

frontier

Vol. 1: No. 34

NOVEMBER 30, 1968

PRICE 35 PAISE

On Other Pages

COMMENTS	2
VIEW FROM DELHI	
BARRICADE TO AID	
FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT	4
TELLICHERY	
RAMJI	5
NOTES FROM ARGENTINA	
H. GAMBERG	6
MY TRIP TO INDIA	
L. L.	9
CALCUTTA DIARY	
GYAN KAPUR	11
THE PRESS	
MCNAMARA IN TOWN	12
BOOK REVIEW	
DAVID HARE: HIS LIFE AND WORK	14
A TEACHER ON TEACHING	
S. M. CHANDA	15
EARLY HIGHLIGHTS	
PRABODH KUMAR MAITRA	16
LETTERS	16

Editor: Samar Sen

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

JOURNEY OF THE MAGI

THE Santa Claus from America is come and gone. The sackful of advice he has left for the Government will be known gradually, some perhaps when the Central budget is presented three months hence. In Bombay, Mr McNamara announced a quid pro quo, that India would have to play its role to enable the World Bank to play its own in ensuring that India's needs are met fully. The statement, despite official ecstasy, is elaborately vague and may not mean anything. Almost in similar circumstances, the rupee was devalued two years ago; the architects of the devaluation are all out of office now, but their action is yet to be lived down. Mr Morarji Desai is safely ensconced in office, and the election is more than three years away. There is, therefore, hardly any need for him to look before he leaps. Already he has given enough indication of how he proposes to go about this business. Mr McNamara is not the first World Bank President to visit India; but never before had the Government ordered genuflection on a national scale to honour the incumbent. In its anxiety to please Mr McNamara it did not leave anything to chance. The programme of the World Bank President was foisted upon the State Governments and detailed instructions about how he should be feted were circulated. Perhaps Mr Desai thought that the whole of India was an extension of New Delhi.

Not all the cities Mr McNamara visited were hostile, or the towns unfriendly. But Calcutta certainly was. He had a hard time of it, remaining virtually a prisoner for two days at Raj Bhavan; and, if the report in a local newspaper is not apocryphal, at the end he preferred to travel all night to fulfil a part of the programme which neither the Government nor he dared to undertake in daylight. Outside of New Delhi, Mr McNamara had the longest programme in Calcutta. Those who drew it up thought perhaps that the people of Calcutta would be naive enough to assume that the duration of his stay was a measure of help in the offing. Mr McNamara is no doubt interested in West Bengal, but not exactly the way the Government would have the people believe. A correspondent who claims to have had an exclusive interview with Mr McNamara in New Delhi has testified that he was more than ordinarily interested in political questions. In Calcutta he had ample opportunity to satisfy this curiosity in the course of his interminable discussions with government officials and

tycoons. What they told him may be a secret but the outspoken Mr Desai has lost no time in declaring that those who organised the black-flag and "violent" demonstrations were followers of foreign leadership and satellites of the country which invaded India a few years ago. Mr McNamara is an expert on how to deal with such elements and the Government may now be in possession of some of his technical know-how.

Before he left Calcutta Mr McNamara had a word of cheer for the Governor and the officials of West Bengal. It could not be otherwise after the prowess shown by the police. At Dum Dum they entered a school and beat up teachers and examinees; in Calcutta they entered the university premises without the Vice-Chancellor's permission and tear-gassed and arrested students. Few people outside the Government now take seriously the unfailing allegation by police of bombs and brickbats being thrown at them before they go into action. The sequence of events has been too often distorted to serve as a plausible pretext for police rampage. On the other hand, the ground was carefully laid in advance by the Government for the police to display their skill when the World Bank President would be in town. A prohibitory order under Section 144 Cr.P.C. was imposed in the Dalhousie Square area, including Raj Bhavan, though only a week ago a similar order was withdrawn as the Government thought there was no further justification for it. Unknown to most people, the police made a swoop on student leaders under the notorious Preventive Detention Act. The United Front has congratulated the students on the demonstration they staged against Mr McNamara but has not said a word about those who have been detained apparently for their part in organising the demonstration. Much has been made in Parliament and elsewhere of the burning of a few public vehicles. Who were responsible has not been established, and any protestation of innocence, as has been done by the UF, is unwarranted. In any event, enough provocation was given and the

stage set for the familiar police drill for the benefit of Mr McNamara. The students would have failed themselves if their response had been different. They at least have said that the visit was all folly.

The BHU Affair

The autonomy of universities, Dr Triguna Sen has said on the floor of the Lok Sabha, is an article of faith with him. If so, it must be assumed that the article is entirely his personal. The party to which he owes his allegiance has not been known in the past or in the present to encourage thoughts on this noble line. When university bounties are bestowed on the basis of political conformity and when appointments of vice-chancellors are all political appointments, the autonomy of universities, if it exists, can have only technical existence—its worth is as good as that of a technical virgin.

In the case of Banaras Hindu University Dr Sen appears to be banking on his article of faith a bit too much. The BHU has earned for itself an academic fame which has no parallel even in India. Recently an industrial concern inserted an advertisement in newspapers asking for engineers, but plainly stating that BHU engineers need not apply. The RSS which claims that the BHU has been its traditional stronghold perhaps will take it as a compliment of sorts, but most others will be tempted to take the implication at its face value.

Even though the BHU is a Central university and the President of India has certain duties to exercise for its administration as a Visitor, Dr Sen hopes that things will even out by themselves. For the past few weeks, however, the BHU is being run by the provincial armed constabulary, after incidents of murder, rape, beatings and stabbings. Dr Sen's decision to let the Executive Council of the BHU appoint an enquiry committee looks doubly strange. The present disturbances on the BHU campus relate to one single issue: dissatisfaction over

the Vice-Chancellor's conduct. It has been alleged that Dr A. V. Joshi, the Vice-Chancellor, has been all through acting as a partisan, that he has been overlooking the cases of arson and hooliganism and, to top it all, has expelled students who were elected presidents of the student union by a large majority. It has been alleged that the Vice-Chancellor and most of his colleagues harbour sympathy for the RSS and give no protection to students who find no reason to ally themselves with that particular brand of nationalism. In all fairness, the aggrieved students deserved an impartial inquiry committee. The committee appointed by the Executive Council itself, in which the students have no confidence, does not guarantee any impartiality.

Dr Sen, to make matters worse, has openly sided with the Vice-Chancellor. In the Lok Sabha, he said that he was happy with the way Dr Joshi was carrying on the administration. About the allegation that the Vice-Chancellor had acted as a partisan during the students' union elections, he said that he could not have acted in that way because at the time of election, he was away in Australia! It needs mentioning here that the RSS candidate who lost the election was no student at all and had to be admitted into a law course and the election date deferred so that he could qualify himself.

Not that much is expected from any commission of enquiry into the question of student indiscipline, even if the commission were impartial. A commission does not cure the disease. The Kerner Commission revealed why the blacks felt insecure in the U.S. but that did not inspire the whites to remove the causes. Mrs Gandhi, however, does not believe in the existence of the student problem. She believes that a very tiny portion among the student community is causing sporadic trouble and smearing the good name of book-loving students. Everything will be set right if students shut themselves off from the political, economic and social mess that exists outside the university campus and if political parties refrain from enticing

the tender minds. The RSS is not apparently a political party. The absurdity of the Central Government's stand on the disturbances in the UP universities can be however explained in terms of the Congress strategy for the coming mid-term elections in UP—placating the RSS would be a lesser risk than conceding victory to the SSP-CPI combine on the student front.

Ganging Up ?

Comrade Sundarayya is an impulsive communist. Whether all his off-the-cuff utterances reflect the considered policy of his party does not become clear until after some time. The other day he is reported to have said that the CPI(M) will enter into electoral alliances even with the Swatantra Party and the Jana Sangh to fight the Congress, the principal enemy.

The CPI, even now cursed by the CPI(M), practised this policy in U.P. and Bihar, and the consequences, for the leftist movement, or whatever of it is left or still moving, were dark and unsavoury. The Jana Sangh had a field day and the result was murderous, communal disturbances on many occasions. How many Muslims died is not known, but among the living a process began of disenchantment with the leftist parties. The ruling left in Bihar went back on even the minor assurances it had given on Urdu. The situation in U.P. was no better. The experiences the Muslims have gone through are bound to influence their decision in the mighty mid-term battles in February.

The events did not leave the CPI unmoved. After the fall of the united front ministries in several States, sections of the CPI began to question whether sharing the government with the Jana Sangh was worth while. No considered policy has yet been announced, but one can perhaps bet that the same repulsive tactic of ganging up with the same forces of reaction will be repeated in the mid-term elections.

One had thought that the CPI(M)

—its relationship with the Swatantra Party in Madras was indirect, i.e., through the DMK, and that with the Muslim League in Kerala was justified to a certain extent—would at least learn from the follies of other parties. But are the elections all that important that the CPI(M) should now borrow ideas and practices from a party it is never tired of attacking in public? On the other hand in West Bengal, at the insistence of Mr Ajoy Mukherjee the UF has kept out the party or group of Mr Jehangir Kabir whose hostility to the Congress, "the main enemy" is quite marked. He did not sing in chorus with his elder brother and join the PDF Ministry. A split in the 24-Parganas vote would make a difference in the elections.

The CPI(M) should make it clear to what extent it will go to "fight the main enemy" in the elections. Will it, after a time, begin to proclaim the theory of an alliance with "progressive Congressmen?"

Brave New World

The modern Czech leaders, being men of peace, have a tradition of capitulation. In 1938, before Munich, Russia offered to come to the help of Czechoslovakia in the event of German aggression. Stalin made it clear that Russia would go it alone if France decided to keep out. Vast armies were moved to the Western border and huge reserves were kept ready. Four or five air brigades were ready to fly to Czechoslovakia. A communication to the French said that the Red Army would force a passage through Poland and Rumania if necessary to help the Czechs. All this when the Russians knew that the Western Powers wanted Hitler to go east. These facts have come to light in Czech and Soviet Government papers now made public.

