mistress. Ostensibly, she is for the people. By her grace food production will go up to fill more stomachs. She will improve the production of textiles so that men do not go naked, help doctors to save more lives, alleviate suffering and bring the light of hope in the darkness of utter pessimism.

But technology cuts both ways. On one hand, it has the means to help the people, on the other, it is fond of alienating its followers from those very people. A doctor with his microscope and biochemistry, knives and needles, books and journals, is as far from the ordinary man

as the Martians are from the ordinary earthbound mortals. If it is true for the world as a whole, it is truer still for the most underdeveloped countries of the world e.g. India.

The paradox appears more pathetic because medicine has to deal with people at large—rich and poor, pundits and illiterates, urbanised snobs and country bumpkins. Any doctor trying to convince his patients about a new theory always feels the gulf between his technology and people. So many funny stories are current amongst the doctors. Being asked to "Shake Before Use" (obviously the bottle) one shakes the patient, not too gently, and the patient pops off. A doctor in a country like ours, in his waning years with his busy clinic and car, bank-balance and bass voice, feels his complete alienation from his clientele day in and day out.

Joshua S. Horn, FRCS, MBBS, a Briton from Peking, brings a fresh spring breeze of optimism to his colleagues abroad. He comes from a poor family in England, his formative years were passed in the hungry thirties amongst the poverty-stricken under-privileged. He got his FRCS. But that did not reduce the gulf between him and his people. He is a traumatologist dealing with patients suffering from different types of accidental injuries. He started his life and career in the UK and was quite successful. But perhaps he was in search of a spot on the earth's surface where his skill could be better utilised and where the erratic whims of technology could be better controlled, i.e. where his alienation from his clientele would not be in direct proportion to his technological skill. That is what he found in new China.

The first glimpse of China he had was before the revolution. He saw Shanghai, the naughtiest city of the world, and Dairen, then a part of the Japanese colonial empire. He saw Chinese pedlars being kicked by bearded Sikh servants of the British and saw the starving Chinese dying like flies.

The achievements of medicine in new China are quite impressive. That China is one of the top scientific powers today is proved beyond doubt by the fascinating story of the conquest of syphilis (Chapter 9). Here is a problem baffling the richest and technologically the most advanced countries in the world. The incidence of VD showed a downward trend after the introduction of penicillin. But the modern permissive society of the West has witnessed a rebound increase in its incidence. This is a persistent headache to the public health authorities concerned. But new China does not believe in the reduction of the incidence of VD. She just abolished it.

Schistosomiasis (Chapter-10) was a challenge thrown by the feudal China of the past to the revolutionaries of the present. Night soil is the principal manure for the Chinese farm and that spreads the disease. If you stop the spread of night soil you starve the people. If you spread the manure you have to spread the disease. A real dilemma. But the disease proved unequal. It had to retreat.

Achievements like this can turn the head of any group of scientists. But in New China it could not. Not so much because the scientists there are different but because the results were achieved by the combined efforts of technicians and laymen, the party and the people, the workers and the peasants.

You may think that the technicians who scaled the peaks of modern science and technology (Chapter 11), those who introduced the new treatment for extensive burns, the new operations which fix up severed limbs to the original body making them functionally normal or those who synthesise insulin, must have their heads turned.

No, it did not happen. Because re-attachment of severed limbs was achieved only after the re-attachment of technology to the people, perhaps for the first time in seven thousand years, i.e. after the origin of class society in the neolithic period.

The stories are strange. They sound like fairy tales. But the strangest is the story of the fight against the alienation of technology from the people. That funny erratic mistress admitted defeat. A nurse working in a hospital becomes a full-fledged doctor, a peasant in the fields becomes a skilled surgeon and this is no story of the minority.

But this also is not the strangest part of the story. If you want to appreciate that part, you have to be a doctor in Calcutta—the modern Shanghai—and be alienated completely from the illiterate poverty-stricken majority and then appreciate the value of the abolition of this curse. Only then you can know how it feels like when the long hated whims of technology are smashed. A technologist becomes a mast again and a man a technologist.

