

frontier

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WHETHER parliamentary committees are an effective instrument to break the hard crust of manipulations, half-truths and lies and get at the truth is doubtful. These committees are generally so constituted that their findings may not differ from those of the Government, unless there is a revolt in the ruling party. It is, therefore, as well that the demand for parliamentary committees to probe the State Bank fraud case in New Delhi last year and the poster episode in Calcutta this year has been turned down. This is not to say that no inquiries are called for, though the inquiry-enamored had better remember that inquiries, like some other democratic processes, may also be rigged; especially when both these cases seem to be not very remotely connected with the elections which have vested the Congress with absolute power at the Centre and in most of the States. The Government had to make up for its weaknesses in both instances with brass, for it was really the party's mandate that was under threat.

In the debate in the Lok Sabha on the State Bank fraud the Finance Minister, Mr Chavan, sought to sell the fairy-tale that the bank official who had handed over Rs 60 lakhs to a complete stranger, Mr Nagarwala, was a ventriloquist's dupe; that he was scared out of his official wits and precautions when he was ordered over the phone in the "scintillating voice of the Prime Minister" to give this huge amount to a person who will introduce himself with a certain code word. The official carried out this absolutely preposterous and illegal order without batting an eyelid. Perhaps this is the type of commitment that the Government is demanding from the officials, and the angry Lok Sabha member who bantered that the official might be waiting for a Padma Bhushan might not have been far wrong. This gross breach of public trust on the part of the official did not appear to Mr Chavan as anything more serious than an "irrational act" into which a departmental inquiry is now in progress. In the meantime, death seems to have rushed to the rescue of all in the jam. Mr Nagarwala who was sentenced within two hours of his arrest by a court, which can incidentally lay claim to a record of disposing of a case with supersonic speed, died of a sudden heart-attack when a re-trial was on. The death came after he had indicated that he would retrace his earlier confession and unmask everyone. He could not; nor could he cash in

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on the honour conferred on him by the Government of being the master-ventriloquist of this age. The investigating police officer, who must have come to know much of the secret, died within a few days in a street accident. He was too young to be carried off by heart-attack. Perhaps as a token of its appreciation of his services the Government did not insist on an autopsy.

Both the deaths may be in order. Mr Nagarwala might have been all that the Government says he was and the bank official may not be anything that the Opposition alleges that he is. But it should be neither inconvenient nor impossible for the Government to answer whose account was debited by the bank. Does the Prime Minister operate an account of an order from which Rs 60 lakhs can be instantly disbursed? Was this palpably irregular procedure of withdrawal so frequent that the official did not think of calling back the Prime Minister's secretariat for confirmation before handing over the amount to Mr Nagarwala?

The poster episode is not strewn with corpses, but is no less intriguing. Why would the managing director of a firm take the trouble of placing the order for posters worth Rs 5 lakhs when the bill will be paid by the All India Congress Committee? Is he more credit-worthy than the ruling party? The authenticity of the photostat of the managing director's order has not been questioned; nor has it been explained why the printing press accepted payment from the AICC for work done at the behest of a person unconnected with the party. The dismissal of six workers of the press or alleged connection with the leakage of the matter cannot but add to suspicion. In both cases, the Government's "facts" are stranger than the Opposition's "fiction". The only snag is that the Government has failed to establish its facts.

Our agent at Varanasi
MANNALAL DAS
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Massacre At Lydda

Why they had to get this done? The indiscriminate gunning down of unsuspecting passengers? The massacre at Lydda airport has no parallel in the whole history of international air travel and let us hope that such a thing will not happen again. Hijackers are an assorted lot; national and international airlines sometimes find themselves embarrassed with their innocent passengers held as hostage by either Arab commandos or extortioners of money or disaffected people fleeing their countries or just mentally deranged people. But compared with the attempts made, hijackers could till now get away with what they wanted in only a few cases. Arab commandos, except for the similarity in tactics, could not be bracketed with other hijackers. Their hijacking is never an end in itself nor is it planned for demanding a ransom—the February incident at Aden involving five Palestinians and a Lufthansa jet had more to it than forcing Bonn to pay \$5 million—but part of the revolutionary strategy to liberate the occupied Palestine. One has never known them to be rough with the passengers or the crew; Robert Kennedy's son found their company interesting. Many have said that the Lydda incident was a result of the desperation of the guerillas and their total isolation in the Arab world. The commandos are described as a confused lot following many splits in their ranks since the Six-Day War. Financial motive has been attributed to the three Japanese who went on a rampage at Lydda. One is not to defend what clearly amounts to an affront to humanity, but one feels it necessary to analyse the real motive that led to the death of 26 persons and injury to 76. The dirty tricks that the Israeli authorities played with the four Palestinians who hijacked a Sabena plane might have encouraged retaliation. The worst part of the whole thing was that, taking advantage of the presence of International Red Cross people who were commissioned to act

as go-between, Israeli armed personnel dressed in the white overalls of airline technicians broke open the doors of the aircraft. Their guns blazed in all directions. Everything was over in 90 seconds; the planned swift action claimed the lives of two male commandos, one of the female hijackers was seriously wounded and the other was arrested. Five passengers were also shot and one of them was in critical condition. What the Israelis did was also a crime against humanity and their insensible action encouraged Arab retaliation. The Palestinians should now seriously reconsider whether the amount of meticulous planning that goes into hijacking a plane and the risk involved in the operation are worth undertaking. A hijacking bid can always bring the Palestinian issue in the limelight—a sure way of reminding the world of the plight of a people—but this is surely not the right way of winning sympathy.

A Debate Launched

Man is a rational animal and Indians are rational animals per excellence. Mrs Indira Gandhi is not too happy about it. Taxes, laws, sanctions, she said, are abundant in India, but people always escape them through loopholes.

Mrs Gandhi therefore wanted, at the AICC session, a voluntary change of heart. Unless they change their hearts, taxes will continue to be evaded, land laws will be futile, monopoly acts will be transgressed, etc. etc., and these intellectual transgressors will continue to go scot-free. What use then lowering the land ceilings, enacting urban property regulations, levying agricultural taxes, so on and so forth?

This idea of a change of heart again takes us back to the father of modern India, Raja Rammohun Roy, whose bicentenary is on. Dr R. C. Mazumdar, the historian, has collected evidence to prove, contrary to the raging idea, that the Raja opposed

the bill to ban widow-burning. Not that the humanist approved of the Sati idea. But in his opinion, bills could not change a society. A society could be changed only by a change of heart. The change-of-heart philosophy was later endorsed by the father of the nation too. Mrs Gandhi has a very good heritage. Tradition is a good thing, with a contemporary orientation. Because India has not changed much during the last two hundred years, her feudal and colonial economic base changing only to a neo-feudal neo-colonial one, Mrs Gandhi has not much of orientation to do either. She can safely carry on with the tradition, counting on a change of heart.

We are not suggesting that Mrs Gandhi has no intention to formulate an agricultural income-tax, or urban property laws or some such thing. She may. But India being a land of loopholes, the things will be useless. It is for psychoanalysts to say whether, on the eve of approaching the Fifth Plan, Mrs Gandhi, talking of loopholes, is not encouraging the mechanics of the Plan to find out loopholes or if it fails, to give a cue to the law-makers and bureaucrats. But she has given a green signal to start a debate, on the Fifth Plan. Few people have any idea regarding the Fifth Plan, when it started and when it finished and what its results are. But debate they must the Fifth Plan. Will the emphasis be on the GNP growth? Shall it be on the wage-goods principle? Should there be a stop in the concentration on heavy industry which takes a long gestation period? What are the ways and means to make India free of foreign aid by 1978-79, the terminal year of the Fifth Plan? How to transfer the allegiance of the Plans from the upper ten to the bottom thirty? Let

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not anyone misconstrue that Mrs Gandhi is launching sort of a Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution debate. She has said that she does not believe either in capitalism or in communism. She has no faith in isms; her socialism is no ism, it is absolute as God and as vague. The debate she is launching is for the intellectual elites of her Government and its charmed circle. The masses have nothing to do with it; theirs is but to watch the elite hurrying for socialism.

Jute

The Government has announced its decision to take over the jute trade. But it intends to feel its way and act with caution. At the moment it will buy not more than six lakh bales out of a total of about 70 lakh bales marketed annually. But it has plans to cover the entire market for the jute growers' benefit and to stamp out the malpractices that riddle the trade. Though the Government has been doing some business through the Jute Corporation of India, the announcement marks a definite break with the past and brings in the 'Indira' wave in this crucial sector of the economy. There are, of course, more crucial things that are yet to be spelt out—for example, the minimum support price for raw jute and the lay-out of the machinery to tackle this complex operation.

The Indian jute market is a complex phenomenon. A chain of brokers and under-brokers having close links with the millowners collude to keep the whole business within their greedy clutches. These unscrupulous middlemen play down the prices to deprive the innocent and needy farmers of the fruits of their hard toil for a pittance and sell them to the mills at much higher prices. The prices are kept volatile deliberately, so that easy and huge money lines their pockets. Recently there was a marked tendency among these middlemen to own mills.

This interlocking of interests has further complicated the situation and made the businessmen more crafty.

Conventions and old bonds tie the growers with these middlemen and abet them in their game of deceit and deprivation. Not only are these traders the sole buyers of jute, they are perhaps the only source the jute cultivators can look to for sustenance and distress help. The nationalised banks, it is learnt, would take over the job now. They will sell the crop to the JCI on behalf of the farmers and adjust the sale proceeds to the loaned amount plus interest and return the balance to the farmers. On paper it looks a foolproof plan. But taking into account the rigidities of the nationalised banks, it is difficult to foresee how they would replace these middlemen with their intimate knowledge of terrain and people.