On a crucial day in late September the Czech President, Dr Benes, sent an urgent enquiry to the Kremlin—will the Red Army move?—and set a deadline for the reply. But before the deadline had expired, he withdrew

the enquiry and capitulated to the Germans, and Messrs Chamberlain and Daladier. He thus became a party to Munich, in order to avoid bloodshed perhaps.

The reference to the Red Army will encourage many Marxists to support the recent Russian action in Czechoslovakia. Whether tanks, planes and 600,000 troops are necessary to put down what looked like an outbreak of beatnik-beatle socialism is best left to dialecticians to debate. There are others areas in the world where imperialism is a real man-eater and not a paper tiger and these areas deserve massive supplies of both defensive and offensive arms. But those who have read the memoirs of Robert Kennedy will understand why the Russians are reluctant to send offensive weapons to people who are fighting the Americans. The Cuba experience has taught them to avoid a direct confrontation with the Pentagon. Perhaps the Americans have made it clear that supply of defensive arms to people fighting them are alright, but offensive weapons will bring about a crisis. So, better send all types of arms, aircraft and tanks to Czechoslovakia—it is safe. The Czech leaders are pragmatic and most people too do not want to disrupt production. The Russian action means national humiliation and has united the people in a way, but the workers wonder about the ceaseless agitation by long-haired people for a free press and the right to travel. In the absence of a militant rapport between the workers and intellectuals, the movement is petering out.

There will, of course, be growing disillusionment with Dubcek, but capitulation for the sake of order being a feature of Czech leadership, Dubcek and his colleagues will be able to forget, and make the people forget, his brave new world. Perhaps this world was neither so brave nor so new, but an amalgam of the Russian and American concepts of how to achieve the good life.

Our agent at Vanarasi is
MANNALAL DAS
D-35/321A Jangambari

Events In Laos

A correspondent writes :

There is perhaps no end to the hypocrisy of the gentlemen in Washington. This week while the US Defence Secretary, Mr Clark Clifford, was expressing his confidence in the peaceful intentions of North Vietnam, the US Air Force carried on its routine prying missions in violation of the aerial sovereignty of that country. Why accuse Clifford? The history of the Americans in Indochina has been a record of plunder, deception and destruction. Within hours of the conclusion of the Geneva Agreements in 1954, the Americans violated them. One might still argue that the USA was no signatory to the treaty but only undertook not to violate it. What about the Geneva Agreements on Laos signed in July 1962? They were fool-proof in this respect. But the Americans couldn't care less. Laos was not to have any foreign troops or bases on her territory. And the Americans promptly announced complete withdrawal of their men from Laos, only to smuggle them in under the guise of sundry advisers. The Geneva Agreements were in a shambles. Pathet Lao leaders took to the hills leaving their ministerial chairs. In 1964 American planes started bombing Pathet Lao controlled areas in the name of "armed reconnaissance flight". Now the Americans do not even bother to hide their ugly faces in Laos and Laotian neutrality has become a bad joke.

The Americans try to justify their bombing of Laos by the 'discovery' that the so-called Ho Chi Minh trail runs through Laos. But now it seems that the trail has a life of its own even if Ho is not sending in supplies any

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more. Or how to explain intensification of bombing over Laos after the declaration of the bombing halt over North Vietnam and when American reconnaissance planes find there no indication of troop movements? Premier Souvanna Phouma has, however, let the cat out of the bag. US bombing over Laos, he says, cannot be stopped until the Pathet Lao is willing to negotiate. And to bring about this negotiability American planes on "armed reconnaissance" mission have been reducing the hills to pulp and killing and maiming people by anti-personnel bombs and toxic chemicals.

By intensifying the destruction the Americans and their puppet Souvanna Phouma are trying to improve their bargaining position before reaching a *modus vivendi*. They are trying to achieve in last desperate blows what they failed to do in the last four years. Aerial bombing and ground attacks to nibble away territories from the control of the Pathet Lao have been a total failure. Figures released at the Third Extraordinary Congress of the Neo Lao Haksat held late last month claimed that in the past four years one lakh US and puppet troops had been wiped out and 800 US planes shot down. American pacification gimmicks like 'solidarity village' and 'prosperity zone' did not fare better than they did in Vietnam. The steadily expanding liberated zone now covers two-thirds of Laotian territory and includes half the total population. Patriotic people in the 'neutralist' camp have come over in large numbers to the Pathet Lao to resist US aggression. Under the shower of American bombs the people of Laos are building up their own self-reliant economy and developing their national culture. An embryo of a resurgent Laos is shaping in the mountains and the rain-forests. This is the last thing the Americans can tolerate. Speaking recently to correspondents in a 'saigonised' Vientiane, an American diplomat imperiously declared, "To achieve any progress in this country everything should be levelled. The people should be brought back to zero and rid of their traditional culture which blocks everything."

View from Delhi

Barricade To Aid

FROM A POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

WHEN all the other cities had forgotten Mr Robert McNamara's Vietnam past, only Calcutta cared to remember it. But Mr V. C. Shukla, who has been Mr Y. B. Chavan's diligent understudy in the Home Ministry, did not realise the faux pas he committed in the Rajya Sabha and the second faux pas the first one led to. He first said a "handful of hooligans" were behind last week's (November 20-21) bomb-throwing spree in Calcutta. Later he said the people of Calcutta were mature. When it was pointed out that ten political parties had given the call for the anti-McNamara demonstrations Mr Shukla said the call was for peaceful demonstrations but hooligans made it violent. However inadvertently, he was clearing the ten political parties of any association with the incidents which exactly what the Government should not have done if it had regard for any political expediency on the eve of the mid-term elections.

It is by no means certain yet that New Delhi would have to pay the price for the Calcutta "hooliganism" in terms of lesser World Bank Aid. But it looks as though everyone who matters in the set-up here has settled for the comfortable feeling that a low-growth rate gives. From the bourgeois liberal economists to the planning wizards of the Left Establishment, including those who have ritualistically signed the Vietnam appeals in the Delhi University, are settling for a three per cent growth rate which would maintain the present low level without any upheaval for those who have acquired a stake in the status quo.

It will all be good for the country if the World Bank and the West in general decides to choke off all aid. In fact, Mr Namboodiripad, who has prepared an alternative policy approach to the Fourth Plan, would

NOVEMBER 30, 1968

readily endorse this. But Mr Namboodiripad, who is against PL480 and the like, has not a word to say against the Soviet counterpart of the PL480 in commodities in the guise of rupee trade. It suits the communist parties fine to replace one kind of dependence by another kind. But Mr Bhupesh Gupta rushed in where others feared to tread in the Rajya Sabha the other day. Mr Banke Bihari Das of the PSP was pointing that today it might be a demonstration against Mr McNamara in Calcutta and tomorrow it might be against Mr Kosygin or Mr Brezhnev. Mr Bhupesh Gupta intervened to say that Mr Kosygin will never get brickbats in Calcutta. Again, when it was denied in the Rajya Sabha that Soviet technicians in the ONGC were mixed up in espionage, Mr Bhupesh Gupta was so excited about the outrageous reporting of a false story by a newspaper that he demanded penal action by the Government.

The week's focus in Parliament was on Centre-State relations. Much to the disappointment of the communists and socialists from Kerala, the Jana Sangh happened to have a monopoly of the call attention motion on Kerala's attitude to the Central ordinance banning the September 19 strike. Under the rules, the names of those give a call attention are balloted and only five are associated with it when it comes up for discussion. All the five happened to be Jana Sanghis.

But the Jana Sanghis were pleading the communist case to begin with: they questioned the propriety of the Centre deploying Central Reserve Police units in a State without consulting the State Government. They also sought to arraign the Home Minister for not giving clear and specific instructions to Kerala at the first instance. From Mr Chavan's reply, it appeared that the Kerala Government had some reservations about carrying out the Centre's instructions but later, when the Centre drew its attention to its obligations under Article 257, it fell in line.

All that can be surmised is that the Kerala Government, for all its defiant postures in public, caved in without a protest and even told the Centre

that it would carry out the obligations under Article 257. Mr Chavan readily agreed to make available to the House the exchange of messages between the State and the Central government. The readiness with which Mr Chavan agreed is interpreted to mean that the correspondence would show Mr Namboodiripad in a poor light.

Tame States

There is no fight left in any of the State governments. The interim report of the Fifth Finance Commission suggests stationing of Central officials in the finance departments of the various States to keep a watch on their finances. Nothing could be more obnoxious to a State zealous of its autonomous powers. The measures recommended by the interim report to check overdrafts by the States go farther than they should. In the least, the recommendations are perverse. But where is the protest? State governments are content to run lotteries as the painless way of raising resources and the Kerala Government is even thinking of running horse races. Parliamentarism takes its own toll of ideology.

A subtle shift in the Government's attitude to U.S. and Soviet military aid to Pakistan was visible last week. But it is difficult to guess if it represents a change in the basic attitude. Again, we owe to the ebullient Mr Bhupesh Gupta's intervention the statement by Mr Swaran Singh which more or less equated U.S. military aid to Pakistan with Soviet aid. Mr Swaran Singh almost suggested that both of them were guilty of promoting an arms race on the sub-continent. But then, he said nothing about who got Soviet arms aid first on the sub-continent.

The two Super-Powers have agreed on maintaining parity between India and Pakistan and as a counterweight to the arsenal India has been building with Soviet equipment, Pakistan is obliged to seek NATO surpluses, of course with U.S. connivance.

November 24, 1968

Kerala

Tellichery

RAMJI

A ludicrous incident that would not take in any normally intelligent person, has been staged here and there has been a rash of screaming headlines in leading dailies that the Marxist extremists have rung the curtain up on their policy of an armed revolution.

