

frontier

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On Other Pages

THE CALCUTTA SCENE By A ROVING REPORTER	2
COMMENTS	3
VIEW FROM DELHI THE UGLY INDIAN FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT	4
CALCUTTA DIARY CHARAN GUPTA	5
LETTER FROM AMERICA THE NAME OF THE GAME ROBI CHAKRAVORTI	6
CZECHOSLOVAKIA: CAPITALISM & SOCIALISM—I PAUL M. SWEETZ	8
INDIA AND AFRICA YOGINDER K. ALAGH	11
THE PRESS AN OLD QUESTION	13
LOVING AN OBNOXIOUS WOMAN ASHOK RUDRA	15
MADHUBANI PAINTINGS By AN ART CRITIC	17
LETTERS	17

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PLEA FOR INSTABILITY

INDIA that is Bharat will continue to suffer from the law of uneven development of her States, and if some people for a few brief days feel that they are not, mercifully, part of the mainstream or mudstream, they may be pardoned. This feeling is rather marked in this State at the moment. True, the Congress has also been licked in Punjab, but by what a combination! In Uttar Pradesh, the natural home of our Prime Ministers, the old gang is again struggling towards the Secretariat. Bihar presents a bewildering, proliferating confusion. So, newspaper readers and radio listeners in West Bengal are tending to turn away, in snooty impatience, from all-India news these days. It is the realisation that something different is happening here that is bringing out crowds on the streets and the air is strewn with the sound of crackers. Some call it bombs. In any case the polling was heavy and the election the most peaceful so far in the State. It was not in communist-infested West Bengal that polling was disrupted by violence, but in areas under the influence of such "democratic" forces as the Jana Sangh and the Congress, that is, in Bihar and U. P. where deaths were reported in clashes. And in the model Maharashtra, Mr Chavan's home State, the Shiv Sena monster has now turned against the Congress Frankenstein. The police there acted firmly, perhaps mainly because Mr Morarji Desai had been put to some inconvenience.

We are going to press on Wednesday when the voting trends are clear though the morning fog has not yet quite lifted. But even if it is going to be an outright United Front victory we shall smile but not go into prolonged raptures as we did in 1967. Let there be no illusion: whoever wins, West Bengal is not headed for stability. She should not be. This year in any case is going to be harsh despite pre-election chatter about the improving economic situation. For reasons which are beyond our control in the present set-up the recovery of this State is to a large extent dependent on the wagon industry and even if we are able to clamber up the Russian bandwagon, the deal will take a long time to mature. What is likely in the meantime is another wave of retrenchment, lay-off and lock-out. If the Congress was back in power, the industrialists would have cheered up; with the UF in the Secretariat they will drink less and curse more; but perhaps they know that the latter eventuality will not be a near-catastrophe—the industrialist-bureaucrat-police combination will not crumble under the weight of the UF.

Besides the rulers also hope that the UF has been so overawed by the spectre of instability that it will decide to play it even cooler this term.

It is time we began to hate this concept of stability. The people are too damned poor and wretched to afford the luxury of stability, which is another name for the status quo. Let the left parties, if they have any radical vision and determination left, make things unstable and intolerable for vested interests. To be stable is to let hyacinths grow and rot and turn this once proud State into a suffocating pond where moneybags ease themselves and soak their dirty linen. It is our duty to churn the deathly green waters so that something life-giving emerges. West Bengal cannot cultivate the potbellied god of stability.

The Calcutta Scene

A roving reporter writes :

It had to be seen to be believed. It would have been impossible a fortnight ago to guess that the number of voters in Calcutta would be larger in 1969 than in 1967. But the massive campaigns conducted by the two leading contesting groups, the posters, the festoons and door-to-door exhortations proved so very persuasive and infectious that even those who hated politics, defection of MLAs and democracy, came out to cast their votes. That was the surprise of the day.

The cause of surprise was not the inactivity of the Naxalites. The call for boycotting the elections began to lose its impact long before election day. Barring the posters, a few sporadic diminitive processions and crackers ascribed to them, the Naxalites were scarce in the city. Their protest against the futility of pseudo-democratic elections failed to register—at least this time. Some of them had been arrested on election-eve and others went underground. Their former comrades, however, had no qualms in calling any and every-

body found writing pro-Congress slogans on the walls a Naxalite.

What caused surprise was the behaviour of the leftist sympathisers who had lost all faith in any of the existing left parties. They turned up in the booths but what led them to do it was a matter of conjecture. They came possibly because they hated to be impersonated. Or possibly they would not like to see the Congress MLAs, whom they consider more sub-human than inhuman, again on top in the legislature. Some say that they voted Congress whose victory at the polls, they hoped, would exorcise the leftists of the infatuation with parliamentary politics. Or human as they were, they could have been also driven by the yet irresistible parliamentary urge.

It can be said though that a large number of voters cast their votes without any substantial hope that either the Congress or the UF would be able to come to power. Even if the UF got the majority of votes, which seemed likelier because of the large popular participation, it was more than certain that the State would undergo another spell of Governor's rule. The Centre would not allow, they reasoned, the leftists to rule the State for long and even if it did, the odd assortment of the Front would come apart the moment any of the constituent parties tried to live up to its professed creeds.

Be that as it may, Mr. Sen Verma has every reason to be happy with the behaviour of the Calcutta electorate, except Mr. Dharma Vira's who would not vote lest he should be suspected of partisanship. But not the Congress. The resourcefulness of its workers was at its lowest ebb and it looked as if they knew they were fighting a losing game. They copied the rhythm and diction for their posters from the 1967 leftist posters; used the pictures of police atrocities the leftists used, after necessary modifications and retouches; they even desperately used the same leftist gimmicks. For example, the pamphlet they released the day before the election, seeking to make voters believe that the intra-party squabbles of the UF had reached a dead end. But the

people who thought up the idea had no understanding of mass psychology, not to speak of language. The pamphlet fell flat, very unlike the one which caused Mr Atulya Ghosh his ruin in 1967. The Congress workers could not be however accused of sitting idle at Baranagar; there they released an unbelievable spurt of energy, including setting up of a score card announcing every hour the mounting number of assaults on Congress workers by UF goondas !

The leftists, on the other hand, went on stronger as the marathon campaign, by far the longest in the State, reached its crescendo. The cadres of every party worked united for the UF candidate, quite contrary to what happened in the Krishnagar by-election a few months ago. Their organisation was well-knit. Even the foodbaskets supplied to workers during the hectic day had a distinct Jana Sangh look about them. The red scarves the Marxist communists wore not only made the poll camps colourful but drove real fear into the hearts of rival volunteers, who were mostly below their teens (probably they were the young generation, Mr. Atulya Ghosh alluded to, who took up increasingly the cause of the National Congress). Girls, it appeared, have become openly left and made the election work by and large very popular.

The poll camps wore the usual look. Voters were treated as VIPs, led to the correct booth, often carried from their homes in rickshaws and taxis. When the situation did not appear very hopeful, the usual jamming tactics were resorted to by proffering objections indiscriminately. The old men, slightly less conscientious than Mr Dharma Vira, made sure that the polling officers looked the other way when they imprinted their stamps. Some grumbled against the poor quality of the ink, some looked worried over the rumour that the Naxalites were after those casting their votes but with a sort of acid which at 4-30 p.m. would cause the ballot boxes to wither. The central election offices were busy in directing their cadres to stop all acts of violence lest the election should be stopped, thus

enabling Mr. P. K. Sen and his force to take the credit of a peaceful election. At the end of the day, there were huddles of people speculating over the results. At some constituencies the leftists however looked like parties to a suit who had got an ex-parte decree.

Tirupathi Conclave

Mr Sanjiva Reddy, when he was elected Speaker of the Lok Sabha, announced with much fanfare that, in keeping with the dignity of his newly acquired office, he was resigning from the Congress party—thenceforth he would be equidistant from all political groupings. But our politicians are not used to reading their speeches of yesterday. Besides, at the time when he was kicked upstairs to the post of Speaker, Mr Sanjiva Reddy's fortunes were rather low, Mr Brahmananda Reddy having stolen the Andhra Congress organisation away from him. But things have since looked up; they have been looking up particularly brightly for the last two months. With riots and fissures tearing Andhra apart, Mr Brahmananda Reddy is in deep trouble; Mr Sanjiva Reddy can now afford to move back into the scene and lay his claims on that old bit of the empire.

He is back in style, and effectively back in the Congress leadership. Decorum was given an indecent burial, and last week the entire Congress leadership congregated, of all places, at Tirupathi on the occasion of Mr Sanjiva Reddy's son's getting married. No doubt, some new political marriages were also consecrated at Tirupathi. Old, old Syndicate faces were to be seen once more. So much like old times, there was plenty of good food and *bon vive*. In Mr Reddy's Lok Sabha and in election speeches, the Congress leaders never tire of referring to the crisis which is allegedly engulfing the country, and which calls for hard work and frugality in living. No such frugality cast its shadow at Tirupathi. Election speeches are for the gullible, illiterate voters, the Cong-

ress leaders cannot possibly cramp their style merely because certain speeches of convenience had to be made in the towns and villages of Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal.

Still, congregations such as at Tirupathi ring a bell. In their sinisterness and vulgarity, they remind one of the celebrated annual or bi-annual congregations of the fearsome Mafia in the United States. The Mafia leaders have their individual satrapies; the United States is parcelled into a number of regions, each of which is left in the charge of one Mafia leader, who is the dispenser of underworld justice within his region. The meetings of the Mafia are thus sort of a federal conclave, where, at fairly long intervals, only broad policy issues are discussed and the over-all strategy cleared. If a certain redelineation of the empire is called for, that too is referred to the central body of the Mafia.

All this bears such a strong family resemblance to the conclaves of the Atulya Ghoshes and the Sanjiva Reddys. Still, there is one basic difference. Occasionally, the super-secret meets of the Mafia will be disturbed by surprise police raids, as, for example, the famous Appalachian Raid, when several of the gangsters were nabbed. There will be no such occasion here.