But how? By removing the cause of all wounds. Do you know the cause of these wounds?

If you don't, go through the article of Dr Norman Bethune, reprinted in Dr Horn's book.

The late Norman Bethune, the guardian angel of medicine in new China, shows the way, not only to the Chinese or the people of the Third World but to the entire humanity.

YOHONNEN MATHAI

A New Journal

The world of Telugu journals is no better than a mere hotchpotch of petty-bourgeois and religious outpourings. Yet there are a few journals dedicated to the Marxian ideology. Amongst them *Srijana* (Creativity), a monthly literary magazine, has survived along with *Prabhanjanam* (Tempest), a political fortnightly. Now one more leftist fortnightly, *Pilupu* (Call) has come out. Its third issue unmasks the real nature of the silver jubilee of independence and the so-called land reforms. The highlight of the issue is the report on the Parvatipuram conspiracy case being held at Visakhapatnam.

NIKHIL

Ugly Mood In USA

...America's mood is dark and ugly and the voice of the liberal is all but drowned. The country is not ready to face facts.

A Republican woman delegate to the party convention, Mrs Kay Warden, had the temerity to raise her voice against the goings-on in Viet Nam. Letters and phone calls poured in insulting her. "Mr Nixon is our President—and it's unpatriotic to criticise him." "He didn't start it—he's ending it." "If we don't fight them there—we'll fight them here. Did those 50,000 boys die in vain?"

One woman is reported to have walked over to Mrs. Warden and asked: "I look into your face and I see the face of the enemy."

It is such hysterical women—not Senators McGovern, Kennedy and Fulbright—who reflect American opinion today.

The general feeling is that the bombing of North Viet Nam must continue—whatever consequences—until Hanoi is humbled into submission and the United States' image of a super-power is sustained. The difference between Mr Barry Goldwater and Mr Richard Nixon lies in this: the former merely demanded heavy bombing; the latter is quietly carrying it out.

The bombing may not reduce North Viet Nam to the stone age, but that would not be for lack of trying. The Cornell University study team in its monumental report quotes an American leaflet dropped in Viet Nam in areas where villagers were suspected of helping the Viet Cong as saying: "The hamlets of Hai Mon, Hai Tan, Sa Binh, Tan Binh and many others have been destroyed because of this. We will not hesitate to destroy every hamlet that helps the Viet Cong... The U.S. marines issue this warning: The U.S. Marines will not hesitate to destroy, immediately, any village or hamlet harbouring the Viet Cong."

The same study quotes General

David M. Shoup, former commandant of the U.S. marines, as saying that the bombing has been to a large degree a "fine experience for young pilots and opportunities for career officers."

One hears in these comments echoes of Nazi boasts during the Spanish civil war, but ordinary Americans do not hear them. They do not think—indeed they are horrified and angry at any such insinuation—that there could be a legitimate parallel between the American bombing of Viet Nam and Nazi bombing of Barcelona.

...Consider the short shrift given to an end-the-war resolution in the House of Representatives. The anti-war legislators stood no chance before the summoned might of President Nixon's supporters from both sides of the aisle. Later, Representative Robert F. Drinan, a Democrat from Massachusetts, a well-known Jesuit priest and a former law school dean, was to say that he was "stunned, numbed and dismayed" at the vote. Describing August 10, 1972, when the House turned down the resolution, as his "most depressing day" he wrote in *The New York Times* that he was trying "not to be ashamed to be a member of Congress."

...The saddest part of the story is that even the Press is getting scared of challenging the establishment. This is partly due to the fact that the Press has come to have a vested interest in the establishment which feeds it and pampers it. The Press also obviously finds it easy to go along with the establishment rather than fight it.