This frame-up is very much similar to the notorious Reichstag fire incident staged by Hitler to crush the communists. In this case the police, most probably the Central Intelligence force which has unlimited funds at its disposal, or, as some suspect, a combination of the ruling Marxist party and the police force in conspiracy, put across a childish show that is supposed to prove the bloody intentions of the breakaway Marxist extremists.

A police station, it is said, was attacked by an armed gang numbering three hundred at about 3 a.m. on November 22. They carried spears, acid bulbs, country-made bombs and grenades, pepper powder and, for good measure, Maoist literature and a bundle of letters addressed to persons in China! They attacked under the red banner as well as the banner of the Muslim League and the Congress! However, the blood-thirsty gang with their secret weapons, such as letters to Peking etc., took fright when the sentry raised a hue and cry and without firing any damaging shot every one of them took to his heels and very thoughtfully left behind all the weapons, flags, literature and letters, to furnish proof for the benefit of the police perhaps.

Why this determined band chose a well-populated coastal town instead of a town in the hilly or forest fastnesses of Kerala or why after having decided to attack, they beat a hasty retreat at the first outcry from the sentry are points that are irrelevant in the eyes of the authorities, the police and of

course the respectable Press. This incident has been flashed all over India and another 'Naxalbari' has been rigged up in Kerala : this time the name is Tellichery.

Certain other points help to explode this absurd frame-up. The State conference of the Communist Revolutionaries of Kerala, the name of the extremist breakaway Marxists, is to take place tomorrow at Thodupuzha, in central Travancore. That the members of this party would have been so foolish as to time their raid in such a manner and cause a serious threat to their first conference, is a factor that defies all explanation. Some people are saying that this has been rigged up by the administration and, maybe, by certain elements in the ruling Marxist party to villify the new born organisation and to bring on its head deterrent action by the Government.

Anyway in Kerala the report of this incident has raised a big laugh. People ask why the raiders left behind all the weapons and letters even when they took fright at the sentry's alarm. This is the most unconvincing side of the story. And also the fact that the police were not able to capture on the spot even one of the assailants who became lily-livered cowards the moment the battle was joined.

At noon on that day Mr Ariyakandi, an extremist leader, was arrested at Tellichery. He is the convener of the State conference and he was standing in broad daylight at a busy bus stand at a stone's throw from the police station, to take a bus to the venue of the party meeting at Thodupuzha. He was arrested on suspicion. When the police van came and he was asked to step in, he asked them loudly "Didn't you rig up the entire show?" The policemen looked self-conscious and the crowd around had a hearty laugh.

To this extent the plot has succeeded. The plotters have been able to immobilise a key leader of the new party on the eve of its first and most important State conference.

November 23, 1968

Notes From Argentina

H. GAMBERG

(The following are impressions gleaned during a visit to Argentina during July, 1968. The author spent most of his time in Buenos Aires, a city of over eight million in a country of twenty million people. It should be evident that the comparative point of reference for most of these impressions is the United States since the author wishes to convey first perceptions, those most clearly noticeable in terms of his own North American background.)

THE plane drops in to Buenos Aires airport on a typical Argentinian winter day—overcast, dreary, and damply cool. The airport, built by Juan Peron as another showcase to his regime, is nothing spectacular now, if it ever was. Somehow this drab and dismal place is befitting the state of the country : it is at least more representative of under-development than the gleaming, meretricious illusions that welcome the visitor to Lima or Bogota. The airport scene is reminiscent of Graham Greene's *Our Man in Havana* with all the Latin American stereotypes—immigration officials ready for the bribe, inefficient Customs men, sleazy hotel honkers—arising in their expected sequence. Of course it is quite noticeable that an American passport widens the Customs bottleneck as our bags are not even opened and we are whisked through, while natives face the vicissitudes of fate and corruption.

The ramshackle condition of the airport for a city of this magnitude is the first sign that we are in an under-developed country. The long line of "unfashionably" contrived billboards beckoning us to drink Pepsi and Coca Cola and to fill our cars with Esso Extra gasoline, hit us as our bus swings into the flat grey countryside of Buenos Aires in winter. This is the next reminder that we are in a country dominated by foreigners. The bus seems like a dwarfed, junked American model but we discover later that the

small Argentinian model, called "Collectivo", is actually one of the country's rare indigenous inventions.

The hinterland from the airport to Buenos Aires is a semi-finished and boundless chaos. The flat land is interspersed with clusters of stone huts with red, Spanishstyle roofs. These are the suburban ghettos of the migrants from the more economically depressed countryside. There are also piles of wreckage from used-to-be houses and tall apartment buildings seemingly thrown up, half thrown up, or on the verge of being thrown up. Apartment projects started ten or twenty years ago are left undone as capital dries up in the endemic economic crises so common in exploited countries. These buildings appear even more badly constructed than American counterparts and the material seems of dubious longevity. (We learn later that Buenos Aires has 40,000 vacant apartments while two million people are in need of housing.) The poverty of the people of the hovels by the roadside is more overt than in North America since the poor cannot be hidden in large decaying buildings as in New York or Chicago. Unlike American cities where the suburbs are wealthy (due to the mobility created by the automobile), Buenos Aires, except for its northern outskirts, is wretched on the periphery and presents more opulence within.

"Language of Imperialism"

Upon our arrival in the city, we stay with Argentinian friends who have had long experience with political and intellectual life, especially in the university. They introduce us to a wide variety of Argentinian middle-class types and to some of the flavour and political leanings of the working class. Only with proper introduction by natives can an American gain more than the most superficial acquaintance with Argentinian life. Even if one speaks Spanish fluently (and we did

NOVEMBER 30, 1968

not), Americans are suspected, and rightly so, of being superciliously nationalistic. Although English is a very common second language and even becomes an invidious distinction among educated Argentines ashamed of their country, people are reluctant to speak it to Americans. For a left-wing Argentinian to speak English to a strange American would be an admission, in one's own country that another language holds priority in human relationships. A man may know that his culture and the language which represents it are debased by another culture, but only a man without dignity, a man who does not believe in the worthiness of his own exploited cultural tradition, would openly embrace the language of the oppressor. Thus, an American must be introduced as "acceptable" by Argentines to Argentines for communication to proceed smoothly. Moreover, the ears of dominated people are exquisitely attuned to picking up the most subtle nuances of imperialist self-aggrandizement. It is quite understandable then that they will avoid speaking the language of imperialism except under strictly defined conditions.

For the North American revolutionary, Argentinian intellectual life (and I am sure Latin American intellectual life in general) is wondrous to behold. What is a slight and huddled eccentricity in the United States—the preaching of revolutionary Marxism—becomes in Argentina a veritable tidal wave. Everybody who is anybody, i.e. who is respected in cultural life, calls himself a Marxist. In the university, students and, until recently, the faculty (which resigned in the face of government repression) in the arts, philosophy, letters and social sciences, are all left-wing. The faculties of law, engineering, and medicine are more conservative, but they are not recognized as having much intellectual repute anyway. The military "arts", while of obvious importance in support of the government and in repression of the people, are discredited. No self-respecting Argentinian, even in the upper classes, is proud of a son in the army. The army may rule in

Argentina, but it is not an institution of public honour.

This brings me to perhaps the central point about Argentinian political life. There is no legitimate political ideology except one that is minimally against the present regime and against foreign imperialism. The military government in power represents such a long line of unfulfilled promises, of selling the country to monopolistic robbers, that no one believes it anymore. Unlike newly "independent" nations of Asia and Africa which have not yet recognized the subservience of their indigenous leaders to foreign capital, Latin American countries have a much longer history of government by home-grown traitors. This means that none of the rhetoric of stability and order is believed by any but the most pathetically ignorant and gullible. If the liberal nonsense of Humphrey was transparent to a sizable minority of Americans, imagine how sophisticated the long suffering Argentines must be after a century of bare-faced lies. The government of Onganía (the military dictator in power) is seen for what it is—an uncultivated, brutish band of cut-throats, thieves and lackeys of imperialism.

Ideology of a Group

With intellectuals being Marxist and everybody against the government, why, one may ask, is the country still imprisoned in oppression? The North American is so unaccustomed to such optimum conditions that he has trouble understanding the phenomenon until he gets to know the quality of the Marxism found here. For Marxism here is both academic and conventional. Like most Latin American countries Marxism is the ideology which all educated people embrace because it simply and truthfully explains what they see around them; but believing and acting on belief are two different things. To be an articulate revolutionary in Argentina means that one is educated and to be educated is to be a highly privileged minority. Marxism is, therefore, the ideology of a group of people fundamentally rooted in bourgeois situations. That is the rub.

Let me elaborate this point since it

is central in unravelling a common paradox of Argentina—the paradox that the vociferous and thoughtful Marxism of a twenty-year-old turns to flabby and incoherent cynicism in middle age. (A foolish man in India recently said that a man must be revolutionary in his youth but wisdom demands conservatism in later life.) First of all, the cost of living in Buenos Aires appears equal to that of cities in the United States, but incomes are much lower. Similar material expectations are built into middle-class people without the wherewithal to fulfil them. Food (especially beef, bread, and wine), services, and clothing may be slightly cheaper, but automobiles, appliances, other luxury items and housing are often a good deal more expensive. A Fiat which costs \$2000 in the United States costs, after super profits and taxes (meaning graft) more than \$4000. It is no wonder that a car occupies a place of honour approximating a household shrine. Automobiles are washed, nurtured, and garaged with all the fastidious concern more commonly accorded to a suburban house and lawn in the United States.