Italian Martini

The unwieldy coalition Government in Italy of Mr Mariano Signor Rumor with 27 Cabinet members and 57 under secretaries, is the 27th since 1945. This "organic" centre-left Government composed of Christian Democrats, the Socialists and the Republicans is assured of support from about 360 of the Chamber's 630 deputies, but how far this patchwork could satisfy the students, exasperated at the continued delays in carrying through the necessary reforms in about 30 Italian universities, workers' demand for social security, higher wages and pension and farmers' clamour for a new agricultural policy is anybody's guess. Since the inauguration of the new Government

there has been a spate of demonstrations and strikes which the authorities tried to counter by resorting to repression. But as it was in France in May last, repression in Italy has proved counter-productive. For the communists the centre-left formula is devoid of reality and they aim at creating a broad left-wing alliance. Mr Luigi Longo in a major policy speech to the Communist Party's 12th National Congress emphasised closer collaboration between the communists and left-wing Roman Catholics. The urgent political task of achieving broader unity among democratic forces, both secular and Catholic, to bring Italy out of its social and labour crisis has been underlined. Although the communists are encouraged by the swing to the left in last May's general election, nothing significant is likely to happen before the local elections in November.

The socialist leader, Pietro Nenni, has been singled out for scathing attack by the communists for assuming the office of Foreign Minister against the wishes of a significant section of the socialists. According to Mr Riccardo Lombardi, centre-left experiments have proved a failure and there should be a united left with the communists. But Mr Antonio Ciolitti would like to give the Christian Democrats another chance to carry out certain measures within a specific period since the left-wing coalition is still miles away. Meanwhile, the regional Government of Sicily has found itself in a ministerial crisis after the resignation of the coalition of Christian Democrats, Socialists and Republicans. The alternative to the centre-left coalition is a tripartite alliance of the Communists, Proletarian Socialists and Socialists. But in all probability the socialists will not approve of such a coalition in Sicily since this may upset the lumpy Government in Rome.

Waving red flags, students of Italian universities and schools started taking to the streets in 1967 to protest against the antiquated and decadent educational system. As the movement developed in depth, the students made common platform with workers and raised common slogans. The peasants have also begun to act. Last

year about thirty thousand small peasants converged from all over the country on Rome to stage a protest demonstration against the geographical differentiation of wages, lop-sided economic development and agricultural policy.

after the election and this winter Mr Dharma Vira will probably be no longer here! Meanwhile, it must be recorded that the price of rice has been going up since election day. What that

means is for the political economists to explain. The only thing that is obvious is that the hoarders are definitely ill at ease with the electioneering game: to hoard or not to hoard?

View From Delhi

The Cheapest Winter

The people of Calcutta never had it so good, not at least during the last five years. Contrary to apprehensions, which had become almost second nature for them, vegetables in the market have become substantially cheaper. Particularly, potatoes. Who would have thought that potatoes would again in the twentieth century sell in Calcutta markets at 30 paise a kg? We have had a wheat revolution, a rice revolution and now a potato revolution, not to speak of a tomato revolution. According to reporters roving in the mofussils, sellers are giving away sackfuls of tomatoes, refusing to take money for them.

It is time to ponder over the mystery. Some call the absurd situation a green revolution. Some say, this is due to better seeds, enlightened peasants, lift irrigation, nine months of the UF and lack of cold storage. Some consider that a bumper harvest is bound to occur after two droughtful years. Some others say, quoting Khanna, that mango, hilsa and such other things cannot but be cheap when rice goes cheap. Those who claim to know the peasants intimately say that their purchasing power has come to such a low that they are forced to give away their products at whatever price they can fetch. Overproduction minus control over the market has ruined them.

There are however many in Calcutta who consider every seller in the market a sucker. They are happy to see the rag-wearing palsied women sell brinjals, tomatoes and potatoes at give-away prices. They praise the strict, honest, humanitarian administration of Mr Dharma Vira for bringing about such a wonderful market back in Calcutta. Their only sorrow is that,

TO face it squarely, Indians are about the most kicked about lot anywhere in the world. And it serves the Ugly Indian right. In spite of Mr Enoch Powell, export of Indians to the United Kingdom is still big business in New Delhi. The young graduate who thinks he is too educated to be a bus conductor in his own country would gladly settle dish washing in London. He belongs to the new category of Ugly Indians.

What is posing a problem for the Government is the older category of Ugly Indians—the get-quick type in East Africa which thought it infra dig to opt for the nationality of the country in which they were earning their living or take out Indian passports but preferred the United Kingdom nationality. Whether the Ugly Indian happened to be in the services or in business or trade when he took the decision is of little consequence. When he is being squeezed out of one African country after the other and when Ye Olde Britain is barring his entry, he looks to the Government of India.

The Ugly Indian who comes to New Delhi (on a British passport, of course) to pull strings about repatriating some money to his relatives or dependants here or to invest it in India as a kind of prelude to claiming his Indian nationality back, talks of India rather patronisingly and often with a little contempt.

The Government's solicitude for the Ugly Indian is misplaced. If someone holds a British passport, the issue is between him and Her Majesty's Government. But the Ugly Indian would tell you how keen he is on repatriating

his capital to India and setting up industries to make us "bloody Indians" prosperous, all after he had been squeezed out of some African country.

The Asian traders now being thrown out of the African countries have been the most parasitic class and most of them had opted for British nationality in the hope that their interests would be more secure than if they had opted for Indian nationality.

India's *locus standi* in the matter of this category of Ugly Indians is open to question on many counts. Does India expect any extra-territorial loyalty out of this class of people? All that seems to qualify them for the Government's solicitude is the accident that they are of Indian origin. But then by that norm, the entire population of Pakistan, as on August 15, 1947 must have been of Indian origin.

New Delhi's public posture that it had always wanted the Indians abroad to identify themselves with the country of their adoption hardly squares up with its actual performance. Were not the Indians overseas utilised in the anti-China campaign? And did not the Indian traders in Africa act as the best allies of the British colonial rule there? Perhaps New Delhi liked it so. Numerous "good-will" delegations were despatched by the Government in the wake of the India-China border war and perhaps the only sections in various African or Arab countries that could be convinced that India was in the right were the groups of Ugly Indians there, a class that did not call itself Indian but wanted all protection for their interests in India.

Outside this kind of opportunist

The Ugly Indian

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

exploitation of the extra-territorial loyalty of persons of Indian origin abroad, the Government has had no conscious policy. It could not even make any distinction between those who left India as indentured labour during the British rule and those who went as traders and businessmen to exploit the less developed countries in Africa.

Outside South Africa (where a large section of people of Indian origin went as indentured labour) it is the unscrupulous Marwari or Gujarati or Sindhi trader who went as an immigrant. The problem took years to build up after the withdrawal of the British from the country concerned and now there is a concerted drive in several countries to squeeze the Ugly Indian out. It is the conflict between the black native and the Brown Saheb and the Brown Saheb looks alternately to the United Kingdom and India for support. If Britain does not want her own passport-holders back, India does not want them either.

The rate at which certain types of skilled labour are migrating to Canada (that is another big racket in New Delhi), there would be another problem of Indian settlers with yet another country soon.

The immigration in reverse began with the kick-out of Indians from Burma. The first repatriates from Ceylon would be with us shortly. A great deal of money has already been pushed out of Kenya and Tanzania. And ironically, the only country safe for the Indian immigrant is South Africa because very few of them look to India. The greatest identification of the people of Indian origin with the African population, again ironically, is in South Africa.

NOTICE

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Business Manager
Frontier

Calcutta Diary

CHARAN GUPTA

AS everybody waits for the countings to end and the results to be announced, let me, at least for this week, pass on to other themes. It would of course be a wonderful pastime to go out and watch the crowd in the compounds of schools and court houses as it waits for the count: such a variegated composition—day labourers and college intellectuals, clerks and housewives, party campaigners and ragamuffins, policemen and pickpockets, vendors and spectators. Amongst party sympathisers and cadres, the asymmetry in behaviour would soon be noticeable. As reports on the progress of the count trickle through from inside, those whose candidate is trailing would start feeling a wrench; as the margin by which the candidate is losing keeps on widening, the crowd at that end would commence to dwindle, only a trickle would be left, and, as the official announcement is being made of the final results—amid the melee, the shouting and the cheer on the part of the supporters of the winning candidate—the loser's men would wither away in silence. The flags would now be trucked in and carried back unobtrusively; the drums and the bag-pipes, brought with such hope in the morning, would be quietly returned; even as they return home, no questions will be asked. The hour, the evening does not belong to the losers. They should—and would—slip away and share their sorrow only amongst themselves.

No, I do not propose to commiserate with them. The results are being counted at the time of writing, and anticipatory commiseration is nobody's cup of tea. Besides, like Bengal's poetry, these young men will always survive and, return, spoiling for fresh fights. The political fervour of the Bengali youth can take these ups and downs with composure; existence would otherwise have been impossible in this grim, grimy city. The great passion does not die; it gets divided

up between poetry and politics, sometimes the two streams even converge, the Bengali imagination surges forward undeterred by what in other climes would be considered to be major disappointments.