The Government is undecided also about the minimum support price for jute. It has shown preference for the Agricultural Price Commission's recommendation. But this would leave little or nothing for the jute growers whose ills it seeks to redress. And if the past record is any indicator, the pressure groups, not the well-being of the farmers, are the determining factor in this field.

Surprisingly the business community is unruffled by the debate. Except a mild protest from an odd corner or two and some sceptical remarks by the IJMA not much was heard. Perhaps they have become wiser by experience about official action and policy statements and have come to rely on their own strength. They have come to know that the GOI's "socialism" is always ready to buttress them, only if they behave. Such hints are already there. Their longstanding dream to shift the centre of the jute industry from this State is nearer fulfilment with the Government decision to start new units in other States. Though one cannot disagree with the pious wishes of the Government behind this move, one fails to understand the whole business when the existing units need fund for thorough overhauling.

Tughluqism

A correspondent writes :

There is a move to dismember a major scientific agency, the Geological Survey of India. The Central Cabinet has decided to transfer two of its important wings relating to ground water and part of mineral exploration to two other agencies, but not for any ostensible scientific reason. The GSI chief himself has opposed the move but the committee members who decided the issue (not one geologist except the GSI chief) asked him to stay away from meetings in the interest of "free" discussion on a vital matter. The committee headed by Dr B. D. Nag Choudhury was of course propitiating the political masters and rubberstamping a political decision. The reasons are not far to seek. One is the traditional trend since 1947 to shift important agencies from certain regions to bolster the Delhi and Bombay regions. Take a look at the financial institutions, the Information and Broadcasting Ministry, the Atomic Energy Establishment and public sector undertakings, even the research agencies.

Another, perhaps a compelling reason, is the fear that leftist elements may have an upper hand in the day-to-day administration and decision-making since there is a large concentration of such elements in Calcutta.

The high-powered Irrigation Commission set up by the Central Government strongly denied any move to take away the groundwater wing and hand it over to the Agriculture Ministry on the plea that there is no comparable organisation of its kind in the country to undertake the work now being done by the GSI. It even describes the decision as a "retrograde" step. But the Centre wants even the scientists in their dovecotes to play to the tune of politicians and Delhi-based bureaucrats for little mercies; the current displeasure of the scientific community is scoffed at.

Another measure, that of creating a public undertaking on mineral ex-

ploitation by clipping the wings of the GSI, is reported to be a reward for a Joint Secretary who may be given the job to run it. Years back the Indian Bureau of Mines which had its headquarters in Calcutta was shifted to Nagpur. Only recently it has been realised that the shifting of the headquarters and separation of the functions were a mistake and the Bureau was merged with the GSI. Now again somebody in the Secretariat has

thought up the clever idea for his own advancement and the whole wing is being detached to make room for him.

Tughluqism is a growing phenomenon in the new dispensation of the Prime Minister and under her protective umbrella her men are busy carrying out decisions involving wastage underwritten by the boss in the name of enlightened socialism.

View from Delhi

Routed Radicals

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE accord in Moscow renders the Indo-Soviet treaty an innocuous document and obliges India and Pakistan to settle without much delay. It was hardly surprising that the Working Committee toned down its draft resolution on the international situation for the AICC and weeded out all those anti-Pakistani diatribes in it. When the AICC session was on, someone made available to a news agency an English translation of a dated Bhutto interview which contained the most uncomplimentary references to Mrs Indira Gandhi. There might have been some motive behind the carefully timed publicity for the interview but it must have been done at a lower level because Mr Jagjivan Ram declared at the AICC that even if Pakistan did not see reason now, India would have to strive for peace with Pakistan.

It is generally believed here that Pakistan's recognition of Bangladesh would follow the summit and not precede it and since all the three countries of the sub-continent are under heavy Soviet pressure a settlement should not be difficult. The ebullient Mr D. P. Dhar is lying low and has not made a statement in weeks and the belief is that his role in Indo-Pakistani affairs is over and he must

have been assigned something else.

The AICC debate on the international situation was sycophantic, in the least. When every party, from the Jana Sangh to the CPI(M) is selling the government line, there was hardly any need for the rigmarole of a debate. The draft resolution could have been adopted with the ease and ritual of a condolence resolution and there would have been no protest about a word in the draft. Of course, the lobbyists might have tried to get a sentence on GDR recognition squeezed in. It was revealing when Mr Jagjivan Ram inadvertently admitted that certain international complications stood in the way of full recognition to GDR. In Parliament, the government had always denied the existence of such complications or extraneous pressures. But it is well known that at one stage there was a swap deal under which West Germany would recognise Bangladesh on condition India would withhold full recognition to GDR. However, after the Moscow summit, India should have no difficulty in announcing full recognition of GDR because it can now be sure that economic aid from Bonn would not be cut off in reprisal.

The AICC session was a non-starter in every sense. Some five years

ago the Young Turk, Mr Mohan Dharia, pressed his amendment on the abolition of privy purses and privileges of princes and got it through the AICC in a snap vote at the same Mavalankar Hall. This time, the Young Turks were routed even before the session began. Mr Mohan Dharia, not so young a Turk now, chose to keep off Mavalankar Hall and other Turks were lying low. In the recent past the chorus at the AICC sessions was against right reaction and left adventurism. For the first time since the 1969 session, here was an AICC where no one wanted to attack right reaction. Its defeat was taken for granted. And the radicals of yesteryear were denouncing left adventurism. That is, any one to the left of Mrs Indira Gandhi can be deemed a left adventurist by the latest Congress norm.

Mr Mohan Kumaramangalam, the redoubtable radical, was put up to thunder denunciation of the left in the name of grappling with poverty. The land ceilings issue was carefully avoided and a perfect alibi for the benefit of the party kulaks was suggested—many States did not have accurate land records and this would make implementation of reforms difficult, which was a euphemism for saying nothing much can be expected from the land reforms.

The radicals were nowhere and the kulaks knew there was no point in fighting it out at the AICC. It would be fought elsewhere. There were vague references to unemployment, meeting the basic needs of the people, including the perennial need for drinking water but in sum, was there any need for this AICC session in the midst of a gruelling heat wave? It was vested with a sense of urgency which did not really exist. Their marathon debate on the approach to the Fifth Plan missed its starting point and flogged itself to an abrupt end, with Mr C. Subramaniam claiming to have discovered the strategy to end poverty of the 217 million people below the crucial line.

Outside, in Parliament House, the Opposition tried to retrieve some initiative in the last days of the session and ambush the Government, first on the Nagarwala case and second on the posters scandal. As was to be expected the Government won because it has the majority. The CPI's role was rather dubious. These days even Congressmen envy Mr Bhupesh Gupta and his proximity to the Palace. Mr Chandrasekhar ruefully wailed that Mr Gupta was closer to the Government than he was and Mr Gupta sat in embarrassed silence, for once. For all his feints at the Government in the Rajya Sabha, he is the good old boy trusted to play the role of Her Majesty's Opposition. The CPI(M) and the SP spokesmen have spoken about the "kept" opposition but nothing deters the CPI from its appointed role, played through a couple of junior ministers and one Cabinet member in the Council of Ministers. The residual loyalty of the ministers is supposed to be to the CPI, their old mentor, but they would need a little more luck to be effective. The expected reshuffle might find some of the heads rolling and the CPI has already launched the campaign to save them from the axe. Together with rallying support for the near-destitute "left" ministers, the CPI has been campaigning against Central Ministers and Chief Ministers who opposed electoral alliance with it in the past. This explains the CPI attacks on Mr Moinul Huq Choudhury over the election fund issue and the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister over the defence fund coupons scandal. In short the CPI is an instrument of someone or the other in the Congress factional politics and that has its own compensations. Mr Gandhi has already blessed the Kerala coalition which means the present link with the CPI and the Muslim League will continue. Orissa and Tamil Nadu are the immediate targets and the non-Congress ministries there are to be brought to an end by November in the name of stability.

June 4, 1972

Madras Letter

Survival Of DMK

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

THE attempt of the Congress(R) to overthrow the DMK Ministry in Tamil Nadu started in December, 1971 and has continued till date without any fruitful result. It started from the strike of the Simpson company workers, with Union Ministers shedding tears for the workers and criticising the DMK Government. Later developments enabled the Chief Minister, Mr Karunanidhi, to come to terms with the militant trade unionist, Mr Kuchelar, a former cadre of the CPM(ML) who has a big influence not only on the 15,000 Simpson workers but also on a large section of the labour population in Madras and Chingleput districts. He is an undisputed trade union leader for more than 75 firms comprising nearly 1,15,000 workers in these districts. Ashok Leyland, Simpson, Wimco, MRF, Binny, Dunlop and Fsun are the major industries where he has a big control. This was a great setback for the Congress(R) which could not influence either the Simpson workers or their undisputed leader. How unfortunate! The Prime Minister of India has not been able to use law and order as an excuse to liquidate the DMK Ministry since things returned to normal in the Simpson company in April.