A typical young couple ready to get married faces problems much greater than the North American counterpart. As university students, their schooling is much elongated by the economic necessity of holding down full-time jobs. The job and the long-range student career deepen their Marxism and militate against any predisposition toward hippiness (a phenomenon apparently connected to affluence and indulgence), but they also reinforce insecurity about one's domestic and occupational future. Moreover, the fact that some occupations are available if not at home then abroad (migration by siphoning off potentially revolutionary participants, has conservative consequences in countries like this), obstructs the movement of young intellectuals into their most productive channels—as leaders of a potentially revolutionary working class. Since apartments in Buenos Aires are bought like houses (and then maintained at a small monthly cost), our hypothetical couple must have a large supply

of capital to start life on their own or they are forced to live with parents. Working-class couples are in an especially bad fix while the poor have little housing at all. A small and minimally adequate apartment in Buenos Aires costs about three million pesos (\$9000) which must be borrowed from parents if they have it and puts the couple into a form of kinship debt servitude. It also locks them in the pettiness of bourgeois money concerns regardless of the leftwardness of their political views. If they are lucky, their jobs may bring them \$200 a month—a sum that can be lived on but is hardly sufficient to pay off debts or fulfil middle-class “needs”. Add to this the fact that a telephone can be awaited for ten years (and then it hardly works), that a myriad of other inefficiencies become inconveniences, and one can get some sense of what our young couple faces.

Pattern of Life

Let us see what life style awaits the married couple as it approaches middle age even when successful. They may be professional people both of whom have jobs which earn them about \$700 a month, about half of that earned in the same occupations in the United States. Their apartment would be centrally located and centrally heated—a factor which establishes them in adult bourgeois conditions. The apartment, costing about \$20,000, would have all the modern comforts and they would also have a live-in domestic. At this stage of life, they would be more fully ensconced in the isolation and alienation of the middle-class situation. Politically they may be cynical and apathetic or “leftist” with a touch of pallid nationalism, but their objective conditions are far more significant in making them rear-guard rather than vanguard. Pseudo-leftism is more common which makes parents somewhat embarrassed and ashamed in the face of the greater political coherence and militancy of their children.

This picture of a Marxism more theoretical than active, mired in conditions which contradict the very essence of Marxism, is typical of

Argentinian intellectual life. It explains characteristics of ideological life which appear unpredictable. For example, although women in the middle classes are educated in a more independent way than in North America, the relationships between the sexes are still submerged in male chauvinism and female dependence and sentimentality. While they are strongly “cultured” in a European sense (Argentines appear to read far more than North Americans), the culture of the intellectuals is often dedicated to self-development and individual “enrichment” rather than collective betterment. At the present time, the Argentinian intellectual is having a deep and abiding romance with Freudianism. Marxists even go to the “Marxist” psycho-analysts for “help”. The complications of Argentinian middle-class life are reason enough for great personal insecurities and inadequacies but the “choice” of psycho-analysis to solve these problems is a curious choice for avowed Marxists. In fairness, it must be mentioned that this impression, if true, is based on factors which are probably quite fleeting. The tenuous connection of the middle class to jobs, to education (the university has just been virtually closed down by the regime), and to comforts in general cannot be enduring in a country like this. The dislocations and depression which will deepen in this exploited land should steel the intellectuals for the battles to come, but right now it must be realized that intellectual Marxism combined with middle-class life styles is not enough.

Fascist

As to general political conditions in the country, the present military regime is often called Fascist. This may be a misnomer since Fascism presumes an ideology resulting from conditions not found in underdeveloped countries. Fascism is, after all, a somewhat “popular” form of government because it occurs in countries which are developed and can minimally deliver the goods. Thus Fascism is an expansionist, aggressively nationalistic and racist ideology of an insecure, but developed country. No

puny and overexploited country is in the military or economic position to formulate and make believable an ideology so diametrically opposed to the actual conditions of the nation. Thus a right-wing government in Argentina is a government without even the legitimacy to make claims to a reactionary ideology.

Argentina appears even less prone to be taken in by ideological duplicity than other underdeveloped countries. It is a country with a past of some small economic glory which resulted in some economic and social development. Moreover, it has already had experience with petty-bourgeois nationalism and the halting progressivism that goes along with it. This was the movement that goes by the name of Peronism. Juan Peron, deposed by a military coup in 1955, and Eva Peron, taken by death in 1952, were genuinely popular leaders throughout almost two decades of Argentinian life. Of lower middle class origin, they were never trusted by the military and economic oligarchy because they successfully appealed to the working and middle classes with nationalist, anti-imperialist proclamations and with promises of work, health, and land to the poor. They never fulfilled their promises since they envied the upper classes far more than they loved the working masses. (Is this not the very essence of petty bourgeois populist nationalism?) While building some lavish public works and surrounding their own lives with much pomp and ceremony, the Perons hardly touched the dominant British interests (outside of nationalizing the railway which was losing money anyway) and left all major landed estates and cattle ranches intact. The idea of arming the people—the only act which could have saved his regime—was outside Peron's possibilities and eventually led to his downfall. Because Peron was pro-German during the war (as in India, it was Britain not Germany which was the major enemy in Argentina at that time), the official Communist Party quite stupidly branded Peronism as Fascist and isolated itself from any of the progressive possibilities presented by the regime. Peronism is an excel-

lent example of why Fascism cannot be applied cavalierly to regimes in underdeveloped countries. If active revolutionaries had capitalized on the educational possibilities presented by Peronism, the working class would have been undoubtedly better prepared for the future.

The continued popularity of Peron still strikes terror into the hearts of the oligarchy who are afraid to construct the illusion of parliamentary democracy since, in any election, Peronism or perhaps "something worse" may win. Therefore, Argentina is at a political dead end with the oppressor totally denuded before the people. Peronism has taught the Argentinians that lower middle class nationalism is not enough and the oligarchy has taught them that their country is owned by others. Revolutionary upheaval may be more imminent in this country with nowhere to turn except left.

In summary, our experience in Argentina leaves us very hopeful for its future. It is unlikely that a nation so urbanized will have a countryside revolution. The great size of its working and middle class all living in cities makes the country ripe for more "classical" revolutionary transformation. Although the people will probably suffer greatly before they arm themselves in organized cadres (and without preparation for urban guerilla warfare, military repression will probably put down most trouble), the ideological seeds for such preparation exist in the people. The government is totally discredited as a lackey of foreign imperialism. Economic conditions, even for the middle class, worsen every year (everyone we met says that things have never been so bad). When the spirited idealism of the young intellectuals and the coldly impassioned demand for justice of the working masses are combined in Argentina, then nothing will stop the inevitable new awakening of nationhood and independence.

CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY
23/90 Connaught Place
New Delhi-1

NOVEMBER 30, 1968

My Trip To India

L. L.

UNTIL recently I resided in India for a period of about four years. I had come for a variety of reasons, some negative and some positive. On the negative side, I wanted to get out of the USA. I found my own country oppressive in its flood of jingoist propaganda, in the government's determination to make war and in the population's willingness to swallow both the propaganda and the war. And I had no idea of what could be done about these things. Positively, I was interested in Indian culture, particularly in Indian art. Also, I felt I could profitably do some work in the Indian branch of my own field. Now, if none of my reasons for coming to India were political, it may still become apparent that the main effect of the time I spent there was to politicize me. More of this later.

In the U.S., people have generally got quite a vague notion of what India is like. We may know of her ancient architecture and sculpture, perhaps of her cave paintings, and now also a little of her great music. But as to the daily conditions of life in India, we generally know only that the people are poor and undeveloped. An example: when I was leaving the U.S., one of my people wanted me to take along about a dozen bars of soap and also several of an item of paper (which I subsequently discovered to be the cause of much amusement among Indians). I had to say that I was sure such things were available in India, although equally I didn't know myself whether they were or not. I myself was quite ignorant of conditions here, and only proceeded on the assumption that the people would have come up with something for meeting basic human needs.

Eventually, I reached India. I suppose my biggest disappointment on arriving was to find that the buildings looked just like the ones at home, only worse. I really had had the idea that homes and other buildings would be styled in ancient Hindu or Mughal

architecture or else be somehow inspired by them. Seeing that here the Indian model had virtually yielded to the Western one, was not yet the key I needed for understanding where I was, but it was a step towards finding such a key. In any event, and for the then present, I quickly enough adjusted to the fact that I was still in the modern world, and not in a place of a totally different sort from my own country.

If one set out to gain understanding of a country and its situation, one would of course read its history and study its abstracts and its collective actions. But even more, one would, I think, want to go to its people. Since I had the opportunity to do this in India, it may not be amiss for me to put down here my reactions to the various classes of Indians, as I encountered them. From these reactions, I could attempt to draw some larger conclusions. The reader is asked to keep in mind that the writer has his own limitations and could never be "impartial" in recording his impressions. The writer's main limitations were of language (although I did learn to speak some Hindi) and perhaps more so of class: if one forgets altogether the country one comes from, one still runs into one's upbringing as a city person (as an "intellectual", etc. Be that as it may, and interjecting here that personality I like the Indian people a good deal and feel deeply grateful for their hospitality to me, I shall proceed.

I was immediately struck by what seemed to me an inordinate acquisitiveness among the middle classes, particularly in regard to foreign things. Amongst "my own" middle class, I would have found this only natural; but this, then was India, the home of "spiritualism". The people I was seeing could speak of spiritualism one minute and of Mercedes cars the next.

I was struck by the general lack of independent-mindedness of the student class. Very few students I met had much of what is called "nerve". Most seemed career-minded, few seemed concerned about the fate of their country or of the struggling masses in it. In fact, I found

an anti-worker mentality quite prevalent: "The workers are lazy. They don't want to earn their pay", was what I heard far too often from students.

At the same time, I could see workers in the fields working much harder than any American farm workers I had seen. I could see urban transport workers propelling huge loads of goods by hand rather than by machine, and railway firemen working twelve hours a day on jobs that had been long automated in the U.S. If I had no access to factories, neither did those Indians who accused the workers. If Indian productivity were low, it would seem to be more a failure of technology or of the energy of the leading classes than of the working classes. The latter, after all, have no scope for initiative within the structure of wage labour.