...Democratic presidential candidates are used to having the nation's newspaper publishers against them and no doubt Mr McGovern will survive the ministrations of the Press, but his task is hard. He is still optimistic, but his optimism sounds slightly hollow against the determination of his critics to hound him off the state. (M. V. Kamath in *The Times of India* News Service).

"Mercy Supplies"

Bombay, September 8: At least a portion of the mercy supplies for Bangladesh—woollen jerseys, blankets, rugs—have found their way into Bombay and are being sold clandestinely by hawkers. The goods are believed to be part of mercy supplies by international agencies that did not reach Agartala. The racket came to light when Oxfam complained to the West Bengal government that goods sent to Bangladesh from Calcutta were missing.

What has come to Bombay is, however, only a trickle, compared to the quantity reportedly sold in Delhi's Sadar Bazar.

...It may be recalled that, following complaints by Oxfam and the International Red Cross, the authorities had taken into custody a Calcutta transport firm proprietor and eight others.

According to Mr Manubhai Bhimani, member of the Bangladesh Relief Committee, rugs, baby food, blankets and other material worth thousands of rupees were missing. Even the Red Cross in Calcutta could not trace them.

...Mr Bhimani said Mr T. Hussain, secretary of the Bangladesh Health Ministry, had drawn the attention of the Indian authorities to this state of affairs and, subsequently, ambulances, and medicines from Maharashtra were sent directly to Bangladesh. (*The Times of India* News Service).

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Journal

EPIC THEATRE

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Editor—Utpal Dutt

Other contributors:

Shamik Bandopadhyaya, Ashoke Ghoshal, Anal Gupta, Asit Sircar, Sova Sen and others.

'Confrontation'

Although the main target of Mr R. P. Mullick in his "Centre Confronts West Bengal" (September 2) is the Government or the party in power (we welcome such target-setting), he seems to be subjective in his analysis of the actual situation.

His contention is that the Congress(R) resorts to falsehood, hypocrisy and terror against others—the "left parties committed to social revolution." This is certainly an objective feature, but the more objective and more fundamental is the basic class antagonism in West Bengal and its political manifestations.

In any analysis of a real situation, a writer should lay bare the material and political basis of class antagonism. That in fact helps in analysing the roles adopted by the Congress(R), or "the left parties committed to social revolution," helps the analytical process of unmasking those "left parties" who in the name of revolution, play, in actual practice, second fiddle to the tune of the social vested interests.

R. P. Mullick did not try this. From Delhi (with feasible, occasional visits to West Bengal in course of his professional duties) he "culls private sources" (sources are not really private as one requires reading registered papers like *Desahitaishi*, *Bangladesh*, *Darpan*, other CPIM organs or supporting organs) to understand West Bengal politics and write a nine-column exercise in banality. Take one example. For the past few years he finds death figures ranging from 6,000 to 11,000, "shared by the CPI(M) and CPI(ML) equally." It he wrote that the range was from two to three thousand or twenty to thirty thousand nobody indeed could challenge him. But his "equal share" (among CPI(M) and CPI(ML) cadres) hypothesis is a stupid one, because it does not take into account the fact that from 1968 to 1970, the U.F. Governments and its police machi-

nary—the then *Chhātra Parishad* (the name was DYF at that time) fought against the Naxals—"false or genuine"—and killed them with meticulous planning. He should also know that the present IG, Ranjit Gupta, was a hot favourite of the 'revolutionary' Home Minister, Jyoti Basu of the last U.F., simply because the former had demonstrated an unusual expertise in Naxal killing.

He should also know that Mr Manish Gupta, IAS, once trusted lieutenant of Jyoti Basu in the latter's brutal Deora-Gopiballavpur Operation in Midnapore in 1969-70, was subsequently appointed DM, Birbhum, in late 1970 and the notorious anti-Naxal planning and operation in Birbhum was successfully executed by Mr Gupta only at the cost of 900 Naxal lives and 3,000 arrests.

