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ONE-EYED DEER

WITH expected swiftness the anti-CPM parties have tried to turn the brutal murder of Mr Hemanta Kumar Basu to their electoral advantage. Their veneration for him could not make them wait a few hours to bruit about the allegation that the CPM was behind the assassination; over his body in the hospital whispers were started, and they developed into a roar by the evening when the eight-party combination rose out of its grave and passed a resolution describing Mr Basu as a victim of the nefarious politics of intimidation and murder initiated by the CPM, as if the CPM alone is guilty. Other anti-CPM parties have taken the cue.

All this is part of the election game. It cannot be a matter of much consequence if the politicking of the anti-CPM parties succeeds and they are able to exploit the tragic end of an honest and earnest man to rout the CPM in the next election, if and when it is held. The CPM is trying hard to identify itself with the left Establishment headed by the Prime Minister; its style of functioning may be different if it is able to return to power, but like all other parties it will also try to uphold the Constitution by which it will have to swear before the portals of office are thrown open to it. Yet it cannot be overlooked that of all parties, the CPM is the keenest on election. It had demanded a mid-term poll when other parties were dithering; perhaps toying with the idea of a new coalition with Congress support. An early election was necessary for the survival of the party. Its dalliance with parliamentary politics, though brief, has made its outlook so election-oriented that it cannot think of any other occupation for its restive cadres. To the CPM the announcement of an early election has been a godsend; the party is now able to throw into the fray all cadres who were straining at the leash and threatening truancy. What the party will do with these cadres if it is unable to capture power is a question to be decided when the contingency arises. For the present the leaders are relieved, and they cannot brook any programme which may be used as a plea to cancel the election in West Bengal.

Its antagonists have, however, foreseen this argument. They say that whatever may have been the CPM's earlier stand, it is now determined to wreck the election as it has realised that its defeat at the polls is

certain. They forget that the reason which compelled the CPM to ask for an early poll still operates; in fact, it has been reinforced by the death of some 200 party cadres. The party cannot change course in midstream; it must move on, maybe, to the bitter end. Had these parties not been so obsessed, they would have extended their search for the culprits to other quarters also, not leaving the whole shady business to police dogs. There could be a link between the sudden speculation in newspapers over the possibility of cancellation or postponement of the poll in West Bengal because of the murderous attacks on candidates and reports of "confessions" by arrested Naxalites about plans to blow up polling stations by "remote-operated detonators". Both have been denied by the Government; but it is not known to have taken any action against the police officer who planted the story about detonators, though the newspaper concerned had quoted its source.

The Government had never been in favour of election in West Bengal. The State Government had opposed it to the end, and the Centre had to order an election in the State because the Prime Minister needed a parliamentary poll. It may suit both if a situation develops in the State which makes polling impossible. Some in the Government, particularly in the police department, may be trying to contribute their bloody mite for this purpose. If their efforts succeed, the election may be abandoned. If they do not, they will at least embitter further the relation between the two left groups. Inter-party clashes will increase and more heads will roll of which the ultimate beneficiary will be the Congress (R). By meaningful silence in public and broad hints in private the Government has placed the responsibility for Mr Basu's murder on the CPM. The anti-CPM parties have lapped it up immediately, though in other matters they refuse to accept police facts as truth. They are playing the Government's game by allowing themselves to be swept off their reason by smiles and innuendoes of Lalbazar.

Testing Pilates

A correspondent writes:

Last Saturday there was a spontaneous, half-day hartal. All the political parties expressed grief and anger at the murder of Mr Hemanta Basu and sent their statements to the press and All India Radio. These parties had the whole of Sunday to organise mass meetings in Calcutta to decry the politics of murder and such mass contact would have served their purpose much better than the hartal called for Monday. Hartals are now synonymous with sportive inaction. In Ballygunge one saw men playing street cricket. That was mourning indeed!

A feature of the statements made these days by political leaders is the attempt to brand opponents for crimes without waiting for evidence. No party is free from this wretched practice. Last Saturday some leaders could not check the temptation of associating the CPM with the murder; and Mr Promode Das Gupta of the CPM referred parrot-like to the area as being infested with Naxalites and anti-social elements. His party has never shown any scruple in using the police version to blame others for crimes and in threatening those who doubt its partisan allegations. The police now must be chuckling—it depends on them whether or not there will be a witchhunt against the CPM. Opportunism can boomerang.