Among government workers, I did find some of the most genuine indolence I had ever seen, and also some of the most mind-splitting bureaucracy, too. The endless ledgers and the unmanned desks are, of course, fabled, and need no further exposure from me.

Among scientists, I found a great deal of disillusionment, occasioned by their inability to implement their knowledge under the given conditions. Many scientists I spoke to had only the highest appraisal of their countrymen's ability to make progress, coupled with a sense of despair at the lack of conditions to enable it.

But what then was this "malaise" which prevented India from going ahead? That is, if the workers could work and the scientists could design, why couldn't the country come up? Here my conclusions will perhaps please some and displease others, but it seems to me that the main obstacle to development in India has been lack of self-reliance, as expressed by acceptance of "foreign aid", foreign capital and foreign know-how. And this dependence on foreign things in the post-independence period has been the responsibility not of the Indian workers or scientists, but of the Indian leadership in government and

industry, of the Indian ruling class in other words.

I shall return to this theme with more conclusions. But let me now dwell on another aspect of my Indian sojourn, namely, my contact with my fellow-citizens from the USA and the things I learned from them. It was not hard for me to meet casually with any number of U.S. government employees—A.I.D.-men and consular officials mainly—with whom I often talked about what was going on. They were quite free at times in telling me *just* what was going on. One told me that the U.S. had definitely forced devaluation of the Indian currency. Another told me of an instance in which the U.S. had forced superfluous U.S.-made fertilizer imports to be purchased from the "U.S. aid" of that year (superfluous in the sense that they were based on one compound, ammonia, which, while not available in India, could easily have been replaced by another, naphtha, which is available in plenty). Further, this man concluded that, in general, the policy of U.S. A.I.D. seemed to be to provide markets for U.S.-made stuff (!). Another man told me that U.S. officials were writing speeches for Indian Cabinet Ministers (!).

I could see that the policies of the Indian rulers and the American rulers fit together perfectly. If India wasn't developing, this was because such a situation suited some people who were making a profit out of it. U.S. company profits (the fruits of all those "collaboration agreements") far exceeded all the "U.S. aid". And that very "aid" was composed mainly of repayable loans which were meant for buying U.S. goods. Meanwhile the Indian Government claimed that "foreign know-how was still necessary" when thousands of engineers were either rotting or had already left to work elsewhere.

Of course, India is not the only country where U.S. A.I.D. has such operations, nor is it the only one which is to a greater or lesser extent politically and economically dependent on the U.S. There is, after all, a worldwide system of capitalism

with the U.S. as its centre. What I was seeing in India was a part of that system's operations at the level of imperialist exploitation. World capitalism does benefit some people, of course, but it only depresses and brings untold suffering to the vast majority of the Indian and other peoples who are on the "dirty" end of the capitalist stick.

While the system has provided a level of comfort to some, not all, of the workers of the U.S. and of a few other countries, which had never been dreamt of by Karl Marx, this has been at the cost of robbing these workers of the freedom to make their own lives. More important, this shifting of the burden of exploitation to the workers of undeveloped countries has created a proletariat of truly enormous size, embracing the main segments of population of whole continents.

This geopolitical argument has been seen in these pages before, no doubt. I have posed it at the end of this article because, aside from its truth, I first realized it for myself in the course of personal experiences acquired in India. I would like my experiences here, particularly those with my "fellow Americans", to anger those who read of them, just as they angered me. It was in India that I discovered at close range what a dirty business imperialism is.

I think that most of the countries of the West, certainly those of my country, are genuinely ignorant of the nature of imperialist exploitation. After all, it is in the interest of our rulers to keep us that way. For that matter, too many of the people of the Third World are also ignorant of it. So one task of those who would destroy imperialism would be to expose its nature to as many people as possible, particularly those who suffer from it but don't yet know the cause of their suffering. The people of the U.S. may have some reason to close their eyes to what their rulers are doing, and if so, then less power to them. But the people of India and of all such countries have every reason to open their eyes and break the bonds which bind them.

Calcutta Diary

GYAN KAPUR

WINTER is here after all with its benefits for some and difficulties for others less fortunate. Living conditions being what they are for the vast majority of working people in and around Calcutta, the only tolerable months are during winter, provided they are not too poor to have some sort of shelter and clothing to protect themselves from the cold. For the less fortunate, of whom there remain, thousands, it is a hard time. To these, of course, have been added the large number in North Bengal who were affected by the floods.

All in all, the winter months provide a little relief to the hard pressed Calcuttan. With cheaper vegetables and fruit for those who care for them life is a little easier. Already the prices have started falling. Perhaps the trend will continue for the next few months.

* * *

The share market thrives on rumours most of which are inspired. The success or otherwise of these rumours depends on the amount of credence given to them. What happens of course is that the lesser mortals who go in for trading on the market are taken in and fall victims to these manipulations. As for the big guns, they have their means of knowing the facts through the grapevine and can afford to ignore all such things.

The link between political events and the share market is more real. It was still something of a surprise to read that the reported disappearance of Mr Ajoy Mukherjee was inspired from the share market. Whether his supposed disappearance from the scene was meant to jack up prices or bring them down could not be ascertained but the fact itself is interesting showing us how much capital and industry have at stake in the next elections. That also shows that victory against the forces of capitalism is not likely to be won, even in elections.

Speaking of shares it has to be admitted that as things are, Mr Goenka has made a nice job of cornering the equity stock of Indian Iron. As was to be expected the funds have come from the banks. In so far as the funds of smaller depositors have been used to finance the cornering through the banks, it is reprehensible. Otherwise I for one do not care much who holds the majority and whether as a result the management of the company changes hands. All the hue and cry on this account does appear partly without point. At a pinch there is not much to choose between one industrialist and another, though there may be rare exceptions of the degree of exploitation: The fate of 11,000 workers who had been on strike for about 7 months in some companies of the same group cannot have been forgotten so soon that veteran left leaders should get worked up as to who holds power. So far as the workers are concerned it does not matter much whether Sir Biren Mukherjee controls policies or Mr Goenka. As for the shares, fluctuations on the market do not really affect the working of the company with which the workers are concerned.

* * *

So Calcutta Corporation will have its octroi or terminal tax after all. The Governor, Shri Dharma Vira, has spoken that he has no objection to it and we may take it that it is final.

Meanwhile the Mayor, Mr Govinda Dey, has started a campaign for still wider powers for the civic authorities. So far as a share of taxes collected by the State Governments is concerned there is some justification for a part of it to be given to the civic bodies and there Mr Dey has hit upon a note that is likely to strike a sympathetic chord in other municipal hearts at the All-India Mayors Conference to be held at Baroda next December end.

There is, however, always a great gulf between talk and action so far as

Calcutta Corporation is concerned. One of the proposed powers sought by Mr Dey would be laughable if not pathetic for the Mayor of Calcutta Corporation to demand. This is the power to raise loans from the open market. When contractors are refusing to supply material it is a fond wish indeed to hope that anyone would like to risk his money by giving it to the near defunct Corporation.

To return to the subject of the expected windfall for Corporation finances, whether octroi,—on value or a terminal tax on weight of goods—is finally decided upon, all is not likely to be plain sailing. With the past record of Corporation administration all we can be sure of is that there will be more opportunities for palm greasing. But then money is for some minds the best tonic. It is just remotely possible that the prospect of a Rs. 5 crore bonanza might tone up the decaying body and rejuvenate it. Only time will show.

* * *

Individuals say the scientists generally come to know of their coming death if they live out their normal span of life. We all know of old people who could predict their end very accurately. Legal fiction gives companies a separate entity just like individuals. Actually they do function like a living thing. It may not be surprising if like individuals, companies also can feel their impending doom. Something of this sense of decay has entered the tramways of Calcutta. Apparently the feeling has spread among the individuals who comprise the company and make it tick, that their fate is sealed whatever happens. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain the fast deterioration in the condition of the trams.

To continue the analogy further, as healthy people shun the dead and dying, even the travelling public has started to turn away from the trams when they can. During peak periods, of course, anything on wheels would be acceptable to the officegoer. But at other times the astonishing spectacle of one after another practically empty trams can frequently be seen while on

the same route the buses ply overloaded.

Incidentally, for years I have noticed a strange thing about trams. On routes where the traffic is not heavy their service is found to be frequent while on others where the cars are congested, comparatively few cars run. There might have been some justification for this in the good old days, just to open up new routes but now when the tramways are on the brink of extinction some linking up of the frequency of running with the traffic should be there. It would save electricity expenses during the lean hours and increase revenue during peak hours.

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The Press

McNamara In Town

COMMENTATOR

INDIA has just observed McNamara week. For days before his arrival Ministers and officials were trying desperately to impress upon the people the importance of this rare visitation and newspapers were trying to present it as a national occasion. In New Delhi he was feted lavishly, and the few pearls of wisdom he cast before dignitaries, official and non-official, were dutifully splashed by the newspapers. He began with a certificate to India's economy which has perhaps occasioned sweet dreams of an overfull begging bowl in Mr Morarji Desai and his kind. Whatever has been deliberately leaked out to the Press about Mr McNamara's discussions in this country would suggest that the resources of the World Bank are India's for the asking and Mr McNamara is an honest banker who believes in keeping politics out of economics. In spite of all these encouraging signs and trends, if credit from the Bank does not come up to the expectation of the Government of India, the blame will perhaps be Calcutta's for daring to give a different kind of reception to the World Bank President. In Calcutta the people insisted on remembering him as the former US Defence Secretary who planned the escalation in Vietnam. The scared bureaucrats in Writers' Building held a series of hurried conferences and tightened up the security measures in consultation with New Delhi. Somewhat prematurely, Mr McNamara was made to inaugurate the proposed helicopter ferry service between Dum Dum airport and the Maidan, because the Government did not dare take the risk of bringing him to the city by the VIP road. For two days Mr McNamara remained practically a captive in Raj Bhavan while the police battled with determined demonstrators in different parts of the city. His outdoor programme was reduced to the minimum, and the much-publicised tour of

bustee areas did not come off. An enterprising newspaper has, however, reported that he took a good look at Calcutta at dead of night. The report has not been confirmed; in any event, it cannot take away from the success of the demonstrations.