Secondly, *Tuglak*, a popular Tamil fortnightly, came out with vehement criticism of the DMK leadership. It has started an anti-corruption campaign against the DMK with the blessings of the former Chief Ministers of the Congress—Messrs Kamaraj Nadar and Mr Vakthavatsala Mudaliar. The popularity of *Tuglak*, which works for the revival of the Brahminic cult, had enabled the non-Brahmin elites to unite under the DMK, in spite of the mistakes of the leadership. Mr Karunanidhi has already earned support from Mr E. V. Ramasamy Naicker, the founder of the

DK and Self-Respect Movement which champions the interests of the non-Brahmin backward class elites, excluding Harijans. Now Naicker demands a separate Tamil Nadu—a step further from the State autonomy cry of Mr Karunanidhi. Mr Karunanidhi is the cleverest politician in India. He knows how to utilise the caste sentiments to keep himself in power. Eradication of the caste system is not the main objective of the DMK or any other parliamentary party in India. During his tenure of Chief Ministership, he has provided employment as clerks and topmost officers to the backward class elites through the back door. The popularity of *Tuglak*, with its revival of Brahminic cults against the interests of the DK and DMK, ultimately led to a stronger unity of the non-Brahmin elites to safeguard Mr Karunanidhi. Caste is an important factor in elections to college unions, the Assembly, Parliament etc. Mr Karunanidhi has mastered that subject. But caste has no play in the election of proletarian leadership. Mr Kuchelar is a standing example.

Thirdly, isn't the nationalisation of 7000 acres of sugarcane belonging to Mr Thiagaraja Mudaliar, a leading landlord of Vadapathi Mangalam in Tanjore district, a clear proof that the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu is a sincere student of socialism? He is expected to use this in his favour in the future. It is a well-known fact that only some well-to-do ryots of the DMK will share the 'nationalised land of Vadapathi Mangalam. The landless peasants—mostly Harijans—who plough these lands perhaps do not know that a progressive move has occurred when they take the plough the next day.

As Mr Karunanidhi has proved himself a better socialist than the lady in New Delhi, the survival of the DMK has become a certainty, at least for the remaining three and half years of its tenure.

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Letter From Manipur

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

THE stepping down from the high pedestal of the moribund Congress by M. Koireng Singh will be starting a chain of events not all calculated to affect only the Congress outfit in the State. That the Congress is still licking the wounds incurred in the hustings and is in no mood to reconcile itself to the role of the opposition forced on it, is too evident. And the motions are being gone through to dress it up, for the benefit of the people, so that it looks rejuvenated, and is 'given' a chance once again. The chance may have to be seized, for the Congress is short on patience.

Hence the 'reorganisation' of the Congress, even if not easy, is quite expedient. And the sooner it comes off the quicker will be the pace of events in the State Assembly and outside. If things do not move according to the graph charted in New Delhi, a stint of President's Rule is quite on the cards. It will have to fade off into the Prime Minister's rule. Mrs Gandhi of the Kerala coup fame must succeed, as she will. And with Dr Shankar Dayal as Congress President things are already looking up what with the badges and Garibi Hatao Pocket Books. The book of hymns will do the rank and file a lot of good, as its printing has done the printers.

But sceptics are not wanting who would not be too unhappy with the MPP ministry gone, for even now it functions only nominally. The ministers have surrendered their initiative, and in cases, intelligence, to the bureaucrats. Consequently, those who had expectantly awaited a popular ministry so that the criminals in suit stalking the secretariat are caged and crippled, after ministerial ineffectualness, are thoroughly disenchanted. Even the otherwise alert and percipient Chief Minister appears to be a prisoner of the corrupt officials.

One example. A tri-*o*l IAS,

pretty senior in the menagerie, is throwing to winds all rules of allotment of quarters to Government employees. And he, with his greasy ways, is getting away with it. Neither has the CM been able to suspend nor transfer him. He is fast becoming a nuisance, and is reputed to be contributing heavily towards the growing unpopularity of the ministry.

The piles of popular frustration and bureaucratic nefariousness are mounting on the parallel. People are in a mood for some change. Not that the Congress, when in power, would be able to cleanse the administrative rot or vain the humble among the minions. But the way winds are blowing, Congress may be catapulted to power, sooner than we can guess. And there will be no tears then for the MPP Ministry which has shown itself to be an inchoate and inefficient conglomerate of opportunist, inferior men.

Maharashtra

The Charm Of Matka

CHAMPAKLAL K. DAVE

IN order to give real meaning to Independence, the Government of Maharashtra has issued a commendable announcement assuring full employment in the rural areas of Maharashtra.

Unemployment in Kheda District has become acute and unemployed people and youth have become restive as they need jobs very badly. If they do not get employment in time, they would rise. The apprehension is not well founded. The thriving industry of Matka and the illicit liquor business together with the legalised lottery trade continue to flourish with conspicuous blessings from State officialdom. Who would be a damned fool to work? Today bookies and people well placed in the liquor business enjoy a predominant position. They wield considerable influence with

the police and State officials. They are the people who have the last say in any disputed matter. At the time of election Matkawalas and Daruwalas decide the destiny of the candidate. At the time of election, revolutionary, religious, democratic and capitalist parties approach them for votes. Time and again they prove the merit for the position they enjoy. It is true that their productive profession has impressed people so much that everyone thinks of becoming rich overnight. The newcomer in the line knows well that at the initial stage he would have to undergo all sorts of difficulties. He may be looked upon by society as a fallen man. He would have to experience police beatings and court fines. But if he stands up to this test, he would eventually emerge as one of the most respected men everywhere. Society values wealth and not merit. Even graduates are attracted towards this occupation. While they cannot get what they deserve in their technical as well as specialised jobs they earn much more without any labour in this vocation. That is why one often sees educated people working for Matka and the illicit liquor business. That apart, the mechanism of operation of their business is so perfect that even the well-acclaimed Maharashtra Police cannot disturb their business. The operation is swift and smooth. Right from the village to Bombay, a fine network is there. They handle the business so skilfully that business correspondence, account, delivery, and order form are not required, not even the bother of income-tax and sales tax. What is required is that they should not betray others in adverse circumstances. Easychair-occupiers in politics and officialdom know nothing of the scale of Matka and illicit manufacturing liquor business. In Bombay alone about Rs 5 crores bet is collected.

Matka has its own psychology. The punter never gets depressed at weekly losses and occasional reverses. Instead the very loss urges him to bet heavily so as to make up the loss in the whole. Till the final finish the

punter goes on betting expecting luck to favour him. He can dare to bet heavily because his family responsibilities hinge on his wife. He would not be afraid to bet his last household article. He is a carefree bird. How can one expect this free bird to get into the employment cage?

The rural people are resigned to their fate, expecting fate to take a sudden turn, but they seldom fight against social injustices. They have so succumbed to fate that they would get on even with a quarter pound of bread. Death from starvation means nothing to authority.

The Hollow Summit

RANJAN K. BANERJEE

TO those with an incurable penchant for political romance the Moscow summit has been a success for it brought the expected opportunity for the two super-powers not only to sign a host of agreements on issues ranging from arms limitation to maritime relations but also to chart the beginning of a historic detente. But does the significance of the summit really reach much beyond Nixon's somewhat spectacular success in hammering out with Brezhnev an impressive array of bilateral accords which either cannot bear a close dissection or are pitifully impaired by the loose ends they leave behind?

The agreements were on the limitation of strategic arms, the formation of a joint commission on trade and economic relations, the agreement on joint ventures in space, joint protection of the environment, co-operative work in the sphere of health, co-operation in science and technology and joint prevention of incidents at sea—seven agreements in seven days, signed and sealed! The alacrity with which they were arrived at makes them naturally suspect. Do they camouflage a secret deal or two between the USA and the USSR? And doesn't the mutual claim that the summit has gone a long way in reducing the threat of war lose its implication in the wake of American bombing of North Vietnam's biggest railway yards on the outskirts of Hai-phong even before the rumble of the President's jet had thinned out in the Moscow sky.

In view of Vietnam the Kremlin

could have either cancelled or deferred the summit. In fact at one time at least deferment, if not cancellation, seemed inevitable. But then the Soviet arguments against the cancellation of the summit perhaps ran along this line: a cancellation would increase the importance to the U.S. of its new relationship with China, thus strengthening the Chinese in their conflict with the Soviet Union; it would jeopardize the chance of obtaining German recognition of post World War II arrangements in Europe and frustrate the Russian thrust for a bigger presence in South and South-East Asia which could be possible only after the Russians were relieved of "so-called European tensions"; it would prevent a trade agreement with the U.S. which would give the Soviets not only access to American technology but also increase Soviet bargaining leverage with the West Europeans and the Japanese. Vietnam didn't seem too high a price for this pursuit of self-interest.

The American taciturnity about Russian arms shipments to North Vietnam wasn't, however, as humiliating as the Soviet accommodation to an obvious act of compulsion by Washington. At least it was the price America could afford to pay for a steadily growing Russian market. Moreover, one couldn't be sure if the new joint U.S.-Soviet commercial commission hadn't come in the wake of some secret concessions made by the Soviets. The some of the toughest bargaining of the summit took place over the issue of bilateral

trade is doubtless. And that the knotty trade problems could be ultimately dumped into a new joint commercial commission emphasizes the possibility of some secret deals concerning Vietnam.