As for the police, they are having a field day, shooting down 'wanted' men. But the belief is strangely widespread that the men they shoot or arrest must have had something to do with a particular incident. About police activities some parties too go dumb on occasion. *Ganashakti*, the organ of the CPM, could write about CIA hand behind the murder of Mr Hemanta Basu the same evening, but it did not have a line on two consecutive days about the police murder of ruary 15. Whether anything was five young men in Beliaghata on Feb- published even later we have not been able to check up.

As for our journalists, the standards of reporting they follow are safe and unsound, the principal sources of their political and criminal information being Lalbazar, the Secretariat, and, on occasion, headquarters of political parties. In the presentation of the news thus garnered ample care is taken not to offend the bosses. Thus the news is treble-distilled—the police version, the party version and the version the bosses like. The personal interpretation of a reporter depending on his political bias, is for private circulation. Truth, indeed, is a dome of many-coloured glass that stains the white radiance of imported newsprint. By reporting the police version every day and keeping quiet about what is behind it the newspapers are abetting the police terror.

The Game Of Malaysia

Democracy, it seems, is the swing of the seventies in Asia. With Pakistan riding high and the great democracies of India and Indonesia bracing up for the general elections, Malaysia could not lag behind. Early this week the Malaysian Parliament was reopened with much fanfare. Two years after they were elected the honourable members of Parliament were invited by the Sultan of Kedah to play the game. If the game is going to be played according to rules laid down by the strongman Tun Razak rather than May's *Parliamentary*

Practice that is a very small price for the revival of democracy. That Razak and his National Operation Council junta have agreed to reopen the doors of parliament is a testimony of their democratic spirit for which one should be thankful. Cynics would of course seek a motive behind this noble spirit and insinuate that Tun Razak's concern for democracy was kindled only after the holding of the postponed elections of east Malaysia—when the dominance of their Alliance party in Parliament was assured. But democracy isn't a

democracy without a solid phalanx of the ruling party inside parliament. If its position is threatened by the opposition as it was after the elections of May 1969 the results could only be another May riot and negation of democracy.

This time Premier Razak has not left anything to chance, especially when enemies of democracy are lurking behind every bush. Too much of freedom, he knows, is bad for democracy. So he has taken care to pass a law making discussion of "sensitive subjects" an act of treason. The "sensitive subjects" include the special position of the Malay within the constitution, the primacy of the Malay language and the right and prerogatives of the sultans and the king and the citizenship question. In a democracy all are equals but Malays and sultans are more equal than others and to question it would be to attack the very basis of democracy. It has also been made clear that the opening of Parliament would in no way affect the authority of the nominated National Consultative Council in shaping the nation's destiny. Neither has Tun Razak left anybody in doubt that the parliamentarians would be promptly packed off if they refused to pass the constitutional amendment he has in mind to ensure stability to Malaysian democracy.

Political insurance apart, Tun Razak is never ready to tolerate any nonsense in the socio-economic sphere in the name of equality. Malaysia is primarily for Malays and the industrialists have been told in no uncertain terms that in matters of employment they must always give preference to the Malay *Bhumiputras* (sons of the soil). The Malaysian Government is determined to correct the "racial economic imbalance" that leads to political imbalance and defeat of the Alliance party.

Nobody would have any quarrel with Razak in his noble mission of raising the poor Malays by the boot-strap. But he could have looked for something better than the cheap remedy of kicking out equally poor non-Malays to accommodate *Bhumiputras*. This remedy is not simply

working. The ethnic Malays are extremely reluctant to take up the jobs in rubber plantations and mines now manned by Indians and Chinese. The solution to the racial tension lies in an accelerated economic development that could provide jobs to thousands of Malay peasants and angry unemployed youth in the city. By simply pandering to the demands of the Malay chauvinists and putting a lid on the discussion of fundamental issues Tun Razak and his boys would be living on borrowed time.

While opening Parliament this week the Sultan of Kedah also announced the neutralist course to be followed by Malaysia. Even before

this declaration nobody was in doubt as to the kind of neutralism Malaysia was for. In any issue involving American imperialist aggression Kuala Lumpur has always shown itself to be scrupulously neutral like South Vietnam, South Korea, Japan and Indonesia. In order to continue to be neutral, the ex-Premier Tunku Abdul Rahman made dear it must be underwritten by Washington. Last year after Spiro Agnew morale-boosting trip to Malaysia the Tunku said with satisfaction: "The Americans are not going to leave us in the lurch, and are prepared to spread their umbrella for the security of this region".