The demonstrations made news in all papers and overshadowed Mr McNamara's talks in some. The New Delhi papers appeared to be more concerned over the incidents than newspapers in other centres. Among the papers which thought the demonstrations deserved an angry editorial is *The Indian Express* which also published a dispatch from its Washington correspondent describing the demonstrations as "quixotic". In its anger the paper has messed up West Bengal politics and accused the Naxalbarites (!) of organising the demonstrations for the benefit of the CPI(M) in the mid-term election. The paper says that Calcutta, which has never been known for its good public manners, outvied its traditions of inverted hospitality by laying on a special welcome of arson and stone-throwing for Mr McNamara. Obviously, the barrage by the Naxalbari Communists was with one eye on the coming February elections where the chances of the Marxists pulling off an electoral coup are growing slimmer. Despite the lunatic fringe in the politics of West Bengal the average voter in that State is not so purblind as to have missed the lesson of the gheraos, riots, intimidation, and other obstreperous tactics staged by the Peking patriots over many months. These tactics eventually boomeranged on the Reds. The likelihood is that the latest series will similarly induce another Marxist slump at the polls. In their attempt to set about Mr McNamara as the man from Vietnam the "Naxalbarites" expose themselves as the men from Peking whose extraneous loyalties override any pretensions to patriotism which the Maoists in our midst occasionally parade. West Bengal's voters now know what awaits them, should the Marxists be returned to power. The singular wooden-headedness of Wednesday's (Nov. 20) demonstrators in Calcutta was revealed

in their choice of the victim. It would be extravagant to compare Mr McNamara to the Magi bearing costly gifts: But at the very least he comes to India bearing a message of good cheer and good hope. A sinking ship does not fire on her rescuers.

The Statesman produced an instant editorial probably to reassure Mr McNamara that the majority of the citizens did not support the demonstrations against him. Starting with a gibe at Calcutta for not being a city always cordial to its guests, even when they come bringing gifts, the paper says that the leaders of the Leftist parties knew perfectly well that the World Bank and the International Development Association, at the moment represented in the distinguished person of Mr Robert McNamara, were the best—indeed almost the only—present resource for the urgent needs of a city in grave danger of civic collapse. They preferred to make political capital out of his former position as US Secretary of Defence; his alleged responsibility for the war in Vietnam over which he was in fact a “hawk”; and a generally and vaguely imputed charge of representing US imperialism. Others will attempt to make what apology they may. They will perhaps tell Mr McNamara that similar factional interests, a bare week ago, shouted down the Prime Minister in Parliament itself; those interests no more represented the majority of the Indian people than do present demonstrators in College Street. The apologies will surely be accepted, for a man of his eminence does not readily bear illwill. But Calcutta, even if let down by a minority of Calcuttans, does not emerge with credit. Its needs remain; its reputation has been marred. The paper has not explained what this reputation was; certainly it could not be a reputation for cordiality to guests which the paper has, at the outset, denied to the city.

“Ritual”

Hindusthan Standard says the burning of trams and buses and hawkers' stalls and the consequent confrontation with the police—and the chanting of slogans were part of an elaborate political ritual. Its professed aim

was to register a dramatic protest against the presence of Mr McNamara on the soil of Calcutta. But one has one's doubts that the protest caught the eyes of the former US Defence Secretary or his ears. Mr McNamara was not seriously inconvenienced; nor did his mission in Calcutta remain unfulfilled. He is too shrewd a man to be rattled by throaty slogans or a student rampage on the campus and the Maidan. As for peace in Vietnam, that cannot be won or lost on the streets of Calcutta, however doughty its champions in the metropolis may be. The Calcutta incidents may be of little consequence to either the World Bank President or the heroes of Vietnam but they are of deep significance to the people of Calcutta. The public transport system in the city was disrupted on both eventful days and the common man had to bear the brunt of that. Even in normal times it is not adequate for the city's needs and the loss of a couple or more of vehicles cannot be just shrugged off.

Amrita Bazar Patrika is puzzled as to why the constituents of the UF had thought of organising protest demonstrations against Mr McNamara in spite of his sympathetic interest in the problems of Calcutta with the solution of which his visit was primarily concerned. The paper says that it is difficult to believe that they had not realised the absurdity of the whole thing. If US policy on Vietnam was their target, was there any logic in staging unseemly demonstrations against Mr McNamara who has now not even the remotest connection with the formulation of that policy and who did not visit the city as a representative of the US Administration but as President of the World Bank on a mission of help? Not that the political parties who had taken the initiative in sponsoring the meaningless demonstrations, which ultimately resulted, as usual, in unwarranted violence and senseless destruction of public property, were unaware of these facts. With the mid-term elections just round the corner, some issue is necessary—it does not matter if it is frivolous or absurd—to agitate upon in order to capture popular imagination. Govern-

nor's regime has not provided many opportunities for launching political agitations; as such Mr McNamara's visit came as a grand opening. The World Bank President, who came to this city as an honoured guest to find out if his organisation could in any way be helpful to the citizens, did not certainly deserve this discourteous behaviour. The sponsors of the agitation have not enhanced either their own reputation or that of the city as a whole.

Commenting on the visit of Mr McNamara *Patriot* says that having ruled over the very secretive Defence Department of his country for a number of years, Mr McNamara is a master of the kind of diplomacy our own Finance Ministry most likes—one whose ends are known only to the Very Top People and whose means are always devious and mysterious. The World Bank has been the chief instrument used by America's rulers for the emasculation of India's self-confidence. The Bank's last great victory was when its arm-twisters got the rupee devalued and persuaded the Government to liberalise import control and tacitly revise the industrial policy resolution. Two years after devaluation and a series of supplications in the form of facilities to private capital from the West, we are now almost sure that any significant quantity of aid will be made available to us only if there is a total change in our political attitude to economic problems. This uncertainty is leading to another crisis of confidence within the Government, and Mr McNamara is here to find out for himself what further concessions can be squeezed out and how soon. Mr McNamara is a Republican and can explain with greater force than the verbose Mr Bowles, who is a democrat on his way out, that the Nixon administration wants an economic South Vietnam in India and that this can be established only if we give up talking of planning and the rest. He may even announce that the World Bank will dig the million wells we require for giving our people in the village drinking water if New Delhi assures him that it will be as good a collaborator as Mr Birla.

Book Review

DAVID HARE : HIS LIFE AND WORK

By Radharaman Mitra
Manisha, Calcutta. 1968. Pp. 43.
Price Re 1.

WHO was David Hare? Most of us would vaguely mutter: a great man, a watch-maker who had something to do with the Hare School. In fact, his first biographer, Peary Chand Mittra, who was 28 when Hare died (1775-1842), surprisingly failed to give any details about his personal life in his *Biographical Sketch*, first published in 1877. From the facts and fiction contained in various publications and contemporary accounts on Hare, including, of course, Peary Chand Mittra's book, Hare can justly be described as one of the makers of modern Bengal. Along with Raja Ram Mohun Roy, he laid the basis of Western education in India to replace Sanskritic learning. Its real beginning was marked by the establishment of the Hindoo College in 1817 of which Hare was the principal architect.

Hare came to Calcutta in 1800 at the age of 25 and started his watch-making business. From around 1815, till his death in 1842, he dedicated his life to the diffusion of Western education in Bengal. In fact, there was hardly any significant educational cause with which he was not actively associated. In 1820, he gave up his business to devote all his time, effort and resources to this self-imposed task. Such single-minded devotion can be explained, firstly, by Hare's love for the people whose past achievements he admired and whose ignorance and suffering moved him deeply. Secondly, Hare, though not an educated man in the conventional sense, had the clarity of mind to grasp that the future of the people lay in rescuing them from ignorance through modern education.

Simultaneously, Hare allied himself with the 'natives' in all their efforts to fight oppression and injustice in the 'Good old days of the Honourable John Company'. He raised his voice in protest against the repressive regu-

lations of 1823 to fetter the freedom of the Press. He fought to secure trial by jury in civil cases in the Supreme Court and extend it throughout Bengal, and for introducing English in the court proceedings. He took a leading part to prevent the forcible emigration of helpless and ignorant Indians as coolies to Mauritius and other overseas countries and to secure the release of those wrongfully confined. He befriended Derozio when he was persecuted by those in authority, and offered him facilities for lectures on metaphysics after he was hounded out of the Hindoo College in 1831. Hare was also associated with the Agricultural and Horticultural Society founded by the great William Carey in 1820.

Hare was a man of boundless kindness. His love and concern for children and students is, of course, legendary. He also played the 'Good Samaritan' to people in sickness and health. Small wonder that the Bengalis considered Hare as their *jatbhai*. Even the women of the Bengali *zenana* in those old days did not hesitate to speak to him. Indeed, no outsider was so widely and deeply loved and respected as Hare was in the Calcutta of the early 19th century.

Over the decades, however, dust has gathered on the statue that a grateful community raised to David Hare, and his memory is shrouded in the cobwebs of time.