Lately, the trade climate between the U.S. and Russia has been warming. The total exchange of goods and services between the two countries rose last year to \$212 million. The U.S.-Soviet maritime agreement granting reciprocal use of U.S. and Soviet ports to merchant ships of the two nations will now make it easier for Russians and Americans to do business in each other's countries and facilitate even bigger deals. The Russians who have already contracted with Pittsburgh's Swindell-Dressler Co. for the foundry design in their \$1 billion Kama River truck-plant project now look forward to developing an American market for their Yak-40 jets as well as for watches, surgical instruments and hydrofoil boats. And U.S. goods ranging from Benson & Hedges cigarettes to caterpillar tractors have already made their way to the Soviet Union. Due to the recent trade pact the chance of U.S. trade with Russia increasing perhaps to a total of \$500 million by 1975 doesn't seem too remote.

That instead of a trade agreement a U.S.-Soviet joint commission was established to negotiate an overall trade agreement in Moscow in July clearly suggests that the Americans were indeed trying to obtain such concessions involving Vietnam that the Russians scrupled to give at the moment. However, a settlement of overall trade problems between America and Russia doesn't seem far away. And when the settlement is reached one wonders if Mr Kissinger's denial that the Americans ever said to the Soviet leaders, 'If you do this for us in Vietnam, we will do that for you on trade', will not reveal itself as an impudent denial of fact.

Some of the toughest bargaining must have been on Moscow's repayment of its World War II \$10.8 billion lend-lease debts that it owes to the U.S. To date, the Soviet's best

offer has been \$300 million; the dispute, however, is now confined to \$200 million since the U.S. is prepared to settle for \$500 million—a gesture that also lends credence to the view that the Americans are really using the settlement of Moscow's debts as leverage on Vietnam. An easy settlement of Soviet debts to the U.S. will be commensurate to Soviet concessions on Vietnam. And further Soviet accommodation in July to Washington's act of compulsion doesn't seem very unlikely especially in view of Russian anxiety to sign a trade agreement.

The U.S.-Soviet Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT) is of course as much of an eyewash as the proposed trade agreement in so far as it seems to propose prevention of incidents on the high seas and in air space and eliminate threat of war. Despite the SALT there is no good reason to believe that the thinking of Mr Nixon, the hard-nosed Republican hawk who advocated the goal of unchallengeable American military supremacy throughout most of his political career, has undergone a sudden and dramatic change. The loopholes deliberately left in the arms treaty will finally allow the arms race to continue.

As far back as 1959 the U.S. and Russia agreed to keep the Antarctic free of nuclear weapons. This pact was followed by the 1963 limited-test-ban-treaty which barred the atmospheric testing of nuclear devices. In 1968 came the non-proliferation treaty which was designed to stop the spread of nuclear weaponry. But despite all these treaties the arms race continued. Is there any reason to believe therefore that SALT will achieve what host of other treaties have failed to bring about?

The newest arms treaty is a two-pronged agreement that comprises: (1) a formal treaty limiting each country to no more than 200 anti-ballistic-missiles (ABM) and two anti-ballistic-missile systems, one defending its national capital and one protecting an offensive-missile site and (2) a five-year executive agree-

ment limiting the number of offensive weapons in existence and under construction. But a close study at once reveals that there is a lot of eyewash in these agreements.

Firstly, the two super-powers will both be allowed to install two ABM complexes totalling 200 missiles. Thus, the U.S. will be able to continue construction of the Safeguard complex at Grand Forks and will start development on an ABM system for Washington. The Soviets on the other hand, will enlarge their 64-missile Galosh system, now defending Moscow. Moreover, there is no provision in the pact for on-site inspection. And the U.S. has settled for a Soviet pledge that there will be no interference with spy satellites checking on compliance with the agreement. Thirdly, the treaty significantly omits to mention the 550 U.S. 'tactical' fighter-bombers in Europe and the 700 medium-range Soviet missiles aimed at Western Europe. Fourthly, no limitation is placed on the number of the warheads that may be affixed to the permitted number of missiles, thus leaving both sides free to continue MIRVing their missiles as quickly as they can. Finally, although the executive agreement numerically limits the offensive-missile forces of both sides, it at the same time leaves both parties free to replace existing offensive missiles with more sophisticated weapons brought about by technological advance. Thus, in fact, the new arms pact permits the arms race to continue under the protective shield of a so-called détente.

Can the world therefore really rest a bit easier now that the SALT agreements have been reached? The potential for a great-power flare-up in the Middle East still remains. And in the context of strengthening the Soviet defences along the frontiers of China and the Soviet thrust for a bigger presence in South and South-East Asia it almost calls for willing suspension of disbelief to view the new U.S.-Soviet accords with any degree of optimism.

The Indian Bourgeoisie In Its True Colours—II

MONI GUHA

THE authors of the paper say, 'once we agree about the nationalist nature, of the present Indian bourgeoisie (i.e. Tatas, Birlas etc.) under colonial rule), the development of capitalism will clear up. Let us now trace the history of the rise and growth of the Indian bourgeoisie.

The formal historians and a section of 'intellectuals' call the 'Renaissance movement' as a movement of the early bourgeoisie. I quote here what I wrote about this 'Bourgeoisie' in an article entitled *The Politics of Statues* in *Frontier*, (Vol. 3, No.34, November 28, 1970). 'The great reformers were the products of Western ideas and ideologies. They received western education and natural science ready made before the economic, social and political conditions to which these were related had arisen...The question of conquest of political power from the clutches of the foreigners did not and could not arise in their minds as the social forces capable of effecting a political revolution, that is, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, did not exist then...the question of political revolution did not arise at that time due to the historical absence of the necessary development of production and social forces.' As such the period of "renaissance" cannot be called a period of the rise of the Indian bourgeoisie.

How and when, then, did the Indian bourgeoisie arise? Since about the middle of the 19th century, specially after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, opportunities for trade began to open up and a deliberate encouragement to agricultural export began to be given by the colonial authority as a part of their colonial policy. A number of new crops came to be cultivated *mainly with a view to sale* in indigenous and foreign markets. With the gradual increase in importance of such cash crops, which are called commercial crops, over the years, the Indian agriculture

came to be tied to the chariot-wheels of foreign commerce. A network of elaborate organisations throughout the length and breadth of the country at the railway heads and river and canal sides, also at important road junctions, became necessary to collect the crops and to act as go-between in the commercial transactions. *Agricultural marketing became no less important than the production itself.* The headquarters of these commercial organisations were called 'Houses' of the company. These transactions of commercial crops were the *main sources of cash earning of Indian middlemen. The Indian agents of these 'Houses' and the British colonialists united together to bleed white both the Indian peasantry (people) and the national economy.* Every movement in world-prices of agricultural crops became important in the life of the Indian peasants and competition in the world market often played havoc with the fortunes of the peasantry and the national economy. The basis of anti-imperialist role of the peasantry was thus laid, while the basis of pro-imperialist role of the Indian agents of British commercial houses was also laid. The peasant, a poor and isolated being became a plaything in the hands of powerful forces that dominated the worlds of industry and commerce outside India, while remaining serfs and slaves of the feudal lords inside India and in the hands of Indian agents of the British houses, *as an instrument of imperialism.* The triple burden on peasant and national economy led India to ruination. The Indian agents brought the agricultural crops in contact with the world-capitalist market and amassed untold wealth for themselves. *These Indian agents of the British 'houses' were the early Indian compradors in its original and classic sense.* Besides social support of the Indian feudalists, the colonialists created a new

base of social support, *the comprador base*, who developed strong ties both with feudalism, usury and foreign industrial-merchant-capital and colonial rulers. The amassed wealth and cash of this section became the *primitive accumulation*, a part of which was invested in building up Indian industries by 1870-80. In the later period, this capital, again, took two different courses, which gave birth to the present, modern comprador and national bourgeoisie.

A few lines are necessary for a clarification. The commercialisation of Indian agricultural crops and tying up of Indian agriculture with the world capitalist market gave birth to a false idea in a section of the people that Indian agricultural production relation has already entered the arena of the capitalist system and as *production is made for sale*, feudalism no longer remains in agriculture as a predominant feature. But, in fact, India entered the arena of world capitalist economy, *not through the direct producers—transforming themselves into capitalist traders—but through a section of parasites having no link with the process of production.* As a result the transformation that took place in Indian society, in agriculture and national economy, *was not from feudal to capitalist mode of production, but capitalist mode of distribution on the basis of feudal mode of production.* This capitalist mode of distribution over the feudal mode of production was superimposed from above on the feudal society. Thus Indian society became semi-feudal, semi-capitalist, of course, together with the rise of some industries.

This, in short, is the history of the origin of Indian compradors.

The 'Group of Students' write 'Before World War I one would rarely have found Indian shareholders in British companies. But during the

war the supply lines were cut off and export of capital stopped at a time when they were most needed. The British Agency Houses were left with no other way of survival than to allow the entry of Indian capital. *From then Indian capital started infiltrating the British Agency Houses,* (emphasis mine). Though this statement is somewhat misleading, the authors of the paper, after all, admitted that since the First World War 'Indian capital had started infiltrating the British Agency Houses'. Elsewhere they said, 'the Indian bourgeoisie emerged mainly as finance capitalists, *from the very beginning having a monopolistic position*'. It is not understood how the Indian bourgeoisie can have a 'monopolistic position' from the very beginning when their capital began to infiltrate the British Agency Houses which were run by the all-powerful managing agents? However, for the present, let us trace the history. During the last decade or a bit earlier of the last century, a section of Indian compradors began to invest a part of their accumulated wealth in industry as capital, while remaining comprador in its truest sense at the same time. During this period many Indian and British concerns came into being. British concerns were incorporated in England and foreign capital entered India in the form of the assets of the incorporated companies with their capital expressed in sterling. These companies were controlled and guided by the British Companies Act through the managing agencies in India. There was no Companies Act or anything like that in India. That was the reason why Indian capital could not 'infiltrate' British Agency Houses. However, due to the growth of many concerns in India, as well as to gear up and control all these industries the colonial authority felt the need of introducing a Companies Act in India and accordingly in 1913 the Indian Companies Act was introduced for the first time. With its introduction and with the outbreak of war almost simultaneously, most of the foreign companies in

India registered their companies under the Indian Companies Act and changed over to *rupee capital* of course, in order to create the impression that these companies are Indian and invited Indians to buy shares. *This laid the foundation of the Indo-British collaboration of capital and Joint Stock Companies.* The bulk of shares, however, remained in foreign hands.