Andhra Pradesh

Will You Vote ?

C. K. KUTUMBA REDDY

WILL you vote in the coming elections? The voter should think of the mounting repression by the ruling classes on genuine struggles of the people. The common man has been fleeced by landlords, the bourgeoisie and capitalists of all hues. It is high time for the voter to decide to boycott elections and support people's struggles surging forward on the lines of armed revolution with the sole intention of forming a people's democracy in the place of farcical bourgeois democracy.

I confine myself to the situation in Andhra Pradesh. In this State, according to available information, not less than 150 revolutionaries were shot dead by the police during 1969-70. The Andhra Police Minister, Mr J. Vengal Rao, speaking in the State Legislative Council on 10 December 1970 admitted that 110 "Naxalites" were shot dead by the police in "armed encounters". The phrase 'armed encounter' is a cloak the ministers and bureaucrats use to cover police atrocities. It is necessary for every voter now to understand the nature of police atrocities in the State.

In Srikakulam district alone the

police have shot dead 140 revolutionaries. In Khammam district along with Battula Venkateswara Rao, two others were shot dead; in West Godavari one, in Krishna district three, four in Guntur district, and one each in Ongole and Anantapur districts.

How farcical it is to say that all those were killed in "armed encounters"! Battula Venkateswara Rao, Suryanarayana and Venkanna, belonging to the Revolutionary Communist Committee headed by T. Nagi Reddy were captured near Gondigudem in Khammam district, tortured by the police for two days, taken to the hillocks near Aswaraopet in an unconscious state and shot dead.

Panchadi Krishnamoorthy, a top leader of CP(ML) and six others were apprehended while they were alighting from the train at Sompet and were taken to a nearby forest on the same night. In that forest they were shot dead.

Tamada Ganapati, Dr Bhaskar Rao and two others were arrested in a village near Amadalavalasa in Srikakulam district and were confined in the Amadalavalasa police lock-up

for two days, tortured there, taken to the hills near Tekkali and shot dead.

This so-called democratic government which often boasts of its peaceful nature, has violated all norms of a civilised society and shot dead a few women revolutionaries, which is unprecedented in the entire history of India. Mr T. Nagi Reddy, while arguing personally before the Special Magistrate in the conspiracy cases at Hyderabad, assailed the Government for its brutal, barbarous and savage acts and said that even the British did not resort to the heinous crime of shooting women. He said that Kalpana Dutt was a living example that the British were more humane than the so-called benevolent rulers in the so-called democratic republic.

Srimati Panchadi Nirmala (wife of Mr Panchadi Krishnamoorthy), Srimati Saraswati, and Srimati Ankamma were arrested in Berhampur, Mr Panigrahi, S. R., a famous revolutionary poet, was also apprehended along with them. They were kept in various police stations in Sompet taluk. The hired police goons beat them into pulp. Later all of them were killed by the police gangsters. But this government shamelessly announced that they were shot dead in an "armed encounter". Who will be fooled by these brazen-faced statements and announcements?

Cowardly

This cowardly government trumpeted the death of Vempatapu Satyanarayana and Kailasam, the "masterminds" behind the Srikakulam armed movement. The Police Minister announced their death at a special press conference at Hyderabad using the stock, worn-out and old cliché "armed encounter". But what is the fact? Vempatapu and Kailasam were apprehended by the police in a village near Kurupam. Only after getting instructions from the higher-ups in the Police Department were both shot dead. This shameless government has announced a reward for the cowards who shot those unarmed revolutionaries!

Veeranki Rajgopal (Eluru), Dasari Venkataramana (Vjayawada) and B. Janakirammaraju (Kapileswarapuram) of the CP (ML) were arrested near Samalkot in East Godavari District. Rajagopal was taken to the East Godavari Agency Area and there the police killed him. The other two were taken to Mangipudi near Machilipatnam and there the police C.I.D. inspector, Pilla Satyanarayana, shot them dead. Before shooting them the two were kept in Nuzveed, Veeravalli and Kodal police station for a month and tortured. Similarly B. Ramulu, a teacher belonging to Nulakaluru in Guntur district, Dasari Koteswara Rao belonging to Golantla in the same district and two others, were taken to Nallamala forest and shot dead. The government said, as usual, that they were killed in an "armed encounter". But how can the government hide the fact that they were kept in Veldurthi traveller's bungalow and inhumanly tortured while the public of Veldurthi witnessed the odious crime by the police? Mr Bali Reddy of Gudluru in Kandukuru Taluk of Ongole district was arrested on the night of 20 July 1970 at Kanigiri town. He was taken to Munnangidinae forest and killed on the 24th morning. There is no forest near Munnangi dinae nor did any armed encounter take place.