One man who, quietly, reached the end of his passion last week in this city was the poet and writer, Sanjoy Bhattacharya. If I can use a cliché from the vocabulary of advertising, he was a pure product of Bengal, a man who, from beginning till end, lived only for the sake of idea and ideals, and who wanted to convert his life into an empirical correlate for such ideas. There have been other poets and writers who have taken literature as full-time avocation; but for none of them I dare say literature has been the be-all and end-all of existence in the sense it was with Sanjoy Bhattacharya. This man was not given to public relations, he did not know the artifices of life; even if he had known, he would have never made use of them to gain some, to him truly, filthy lucre. He died in abject poverty; perhaps he did not want it to be otherwise. His books, including his fiction, did not sell, many of those are no longer available in the market. His poetry, despite its many charms and sudden magnificent depths, was overshadowed by the massivity of output of his more vocal contemporaries. The journal he used to edit—the one he started in the East Bengal mofussil nearly forty years ago—was closed and revived umpteen number of times; funds were always short. It was again coming out, sporadically, for the past four or five years: a puny little thing, set in indifferent type and printed on poor-quality paper, but there it was, full of faith and never-say-die cheer, proclaiming the triumph of the Bengali spirit over the nightmare of Bengali squalor, the lyric of poetry bobbing up despite the sullenness, the utter hopelessness of daily existence.

Sanjoy Bhattacharya was archetypal of Bengal's youth between the two

World Wars not just because of his unredeemable unpracticality. I am sure in his late teens in his home town of Comilla he did several things besides writing poetry: acting in amateur theatricals, associating with the terrorists, composing music, playing the sitar, or even experimenting with small-scale business and industrial ventures. It is typical of the Bengali genius to venture, simultaneously, into assorted fields and to have the aplomb of hoping for success in each. Thus it was entirely in character that Sanjoy Bhattacharya, at a certain time in his career, discovered himself as a devotee of the Fourth International and could go into rhapsodies while describing the adventures and creative qualities of Leo Trotsky. It was equally in character that, taking time off from writing poetry, Sanjoy Bhattacharya would set up a private limited company with the avowed purpose of ushering in tractor cultivation in Bengal. After all, if that skunk Stalin could transform the vast prairies of the Soviet Union through intensive tractorisation, why could not a follower of Trotsky bring it off in Bengal either?

Of course, Sanjoy Bhattacharya did not have the stuff in him to succeed in worldly commerce. 'Model' farming was a total disaster; following partition, the tractors got held up across the border in Kushthia; even if they were not, the venture would in any case have died a natural death. From Trotsky and tractors, Sanjoy Bhattacharya for a time migrated to Sartre and existentialism. Money was always short, physically he was a wreck, but ideas—cranky, commonplace, wild, impossible—kept flowing. Topping all was his Bengali pride, his boast—so typically, excruciatingly Bengali—that the quintessence of all good poetry and art and archaeology got deposited in the marshes of this delta of Bengal. I have heard him claim with total earnestness that Bengali civilization is even more ancient than—and actually the precursor of—the Mohenjodaro one. I am also quite prepared to believe the story that, according to him, Valmiki's *Ramayana* was sort of plagiarised from an earlier

Bengali version. In such atrocious statements lay the charm of the man, so full of Bengali exaggerations, so full of Bengali outrages.

And yet, so full of Bengali courtesy. My first ever piece in Bengali to appear in print was printed by Sanjoy Bhattacharya; and, over the past twentyfive years, betwixt affection and agony, he had watched my gradual but inexorable entrapment by what he used to call 'the Stalinist conspiracy'. A few years ago, he wanted me to contribute an article for his journal; I sent something, which he returned as promptly: his integrity would not allow him to print such Stalinist stuff, whatever his personal feeling toward me. But several letters followed. I must come and have some sweets at his place. Only a few months ago, some young men from a Bengali periodical had interviewed him; there was a reference to something I had said somewhere; when the interview came in print, my name had been printed wrongly; promptly went a letter from Sanjoy Bhattacharya, pointing out the error.

This is however not the place nor the occasion to indulge in sentimental reveries; these might indeed be in bad taste. Sanjoy Bhattacharya's death—unwept, unsung—merely allowed me to nudge myself into reckoning what is the finest in Bengal's heritage. Sanjoy Bhattacharya abhorred my political views, most of his ideas and brainwaves I considered to belong to the realm of the absurd. But he still represented the core of Bengal's romantic heart; by his life, he illustrated the Bengali ideologue's fearlessness to suffer for a cause. I may find the cause wholly wrong, yet I have to admire the spirit behind it all, I owe it to be awe-struck by the sacrifice which is borne with such dignity. In the ultimate analysis, it does not really matter whether one is in the swamps of Naxalbari, in a cell in Dum Dum prison, or in a dingy, dirty flat in Calcutta where you compose your wild fantasies, it is the spirit that counts. As the votes are being counted, I still feel that Bengali spirit cannot be puffed out, whatever the verdict of last Sunday's poll.

Letter from America

The Name Of The Game

ROBI CHAKRAVORTI

TO decipher what is going on in Paris from American newspaper reports is like un-scrambling a scrambled rotten egg. The reports are in apparent detail and yet, neither the content nor the strategy of the Vietnam discussions can be glimpsed from them. The correspondents detail the ephemera of the negotiations, such as the shape of the tables and the public statements and activities of the delegations, but you hardly know what is going on behind closed doors.

Meanwhile, there is speculation in the air that a large number of American troops are likely to be pulled out in the near future. Washington, it is stated, is ready to discuss the phasing of American troop withdrawals, but Hanoi is not eager to reciprocate. At first reading, this reluctance of North Vietnam in face of what appears to be a perfect peacemaking gesture by Washington confirms the impression of communist stubbornness and belligerency fostered in the American mass media.

What the representatives of Hanoi and Vietcong are thinking one never knows. American newspaper reports do not supply clues to their thinking. They tend to fit in with the stereotype of the communists popular in the U.S. Everything that the communists say or do are made to fit this stereotype. As a consequence, their actions and statements all follow the pattern of self-fulfilling prophecy.

However, some clues of the substantive aspects of the Paris negotiations can be gleaned even from newspaper reports. One has to read carefully what is published in various newspapers and broadcast over television and radio to discover these clues, and this task by itself can assume the proportions of a research project. This correspondent has been able to gather some clues on what the antagonists are

FEBRUARY 15, 1969

discussing in Paris and of the problems they face. Clues of international pressures bearing on the Vietnam negotiations are also available.

Washington, obviously, wants some kind of scaling down of military activities in Vietnam. The Administration wants it for two reasons: first, it has finally discovered what critics of the Vietnam war had been saying all along—that a military solution is not possible without continuing loss of American lives. The loss of American lives is what concerns the U.S. most, not so much the loss of Vietnamese lives or the wanton destruction of Vietnam's countryside. If the American military establishment had found a way of continuing the war with little loss of American lives—say, through the use of airpower or long-distance rockets alone and the greater deployment of South Vietnamese troops on all fronts—the U.S. Government would not have chosen to sit down at a conference table in Paris.

Offers for talks had been made by Hanoi before, but these had been turned down on one plea or another. In an excellent piece of reportage two enterprising correspondents of the *Los Angeles Times*, Kraslow and Loory, have given a detailed account of how the Johnson Administration had either bungled or spurned Hanoi's peace overtures in the past, conveyed through various intermediaries. In 1965, U Thant with the active collaboration of Adlai Stevenson who was the American Ambassador at the U.N., had sought to bring Washington and Hanoi together at a peace table. According to the account given by Kraslow and Loory in *The Secret Search for Peace in Vietnam*, both Rusk and McNamara were cavalierly opposed to talks in 1965. Thant had arranged a meeting between representatives of Hanoi and Washington at Rangoon. According to Kraslow and Loory, "On January 30, 1965, Stevenson advised Thant firmly that Washington would not send a representative to any Rangoon meeting. He said Washington felt such a meeting could not be concealed, and that when the news leaked out it would demoralize the Saigon government".

Thant, surprised and obviously an-

nnoyed, is understood to have replied: "What government? Minh, Khanh, Suu, Tri?"

The reason Washington did not entertain any proposal for negotiation at that time was its awareness of military and political weakness in Vietnam. Kraslow and Loory report: "The President's principal advisers had concluded that bargaining from a position of relative weakness could only produce an unappetizing settlement. The military imbalance, they argued behind the scenes, would have to be redressed before negotiations could be considered". Perhaps, LBJ's advisers even had hoped that the "enemy" would buckle down under the pressure of American bombardments and firepower, in short, that American arms can win the war.

Road to Paris

The hope of LBJ's advisers did not come true, and the domestic repercussions of the Vietnam war reached unforeseen proportions. LBJ has exited from the scene, but the discontent on the Vietnam war has remained. Polls have consistently shown that the American people wanted an end of hostilities in Vietnam so that American lives could be saved. The impact of the Vietnam war on the domestic scene is the second reason for Washington's *volte face* last year to the proposal for peace talks on Vietnam. The road to Paris was not paved with a change of hearts or of foreign policy postures. Washington was moved by inexorable pressures for some kind of de-escalation in Vietnam when escalation had yielded diminishing returns in terms of military objectives and increasing returns in American casualty figures.

Recently, there have been reports of improvements in the fighting power of the South Vietnamese troops. On the basis of these reports, some argue, that the military imbalance of 1965 has been corrected and that the balance now is in favour of the "allies". This assessment is questionable even if one takes into account only American reports.

Take, for instance, a recent report from the AP correspondent, Peter Arnett, a highly respected war re-

porter. Arnett reported that while the 1st division of the South Vietnamese army has been "a good Vietnamese division" there are three divisions "who sleep at Saigon's doorstep, reluctant to participate in combined operations with American units, not particularly anxious to mix with the Vietcong or change the status quo".

As for improvements in the South Vietnamese armed forces, Arnett's report is revealing. There have been improvements in "three large areas", namely, "the noon—3 p.m. siesta is no longer standard in the field", "Commanders seem imbued with a greater urge to make decisions", and thirdly, "there is some improvement in night operations" (The M16 rifle has improved morale. The Vietnamese soldier is now on an equal footing with the Vietcong who carries AK47).

If this is the character of "improvements" in the Vietnamese armed forces, it keeps pace with the "pacification" programme in the Vietnamese countryside. Reports published here show that the pacification programme was accelerated on November 1. As is the practice with American operations, "schedules" were made and a number of hamlets were "targeted" for 90-day pacification. The reason for all this hasty "pacification" is obvious: to play a numbers game at the Paris negotiation table. Saigon was preparing to claim a high percentage of Vietnamese population under its control.