Collaboration

As 'politics is the concentrated expression of economics' the collaboration of capital demanded collaboration in policy making in administration. The basis of semi-colonialism, that is the rule in alliance with domestic reaction, was imperceptibly being laid by the process of collaboration of capital and joint exploitation of the people. As a result *dyarchy* was introduced through the Montagu Chelmsford reforms. Neither the nationalist section nor the collaborating section were satisfied, as the status in *dyarchy* was not really semi-colonial. A storm rose and the British Parliament sent the Simon Commission to India. The Simon Commission tried to inquire about the respective economic positions of the British and Indian investors in Indian industries and trade. And what were the findings? The Associated Chamber of Commerce told the Simon Commission, "It is almost impossible to draw any line of demarcation between British and Indian interests in regard to invested capital, for companies floated and managed by the British managing agents were frequently owned to a large extent by Indians. Similarly, in many Indian companies generally regarded as Indian, a considerable number of share-holders may be British... The interests of the individual chambers included Tea, Jute, Cotton, Mining, Timber, Leather, Shipping, Building, Railway, Agriculture, Engineering, Insurance, Banks, and in general, all forms of export-import trade." The picture is complete. If you cannot draw any line of demarcation between British and Indian interests'

how can you draw any line of demarcation in their politics, I mean basic political interests? It shows that what our 'Group of Students' call 'infiltration' is nothing but going over of the Indian bourgeoisie to the camp of imperialism. Long before Lenin in the Second Congress of the Communist International had warned the communists of the colonial countries that "There has been certain rapprochement between the bourgeoisie of exploiting countries and the colonial countries" and the Third Congress of the Communist International said in its resolution regarding India and China that "The bourgeoisie of these countries tightened their bonds with foreign capital and so became an important instrument of its rule;" and finally Stalin, in 1925 said that in 'capitalistically developed India' 'the richest and most influential section of the bourgeoisie is going over entirely to the camp of the irreconcilable enemies of the revolution, forming a bloc with imperialism against the workers and peasants'. Naturally this could not satisfy the 'Group of Students' as they are more serious communists and objective than Lenin and Stalin!

As a sequel to the Simon Commission Report, the 1935 Act was delivered. This was basically a constitution that made secure the edifice for the consolidation of Indian compradors leaning heavily on British masters and disarrayed the nationalist section of the bourgeoisie. The comprador section accepted it, in spite of the bitter opposition of the national bourgeoisie and worked it out to consolidate diligently their position.

Background: Drama of August 15, '47

The authors of the paper say, 'The political independence in 1947 gave the final blow. Fear of nationalisation and confiscation led the foreign capital to withdraw from Indian markets, and most of them sold their share at inflationary prices during the inflation of post-independence years.

Thus by 1948, most of the control came to Indian hands.' They further write, 'one can claim safely that the major part of foreign capital in India was slipped off following political independence and thereafter economic control slipped out to Indian hands to ensure the transfer of political power. British capital retained control in some restricted fields.' The stories are, indeed, no less thrilling than those from *Arbaian Nights*.

"India Ltd."

Let us face the facts. Instead of withdrawing capital from India, the British imperialists renewed the collaboration with Indian capital in double strides. The biggest foreign concerns like Lever Brothers, Dunlop, Imperial Chemicals etc. registered their companies in India and inserted at the tail of their companies "India Limited" in 1945-46. The pound sterling was converted into the rupee. In the budget session of 1945, the then Commerce Secretary said in his report in the Legislative Assembly that during the period of 1942-44 altogether 113 foreign concerns registered in India as "India Limited." During this period, one of the biggest Indian monopoly concerns, Birla Brothers, made a collaboration contract with Nuffield of England in 1945. In December 1945, another big Indian monopoly concern, Tata, made a collaboration contract with one of the biggest monopoly concerns of the world—the Imperial Chemical Industries. The biggest Indian capitalists and monopolists—G. D. Birla, J. R. D. Tata, Ramkrishna Dalmia, Walchand Hirachand, Kasturbhai Lalbhai and Ambalal Sarabhai made agreements with foreign capital and set up collaboration industries during 1945-46.

What this collaboration signified? It signified that national industries would not be built up. Instead foreign industries will supply the needs of Indian markets and Indians will build up assembly and ancillary industries. It means curbing the build-

ing of an independent national economy.

The International Monetary Fund (IMP) which was set up just after the war and which was for all practical purposes an American organisation of finance in foreign countries asked the Government of India to accept the interests of foreign national residents as domestic. Thus the ICI, Bata, Glaxo, Goodyear, Union Carbide, Indian Aluminium, Metal Box etc were all 'Indianised'. Our learned 'Group of Students' finding all these concerns as "Indian" safely claimed that the 'major part of foreign capital' fled in fear of 'nationalisation and confiscation'. The Reserve Bank of India reported in 1950 that 169 foreign directors (of them 139 British and 7 American) control 149 Indian joint-stock companies of Rs 55.14 crores capital by actually investing Rs 2.5 crores. They control trade and ancillary industries and agricultural products as ; in jute (15.74 crores), tea (Rs 52 crores), electricity (Rs 19.35 crores) ; financial investment (Rs 17 crores), mineral oil (Rs 22.5 crores), cotton (Rs 11.7 crores), iron and steel (Rs 7 crores), coal (Rs 4.9 crores), shipping (Rs 8.8 crores), total Rs 160 crores.

This was the picture of the ruling British finance capital control over Indian ancillary industries, agricultural commodities and trade in 1945-46.

Let us now turn to America. By the end of World War I American commodities and credits had become the second largest trader in India after Britain. Kaiser, Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, Ford and others acquired dominating interests in many British enterprises and in India acquired controlling interests in Andrew Yule & Co (operating in tea, jute, coal, shipping, sugar, rubber, paper, etc), in the British-owned Mercantile Bank of India, in Angus Co (jute, engineering, steamship etc.), in Ludlow Jute Mills apart from their direct activities through Ford, General Motors, Eveready dry cell batteries, Remington Rand Typewriters, Firestone

Tyres, Chase Bank, National City Bank, American Express Co, Caltex and Standard Vacuum Oil distribution. It is the Americans who supplied equipment to Tatas worth 6 crores of U.S. dollars, with American engineers and advisers who dominated Tatas physically right up to 1937, only to laugh at our 'Group of Students' who found streams of people queuing up to buy Tata shares to supply the initial capital.

Besides these, a joint mica mission with an equal number of British and American members was formed in 1945 to buy the entire output of Indian mica. The Hindusthan Aircraft Factory of Bangalore was given in lease to the U.S. Air Force. Contracts for assembly of motor vehicles in India were given to Ford and General Motors. A treaty of commerce and navigation was forced on the Government of India by the American Government, completely disregarding the British Government, to get rid of the discriminatory imperial preferences which were badly hurting American trade. All this was done between 1943 and 1946.

After these Indo-British and Anglo-American treaties and collaboration came efforts to complete Indo-American collaboration. The following were the Indo-American collaboration agreements during 1945-46 (the list is not complete) : Automobiles : Birla's Hindusthan Motors with Studebaker Corporation ; Walchand Hirachand's Premier Automobiles with Chrysler Corporation ; and Motah House (Gujarat) with Kaiser Fraser Export Corporation etc. Radio and Electric Equipment: The Fazalbhoi Photo-Phone Equipment Company with Radio Corporation of America.

Rayon : The National Rayon Company of Sir Pursottamdas Trikamdass, Sir Ardeshir Dalal, H.D. Shroff, Walchand Hirachand with Skennadoa Rayon Corporation of Utica (N.Y.) and Lockwood, Green and Company of New York. All the notable Indian monopolists set up collaboration industries during 1945-46.

Besides, a feudo-bourgeois-imperia-

list collaboration was made with the native princes.

Impact of Marshall Plan

One of the objects of the Marshall Plan was to oust the British, French and Dutch imperialists from monopoly positions in their respective colonies and to have open-door policies in the colonial countries. So long these countries remained colonies and under the direct monopoly rule of the British, French and Dutch imperialists the U.S. imperialists could not find sufficient elbow-room to manipulate and infiltrate. American imperialism came forward to save the drowning imperialism of Europe with its Marshall Plan, provided these imperialist powers allowed it a free hand in their colonies. This was one of the secrets of bestowing 'independence' to colonial countries.

Economic-financial and trade agreements and all-round collaboration amongst all the reactionary forces of the world and inter-merger of their joint interests laid the basis and background of talks for a political deal which began in 1945 and culminated in August 15, 1947. If this all-round collaboration and registration of all foreign firms working in India as "India Limited" during the period of 1945-46 is ignored and repatriation of foreign capital is magnified, one will surely land in a hopeless situation like our Group of Students!