Even according to the Police Minister, 110 Naxalites were shot dead in armed encounters. Did the Minister ask for a post-mortem on their bodies? If so, can he exhibit the post-mortem certificates? Can the Minister assert that in all those so-called armed encounters no police personnel died? If any policemen died would the Minister announce their number? Did these armed encounters take place anywhere in the presence of people?

The Police Minister has stated that magisterial enquiries had been held in all the cases of encounters. If so, is he ready to hold public enquiries into all these incidents? This brutal, rabid, reactionary government has no guts to order public enquiries.

Revolutionaries in Jails

There are now more than 2500

revolutionaries in jails on various charges framed up by the police. The Visakhapatnam, Rajahmundry and Warangal central jails and the Secunderabad district jail are filled with revolutionaries. They are lodged in various sub-jails too. A majority of them were not produced before any magistrate in the stipulated period of 24 hours by the police. Article 22 (2) of the Indian Constitution says that no arrested person could be kept under police custody for more than 24 hours and he should be produced before a magistrate within the prescribed period. The police have completely violated this. They were kept in various police camps for months together and tortured brutally. The police have beaten all the past records of the world in proving their own brutal nature. In this regard also information is gathered from reliable sources and in certain cases from the very persons who have experienced the police brutality.

In the first instance the reactionary government resorted to a swoop on the Revolutionary Communists in the State in July 1969. Arrests were made on a mass scale on the night of 26 July. But the high court ordered the release of many, including its top leader, Mr T. Nagi Reddy, on their writ petitions. Hence the government's conspiracy—to frame conspiracy cases against the rank and file of the Revolutionary Communist Committee. After arresting Mr Nagi Reddy and others in Madras on 18 December 1970 Revolutionary Communists were arrested all over the State.

Mr V. Ramalingachary, a provincial member of the A. P. Revolutionary Communist Committee and former Secretary of the Srikakulam district committee, was arrested in Kakinada village in the agency area of East Godavari district. Along with him Apparao Reddy (Visakhapatnam), Bhaskar Rao, a polytechnic student, and Bose, a medico, were arrested on 7 September 1969. Till 22 September they were kept in Donkarayi, Salem and Sabbavaram police stations. On the 16th and 17th of that month they were confined in a forest travellers' bungalow near Donkarayi and brutally beaten. Pins were pressed

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into their nails. Their hands were scratched with glass pieces. But the police announced that they had been arrested on 23 September when they were produced before a magistrate.

The police did not exclude even priests in temples. They spread their "dragnet" to apprehend one T. Jogi-
raju of Neharbara Temple at Kakinada. Our intelligent police officers raided Vigneswara Temple near Achutapuram gate in the same town on the night of 16 September 1970 and caught hold of its "Archaka", Bucchi Sanyasiraju. The police told him that he was wanted by the DSP to perform some "Puja" in his house. On this pretext he was taken to the police lock-up and tortured to vomit all that he knew about "Naxalites". Later the police came to know that he was not the priest wanted. Meanwhile some of the devotees of the Vigneswara Temple came to know about this and intervened to get the poor priest released.

Conspiracy Cases

Andhra Pradesh has become a scene of foisted conspiracy cases. Apart from the two major conspiracy cases, one against Mr Nagi Reddy and others at Hyderabad, and the other against CP (ML) cadres known as Parvatipuram Conspiracy Case, a number of conspiracy cases have started in many districts. There are the East Godavari District Conspiracy Case, Tallapalem and Kodavaluru Conspiracy Case in Nellore district, Kurnool Conspiracy Case, Kazipet Conspiracy Case in Cuddapah district, Timmapuram Conspiracy Case in Nalgonda district and City Conspiracy Case in Hyderabad, on record at present.

Quite a number of medical and engineering students, advocates, journalists and several other highly educated persons are falsely implicated in these cases. Several educated women also have been dragged into these fictitious cases.