A report in the *Washington Post* made this numbers game clear. There is a pressure, the report said, to upgrade hamlets classified by the "hamlet evaluation system"—from 'contested' (by the Vietcong) to relatively "secure" or from Vietcong controlled to "contested". The report quoted a general as hinting that the population control statistics developed by the hamlet evaluation system are being used at the Paris peace talks to "prove that the Saigon government controls some 76 percent of the Vietnamese people". Hanoi and NLF representatives would certainly be eager to puncture these statistics.

On the issue of phased de-escala-

tion, too, Washington is almost certainly facing criticism from Hanoi and Vietcong representatives. There have been reports that America could start pulling out troops immediately. Pull-out of American troops does not, however, mean de-escalation in military capability. The *Christian Science Monitor's* correspondent in Saigon reported that 50,000 "troops" could be pulled out without hurting fighting units.

This magic is possible because American military operations involve a much larger number of logistics and support personnel than more rationally organized armies. The *Monitor's* correspondent quoted an American military official as saying: "We'd probably save 50,000 men if we sent home all the PX workers and military club managers". An Associated Press report says that some high-ranking Americans in South Vietnam have told Washington that a U.S. troop reduction of up to 30 percent—more than 150,000 men—would be possible without easing the pressure on the enemy. This cutback would involve, the report adds, "a more efficient use of the troops available by freeing many of those in base camps and other rear areas for combat duty".

There is another aspect of the proposed pull-out of American troops that may be missed. As the *Christian Science Monitor* pointed out, General Westmoreland is believed to have been planning an ultimate American troop strength of one million men and laid out the logistical base with that target in view. Since the American build-up stopped beyond the half million mark, units engaged in anti-

cipatory logistical bases could be withdrawn without de-escalating military efforts at all.

Moscow

While these are some of the clues on bargaining points on which disputes and counter-claims are probably being aired in Paris, international pressures are building up for some kind of settlement in Vietnam. Moscow, it is obvious now, is eager to have the Vietnam war settled without compromising its revolutionary image. Harriman told NBC's Meet The Press television programme that Russia wants to see a peaceful, neutral South-East Asia that would check "a Chinese advance to the south." The usually knowledgeable Harrison Salisbury of the *New York Times*, who had spent years in Moscow, told a luncheon meeting in San Francisco recently about the depth of Moscow's fear of Peking. Salisbury said that he had been approached many times by Soviet diplomats worried about the prospect of a detente between the U.S. and China.

"The first time I was asked," Salisbury recalled, "I snickered. But the Russians were very serious about it and said it was no laughing matter." The Kremlin, he said, fears closer relation between Washington and Peking as "the way the devil fears holy water." If the reports of this pathological fear of Peking leaders in the Kremlin is true, it means that Washington can expect Kosygin's assistance in securing peace in Vietnam. The longer the Vietnam war continues, the greater the influence of Peking on Hanoi and the greater the chance of the spread of revolutionary wars in other countries in South-East Asia over which Peking rather than Moscow would be the guiding angel. Here is, thus, an expected pressure on Hanoi from an unexpected quarter that works in favour of a compromise solution in Vietnam.

What the delegates to the peace conference are discussing is anybody's guess. It is fun, though, trying to figure out the cards the different parties to the negotiation game are holding.

Czechoslovakia : Capitalism & Socialism—I

PAUL M. SWEETZ

THE Russians justify their invasion of Czechoslovakia on the grounds that a counter-revolutionary situation was developing and that if they had not intervened Czechoslovakia would have reverted to capitalism and joined the imperialist camp. This position, including support for the invasion, has also been espoused by some other elements of the international Left, notably by Fidel Castro speaking on behalf of the Cuban revolutionary leadership. Most of the Left in the advanced capitalist countries, on the other hand, has argued what might almost be called the opposite thesis, that Czechoslovakia was headed for a genuine form of democratic socialism and that the Soviet intervention had nothing to do with either capitalism or socialism but was aimed at halting the process of democratization which was considered a threat to the authoritarian rule of the Communist parties throughout the Eastern European bloc.

The weakest part of the Russian argument is the contention that a counter-revolutionary situation was developing. On the contrary, the existing system had been greatly stabilized and strengthened by the popular reforms of the past eight months. These reforms were largely confined to the political superstructure of the system and did not in any way change its basic character. What was threatening was not a counter-revolution but a Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party which would have endorsed the reforms and firmly entrenched in power the new leadership under which they had been put into effect. These circumstances certainly lend strong support to the view that it was indeed the reforms which were the target of the Soviet invasion, and nothing that has happened since August 21 argues to the contrary.

However, the fact that not a change but a strengthening of the existing system was on the agenda does not mean that Czechoslovakia was not

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moving in the direction of capitalism. The trend toward capitalism is built into the present system: control of enterprises in the enterprises themselves, coordination through the market, and reliance on material incentives—these three factors, taken together, make inevitable a strong tendency toward an economic order which, whatever one may choose to call it, functions more and more like capitalism.

To be sure, some Marxists hold that no society can be capitalist unless or until private property in the means of production is explicitly legalized. For example, a Fourth International statement rejecting Castro's position on Czechoslovakia states categorically that "the danger of capitalist restoration . . . can only arise from social forces having the capacity to organize themselves sufficiently to impose the re-establishment of capitalist private ownership by force." (Intercontinental Press, September 16, p. 766). This is to confuse juridical categories with real relations of production. If enterprises are run by small groups with a view to maximizing profits through production of commodities for the market, you have the essential production and class relation of capitalism. Appropriate juridical forms will develop in due course, but in view of the historical background they will probably not include anything labelled "private property". Nor will this be entirely a matter of ideological deception. "Let us recall that Marx wrote more than a hundred years ago with regard to corporations:

Capital, which rests on a socialized mode of production and presupposes a social concentration of means of production and labour powers, is here directly endowed with the form of social capital (capital of directly associated individuals) as distinguished from private capital, and its enterprises assume the form of social enterprises as distinguished from individual enterprises. It is the abolition of capital as private property within the boundaries of capitalist

production itself.¹

If the old unambiguous concept of individual private property was already so greatly complicated by the rise of the corporation, think how much more complicated it is today in the era of the multinational corporation and massive State ownership. In both Italy and France, for example, the State, directly or through State corporations, owns a large proportion of the means of production—certainly not *private* ownership yet just as certainly a form of *capitalist* ownership. And it is only reasonable to assume that we must expect still other new forms of capitalist ownership in the future.

Market Socialism

It is true that in Czechoslovakia the three features mentioned above are far from fully developed: The system is still a mixture of what is often called "market socialism"² and the kind of centralized administrative planning which had its origins in the

1. *Capital*, Kerr ed., Vol. 3, p. 616. An error in translation has been corrected.

2. The very term "market socialism" is self-contradictory, the market being the central institution of capitalist society and socialism being a society which substitutes conscious control for blind automatism. But this does not mean that the term is inappropriate: the phenomenon which it designates is also self-contradictory. And it is precisely this inner contradiction which impels the market socialist societies toward capitalism. Unfortunately, it must be said that the level of Marxist analysis of these extremely important phenomena is depressingly low, not only in the United States but throughout the international Left. People who have learned the lesson that to understand capitalism one must dig deep below the surface to uncover underlying relationships and processes are content, when it comes to the socialist societies, to deal with appearances only. Much of the blame, of course, must be laid at the door of the socialist societies themselves, all of which without exception have shunned any serious scientific study of

Soviet Union during the Stalin period and was exported to the other Soviet bloc countries after the Second World War. But what is important is not the exact composition of the present mixture but the direction in which the system is moving, and here there can be no doubt (a) that the weight of the market elements has been growing for at least the last five years and (b) that one of the purposes of liberalizing reforms of the last eight months has been to remove obstacles to the further streamling of the Czech economy along market lines³. It is no accident that one of the most prominent and influential figures of this latest period has been Professor Ota Sik who was promoted to the post of Deputy Premier in the Dubcek regime. Next to the Soviet economist Liberman, Sik is perhaps the best known theorist and advocate of market socialism; and he was the principal author of the economic reform programme which was adopted and began to be haltingly implemented in 1964.

Since it is Yugoslavia which has gone much farther than any other country in the direction of market socialism, it is to Yugoslavia that one must look if one wants to see where the course adopted by Czechoslovakia is leading. The turn to the market in Yugoslavia dates back to the split with the Cominform in 1948, so that there we have not five years but two decades of experience to learn from. So far one must admit that it is capitalist observers and analysts rather than their socialist counterparts who have shown themselves able to report accurately on Yugoslav developments and to draw the necessary conclusions. Here is a dispatch from Belgrade which appeared on the financial page of the *New York Times* of August 19, 1968:

Western capital has gained an
their own reality.

3. In *Business Week's* succinct summary, the Dubcek regime "moved to free the press, allow more individual liberties, and apply capitalist techniques to pep up the sluggish Czech economy." (August 24).

important foothold in Yugoslavia and is helping to turn what was once chiefly an agricultural country into a new industrial State.

Investments by such diverse enterprises as Fiat, the Italian auto giant, and Printing Developments, Inc., of New York City, a subsidiary of Times, Inc., represent both the voracious demands of capital for new outlets and the conscious designs of a Communist State to accept a market economy and most of its trappings.

Conversations with Belgrade officials specializing in economic activities show their firm conviction that this route will be followed by other countries of Eastern Europe.

To them Yugoslavia is a pacesetter in the East as well as a show-window for Western capital. Western companies operating here will have enormous competitive advantages once markets open up elsewhere in Eastern Europe.

Following reforms that shifted control of enterprises from the State to the enterprises themselves and introduced the disciplines of the free market and the incentive of profits, Yugoslavia promulgated an equally revolutionary law a year ago to attract foreign capital.