The time was bad for CPI(M) cadres only from March 1971 but actual killings of CPI(M) cadres, according to *People's Democracy's* statistics, did not exceed 500 up to March 1972. Add to this the entire figure of 244 (supplied by Mullick and Mukherjee Subrata) up to June 1972 to find out the number of CPI(M) cadres killed. Let Mr Mullick now examine the fate of his hypothesis!

We do not want to make much out of 'figures' or 'shares'. Our point is that Mr Mullick in his writing could not even use common sense in a very elementary matter like death figures.

He makes an oblique reference to the CPI(ML) thesis and programme. We welcome references which are genuinely critical, not oblique and therefore egotistic. The most typical of an intellectual sychophant of the Left Establishment, he describes the CPI(ML's) emergence as part of the "Congress strategy of removing the mass bases of people's struggles" in a truly subjective fashion. But this serves nobody except the kings and queens of the Left Establishment for maintaining their hegemony over

the pawns they pick up from the market of middleclass frustration.

SHYAMSUNDAR GUPTA
Bon Hooghly

Munich

The warmongers, the haters of the Blacks and the real murderers the world over are howling in indignation over the Munich happenings and have turned into peace lovers overnight.

The Arab commandos are brutal because they tried for the release of 200 freedom fighters from the dungeons of Israel. The Palestinians are to blame because they are fighting against Israeli occupation for 20 years. Arab guerillas are inhuman because they did not act even after the expiry of the deadline; because they forthwith released the athletes from Uruguay and Hongkōng; because they could be persuaded to fly to the Nato airfield to be ambushed by the deceitful West German Government. Alas! the guerillas could not be bought but betrayed they were. The monopoly of killing was snatched away. Hence the clamour.

The so-called Olympic spirit cannot prevail so long there are Vietnams, Palestines, Rhodesias and hosts of other suffering nations. There would have been no need for a memorial service if the Israeli Government had come to terms with the Arab commandos.

BIMAN RAY
Calcutta

The most savage killers of humanity, persisting in a bloody trail from Hiroshima to Hanoi, have chosen to lead the outcry against the Munich carnage. The crude retaliation of Israel is considered just by these veterans of the Tonkin Gulf farce. It does not call for much persuasion to condemn terrorism. But terrorism is bound to be more in evidence because the present international trends of 'national sovereignty' and 'mutual co-existence' confine the unliberated

bulk of the world people in their cages providing even better 'whips and locks to keep them in. Salvation lies in 'treating everything as everybody's business' (to borrow from Solzhenitsin), and persevering in the struggle for values in every forum and in all forms. Terrorism is but one manifestation of the human will.

T. R. RAMALINGAM
Calcutta

Gurus On Warpath

This is in connection with the write-up 'Gurus on Warpath' by N. K. Singh (September 2, 1972). It is a poor rehash of events concerning the agitation of Delhi University teachers against the Delhi University Amendment Bill. No attempt has been made to make a political analysis of the issue, a thing readers expect from *Frontier*.

Mr Singh tells the tale of the conflict by freely using sentences and phrases from numerous documents brought out by the Teacher's Association in the course of the conflict. He rounds up the despatch by using a part of the paragraph, more or less literally, from a piece on Delhi University which appeared in *The Statesman* some time back about a man who has been appointed Professor in Delhi University though he 'had been twice rejected for the readership in two years'. The man in question has all along applied Marxist tools of analysis in the class room; he is the most effective and popular teacher in the department with published work of recognised merit to his credit. For a long time he was victimised by the departmental head who is intellectually a dunderhead and politically a staunch pro-American.

To damn somebody without knowing full facts is plain intellectual dishonesty, and unworthy of being published in a journal like *Frontier*.

D. R. CHAUDHRY
New Delhi

A Grievance

I am a student of the M.A. Class in the department of Hindi, Calcutta University. I was admitted in February 1971 as a regular student on the strength of having passed the Shastri examination of Kashi Vidyapith. I have been paying my tuition fees and attending my classes regularly in the last two years.