Myth of Repatriation

The 'group of students' writes that most of the foreign capital was repatriated between 1942 and independence with only about Rs 419 crores remaining in 1948. Hugh Dalton announced in the House of Commons in July 1946 that no property worth mentioning has been sold or transferred to the Indians. Wherefrom, then, our "Group of Students" got the figure that about Rs 1350 crores fled from India? In answer to this question, our learned authors say in the backnotes of their paper that the 'estimate is crude'! If the estimate is crude, why, then, make a fuss over it?? The paper says that 'only' about

Rs 419 crores of foreign capital remained in India after repatriation. 'Only' serves to prove that this amount is almost negligible and cannot be a controlling power over the foreign capitalists. For argument's sake, let us accept the figure as correct for a while. The total amount of foreign capital invested in India at the end of 1965 was Rs 935.8 crores according to a Reserve Bank of India Report. Of this Rs 613.3 crores represented direct investment and Rs 322.5 crores were portfolio investment. The annual inflow of foreign capital between 1949 and 1965 has been of the order of Rs 90 to 100 crores excluding the retained earnings of foreign concerns in this country. At the same time, repatriation of foreign capital amounting to Rs 35 crores to Rs 40 crores a year usually takes place. In that case Rs 419 crores was not a small figure in 1947 compared to Rs 935.8 crores in 1965 and when usually Rs 35 crores to Rs 40 crores repatriation takes place every year, somewhat bigger amounts between 1942 and 1947 were not certainly unusual. It is true that some amount of foreign capital, especially British, quit India during that period, but that was not in accord with imperial policy. Individuals' baseless fear psychosis may have played a part but that repatriation did never change the fact of foreign economic domination materially.

The authors of the paper say that 'Basu and others' made a special study of the Calcutta jute mills. They found that on the eve of the outbreak of World War II, more than 60% of the shares were held by the Indians? What conclusion should we draw from this? Does it mean that Indians control the jute industry and jute trade? We find in Yudin's that "According to the official figures for 1951 (little has changed since) foreign capital controlled 97 per cent of India's oil industry, 93 per cent of rubber, 62 per cent of coal, 73 per cent of mining, 90 per cent of match manufacture, 89 per cent of jute, 90 per cent of tea-growing" etc. Should we, then, assume that though repatriated

'on the eve of the outbreak of World War II' not only foreign capital in jute, but also capital in all the above industries returned after the assurance from Nehru in 1949 and overwhelmed the Indian capital in all these industries? Such assumption would be silly. Of course, the authors of the paper may raise a tricky plea saying that they referred to "Calcutta jute mills" only, not to West Bengal jute mills. But that would be more deceitful.

The authors have written about managing agency. They should know that one of the key forms of subordinating the Indian economy to foreign monopolies was the so-called managing agency system. It was enough for the managing agencies only to seize even a small part of shares of an enterprise so as to establish their control over it, subjugating it and get hold of a considerable part of profit from it. The managing agencies had on an average only 14.6% of their capital in the companies under their control when 'Basu and others' were making a special study, but they appropriated the lion's share of these companies' profits. For instance, during World War II, 54% of the net profits in the Indian jute industry went to the British managing agencies.

New Form

Besides this, a new form of control has been devised nowadays in order to disguise the foreign control and the actual role of foreign concerns. Foreign concerns distribute the major part of preference shares to the Indian bourgeoisie, while keeping the ordinary shares in their control. The foreign companies by this method, can effectively control the collaboration companies of joint holding. The ordinary shareholders possess the right to vote while the preference shareholders do not possess this right. The *Economic Weekly*, in its special July 1964 issue, cited an interesting example regarding the Indo-Burma Petroleum Company. The total share capital of this company was one and a half crores of

rupees. The value of ordinary shares was Rs 1 crore and that of preference shares was Rs 50 lakhs. The ordinary and preference shares were distributed as under:

Ordinary Shares:

The share of British monopolists 60%

The share of Indian capitalists 40%

Preference shares:

The share of Indian capitalists 98%

The share of British monopolists 2%

As a whole, the British share of the total capital was 2/5th, yet the British monopolists effectively controlled the industry by controlling 60% of the votes.

So, the sooner we give up the idea of repatriation of capital and overwhelming of shares the better.

Who controls whom? The authors of the paper say that the Indian bourgeoisie emerged mainly from the very beginning as monopolists and as finance-capitalists. How is this correct? Up to 1935, the Bank of England directly controlled Indian finance.

The creation of the Reserve Bank of India in 1935 only changed the form of control of Indian finance by the British banks. The extension of the change account, operation of foreign function of the Reserve Bank in August, 1947 did not end this dependence of Indian finance on Britain. India continued to remain in the sterling bloc even after independence. This was the surest sign of economic and financial dependence, while remaining within the Commonwealth signified political dependence. The helplessness and utter dependence of the Indian bourgeoisie was demonstrated all too clearly when the Indian bourgeoisie was not allowed to use the sterling balance on its account for the purchase of modern machinery from the Soviet Union. The ex-loans, flow of foreign investments and accounts of imports and exports continued to remain under the vigilant control of the British Bank. How, then, did economic control (slip out to Indian hands?) The Reserve Bank of India Report, published in 1950, quoted before, said that only 10% of foreign remittances from India and into India are financed by the Indian rupee, while 90% mainly by the pound sterling through British banks and trading companies.

The same report says, that foreign firms and banks receive every year Rs 400 million of profit and foreign monopolies receive Rs 600 million in the form of interest on loans and commission on foreign trade operations every year. If the major part of foreign capital in India slipped off following the political 'independence' in 1947, how did the Reserve Bank of India report in 1950—which must be a report of developments a few years back—such a drain? The total sum drained away from India every year by foreign monopolies exceeded one billion rupees. Of course, this did not include the profits earned by foreign monopolies by way of unequal exchange i.e., from high prices for goods imported into India and lowering the prices of Indian good exported.

(To be Concluded)

Bliss Of Unbounded Banking

BY A CORRESPONDENT

WHY wail about the slackening of industrial production? Why say that nationalisation curbs entrepreneurial dynamism and initiative? These are the tiresome outpourings of confirmed critics. Let them, for once, be objective and a little less obsessed, and look for visible signs of progress elsewhere. Let them turn to the banking scene.

In the south of Calcutta where I live, I enjoy the blessings of 'banking unbounded'. You step out of your residence, look around and you cannot but notice a bank office—neat and sleek furniture, dignified decor and cool comfort. You step inside and find the counter clerk occupied. Are you in a hurry? Are you impatient by nature or do you feel it infra dig to wait in a queue? Why worry, you come out and another bank office round the corner will take care of you. Competitive efficiency—a sure indicator of progress—what more do you want? Look—it is only two and a half years since Mrs Indira Gandhi nationalised banks—and she has kept her promise.

But you cannot easily win over our compulsive critics. They chafe at the good things of life and do not hesitate to import malice to score a point. What about other public services? They argue. Take the public transport system—why not invest money to put more buses on the road rather than have more bank offices? What is the urgency, I wonder. The plebians are used to overcrowding. Just look at their living conditions in bustees and low-income housing colonies.

Take schools, they then say. It is not necessary to have more of them to improve our shockingly low literacy rate? Our cities need more schools than bank offices. Again, it is a shortsighted sense of priority—why should we have the luxury of more

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schools when it would only help swell the army of educated unemployed and create social tensions? Take postal facilities—they persist in their perverse nagging. Why must one walk a mile for a post office when within that stretch banks can have nearly a dozen offices? A bank is a 'catalytic' agent, the solid bedrock of the 'commanding heights' of our economy. Pay no heed to ill-informed criticism. I can count the blessings which my Ballygunje friends enjoy and have the right to enjoy. If someone has jewellery which he cannot risk keeping in his house, should he not legitimately expect that a bank office come to his rescue and house itself next door? If, in the late morning, the lady of the house feels like going out for a 'coffee session' or on a shopping spree, should she not have the privilege of a 'homely' bank office in his locality to cash her cheque or if she has overspent, this being the end of the month, have the benefit of a small overdraft? If some retired official has put his hard-earned savings in constructing a respectable looking house, could he not expect to lease it out to a bank and enjoy safe income for his last days? These are 'social necessities' and the bankers must respond to them.

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And they are enlightened bankers, ambitious and forward-looking planners. They have set themselves the target of one bank office for every 5000 of the population. Calcutta cannot but be grateful to this dedicated community—their perceptive and imaginative understanding of the city's needs even at the cost of stretching their resources. Wait for 2 to 3 years and people's expectations would be fulfilled. No longer can one say that banking is only for the elite—it will come to be enjoyed by the people. A heart-warming prospect for the lakhs of pavement and slum-dwellers. They will have a number of banks to choose from.

But benefits of bank nationalisation are not confined to my city or locality. I have no direct knowledge of what is happening in the countryside—but there is no dearth of post-nationalisation statistics. They are released with unfailing regularity—new bank offices, advances to priority sectors, deposit mobilisation and what have you.

These statistics are impressive. The spread of bank offices is elaborately classified: how many in rural, urban, semi-urban areas. None can complain that the rural sector is being neglected. About two-thirds of the new offices are in that sector. One requires no better proof of the change in the attitude of bank management after nationalisation, the bank employees who cheerfully accept the rigours of rural life and shed no tears for the urban comforts, the top bosses of the banks who suffer the dusty and rough roads to visit their outlying offices but have no grievance, the spirit of 'commitment' being a source of inspiration for them. All this 'attitude transformation' in the short span of 2½ years is remarkable. Let the other sectors of the economy emulate their example.