The law did not come without strong opposition from those fearful that Western capital would dominate the key sectors of the economy.

To guard against this, foreign capital is barred from acquiring more than a 49 per cent interest in a Yugoslav enterprise.

Yugoslav companies are controlled by their workers through worker councils, which, in turn, name a board of professionals, such as accountants and production engineers, to manage their plant.

At first foreign companies were reluctant to get involved because the minority stake, they felt, would not give them any direct control over their investment.

At seminars run for Western businessmen here, Yugoslav officials have been at pains to point out that ways can be found around this, for example, by vesting in the foreign investor control over costs of production.

The foreigners are permitted to transfer profits out of the country provided they keep 20 per cent on deposit with a Yugoslav bank. They can sell their stake to other foreign companies provided they first offer to sell it back to the Yugoslav company.

The law has produced some dramatic results.

Fiat, which is supplying the technology and most of the equipment for a big Soviet auto plant, put \$10 million into a Yugoslav company, Crvena Zastava (Red Flag) that makes Fiat cars under licence.

The American company, according to published information here, has gone into a joint venture with Beogradski Graficki Zavod (Belgrade Graphical Printing Company) to do colour printing using especially fast, new processing equipment from the United States.

Of course it may be said that all this relates to Yugoslavia and that it doesn't prove that Czechoslovakia is headed in the same direction. True enough; it would be undoubtedly impossible to prove it to the satisfaction of someone who is wedded to another view. The problem of analyzing social reality is always complicated by the fact that new developments which

are on the way to becoming predominant arise from small beginnings which can be ignored or pooh-poohed by anyone who chooses to do so. All one can say is that Czechoslovakia has already taken more than a few steps along the road pioneered by the Yugoslavs and in the months before the invasion gave every indication moving faster in the direction. Already some deals with foreign companies to build plants in Czechoslovakia had been negotiated (for example, according to *Business Week* of August 31st, ENI, the Italian oil trust, is building a chemical factory in Czechoslovakia); so many foreign businessmen were flocking to Prague that at least one hotel was practically reserved for their occupancy; and insistent, and apparently well founded, stories circulated both in Prague, and in Western financial centres that a \$5-0-million loan was on the way to enable the Czechs to import the latest technology and equipment from the West. Maybe all this is of no significance; or maybe the consequences of relying on the market and developing increasingly intimate relations with capitalist countries would be different in Czechoslovakia from what they have been in Yugoslavia. Maybe, but I have yet to see a serious argument supporting any such conclusions.

No Sincerometer

It should be emphasized here that there is no implication that the Czech reformers—or even the Yugoslavs for that matter—are consciously moving toward capitalism, or that they are being hypocritical and insincere when they say that they are working to achieve democratic socialism. Marxism teaches us not to judge people by their intentions but by their acts and the probable consequences of their acts. The contention is that whoever acts to strengthen the market instead of struggling against the market is, regardless of intentions, promoting capitalism and not socialism.⁴

4. The most important (and most neglected) Marxist work on this general range of subjects is E. Preobrazhensky, *The New Economics*, originally published in the Soviet Union in the

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India And Africa :

YOGINDER K. ALAGH

Does it follow that because Czechoslovakia was moving toward capitalism, this was the reason for the Soviet intervention? Absolutely not. The truth is that the whole Eastern European bloc, including the Soviet Union, has been and is moving in the same direction as Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia. This is the real meaning of the economic reform movement which, in varying degrees and at varying speeds, has involved every member of the bloc. Everywhere, the old system of bureaucratic centralism was running into increasing difficulties. Mass apathy, faltering productivity, economic stagnation—these and other symptoms of impending crisis were visible throughout the region. There were two possible responses. One would have been a cultural revolution in the specific sense that the Chinese have given to that term; an all-out campaign to rouse the masses, to elevate the general level of political consciousness, to revitalize socialist ideals, to give increasing responsibility to the producers themselves at all levels of decision making. The other response was to rely increasingly on the discipline of the market and the incentive of profit. For reasons which reach far back into the history of the Soviet Union and the Communist movement, there was no one, no party, no group capable of making the first response. The second course was therefore adopted, not because the bureaucracies had any love for the capitalist methods but because they could see no other way to preserve their power and privileges. The price they must pay, whether they know it or not, whether they like it or not, is to put their countries on the road back to essentially capitalist societies.

From the *Monthly Review*.

(To be continued)

mid-1920s and recently issued in an English translation (Oxford University Press, 1965). Preobrazhensky was a member of the Left Opposition and was killed in the Stalinist purges. See also the analysis of the Yugoslav system in "Peaceful Transition from Socialism to Capitalism?", *Monthly Review*, 1964.

TRADE and other forms of economic relations between countries are determined by economic, political and sometimes even cultural factors. These factors are all important in the economic relationship between India and sub-Saharan Africa. India for historical reasons tends to have closer economic relationships with those countries of Africa which have been under British domination in the past, e.g. Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda in East Africa and Nigeria and Ghana in West Africa. Most of what this article says is related to these countries, although some portions, particularly the ones on Indian investment in Africa, may have somewhat greater applicability. Political factors have some impact on the economic relationship between India and Africa because of historical reasons. The legacy of colonial domination has left a structure which determines the extent and also the potential of trade with and investment in Africa. The determining reasons after the independence of African countries, however, are going to be predominantly economic. It will be the purpose of this article to unfold some of this meshing of economic and political factors to the extent that they influence Indo-African trade. The tradition of economic theory has been to analyse trade as the end result of the exchange interaction emerging from the structural aspects of demand and supply conditions of two or more economies.

The contemporary African economies are essentially dual economies with large, comparatively stagnant traditional household agricultural sectors and small but growing modern sectors. In Kenya, for example, approximately 93% of the population lived in rural areas in 1962, while only about 37% of total output originated in the non-monetary sector of the economy in 1963. The rate of growth output of the monetary sector of the economy has been 8.4% per annum from 1963 to

1966, while for the non-monetary sector it was only 3.8%.

This overall structural pattern is true of India also. However, there is one major difference. The prices of modern-sector goods are relatively much higher in the African economies than in the Indian economy. This is for two reasons. First, modern-sector goods are predominantly imported in the African economies. Domestic manufactured output is small. More important, a significant portion of these imports is made by large monopolistic Western agency houses. In 1960, 45 large wholesale agency houses (out of a total of 1,254) accounted for about 37% of the total sale of goods in wholesale markets in Kenya, and less than 30% of the firms accounted for over 75% of the total sale. The profit make-ups are extremely high, leading to high prices. Large-scale capital movements eventually leading to competitive supply of imported goods was obviously absent even in colonial days. This was probably due in the past and still is, to psychological impediments to investing in "Dark Africa", and to colonialist restrictions on investment and trade by the non-imperial capitalist powers in each colony. In any case the high price of modern-sector goods, mainly imported, is obvious to even the casual foreign window-shopper in modern African capitals. The second reason for the price differential between modern-sector and traditional sector goods being much lower in India is the relatively greater development of the indigenous modern sector in this country.

This being the existing state of affairs two conclusions follow. In the foreseeable immediate future trade and economic collaboration between India and the African economies will continue to grow. Secondly, the growth of this collaboration itself may create long-run problems some of which may be anticipated even at present.

For the immediate foreseeable

future trade between India and Africa will lead to mutual benefit. India is a creditor-nation for the major African economies. The entry of India into the African economies through trade will be beneficial to her as these countries pay with hard currencies accumulated through sale of primary products. Again such trade will have to be through non-established distribution channels in Africa and, therefore, it should have beneficial effects on the African economies also. Ironically it is in India's self-interest to promote free international trade in the African economies to loosen the hold of the monopolistic import trade structure at present. In no area are these restrictive practices more glaring than in the fact that public sector corporations in many African countries still buy through governmental purchase organisations of erstwhile imperial countries, because of lack of personnel for purchasing departments at home.

Similar Levels

The Swedish economist S. Linder

has argued that exports are based on a strong home market. With this it follows that countries trade most when they are at roughly similar levels of economic development because their demand patterns internally are similar. Once an industry is built up to satisfy home demand it can then export to countries with a similar pattern. Linder argues that this is true for determining trade in manufactured commodities only and so restricts its application to the developed countries. The experience of industrialisation in India in the manufacture of consumer goods for developing lower and middle income classes, and of machinery for economic infrastructure and industrialisation, makes his ideas particularly relevant to the Indo-African situation. If the existing structure of distribution of imported commodities in Africa is supplemented to permit a freer flow of goods India will stand at a relative advantage in the supply of consumer goods for the emerging African white collar and middle income classes in urban clusters as well as the tools of industrialisation.

Indian industry has considerable experience now in supplying the consumer needs of a growing white collar and lower middle and middle income classes. This experience is a big asset in the African markets. The corresponding African group will have roughly similar taste patterns and budgetary limitations. The markets which are being now discovered by Indian businessmen are for cheap razor blades (not stainless steel ones), Ludhiana type electrical gadgets, matches and so on. The elite group will of course continue to buy Western goods at "fancy" prices.

We now come to the area of the building up of the economic and social infrastructure and the industrialisation process in Africa. Again, the immediate possibilities here are enormous, although their utilisation itself may lead to long-term conflict. To begin with, a few features of the industrialisation process in Africa may be noted. First, African industry is being built up for a process of import substitution, as in India, in the initial phases of industrialisation. Demand forecasts

for a new industry are easy as they are based on earlier import demand. This was much like the seller's market in large sections of Indian industry in pre-recession days. Second, the unit size of African factories is relatively small. In Nigeria, for example, less than 30 out of 686 industrial establishments in 1964 employed 1,000 persons or more. The largest proportion of factories employed less than 100 workers. In other words they were not much bigger than small-scale Howrah factories. In Kenya in 1966 less than 10% of the total firms in manufacturing employed above 50 persons and these large ones were concentrated in food processing, railway workshops and assembly of imported automobiles. Third, the shortage of African personnel for running industries is appalling. Ninety-four per cent of African males employed in industry and commerce earned less than £ (Kenyan) 360 per year while the entire population of European men, and 73% of Asian men, engaged in this sector earned more than this sum. Fourthly, there is considerable construction of economic overheads in African countries as a part of their development efforts. Finally, in addition to the construction of economic overheads there is a considerable urge for industrialisation in Africa. The planners are now conscious of Africa's industrial potential based on her rich natural resources base. The Economic Commission of Africa (a regional Commission of the United Nations), has pinpointed this urge in a number of reports, and industrialisation occupies an important part of African development plans. War and international tension have in some cases, e.g. Nigeria, underlined the need for a certain amount of economic self-sufficiency and therefore industrialisation.