One, therefore, feels grateful to Mr Radharaman Mitra for coming forward with a pamphlet summarising the life and works of David Hare to remind us the deep debt we owe to him. Mr Mitra corrects some of the dates and facts given by Peary Chand Mittra, gives some new details on such topics as the contemporary Hares in Calcutta, how Hare became the European Recording Secretary of the Calcutta School Society, and his association with the Calcutta and Medical College. He also briefly quotes Krishna Kamal Bhattacharya, Bholanath Chandra and the Rev. Lal Behari Day on Hare and speculates on his agnosticism. But there is no denying the fact that the bulk of the material contained in the pamphlet is

drawn from that medley of biographical details, excerpts from reports, obituary speeches, and the note on Hare by Kishori Chand Mittra contained in Peary Chand Mittra's book. In fact, in some parts, as for instance, in the section entitled 'Hare's Other Interests', the pamphlet reproduces Peary Chand Mittra almost word for word except for the omission of certain details. It will, therefore, be not unfair to say that in throwing new light on the life and works of David Hare, the value of the present pamphlet is at best marginal. One longs for the day when David Hare will get the biography he deserves and hopes that Mr Mitra will return to the task. The real interest of his present pamphlet lies in the second section in which he quotes from two unpublished and hitherto unnoticed reports on the Calcutta School Society by David Hare to prove that the Hare School was established in 1823 and not in 1818 as is 'officially' held.

Finally, one must point out that the production of the booklet is inexcusably shoddy. For example, the 'Corrigenda' run to nine items in a publication of 43 pages, and the first item in the Corrigenda is incorrect. The line referred to in it should be 23, and not 24 as stated. The format, cover design and printing are bad. When will our publishers realise that any publication, irrespective of its size, deserves a pleasing format, in keeping with its theme? It is inexcusable if publishers disregard this elementary point through ignorance or for a little extra profit.

PRG.

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A Teacher On Teaching

S. M. CHANDA

I remember that in my university days, in the late forties, college and university teachers were regarded by most people as a community of disinterested intellectuals. The image of a teacher now is very much different. The tendency is to treat him as just one of the bread-earners of society. That the attitude to teachers and teaching has greatly changed and is changing should cause no surprise—because of big developments altering the pattern of our national life our ideas with regard to other professions also are fast changing. The important thing for college teachers at the moment is to decide how in the changed context they should try to promote their professional competence. They need to ask themselves what precise qualities they should cultivate in order to be successful in their professional work.

Personally I do not believe that some of the factors which are nowadays considered important while appointing a college or university teacher have much relevance to the job of actual teaching. Some typical queries made by a selection committee are : Has the candidate a research degree? Has he published papers? How many has he published in the last two years? These questions are not altogether pointless, but they have no bearing on the teacher's essential job—that of teaching in the class. Because so much weight is given to these things the interest of teachers, particularly of new entrants in the profession, is shifting from day-to-day class work to publishing and thesis-writing, projects which, important no doubt as research activity, are often not of much direct benefit to students. The slogan for a good many teachers today is : publish or perish. With teachers in this mood, no wonder that teaching proper is being given the go-by. It is necessary to remember that research work is desirable, but certainly not at the expense of teaching. The primary job of a teacher is to satisfy the needs of his students and he is

welcome to publish, to engage in formal research and to do creative work if he can do it without abandoning his teaching commitments to his institution. It goes without saying that there should be a ceaseless pursuit of new knowledge on the part of a good teacher, but that pursuit does not necessarily require working on a formal dissertation. If a teacher who neglects teaching for the sake of his research work is guilty, so is one who does not try at all to keep himself intellectually alert. But the point to be stressed is that the craze for formal research has affected, not improved, the standard of teaching. Its effect is a kind of denigration of teaching.

A good teacher takes interest in both—teaching and scholarly investigations—at the same time, but he carries on the latter as a secondary function. The extremists—mere research workers who are lackadaisical about teaching and mere pedagogues who show not a shred of intellectual curiosity—can never appeal to students. And the students' assessment, right or wrong, of a teacher is a matter which deserves consideration. One hears quite a few teachers commenting that students, since they are very young, are too immature to judge the qualities of a teacher. This seems an unfortunate reaction. The job of a teacher discussing a particular subject is not to beat his wings in the air but to present his matter to his students in a convincing manner, to get his thoughts and ideas across to them, to rouse their interest, and if he is unable to do it, no matter how profound his scholarship, he is a failure in the class. Maybe in a particular case students are of low ability. There it is the teacher's job to elevate them by degrees to a higher level of intelligence and taste so that they may be able to receive what he transmits. Their ability or inability to respond is a measure of the teacher's success or failure. The quality of teaching is reflected by what goes on in the mind of the student, not by what the teacher himself thinks or feels. Viewed from this angle, students' evaluation of a teacher is a matter of importance and should be valued. Hypersensitive tea-

chers who resent the idea of students daring to comment on teaching effectiveness should realise that whether such evaluation is encouraged or not, whether it is desirable or not, teachers are continually being judged by their students, just as they are being rated by their colleagues and administrators. The fact should not only be gracefully accepted but should be used by a teacher for self-evaluation.

No Surrender

Showing respect for students' views, intelligent or unintelligent, is not, as some wrongly believe, an act of surrender. It should not be considered in terms of a combat. The teacher's task is not to dictate and enforce but to inspire. You may or may not like what students believe, but you should recognise their right to comment and to hold their own views. Such an attitude of tolerance is, in fact, one of the requisities of a good college teacher. Respect for people and tolerance are some of the qualities which educational institutions at all levels are expected to foster in students. And certainly this job cannot be done by a teacher who lacks these qualities.

The fact that a learned teacher does not necessarily command his students' respect only proves that scholarship by itself is not enough : nor is mere skill in teaching the sine qua non. To teach is, to attempt something more than counselling in curricular matters—training students, by means of examples, in the art of living together.

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One of the essential qualities of the good college teacher is perspicuity. Students love listening to a teacher with active interest even when he speaks of abstract or abstruse topics if he can present his material in a clear, unaffected style, building up his thesis slowly and logically. The perspicuity I have in mind is not simply a matter of verbal expression: it is a conceptual quality, showing a thorough grasp on the part of the teacher of the subject he deals with. It is the clear communication of thoughts by one who combines a love of learning with a desire to share his interest with others. There is need for this kind of perspicuity, for it induces in students a sense of involvement.

I do not suggest that the good teacher is a kind of type-character with some fixed qualities—a picture of perfection. We should not expect him to conform to a set pattern. After all, it is a question of personality, every teacher having a mental make-up of his own which leaves on his students the impression of a distinct individuality. But, as in the case of every art, there are some basic skills and principles required by good teaching: these—scholarship, perspicuity and tolerance—have to be cultivated by a teacher if he wants to raise the level of his students' consciousness.



Early Highlights

PRABODH KUMAR MAITRA

IT has always been exciting to get acquainted with the early phase of movie history by actually seeing the old films, occasionally to the accompaniment of a musical score and commentary. The latter two are often helpful in a way but even if the aural function remains suspended the experience is seldom unrewarding. For, the silent cinema of the second and third decade, particularly the German cinema, remains a perennial source to which we can profitably return to enrich our experience.

The recent showing of some films by film societies confirm this feeling. Paul Wegner's *The Student of Prague* (1913) is considered a pioneer work in many respects. Cinema in those days was considered more a purveyor of the fantasy world of individual and collective imaginations. Wegner gave vent to it in a curious way—by exploring old legends to conform to the middle-class wish-fulfilment. But he had that cinematic sense to make it visually exciting. The duality of self as exemplified by its protagonist is handled with ingenuity and imagination.

Wegner's second *Golem* (1920)—the first was made five years earlier—is also based upon an old Jewish legend concerning the Prague Rabbi who infuses life into a clay statue by putting a magic sign on its heart. The dull robot, played by Wegner himself, soon shows human proclivities, which was far from the master's intention, and falls for a girl. But it gets destroyed and in the process causes depredation. Two sequences stand out. First, when the Rabbi conjures up a procession of the ancestors of the Jewish community. And, second, when Golem meets its death at the unwitting hand of a child who picks up the magic object from him.

Both the Wegner films compel attention by the imaginative virtuosity of their maker. Grim story telling is his forte and this he does with an assured eye for the visual image.

Quite at a distance from Wegner's preoccupation with fantasy is *The Joyless street* (1925), by Pabst who is considered a propounder of realism in postwar Germany. Its locale is inflation-ridden Vienna where everything is subordinated to the cult of money.

Greta Garbo with her coy demeanour appears in her first important role and her performance suits the unabashed melodrama that the film ultimately turns out to be. Pabst's sense of realism is curiously inhibited by an irrelevant sentimentalism. The night club episodes with a juxtaposition of performing legs or the home of the girl where the isolated father ruminates are as well executed as the butcher's basement. But an unfortunate imbalance detracts from the stark reality of the world around.

It seems amazing that the film was prohibited from public view for a time in England. A good majority was steeped in the stinking tradition of film viewing as an escape route. The bourgeois respectability of some in other countries like Italy and France also stood in the way of screening an unmutated version of the film.

Letters

Attack On School

On November 20, the day Mr McNamara arrived in Calcutta, a large number of demonstrators with black flags began shouting "Go back McNamara" at about 2-30 p.m. facing a police barricade on the road in front of the Dum Dum Airport High School, where the annual examination was in progress. The demonstration went on for some time. Then the police withdrew the barricade, the commotion subsided and the atmosphere around the school appeared to be normal. But some 20 to 30 minutes later, a band of policemen rushed into the class rooms and began to beat all and sundry—ours being a co-educational institution there were girl students and lady teachers. The police did not spare either the teachers who tried in vain to tell them that an

examination was in progress, or the girl students. They also grabbed answer scripts and tore them up. Then, as abruptly as they had broken in, they rushed out of the premises leaving behind a ransacked school and some injured students and teachers. The matter did not end there. The policemen extended their theatre of operations and fired several rounds of teargas shells; up to 8 p.m. terror and confusion prevailed both inside and outside the Airport area. The students had to be escorted to their homes and the examination could not be held for three subsequent days as the students and their guardians became panicky.