But my critic is cussed in his persistence. Indeed his memory breeds malice in him and he takes pleasure in nursing it. He trots out the objectives of bank nationalisation—development of backward areas, creation of employment opportunities, en-

couragement of new entrepreneurs and many more. He tells me that after nationalisation about 50,000 and odd professional and self-employed persons received assistance from banks. And lest I be carried away by the number, he reminds me that there are more than twelve thousand bank offices in the country. From out of his carefully kept newspaper clippings, he turns to the farming credit figures and after making some quick mental calculation, comes out with the revelation that of the 131 million cultivators and agricultural labourers, far less than one per cent has been touched by the banking system. Who are these lucky one per cent—I ask out of curiosity. Curb your dangerous curiosity—he warns me—for this is a politically loaded and motivated question and officials are not paid to collect statistics to whet unproductive academic curiosity.

The critic left me dazed. But before long I recovered my composure. Banking is a delicate institution and cannot and should not be run to suit the whims and fancies of the so-called left radicals. Their impatience has a mischievous intent—to 'work from within' and create havoc in the solid and stable structure we have inherited from the private sector days. They do not understand organisational constraints, the time it takes to develop a 'true' banker, the time-consuming process to select the 'right' type of personnel in a 'scientific' manner, free from political pressures and bureaucratic pulls.

And why, after all, do we do the bankers down who are opening so many offices despite their constraints? We need infrastructural facilities. We must first have bank offices, give them time to get used to the new set up and then start our work. People should not be in an unseemly hurry and do violence to our traditional canons of prudence. In any event, the rural poor can wait, as they have waited for centuries. If they become restive, the lollipop of 'differential rate' will do the trick.

JUNE 10, 1972

Of Hollow Men And Women

BY A DRAMA CRITIC

ANĀMIKĀ, with its impressive repertoire, is now a proud symbol of the Hindi theatre—its ambitious bid for experimentation and diversity, its penchant for the abiding and the current in theme and stagecraft, its boldness in imaginative undertakings. Somehow, the maturity and the finesse, now the distinguishing marks of its sleek productions, irresistibly recall the lean stare and limping speed of the Hindi drama which by now should have grown vigorous and varied.

Kahat Kabirā, written and directed by Mr Shiv Kumar Joshi, performed May 28, was ably rendered into Hindi (from the Gujarati original) by Pratibha Agrawal. Besides, quotations from Kabir tended to reinforce the impression that the play was as good as an original Hindi one.

Rani Padmavati, a socialite, is a fake art critic and promoter. Rigging the awards and selections committees is as exciting for her as seeking young men for company and coaxing them into flattering her faded charms. Her husband, Bhanu Singh, is emptier and seeks nurses and maid servants for his titillation. However, he has not forgotten his elder sister-in-law Shyama, and pays her romantic tribute in poems of no high order. Padmavati has a challenger in her own daughter, Neelam, outsmarting her mother in many ways. Mother and daughter are partners in permissiveness for the attentions of the young indigent artist Shripad. Defeat and disenchantment lead Padmavati to commit suicide by taking an overdose of barbiturates. She, who was fidgetting at having been awarded only Padmashri by the GOI, could be so sensitive with respect to a young man successfully claimed by her daughter-rival!

Mrs Pratibha Agrawal as Padmavati appeared a little incongruously

cast. Her age went against her, making her unacceptable as Ranima. But she made up for this by her histrionics, particularly in the art exhibition scene, greeting visitors with gusto, in spite of her poor knowledge of art. Shyama Jain had superb aplomb. She as Padmavati, many felt, would have been a better choice. Shripad and Malatilata need to shed some of their initial stiffness. Neelam was all self-assurance and, but for her voice, nearly perfect. Dayal had bad English to his discredit.

But, by far the most important character was Manni Ram, the valet. Privy to all the goings on, providing a running commentary on the hollow men and women living in palaces and revelling in sham, Manni Ram is conceived on a large scale, with multiple functions. Greek chorus, Sanskrit sūtradhar and vidūshak, rapporteur, symbol of audience participation in a way—it is Manni Ram who appears to be unfolding the human condition of tragedy and tedium, as if from his box of puppetry. His clowning, on occasions, would confuse, superficially. But Joshi deserves all congratulations for conceiving of him as a live-wire personality, healthy, humane, intelligent.

One need not know much Sanskrit to feel initiated by repeated wrong drumming of the word 'sthityāntar'. It is all right as 'sthityantar'. Light effects by Tapas Sen and stage design by Dutt were commendable. In a few scenes, however, less light would have been better. Elongated pronunciation of the last consonant of certain words betrayed Manni Ram's Gujarati slant.

However, these are small blemishes in an otherwise well-knit production which had a touch of the immediate contemporary when half-a-dozen boys and girls stormed, yelling 'Nahi chalega' and falling out among themselves about whether to stage a hunger-strike or a gherao to rescue Neelam. The soap-battle fizzled out significantly soon. And the author had his fun at the cost of these placard-waving nondescript slogan-mongers in search of a cause!

Anāmikā has material and other assets. Will Hindi drama move and match its expertise? Will Anāmikā go in next for a portrayal of lives less vacuous and limited/personal than those of Rajas and Ranis?

Oh, Kolkata!

BY A DRAMA CRITIC

IT is painful to see how so much of energy of producers, players and directors is wasted on trivialities. The intention is almost never in doubt. But if the ability of young people of the theatre seldom matches their ambition to provide tolerably good fare on the city's limited number of available stages, the sense of frustration soon grows into remorse. For there is no substitute for professional competence in the performing arts and a healthy theatre movement needs more imagination, vitality and experience to revitalise itself.

Recent events in Calcutta have been baffling in their complexity and Mimesis in its production of *Kolkata*, *Kolkata* has watered down even the slice of life it is concerned with, to an incredible degree. A young man, without moorings for he is denied his father's affection, kills a man in a fit of rage. A respectable looking politician gives him shelter to utilise him for his less than respectable purpose, apparently to settle a personal score with an industrialist. The outraged father who informs the industrialist gets killed by the son, who wrecks vengeance for lack of affection and so on.

Now all this happens in a sort of vacuum and reference to the social milieu which could have lent credence is not attempted at all. In fact the dramatist seems occupied to present a breathtakingly simplified picture of a situation which calls for a measure of exploration.

The young man has his confrontation with reality in a dream which dissolves the conflicts, and rather naively, a nautch girl pops up to com-

plete the scene. Even the motivation of the man who leads the young man astray to set fire to a factory is never explained and one keeps guessing. And believe it, the police haul up the boy for attempted arson but do not look at the father's corpse. Of course, lately the city has often been littered with bodies at odd corners but whoever might have killed them these have duly been picked up.

An amateurish exercise with trite matter.

Clippings

All This & Austerity Too

New Delhi, June 1: A good time was had by all. Who could have wished for more? Excellent cooking, efficient service and some food for thought as well for the homogeneous group—about 250 Congressmen relaxing after a hard day's work and preparing for the AICC session at which some 'hard decisions' on the war on poverty are expected to be announced.

The menu was a gourmet's dream. For non-vegetarians, there were varied Indian and foreign dishes: tandoori chicken, chicken curry, sag meat, keema, Russian salad and egg curry. The vegetarian fare was as varied and tempting: a Chinese-style sweet-and-sour dish, five other vegetables, sweet 'kulcha', pea pulao and mango 'kulfi'. To wash them down, there were three or four kinds of soft drinks.

The occasion was citizens' reception to the Congress President, Dr

For Frontier contact

People's Book House

Meher House,

Cowasji Patel Street,

Fort, Bombay

S. D. Sharma, and Mr Y. P. R. Kapur, M.P. The formidable array of hosts was headed by Mr Radha Ram, Chief Executive Councillor.

Among the guests were some Union Ministers, a few Chief Ministers, industrialists and some newsmen. Good food evoked wit and pleasantries. Naturally, no one gave a thought to the Delhi Guest Control Order recently published or no one of the 'do's' for Congressmen likely to be adopted by the AICC; lead a simple life and avoid wasteful expenditure, particularly on marriages and festivities.

The Guest Control Order prohibits serving of fishes other than a soup, two non-vegetarian or vegetarian dishes, chana, a rice dish and chapatis or parathas and a sweet dish other than that prepared from or containing cereals.

In case the number of guests is more than 150 "sweets of all kinds, eggs, fish, meat, poultry, 'chana' and foodstuffs prepared from or containing cereals and pulses" cannot be served. (*The Times of India*)

A bag of Rice And A Bicycle

...In two weeks here this correspondent has been in a number of highly unpleasant situations: Walking across a long pontoon bridge between air raids—hopefully between—for example, or wandering in a huge open-air food market during an alert. The fact is that among the Vietnamese in those situations there was no sign of panic.

But suppose the United States simply bombed Hanoi flat as it easily could—sections of Haiphong have been totally destroyed and places farther south are said to be even worse. The question was put to an official.

"We would have very little to regret anyway," he replied in English. "We have no big skyscrapers, so if the electricity stops we are not stuck on the 50th floor.

"During the war against the French I lived in the jungle; once I travelled from Hanoi to Hue—nearly 400

miles—on a bicycle. Another time I crossed Laos on foot carrying 40 pounds on my back. I am older, now but I can go into the jungle again."

In the Foreign Ministry and other offices it is said, and experienced western observers here do not doubt it, that everyone has a small sack ready so that he can bicycle off to the country at any moment. The bag contains some rice, a bit of salt, a few clothes and such things.