Immediate Implications

The immediate implications of the above for Indo-African relations are obvious. To sum up, there is in Africa an urge for industrialisation based on domestic exploitation of the huge natural resources potential. Foreign exchange is available in varying degrees owing to reserves earned by

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the export of primary products. Coupled with this, however, is a frightening shortage of domestic trained personnel. The scale of industrialisation is small and the immediate demand is for consumer goods oriented industries, e.g. textile, paper, food processing and engineering industries producing consumer goods like razor blades, electrical equipment, utensils or light producers goods like agricultural implements. These are precisely the areas of industrialisation where Indian industry has acquired major experience in the last two decades, in terms of daily operation and also of supply of equipment and other inputs from within the economy. India can sell equipment for building up economic infrastructure like railways, power equipment and so on, and also share her own experiences in building up this structure at home. The sale of industrial equipment and machinery, however, requires technical collaboration and direct investment including the provision of machinery.

Further, at least at present, many African governments welcome such investments in their industrialisation schemes with open arms. Tax concessions are liberal and various services are provided to intending investors. In many African economies industrial activity is carried on almost entirely by the capitalist method.

The problems which will arise with almost exclusive foreign participation in African industrialisation schemes, however, may be noted. The immediate bottleneck to African indigenous industrialisation has been noted as shortage of skilled manpower. This should not take a very long time to remedy. The first products of East African engineering colleges are already employed in high-ranking technical positions. Technical education,

both of the degree and of the polytechnic type, is being increased considerably. African dependence on the rest of the world for trained manpower should decrease substantially, perhaps in the next ten years or so.

Another bottleneck to indigenous capitalist industrialisation in Africa is the practically non-existent indigenous saving-investing type entrepreneurial group. From the few budgetary studies available, it can be seen that less than one per cent of African urban families save about 10% of their income. The rest actually dissave. Whatever the merits of the argument that State industrialisation was imperative in India, because of lack of financial resources in the private sector for large-scale industrialisation, this argument is impeccable when applied to the African economies. Once trained manpower is available and indigenous African industrialisation begins, resource mobilisation for this process will only be possible by the public sector. Apart from post-colonial distribution houses and other foreign investors, the State is the only indigenous agency with considerable financial resources at its disposal. Many African governments have large foreign exchange holdings. This availability of resources will impel the State to pioneer industrialisation when sufficient manpower is available.

If Indian investment in Africa is carried on largely by private investors the crisis in our foreign policies with these countries, when they start their own industrialisation schemes, can be easily predicted. At that stage either Indian investors will have to get out gracefully or will be thrown out, more likely the latter. In that case the Indian Government will be forced to defend Indian economic interests which to African governments would then appear as reactionary economic forces. The other alternative is for the entire process of collaboration in the industrial field to be left to bilateral State negotiations or guidance by means of public sector agencies from the outset where Africanisation as early as possible and eventual take-over by local African agencies are consciously planned for.

The Press

An Old Question

COMMENTATOR

THE mini-general election will be over and the results known by the time this piece appears. All that have been written in the past one week about the poll prospects will have lost by then whatever interest they may have had at the time of their publication. The national newspapers were not lagging behind the regional papers in the election-bound States in filling up space with election news, but they were carefully avoiding any confident forecast. Their exercise in evasion would have been unnecessary if they were sure that the Congress would win, for they have at least this much loyalty to the Congress that if they were convinced of a Congress victory they would have spoken out. Their restraint may be construed as an indication of their doubt that the Congress may not be able to stage a come-back. Persistent suggestions that the Congress should enter into coalitions with like-minded parties and the Congress High Command's decision to meet immediately after the poll results are known, presumably to consider the question of forming coalition ministries, were some other indicators. Opinion in official circles in West Bengal has also changed considerably in the past few weeks. The earlier expectation of a cake-walk for the Congress has now come down to the Congress and the United Front being more or less evenly balanced in the new Assembly with neither enjoying an absolute majority. This, according to a report going the official round, will lead inevitably to another bout of President's rule after the necessary formalities of defections and counter-defections have been gone through. The confident predictions of the last general election of a Congress victory are missing glaringly everywhere, and most newspapers are understandably finding the situation "confusing" and the voters "reticent". A correspondent of an outside paper

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FEBRUARY 15, 1969

touring West Bengal districts to inform his readers in advance of the outcome of the mid-term poll, has invoked Lao Tse to his aid: the more one travels the less one knows. He has found the picture getting not only curiouseer and curiouseer, but also hazier.

With four States as prohibited subjects the leader-writers had to cast their nets wide to fill the daily quote of editorials. More than one paper dealt with the Centre-State relationship which became topical because of the death of Mr. Annadurai and somewhat contrived outbursts of the Congress Chief Ministers of Maharashtra and Mysore against the Centre. *The Indian Express* is worried over the relations between the Centre and the States becoming rather strained in a strange and unexpected way. Fears of tension between the Centre and the non-Congress Governments after the fourth general election happily proved to be exaggerated except in the two States where power passed into the hands of Communist-dominated coalitions. But lately, events have taken a rather ironical turn. There is a growing feeling among a number of Congress-ruled States that the Centre is treating them with less consideration than is shown to the non-Congress States. This is felt particularly in the development field. Requests sent to the Ministries concerned at the Centre are often treated in the most casual manner. Sometimes, communications from the States are not even acknowledged by the Central authorities. In contrast to this, the questions raised by the non-Congress Governments get immediate attention at the Centre. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the Chief Ministers of a number of Congress States are upset over the Centre's attitude. They feel that they are being taken for granted. The paper says that the Prime Minister would be well advised to tackle the matter swiftly. Delay will only make a bad situation worse.

After Annadurai

In *The Times of India* K. R. Sundar Rajan has dealt with the specific question of the Centre's relation with

Tamil Nadu after the death of Mr. Annadurai. He says that it would be unfair to dub DMK leaders secessionists at heart. One should rather describe them as over-zealous champions of Tamil. Fear of "Hindi imperialism" is not the DMK's creation; it has only skilfully exploited the sentiment. There is a widespread feeling in Tamil Nadu that the Central Government is firmly committed to a policy of spreading Hindi at the cost of the regional languages. Tamil non-Brahmins look upon Hindi as the instrument of "Aryan" cultural aggrandisement and this feeling is rooted in historical memories. Whatever Congressmen like Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, Mr. Subramaniam and others may now say, the fact remains that it was the Congress Ministry in Tamil Nadu which began the process of eliminating Hindi from the school curriculum. Its so-called adherence to the three-language formula was plain hypocrisy; students were allowed and even encouraged to hand over their Hindi answer papers blank in return for full marks. Most people in Tamil Nadu now say that the DMK is at least honest. Moreover, even if it returns to power in Fort St. George, the Congress will not be in a position to go back on the DMK Government's two-language policy. As things are, the best one can hope for is that Mr. Nedunchezian will be able to maintain good relations with the Centre. The DMK is virtually a prisoner of its anti-Hindi fanaticism and on this issue it has little room for manoeuvre. New Delhi has to be on its guard. It cannot afford to give the extremists in Tamil Nadu any excuse for whipping up anti-Centre hysteria. The recent violence which followed the changes in the timings of All-India Radio's Hindi and English bulletins showed how costly some well-intentioned but important moves can be. Fortunately, even the most ardent advocates of the two-language formula in the DMK readily concede that Mrs. Gandhi does not belong to any particular lobby on the language issue. Mr. Annadurai had full confidence in the Prime Minister's fair-mindedness. His death before the

DMK has achieved full political maturity casts a heavy responsibility not only on his colleagues but also on the Central leadership.

The Hindustan Times has used the current speculation on Mr. Kamaraj's inclusion in the Union Cabinet to refer to the relationship between the Congress High Command and the Congress Governments at the Centre and in States. Taking exception to the Congress President's reported role as an intermediary between the Prime Minister and Mr. Kamaraj the paper says that it is important that the right conventions are established regarding the manner in which advice is sought by or offered to the Prime Minister on the composition of the Cabinet or any other matter, especially in a highly convention-bound society. It is undesirable to create an impression, even if it is contrary to the fact, that the final word on Cabinet-making rests other than with the Prime Minister and that individual Ministers can or should look elsewhere than to their chief for support and patronage. There is and should be absolutely no doubt whatsoever that in the kind of parliamentary system which prevails in this country, the Prime Minister is supreme in government and is not and should never be subordinate to the party organisation. Power and responsibility must go together. To separate the two is to invite trouble. Nowhere is this better or more tragically seen than in the long history of permanent interference by the so-called Congress High Command in the working of the Congress legislature parties in the States where the Chief Minister has often been no more than *primus inter pares* and a faction leader saddled with a "compromise" ministry consisting of other factional bosses each owing allegiance to a different Central leader. These artificial arrangements have time and again arrested the natural operation of the political process and created conditions of built-in instability, tension and confusion. Such a condition has not yet overwhelmed the Centre. Let there never be a beginning. Innocence may be pleaded on all sides. Describing February as a crucial

month Frank Moraes writes in *The Indian Express* that one of the major decisions likely to face the Congress party is whether to coalesce or not with one or more of the Opposition factions in the States where mid-term elections are being held. A proliferation of Congress coalition Governments in the States inevitably and irresistibly points to the ultimate formation of a Congress coalition Government at the Centre. This, depending on the nature of the coalition, spells the possibility of a dangerous weakening of authority at the Centre and in the States with a consequent slowing down of the administrative machinery whose operational pace and performance are already deficient. In some respects the remedy of Congress coalition Governments in a few States could be worse than the disease of miscellaneous factions in power at the same level. It could pave the way to a weak coalition Government at the Centre. At this juncture India cannot afford the luxury of uneasy coalition Governments. The four States involved in the mid-term elections are a sad illustration. From patchwork Governments, composed of the most disparate elements, they were pitchforked into President's rule to save them from themselves. Popular reaction against the irresponsible antics of miscellaneous groups in office does not automatically spell a clean bill of political health for the Congress. In the eyes of very many people the Congress is tarred with the same brush of opportunism and greed of power as are the various opposition groups jostling for office. To them the Congress is no longer an embodiment of virtue; its Galahad armour has ceased to shine. As much as any other party the Congress in the next three crucial years will have to prove its credentials. Indian politics will only be rejuvenated when the country's political parties are capable of drawing younger blood and more modern minds to their organisations. As the Government at the Centre the Congress should set a lead in this matter by ridding itself of the flotsam and jetsam which encumber it.