Suddenly, on August 8, 1972, I was informed by the Registrar that my admission was provisional and I would no more be permitted to attend the class. My name was also struck off the register. The Registrar in his letter said that the examinations conducted by Kashi Vidyapith are not recognised by Calcutta University for the purpose of admission to the next higher courses of study in this university.

This action has affected me very badly. My whole career is in jeopardy.

I wrote a letter to the Registrar requesting him to reconsider my case. But till now I have not got any reply. The letter was strongly recommended for consideration by the head of the Hindi department.

The examinations of Kashi Vidyapith are recognised by almost all the universities in India.

DINANATH PANDEY
Calcutta

Frontier

Mr Phani Bhusan Ghosh, in refuting Mr Dilip Karmakar, misses the basic point that to satisfy readers of all hues is no business of *Frontier*, that it has a point of view by which it interprets the politics and culture of our country. When this is obscured or muddled, it causes pain and resentment to those who share this view, specially when their writings and letters are mutilated or distorted. To ascribe the lapses to the editor's heavy burden, scanty space etc is too naive.

Students of historical materialism should know that there is no such

thing as an independent journal. All journals, papers, cultural products are committed to a certain class and its ideology. It is possible for *Frontier* to work consciously as an effective platform for the coordination of the genuine left now in disarray and disintegration if correct policies and sincere love for the people are there. Then and only then its nonconformism, its wry humour, and biting criticism can have fuller meaning.

About his anti-China invectives, Mr Ghosh should give a detailed, objective and scientific analysis of China's wrongs and deviations to help the obsessed Sinophiles correct themselves.

ASHIM BRAMHA
Calcutta

China-USSR

Two new invectives are now part of the vocabulary of Marxist polemics. China and their supporters call the USSR social-imperialists and the

অনীক

September-October-November
SPECIAL ISSUE

|| To be published on 1st October ||
দ্বিতীয় ভিয়েতনাম যুদ্ধ : কাষোদিয়া ও লাওস (উইলফ্রেড্ বার্চটে), তৃণভূমির সাহসী বোনরা (চীনা ফিল্মের চিত্রনাট্য), আজকের বিচারে সুকান্ত ভট্টাচার্য, বাংলার বেনেশা : পটভূমি ও চরিত্র, জনগণই ইতিহাসের স্রষ্টা (ভিয়েন টি-সুং), বাংলাদেশে কী ঘটছে, চীন, উত্তর ভিয়েতনাম, দক্ষিণ ভিয়েতনাম, প্যালেক্টাইন, অস্ট্রেলিয়া, ইন্দোনেশিয়া, কেনিয়া, ভারত প্রভৃতি দেশের গল্প ও কবিতা, চারু মজুমদার প্রসংগে, রাষ্ট্রসংঘে চীনের ভেটো, মিউলিখ এবং তারপর, বহু Rupee'র খেলা প্রভৃতি এবং দামিন-ই-কো'র ইতিকথা (সাঁওতাল বিদ্রোহের পটভূমিকায় স্বর্ণ মিত্রের উপন্যাস)

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USSR and their cohorts have started dubbing the Maoist leadership of China as social-fascists.

There are possibly theoretical postulations behind these characterisations. But what are the physical manifestations that distinguish one from the other? Presumably, these do not relate to the national situations in the two countries alone. They must have international connotation as well. But is there really much difference in the postures and behaviours of the USSR and China in the international arena?

If we consider the USA as the arch-priest of world reactionaries and imperialists, we find both the USSR and China vying with each other to have the most cordial relationship with the USA. Not only that, both the USSR and China are said to prefer President Nixon for re-election as President.

Both the USSR and China are trying their best to improve their relations with Japan—the emerging centre of reactionaries in Asia. Also, both are having almost equally cordial diplomatic-trade relationship with the West European countries.