The degree of repression in the agency areas of Srikakulam and Telangana areas is immeasurable. In the Srikakulam district seven taluks out of 11 are declared as "disturbed areas".

In the Telangana area Mulugu, Narasampet and Parakal in Warangal district, Illendu, Burgumpahad and Bhadrachalem in Khammam district, Mantalna in Kareemnagar district are "disturbed areas". Everyday a number of new police camps with CRP men are being set up. There are 11 police camps in Mantalna Taluk, in Iylapuram and Bandala villages in Mulug Taluk, in Kottagudem in Narasampet Taluk and in Koyagudem and Kasinepalli in Illendu Taluk new police camps have sprouted up.

Police raids on villages in forest areas are a daily feature. Every time the police raid a village, all the people in the village are assembled in a particular place and all people irrespectively beaten. The chickens, the grain and the little provisions the Girijans have are forcibly taken away. The dusk-to-dawn curfew has been in vogue in those areas since several months. The government has opened a number of concentration camps on the model of Vietnamese "strategic hamlets". On 22 November 1970, UNI in a despatch stated:

"250 Girijan families consisting of 600 members were evacuated from their villages and were settled in Ramabhadrapuram, Jammivalasa and Peddabalibanda villages. . . The government took this measure to wean away the Girijans from the Naxalite influence."

The government is not only using its "iron hand" on revolutionary movements and other mass movements, but is also ruthlessly curbing the movements of government workers. The government is running amuck and throwing its own employees behind bars.

M. B. Krishnamma, President of the State Elementary School Teachers Federation, was arrested in 1969 and is still kept in dark dungeons. P. N. Bhushanam, Secretary, Srikakulam District Elementary School Teachers Federation, was first detained in 1969 and later was implicated in the Parvatipuram Conspiracy Case. The same is the fate of Chowdary Balaji, a clerk in the Shermahammadpur

Panchayat Samiti Office. Dongaiah, a lecturer in Srikakulam district, was shot dead by the police. V. Syamsunder Rao, Secretary, District NGO's Association, Kakinada, was arrested and implicated in criminal cases. Prasad and Yugandhar, two railway employees, and a health inspector, P. V. Subbarao, and Sarabandhi, a Basic Health worker, were arrested in connection with the Prodduvaka murder case. Bikkiramulu, a teacher, who was a native of Mulakaluru village in Guntur district, was brutally shot dead by the police. Pandi Venkaiah, a postal employee in Guntur in Nellore district, was arrested and tortured for 3 months in police custody. Later he was implicated in the Kodavaluru Conspiracy Case. Miss Rajeswari, who is an accountant of the Reserve Bank at Nellore, was arrested on the ground that she was harbouring "Naxalites" and kept in police custody for over a month and tortured. Now she is confined in Central Jail, Rajahmundry, as a detenu.

Most of the accused implicated in the City Conspiracy Case, Hyderabad, are government employees. Baburao is a railway guard at Donakell, Samuel, an employee of AG's office, L. V. Subbaiah, an employee in HMT.

"Freedom of the Press"

Janasakti, the official organ of the "Revolutionary Communist Committee", was not spared by this pseudo-democratic government. The police raided the *Janasakti* office on the midnight of 26 July 1969 and arrested D. Krishnamoorthy, who was looking after the organ, Sub-editor, N. Venkata Rao and managerial clerk K. Satyanarayana were arrested. The government has not banned *Janasakti*, but the police officers who raided the *Janasakti* office carried away all the office records, files and all other equipment with them.

It is no exaggeration to say that the jails in our state are hell on earth. Proper food is not given, no amenities are provided, no medical attention is paid. More than 45 revolutionaries died in jail during 1969-70

owing to lack of proper food and medical attention. More than 5 undertrial prisoners are confined in a cell which is actually intended for one. Bugs, mosquitoes and scorpions are co-dwellers. No doubt these are affectionately fostered by the department to suck the blood of the revolutionaries.

The Government is not giving even newspapers to the undertrials. It is not allowing them to buy newspapers and books. Incoming and outgoing letters are censored regularly.

In Chittoor Sub-jail a startling incident took place. Narayana Reddy, a revolutionary undertrial, was shot dead inside the jail. The police version is that the undertrials attacked the jail authorities with sticks and they had to open fire. From where can the undertrials get sticks when even a razor blade is not allowed inside?