Loving An Obnoxious Woman

ASHOK RUDRA

IMAGINE a man married, against his weak will, to an obnoxious woman. The man is delicate, sensitive, a bit of a poet, a bit of an artist, a connoisseur of all the finer things of life. The woman vulgar, robust, sexy, garrulous, stupid, fashionable — in short, a snob and a bore. Such a marriage cannot possibly work; but *c'est la vie*, as one says in France, and how many marriages work after all? The man begins his conjugal life with the determination to end it as soon as possible. But of course, as things happen in such matters, years roll by and he continues to remain married to the woman. He does not accept the situation. His life is one continuous engagement in fabricating various plots and schemes to liberate himself. At first he considers various ways of perfecting a piece of murder. In the second stage he tries to make some friend of his elope with her. As no friend obliges, he reaches the third stage of putting all his worldly belongings in a suitcase and stealing out of the house through the backdoor. But twice he is caught and brought back by his wife. After this he gives up all hope and enters the fourth stage. Having resigned himself to live forever with his wife, he decides, at the end of ten years, to make a supreme effort to love her. And being of a poetic disposition, he sits up in a straight backed chair, facing away from his wife, and devotes himself to the writing of a poetic work all in praise of her. It cannot but be a curious work. There are every now and then beautiful strings of words about nothing in particular, such as one might write when in love; but these are exceptions. The rest of the poetry consists of solid facts, sometimes not very truthful, about the virtues of that lady, and tables full of vital statistics meant to prove her beauty with mathematical precision.

If you cannot imagine what sort of a poetic work it would be, see Asok Mitra's essay* on New Delhi (provid-

ed, of course you can get hold of a copy, for it is not printed but only mimeographed and meant for limited circulation).* Written "with the thought of getting over a flat spin, to try 'to be a moment merry', the author anticipates the reader complaining of the "two unblended and distinct strands, the mood and the statistics: the first and fifth chapters representing the mood and the three middle chapters the statistics". He does not mention that the moods in the first and the final chapter are also conflicting, the poetic enthusiasm of the former being neatly annihilated by the condemnation of the latter. Altogether, it is less a matter for complaining and more of stupefaction. More than 40 out of the 96 pages are given to statistics which do not and cannot establish any of the points the author makes in his chapters of mood about that obnoxious woman, Delhi. They do not help to understand how Delhi is distinctive—for no comparative statistics about any other cities are given.

As to the enthusiastic mood, some part of it can indeed be shared. When it concerns the historical monuments and the modern avenues, the Ridge, the Jumna and the Jumma Masjid, one might lack the author's power of expression but surely not his admiration. Thus, Delhi richly deserves being talked about in such words as "The desolate, overpowering cyclopean Tughlakabad The elegantly soaring, spiritually slender and yet earthly squat, resplendent Qutab, the classical Quwat-ul-Islam Mosque with its ethereal arches and the delightful Iltutmish tomb, the lone and haunting Hauz Khas dreaming in the noonday haze....the vibrant sensuous poise and grace of the Lodi Gardens heightened by the Lodi domes which from a dis-

* Delhi — Capital City by Asok Mitra, Indian Civil Service.

* A few copies available at Manisha, College Square, at Rs. 10 a copy.

tance look peculiarly warm and tactile like firm young bosoms with awakened nipples . . . the wild gorse and bramble on the city's spine, the Ridge, such a fantastic stroke of luck for a city, capable of being raised into lovely, dark and deep woods, the rejuvenating diaphanous month of April . . . the heavenly scented summer evenings of well tended flowering trees, the limitless desert sky . . ." etc. It would be untruthful and ungrateful of the writer of these lines not to admit that he also succumbed (once he also had become the owner of a car) to the physical charms and the romantic aura of the capital city. But apart from these aspects there are many other matters of civic life on which the author comments in a much more prosaic English (some of the paragraphs could have been bodily lifted from the office files of some Bhavan in New Delhi) and on which it is difficult to agree with him.

It is incredible that of all things he should talk appreciatively, and not once but several times, of the city's public transport, though it is well known that the system is incomparably worse than that of Calcutta and Bombay and accurately reflects the callous cynicism with which the bureaucrats who rule the country from that haven follow the principle that those who do not own cars do not require to be considered. Not that the author does not know it; for elsewhere he himself writes, "the sight of aged women and expectant mothers waiting resignedly at empty bus stops . . ." Again he writes, "Few cities have succeeded as Delhi has in housing . . ." but forgets to mention the calculated ugliness and meanness of the quarters built for the lower order so that they could be easily distinguished from the gracious villas of the superior officers. He talks warmly of "the way of laying colonies, their communications, neighbourhood, and community facilities" but keeps for a different part of the book the observation that these neighbourhoods are "salary apartheid" . . . "you are indelibly branded by the street and type of house in which you live". He mentions medical facilities but fails to

notice that while in Calcutta and Bombay you can buy the services of doctors, in Delhi if you want to see a specialist you have almost always to use "influence", for the senior doctors in Delhi interpret their being public servants by spending a great deal of their time on ministers, politicians and high officials. He even talks about their being a lot of cinemas and restaurants. But what films are shown in those grand halls? As to restaurants, Bombay alone among Indian cities can claim that many of its citizens can and do habitually dine out. What is there to mention about Delhi?

The plain truth is that New Delhi is more horribly snobbish than any other city in the world. There is no place where bureaucratic pomposity permeates so thoroughly the spiritual climate of an entire community. Asok Mitra cannot save anything from this total condemnation by pointing to the nine cities which, he would have us believe, together give rise to something much more than the petty New Delhi, "a vast sprawling throbbing mercantile industrial and professional city with many cunning passages and contrived corridors, each full of exciting drama." It is true that the personality of these other eight cities is different from that of New Delhi. But the difference is only of the same type as the difference between the personality of the Burra Sahib and that of his oily, smooth, efficient PA. If New Delhi possesses the world's most formidable collection of pompous asses, its eight satellites supply it with the most miserably servile army of clerks one can meet anywhere. Why is Mr Mitra so surprised that this emasculated crowd of clerks and petty traders on the one hand and the men of artistic talent on the other, so greedy of State patronage, feel no loyalty, no debt of gratitude, towards this city? He himself gives the reasons. The writer and the artist is "reduced to the role of courtier, hanger-on, toady . . .". The eight cities other than New Delhi know that the ninth city is the mistress and they are only attendants. Perhaps these alienated people realise that a city can remain uncultured even after being

the "biggest and busiest centre of organised cultural activity". Hence their despondency, lack of pride, lack of identification.

Delhi is indeed beyond redemption. Two examples of the incredible grossness of bureaucratic conceit comes to mind—whoever has lived in that city for any length of time can think of many more. One cold morning in 1963 I happened to be told by a worker in a Delhi office—at whom I had stormed for not having finished a piece of work—that it was difficult to work with her nearly frozen hands, there being no heaters. As I stormed into the room of a superior officer to take up the matter I found him enjoying the comfort of an air conditioner as well as a heater. I got my answer. As an economy measure taken in view of the war with China in 1962, all heaters had been withdrawn from all rooms, excepting those belonging to a certain category of high officers, in fact precisely those who were entitled to airconditioners. Frankly, can anybody beat it?

The other is the occasion when I had to take a great deal of trouble to get a card from a high official of the Government of India for one of the evenings of the Radio Sangeet Sammelan and then discovered on entering the hall that a fairly large proportion of the seats were unoccupied. Though the expenditures of the Sammelan are met from the taxpayer's pocket, cards are distributed free only among the top officials of the Government and other important personages, whether they care a farthing about music or not; others wanting to attend have to depend on the favours of officers of the connected ministries and one has to consider oneself lucky to get a card for one or two evenings, it being out of the question to get it for all the evenings. What is shocking is not that the bureaucracy should so arrogate itself but that no music lovers among the lower orders would think that there was anything to protest about.

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Madhubani Paintings

BY AN ART CRITIC

PAINTINGS of gods and goddesses, mythological figures, birds and flowers, not necessarily to be found in exact zoology and decorative patterns, were on display at the Gallery Chemould last week. They were the handiwork of village women of Madhubani in Darbhanga.

Derived from the murals of village huts, the paintings were executed on rough hand-made paper. It was good to see that despite the change of medium and the diminution in scale, the paintings have come off so well. Executed in bold and spontaneous lines and painted in vivid earth colours, they were lovely and refreshing to look at. Folk paintings of such high quality show that this poor country's artistic tradition is rich and alive. While most of the paintings were pleasing, the most impressive ones were some decorative floral patterns in red and green and pictures of animals and birds in a maze of vegetation.