N. S. CHOUDHURY
Secretary, Teachers' Council,
Dum Dum Airport High School.

Oil Workers

All who are interested in the oil industry, the oil workmen and the trade union movement in general will welcome the short article last week—"The Oil Workers"—by a correspondent, but there are certain other points that need mention. Although the total throughput has gone down at the Budge-Budge installation of Burmah-Shell (due to non-handling of 'red' kerosene), the strength of labour and clerical staff has gone down far more rapidly while the per capita productivity, in other words, exploitation, has increased in inverse ratio. The following table, taken from the union's statement, reveals it:

Year	No. of workmen	Total throughput (M. tons)	Per capita handling (M. tons)
1958	1790	644153	360
1967	944	486682	515
% of increase/decrease	-47.3	-24.4	+43

It should be mentioned here that expenditure on officers and administration has been going up in the foreign oil companies. For instance, in Caltex this expenditure was increased from Rs. 2.37 per kilo-litre in 1961 to Rs. 2.53 in 1965.

The canard that the IOC affected the business of the foreign oil monopolies can be seen through if we leaf through the pages of the Morarka Committee's Report. Between 1962 and 1966 sales of motor spirit and Hi-Speedol business through retail pump outlet of the three major oil companies increased from 2247679 kil. to 2659186 k.l. i.e. by 411507 k.l. over 1962 while the IOC's total sale was only 322725 k.l. in 1966.

If the import of refined oil products against dollar and sterling was restricted because of the crisis in foreign exchange (and arrangement to import against rupee payment was initiated), the foreign oil companies were amply compensated through the increased capacity further authorised by the Government of their refineries in India and they were allowed to import more crude oil from their own sources against dollar and sterling. The comparative position is given below:

	Million tonnes	
	Original capacity (As per Co.'s first letter)	Present capacity (1967)
Burmah-Shell Refinery, Bombay 1954	1.50	3.75
Eso Refinery, Bombay 1954	0.92	2.50
Caltex Refinery, Vishakapatnam 1957	0.50	1.55
	2.92	7.80

Apart from automation and rationalisation the other thing that affected the workmen most and that which the companies are most eager to conceal from the public eye is the contract labour system. In 1958 in Burmah-Shell, Calcutta area, the number of company-owned lorries were 87 and those of contractors' 37, in 1967 they were 33 and 130 correspondingly. In 1958 in Burmah-

Shell there were 38 company-owned and 5 contractor-owned depots, in 1967 they were 19 and 27 correspondingly. Yet it was the declared policy of the Government of India to abolish contract labour.

During the strike period a hue and cry was raised in the monopolist Press that India was losing foreign exchange and in the process they sought to cover up the real drainage the foreign oil companies were causing. Between 1956 and 1966, according to the Lok Sabha Estimate Committee's Report 1967-68, Burmah-Shell remitted abroad Rs. 418.69 crores, Esso Rs. 274.36 crores and Caltex Rs. 145.78 crores. But, then, advertisement is more paying to the Press than nationalism.

The foreign oil companies have sought to make out that the development of inland refineries and the resulting changes in the pattern of distribution, i.e., introduction of pipelines have affected their business adversely. But the fact is, here also the companies have stood to gain. There is less need now for movement of the products of the private sector refineries by tanker and therefore coastal freight costs, which they would otherwise have had to incur, are saved. The commissioning of pipelines has similarly released more tank wagons for movement of products elsewhere, reducing the "no tank wagon zone" of the railways and avoiding to that extent the more expensive movement of products by road.

That the commissioning of pipelines does not and should not cause retrenchment can be seen from the fact that the Caltex management in its plant notice dated 6.12.67 assured all concerned that as a result of shifting motor-spirit filling to the pipeline tap-off-point none of the workmen would be rendered jobless and in point of fact 19 workmen rendered jobless due to closure of can factory were absorbed after commissioning of the pipeline.

Allegations of special support to the IOC by giving Government orders and the consequent loss of business are only half true. In fact the foreign oil companies in several cases offered

very large discounts to public sector undertakings in a spirit of cut-throat competition. They could do so and tolerate inroads into their profits only because their overall profitability has been very good. It is common knowledge that profit returns for foreign investments in India are among the highest in the world.

The reduction in staff which the foreign oil companies have made and are making is not due to the growth of the IOC, pipelines and the inland refineries but, in the main, to automation, rationalisation and contract labour.

In any case, to decide who was correct and which was just, a Commission of Enquiry was appointed by the Government of India and the procedure to be followed by the Commission was adopted with the full consent of the companies. Then why the allegation of delay and why such cruel haste? The Government of India is impotent just as a comprador Government has to be. But must also the public and the trade union movement remain a silent spectator?

ASHIT BHATTACHARYYA
Assistant Secretary
Petroleum Workers Union
Calcutta

Nehru's Courage (?)

Delivering the second Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Lecture at Cambridge University on November 14 Lord Mountbatten disclosed how courageous Nehru was, and how clever.

The twin examples of his courage relate to the INA. When Nehru visited Singapore Mountbatten told him he could go wherever he liked but asked him to refuse an invitation by Indians to lay a wreath on the memorial to the INA. He said men of the INA had broken their oath of loyalty and when India became free she would need to rely on men who did not break their oath. "He saw the point and agreed not to lay the wreath," Mountbatten said.

On another occasion, as Prime Minister, Mr Nehru agreed to refuse in the Central Legislative Assembly the demand that all former INA pri-

soners be released "provided the C-in-C agreed to the Federal Court reviewing the cases and recommending whether there should be any alteration in the sentences".

"Mr Nehru made a courageous speech in the Assembly and the resolution was withdrawn."

On this showing mortals lesser than Nehru would have been called other names. Loyalty to whom? Nehru did not bother to ask and answer these straight questions. He allowed his thinking to be done by Lord Mountbatten, to whom, naturally enough, the INA was an anathema. Intelligent discrimination between the national and colonial points of view was never a strong point of the Congress and its leaders. These examples of Nehru's 'courage' will make many an honest Indian hang his head in shame!

Now Nehru's cleverness. Mountbatten discovered barely a week beforehand that astrologers had pronounced August 15, 1947, inauspicious and August 14 lucky. "Nehru's ingenious solution was that I should summon the Constituent Assembly late on the evening of August 14 so that it could take over as the Legislative Assembly of independent India as midnight struck, which apparently was still an auspicious moment."

I wonder if this equivocation adds even a cubit to Nehru's stature. A more fortunate country would have needed a different category of courage and candour to inform its leaders. Unsavoury revelations these.

INDUKANT SHUKLA, Varanasi

Leopard's Spots

The moneybagwallas have every reason to be happy because Mr McNamara didn't forget to give them his darshan. I, too, hold no brief for those who burnt trams and buses to give vent to their feeling against him. But the way the obedient leader-writers of Calcutta dailies behave is quite amusing. They are busy driving home the point that the anti-McNamara attitude is totally reprehensible because he is, at the moment, not that man who butchered thou-

sands of innocent Vietnamese in the name of saving democracy, but is the President of the World Bank and a great benefactor of India. Aren't they trying to knock down the well-known axiom about a leopard and its spots?

RANJAN ROY

Ichapur, 24-Parganas

Cuba

Contrary to what A Reader says (November 16) about Castro, to the Cuban leader revisionism and Marxism are two separate things. In his speech on August 23, 1968, he said this about the socialist countries in Europe: "As a matter of fact an internationalist and communist conscience is not being developed in those places." The learned reader will be further perplexed to hear Castro saying: "Certainly we do not believe in the possibility of an improvement in relations between the socialist camp and imperialism under the present conditions, or under any conditions as long as that imperialism exists." Questioning the sincerity of the Tass statement explaining the decision of the Warsaw Pact governments on Czechoslovakia Castro asks: "Do they or do they not consider Vietnam, Korea and Cuba links of the socialist camp to be safeguarded against the imperialists?"

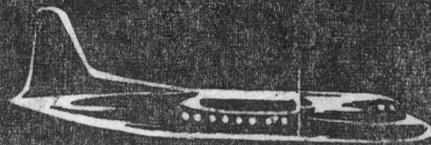
This is enough to show that Castro does not suffer from petty-bourgeois utopia, that he never reconciles Marxism and revisionism.

Reader considers it more revolutionary to create Vietnams than to sing "Vietnam amar nam tomar nam". That is correct. But it is gross deviation from Marxism to create a Vietnam in every capitalist country without exception, ignoring the basic subjective conditions. Where the situation is adverse that song definitely contributes to consciousness, organisation and struggle.

Cuba is a lone fighter in the dense jungle of imperialism and reaction in Latin America. Reader undermines Cuba as a component part of the socialist camp.

JYOTIRBIKAS KUNDU, Nabadwip

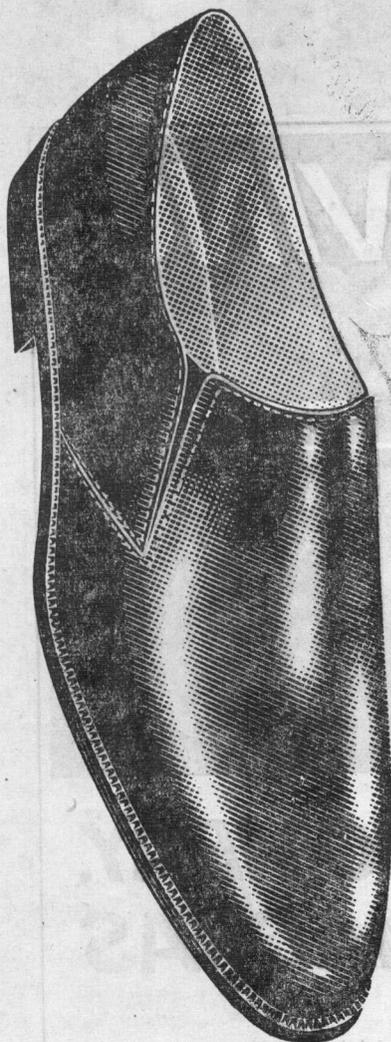
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