On the Asian stage—if we consider Vietnam to be the focal point of progressive revolutionary movement against the U.S. imperialists—both the USSR and China are extending their help. Although the quantum and nature of help may be less than the best, it has to be admitted that but for this assistance the heroic people of Vietnam would have been in far greater difficulties.

With most Asian and African countries both the USSR and China are having cordial relationship. The only exceptions are India and Pakistan. Whereas the USSR is most chummy with India, China is so with Pakistan.

But this definitely does not indicate any essential difference in character since the governments headed by Mrs Indira Gandhi and Mr Bhutto belong to the same class of vested interests and exploiting bourgeoisie. In the case of Ceylon we saw the strange spectacle of the government of Mrs Bandaranaike getting unstinted support from both the USSR and China in its inhuman drive to kill thousands of rebel youths.

It is therefore beyond comprehension what really is the essential difference between the two. No doubt most of the slidebacks mentioned above would not have occurred if the mutual suspicion between the USSR and China had not reached the point of no return. Both are projecting the evil(?) intentions of the other in support of their inaction or ill-action as it may be. What is needed now is not more mud-slinging but to restore the unity of the socialist countries and the communist parties. Let us not be prisoners of slogans. The mutual distrust has already done much harm in the communist movement. It must, however, be admitted that the process started with the 20th Congress of the CPSU since when the leadership of the CPSU has passed into the hands of the revisionists.

The CPI(M) is a small party. But instead of becoming a tool of the big parties it has maintained a fair amount of neutrality and has been able to point out the deficiencies in the big parties. For instance, when Lin Piao was nominated successor to Mao Tse-tung and the succession was incorporated in the constitution the CPI(M) expressed its reservations and pointed out the drawbacks. The supporters of the Chinese obviously did not like it then. But today the CPI(M)'s reservations have been borne out by facts. Similarly, on many occasions the CPI(M) has expressed its differences with the CPSU.

The big parties have fallen out. As a result the entire world progressive movement has received a setback. It is now for the smaller parties to unite and pressurise the big parties to restore the unity of the

world communist movement based on equality and fraternity.

S. N. Roy
Calcutta

Cambodia

Representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam and of the Sihanouk Government of Cambodia got the full right of membership to attend the conference of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries held in Georgetown. But we are rather dismayed to see the attitude of the CPI(M) West Bengal Committee's evening daily *Ganashakti*. It seldom writes about the liberation war of Cambodia and tries to keep totally silent about the success of the Sihanouk Government both at home and abroad. It never utters a word about the diplomatic relations which it gains.

Today it is not possible to ignore the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people. So the revisionist and neo-revisionist and even the reactionaries of India praise their struggle. But what all of them try to negate is that the struggle of the Vietnamese is inseparable from that of the Laotian and Cambodian people; what all of them want to hide is that these people are fighting the U.S. imperialists, the sworn enemy of world people, under the banner of a united front of the three countries. They also try to ignore the close ties the Indochinese people have with China and North Korea. Their ulterior motive is to keep the Indian people in the dark about who are the real fighters against imperialism and who are the sham fighters.

The editorial of *Ganashakti* dated 12.8.72 while mentioning the entry of the Sihanouk Government in the Georgetown conference demands recognition of the South Vietnamese Revolutionary Government only.

Should I be wrong to conclude that the CPI(M) leaders do not support the Sihanouk Government, just like Brezhnev & Co?