The stamp exhibition, organised by International Stamp Club, in cooperation with the Trade Representation of the German Democratic Republic, is now on view at 19A, Chowringhee Road. The exhibition is divided into three sections: rare stamps of India, world thematic and the stamps of the German Democratic Republic issued over the last two decades or so.

Of the Indian stamps, the most interesting are the various issues of the Scinde Dawk. Asia's first postage stamp, the Scinde Dawk was issued on 1st July 1852 to mark the conquest of Sind by Lord Napier. It goes without saying that it is one of the Indian stamps most prized by discriminating collectors.

In the world thematic section, there were various types of stamps such as red cross, coronation stamps, stamps relating to international sports, stamps showing costumes, animals, butterflies and birds.

There were about 24 varieties of

stamps issued by the GDR relating to artistic, scientific and political events and featuring paintings of old masters and portraits of great men etc. The exhibition is unfortunately handicapped by lack of space and its mounting leaves a great deal to be desired. The exhibition will remain open till February 20.

Letters

Our Commonwealth

I noted with interest that, as the result of a real or imagined insult to a well-known Indian journalist and his American female companion by Chinese engineers in Nepal, the Jana Sangh battalions together with their Tibetan levies, were marshalled under the redoubtable leadership of Mr M. L. Sondhi to make known their disapproval at the Chinese Embassy in New Delhi. In such manner was India's honour sought to be defended.

On January 14, at 10-30 p.m., in a programme called Listening Post broadcast over Radio 4 of BBC, a listener described how she and her husband were horrified but helpless spectators in a north London underground station, when members of a trainload of loutish youths on their way to a League football match set upon an Indian couple, while their companions chanted "Enoch! Enoch!" in the background.

Apparently the Indian lady was singled out as a target of special venom—she was spat upon in the face by some score of people; her face was dripping with spit, the listener wrote. And yet in the midst of all this drama only a West Indian found the courage and decency to help. Neither the guard of the train, nor any of the passengers lifted their little finger. The episode speaks for itself, but let me assure you to the contrary, in case you suppose this to be an isolated incident.

As an Indian the cup of one's bitterness is full when one reads the drooling, sentimental twaddle about Indo-British relations, and the Com-

monwealth in general, which passes for serious comment in our "free Press". One day, in the not too distant future, when Indian immigrants in Britain are repatriated, as I have little doubt they will be, some among them might be tempted to storm the citadels of power in New Delhi and launch a foreign policy more in keeping with the realities of the present-day world. With politicians like Mr Sondhi so subject to fitful lapses of memory, it perhaps bears remembering that no one country—not China or anybody else—has so exploited India as has Britain and got off so very lightly.

PREMENDRA NATH ADDY
London

Economic Programme

The "Outline of an Economic Programme" presented by Amit Bhaduri is of course no programme at all. He has been obviously extremely hard put to think of *some thing* that a UF Government can possibly do on the economic front. However, it must be frankly recognised that there is *nothing whatsoever* that a UF Government can do on the economic front which can be regarded as a step in the direction of the socialist transformation of society. This judgment, however sweeping, ought not to be swept aside by calling it a Naxalbari stand or what have you. Giving a dog a

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name before hanging it can be irresponsible and boring. If any economist sincerely holds the view that a State Government can make any difference to the economic conditions of the State by taking appropriate measures, he can place forward arguments for other economists to examine. No economist has ever done so, and Amit Bhaduri's half-hearted attempt is a total failure.

Bhaduri's "central suggestion" is with regard to the employment of surplus labour in the rural sector in construction work requiring practically no capital goods. The idea is excellent and a very ancient and respectable one. Whoever recognises the fact that there is a lot of unemployed labour power in the country, has talked about doing something about "harnessing" it. If nothing has been done about it so far, that is because it has not been possible to work out a method of paying the workers that would not be inflationary. Bhaduri says he has got a scheme that is "self-financing"; but this is very very queer. For his scheme is to pay the workers in kind in terms of procured food, but it is not at all clear how, if the procurement is to be carried out against cash payment to the sellers of grain, the scheme could be treated as self-financing. Bhaduri does not at all talk about how to finance the procurement, so that his scheme is certainly not self-financing—it only involves substitution of the usual types of capital formation by a particular type of capital formation. The justification of this particular type of capital formation calls for economic arguments which he has not given. This matter has been widely discussed in the country over and over again and it is surprising that Bhaduri thinks he has given a new suggestion, while failing to notice what it is that has so far stood in the way of implementation of the programme. Any scheme that is not self-financing has to be rejected for its inflationary potentiality. The

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only way surplus labour can be employed in a self-financing fashion is to see that labour is paid with the *increased output resulting from the application of labour*. Now for labour to remain unpaid until the capital formation results in increased production, then the increased produce to be shared out among the labourers in proportion to labour contributed rather than among the possessors of land according to how much increased production takes place in whose land, is possible only when land is socialised and owned by collectives or communes. Whether this raises the spectre of Chinese communism or not, there is just no way out of this logical necessity. Amit Bhaduri in thinking that he has suggested a scheme of utilising unemployed rural manpower within the institutional framework of the country at large, is simply and grievously in error.

ASHOK RUDRA
Santiniketan

"Sanity Wins"

Your "Sanity Wins" (February 8) is an example of willing suspension of sanity on your part. You have accused the police of excesses, but hundreds of people who had the opportunity of watching the rampage before the Statesman House on January 31 will testify that the police behaved too softly with the crowd.

You have also suggested, with a touch of your trite sarcasm, that *The Statesman* should have expressed regrets a day earlier. *Frontier* offends—and deliberately too—the sentiments of many, week after week—and religious sentiment is not surely the only valid sentiment in life. May we take it that if a crowd attacks the *Frontier* office on such a pretext, the Editor will not waste a day in expressing his regrets?

A. READER
Calcutta

Peasant Revolution

Counter-revolutionaries and cynics who spread the slander that the Indian

communist movement produced only pamphleteers and phrase-mongers but no creative thinker will now be effectively silenced. Explaining the meaning of agrarian revolution, which has been made so much of by the adventurists, Comrade Promode Dasgupta recently said, "Agrarian revolution will be accomplished under the leadership of the working class. After paralysing the machine of oppression they would ask the peasants—you go ahead in your struggle for the seizure of land. We are putting out of action the machine of oppression. Only on that day would rise the sun of revolution. Agrarian revolution cannot be achieved by the exodus of retrenched workers to the village." (*Ganashakti*, January 6, 1969). Everybody interested in revolution should take note of this "creative" development of the theory of People's Democratic Revolution, the central task of which is the agrarian revolution. Comrade Dasgupta has brilliantly interpreted the meaning of the leadership of the working class. It does not mean, as it has often been erroneously maintained,—the leadership of working class philosophy i.e. Marxism-Leninism. It means general strike and sabotage by the working class in the cities. With the help of this interpretation we now realise that China's agrarian revolution, contrary to her claim, was not in fact led by the working class.

A STUDENT OF MARX
Calcutta

Comprador

I like the headings of the topics, e.g., Journey of the Magi, Jesting Pilate, etc., discussed in your weekly. Of these, perhaps the most pithy mot juste was Comprador.

Mr Jyotirbikas Kundu of Nabadwip in your issue of January 11 has given, in my opinion, a laboured definition of Comprador. Such elaboration spoils the charm of words.

For me the C.O.D.'s meaning viz., (In China sic.) chief native servant in European (sic) house of business, is enough.

P. BHATTACHARYYA (Mrs)
Kenduadihi, Bankura

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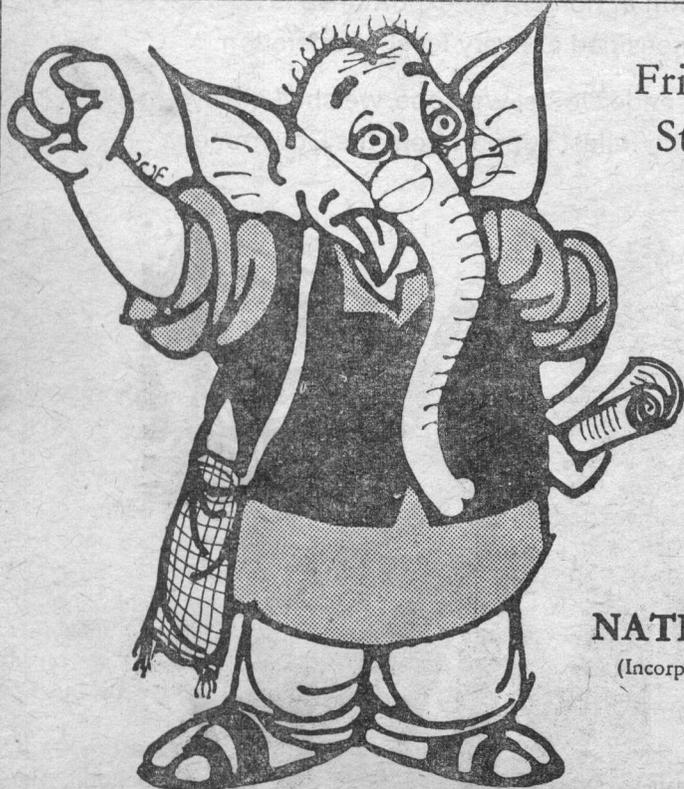
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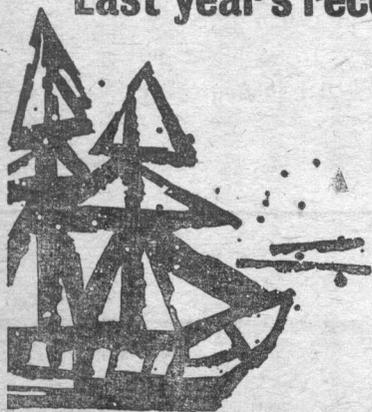
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