Is all this told to foreigners just to impress them with North Viet Nam's determination? It could be a confidence trick, yes. But for one strong reason Americans would be most unwise to assume that it is. That reason is the unarguable record of recent history.

For the last seven years this country has stood up to bombing and shelling in a way that Europeans have the greatest difficulty in understanding. That could change, but on the record no dispassionate analyst would consider that likely.

It is well to remember that according to various American experts this war should have been won long ago. Six or seven years ago they were seeing light in the tunnel and talking about having the boys home for Christmas. That need not be a comment on the rightness of the cause. It is simply a fact that past American predictions of an early Communist collapse have not come true.

Uncertainty about the effectiveness of the latest escalation must underlie that Washington talk of demoralisation and prostitution (in Hanoi). The officials want to reassure themselves as well as the American public.

But from this vantage point it is very difficult to see how the bombing and blockading can have a timely effect on the crucial area of decision. That is the battlefield in the south. These American officials who say that just one more turn of the screw will make the Communists negotiate on our terms have a heavy burden of history to overcome. (Anthony Lewis, *The New York Times News Service*).

JUNE 10, 1972

Letters

Arrested

One of our colleagues, Ratan Khasnabis, a lecturer in the Economics Department, Kalyani University, and Nirmalendu Nath, a research fellow in the same department, have been arrested. A whole week has passed without our knowing a thing about their present position. We approached the police time and again but they gave us no information.

This is exactly what happened last year when another of our colleagues was arrested, along with a research fellow. They could not be charge-sheeted during an entire month of their stay in the prisons and were ultimately set 'free.' They had been subjected to the most despicable treatment. But this time, we are afraid, our colleague will not be able to suffer the strain. Physically and mentally, he is in a miserable condition. His mother died recently and his father is a patient in the Durgapur Hospital. Under the circumstances, we are afraid, that the police are going to bring unspeakable misery to a whole family, and by maintaining an icy silence regarding his present position they are blocking his way to natural justice. His fellow professors and students have condemned this flagrant violation of the democratic rights of a citizen and we ask everyone to join us in denouncing the present regime.

A PROFESSOR
Kalyani University
June 3, 1972

Omissions

It was interesting to note, sheer impropriety apart, that the Reuter report in the *Patriot* regarding the Tel-Aviv terrorist attack had been printed without the words 'Russian-made Kalaschnikov' guns. Perhaps such sensibility is akin to what Tass displayed in deleting references to Vietnam in Nixon's banquet speech. One could find sympathetic vibrations closer at home in South Block's bland

assertion that there was no comment of any sort relating to the affairs of the Indian sub-continent by Nixon—in spite of his clear assurance in the Soviet TV that 'no country that does not commit aggression has anything to fear of the US.' Some deletions speak a lot indeed.

P. R.
Calcutta

Snakes In The Grass

In regard to the review of the first show of *Chak Bhanga Modhu* (27-5-72), I agree that there are some directorial and textual defects. But one should not be too fastidious about the backdrop suggestive of trees. Artistically this backdrop scheme is brilliant. There is no doubt that Asok Mukherjee's performance needs to be improved. At the same time I do not share the pessimistic view of his acting capabilities.

The Drama Critic has discussed the defects in detail but I fail to understand what makes him remain silent about the directorial merits of the production. The superb acting of Maya Ghosh and Bibhas Chakraborti merits special mention. Their acting was really a great experience to all theatre-lovers.

The Drama Critic implicitly expects a socially committed and relevant play from Monoj Mitra. I have gone through some major works of Mr Mitra; and it does not seem to me that he is a committed anti-establishment playwright. The opposite may be the case. But it goes to the credit of Bibhas that he competently elevated *Chak Bhanga Modhu* into a socially committed play.

BINOY SENGUPTA Calcutta

The Middle Class

The middle class has always been found to be the most treacherous class. Its eyes are fixed high on the pleasures enjoyed by the capitalist. But unable to realise its selfish dream it is angry with the capitalists. This is what Indira Gandhi exploits by raising certain militant slogans and

the middle class is happy with the Congress. That is why there is a great rush to the Congress from the middle class.

But at the same time the middle class being better off than the lower strata of society, is afraid of them. It fears revolution by them because it expects to lose what it has now, so it hates the proletariat. Also it fears chaos and hates interruptions in its routine and petty comforts. So it runs for safety to the smiling wailing Bharat Mata.

The bourgeoisie had played its cards well and has won over the middle class. But the communists have miserably failed to do so. It is a fact that the middle class is not a reliable ally, but at the same time without it, it is very difficult to win against the capitalists.

M. N. D. NAIR Triv ndrum

Principal Contradiction

The criterion for judging whether this or that is the principal contradiction, I think, is the affirmative answer to the question: is it the most fundamental contradiction the resolution of which will lead to the resolution of the other contradictions? Take for example the contradiction between workers and capitalists. Even today the percentage of people employed by industry is small compared to the whole working people or people who are subjected to exploitation. Therefore

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the resolution of this contradiction, if at all this is possible where the State consists of imperialism, feudalism and capitalism, would not lead to the resolution of other contradictions.

Take the other contradiction, that between imperialism and the people of India. Theoretically it is possible to prove that this is the principal contradiction. But imperialism operates in this country in a manner that is not quite obvious to the masses and it is difficult to organise them to fight directly that which operates indirectly. As enemies of the people are linked together by their common interest and fear, the attack on one will have the effect of attack on the other. Besides, the peasants constitute the vast majority of the exploited and oppressed population. They live in places where it is not easy for the repressive forces of the State to reach. Therefore strategically, tactically and from the point of view of expediency the only contradiction, whose resolution with some amount of certainty, would lead to the resolution of other contradictions is the contradiction between the peasants and landlords. If one branch is cut a tree might not fall nor will it dry up but when all the roots are cut the tree might fall or will soon dry up.

SUBHASH KELKAR
Bombay

Copying

Now-a-days teachers are generally blamed by ministers and top bureaucrats, not excluding the Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, for mass-copying in the examination halls. Recently the system of forced invigilation by both school and college teachers has been introduced. Generally they have to submit to threats of physical assault etc. and thus forced to be accomplices. But, when lecturers of the Berhampore K. N. College, having failed to check mass-copying, refused to be a party to this corrupt practice, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University instructed the Principal to continue with the scheduled programme. The lecturers re-

fused to change their stand. Then the Chhatra Parishad cadres came forward to invigilate and acts of mass copying continued in the name of examination, with official approval. Who should be blamed for being accomplices, the teachers, who had stood firmly against mass copying, or the authorities, who have become conscious and organised accomplices?

LECTURER

K. N. College, Berhampore (W.B.)

Leavis And Marxism

Leavis's ideas on culture or education are irrelevant to Indians. Even to the Marxist Europeans these have no or little significance, though Leavis did take an anti-establishment stand and was conscious of bourgeois decadence in the 1930's; his *Mass Civilization and Minority Culture* (1930) and *Scrutiny* became influential, but only in England. Indeed Leavis was a British provincial. His real significance is as a literary critic. Any discussion on Leavis and Marxism must be focused on the point how his literary criticism can enrich the understanding of literature of a Marxist.

Leavis's conception of literary criticism is, above all else, a plea for a live, human, social order. A Marxist probably sees the problem from the opposite point of view: to him society comes first, then literature. Yet every Marxist must agree with Leavis's plea for a human social order and its identification with literary criticism. According to Leavis, the literary critics' interest in literature leads to a new recognition of the essentially social nature of the individual—of the reality he takes for granted. A serious interest in literature cannot confine itself to the kind of intensive local analysis associated with practical criticism. A real literary interest is an interest in man, society and civilization and its boundaries cannot be drawn. Like a Marxist critic Leavis is also aware of the relation between the objectivity of form and historical objectivity; to him it was the interaction between individual talent and

tradition. The relation is creative as the great creative writers give meaning to the past. Without moral preoccupation no one can be a great novelist. At the same time he should be very much concerned with form. When we examine the formal perfection of Emma we find that it can be appreciated only in terms of the moral preoccupations that characterize the novelist's peculiar interest in life. The main weakness of Madame Bovary, Leavis agrees with James, is the discrepancy between the technical intensity and the actual moral and human paucity of the subject.

But Leavis lacks a sense of dialectics. The relation between subject-matter (content?) and form is not a one-way traffic. Sometimes serious interest in technique may bring a writer to a new consciousness of life. Possibly in the case of James Joyce it is true. But Leavis does not agree; on the other hand despite his sense of social background and tradition, Leavis's involvement with textual analysis debars him from being attentive to larger issues and in this way he lacks the perspective we get in the writings of, for example, Kenneth Barke or Lucien Goldmann, Francis Fergusson. Moreover, some mistakes of a primary nature are being detected in Leavis's writings. His rigorous value judgment does not always help a Marxist. His interest in Lawrence is, of course, remarkable as, in a sense, Lawrence is a severe protest against decadent, narrow British imperialism. Yet he misses his limitations and is somewhat obsessed. He cannot explain the greatness of Ulysses or Wyndham Lewis. He is impatient with Milton. His sense of tradition also is not always helpful. Eliot was conscious of the mind of Europe but Leavis's insularity is really disturbing—in his literary criticism he never crosses the English channel. Sometimes it seems that his minority culture is nothing but coterie culture—a great exponent of the idea of "interest in life", indeed lacks that humanism, human sense, that make a critic great. Here Marxists must reject Leavis.

ARJUN BANDYOPADHYAY
Naihati



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