A CPI(M) SUPPORTER
Bankura

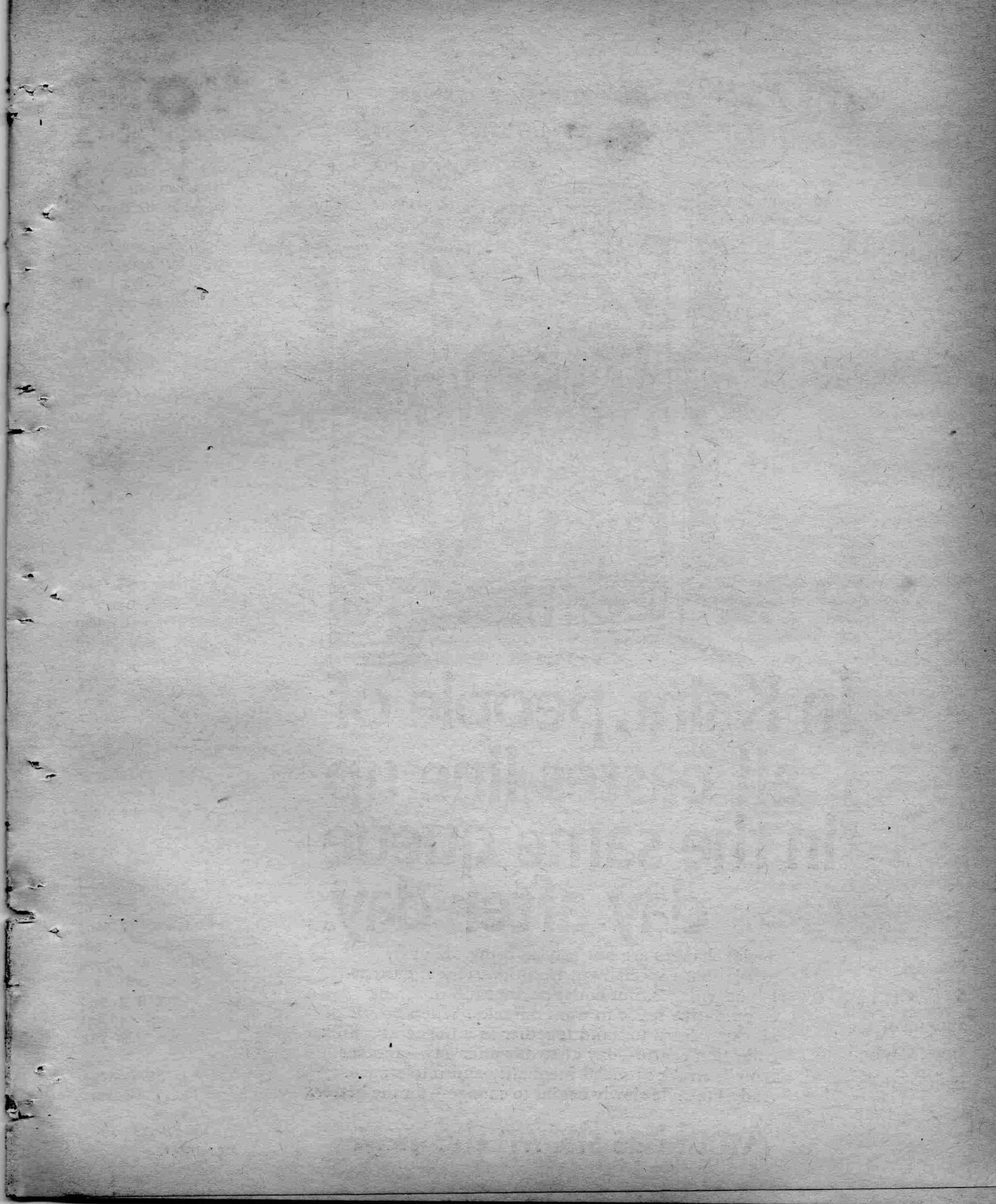
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S. P. CHATTERJEE

Statesman Office

Steel Market

Durgapur-4



Milk co-operatives as an instrument for social change



In Kaira, people of all castes line up in the same queue day after day.

Social changes are not easy to bring about by legislation. Especially in tradition-ridden, custom-bound villages. But equal partnership in a milk co-operative seems to work miracles. When people of all castes learn to stand together in a queue at a milk collection centre—day after day after day—another blow is struck at social inequality and intolerance. And a life style slowly begins to change—for the better.

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