Powerful voices have been raised for withdrawal of the death sentences on Nagabhushanam Patnaik and others. All democratic-minded people should raise their voice of protest against the brutal police game.

This bankrupt, big bourgeois and landlord government cannot solve any of our problems. If we have to liberate our country from the clutches of neo-colonialism, we must wage an armed struggle.

In these circumstances it is up to the elector to decide whether he will vote in the coming elections.

Our agent at Alipurduar

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Repressive Violence : A Reminder For Intellectuals

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

WHAT marks the petit-bourgeois intellectual (with leftist trappings) when he is outraged by repressive violence but who, for all his humanistic talk, cannot cope with a situation that immobilises him? He spouts tedious platitudes and clichés in an attempt to save himself. With apparent facility he discusses Indochina and Angola, Calcutta and Belfast and sounds most confident precisely when he is totally impotent. He may also become a critic abroad and a conformist at home. For example, sitting in Calcutta he can easily support the Vietnamese struggle against U.S. aggression and at the same time indulge in unceasing banalities extolling the great electoral way to "Indian socialism". Or resting on a professorial seat at Harvard University he can "strongly support" the Palestinian liberation movement and yet find that the Blacks are too emotional about police brutality. Surely, there is no lack of such examples. Let me recall to the pure conscience of these people a statement of Lu Hsun :

Most people know that the warlord's sword is used to order soldiers about. They do not realize that it is used to order intellectuals about as well.

And while the intellectual is being outraged what has the friendly warlord been doing beside smiling at his lap-dogs? There is no need to enumerate the facts about Bengal. They are known, in all their perversity and clarity. But let me draw attention to some other instances that are also common knowledge but perhaps without the details. First, from the writings of Ho Chi Minh. About the United States he writes :

Among 78 Blacks lynched in 1919, 11 were burned alive, three burned after having been killed, 31

shot, three tortured to death, one cut into pieces, one drowned and 11 put to death by various means

...
And about French Indochina :

At the time of the execution of the *traillleurs* in Hanoi, the administration had their fathers, mothers and children brought by force to make them witness this ceremonial killing of those dear to them. To prolong the impression and to 'give the population a lesson'.

Or,

A soldier obliged an Annamese woman to give herself up to his dog. She refused. He killed her with a bayonet thrust in the stomach.

Here is an example of torture used against Algerians and put down by Frantz Fanon :

Injection of water by the mouth accompanied by an enema of soapy water given at high pressure. (This type of torture is the cause of a very large number of deaths.)

Finally, a recent performance of the masters of technological violence. The United States now uses an anti-personnel weapon called "the cutter bomb" in Vietnam. This device gently floats down from airplanes on to the ground and does not explode on contact. It is coloured bright red, bright yellow or bright green so that adults recognize the colours and avoid going near it. But for the same reason the bomb is very attractive to children. So if a child goes up to it and kicks it his leg is blown off, or if he bounces it in the air his arm is severed. And this child grows up economically dependent on a society which is engaged in revolutionary struggle and needs him to till the fields and fight the aggressor.

Now what are the lessons (often not obvious to the confused intellectual)

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that the warlord has been teaching us? Most generally, all repressive violence is used to maintain the existing order. In every instance the warlord, as colonialist, as feudal landlord, as national bourgeoisie, is either a part of the ruling class or is a servant of the rulers, who just do not give up their economic and political power out of benevolent feelings for all humanity. Secondly, no one ought to be surprised at the methods and extent of repressive violence. Clearly, the warlord will use any conceivable means to retain his position. But it is not enough to rest on general conclusions when the repression we face is always in a particular historical situation and must be dealt with within a given historical context. Therefore I shall look at my examples with the following statement of Lenin in mind:

We Marxists differ from both pacifists and anarchists in that we deem it necessary to study each war historically and separately. This general principle applies to the study of repressive violence as well, particularly since much of it occurs in war.

Oppressed Group

The first questions to be asked about each oppressed group are what is its economic function in the given society and how does this role change with time? Black Americans, colonised Algerians and Indochinese constituted a work force and were exploited as such. Therefore the repression against them, no matter how severe, was (and is, in the case of Blacks in the U.S.) necessarily limited by their being a part of the productive forces in the respective societies. These people were enslaved by violence but only so that they may work on plantations, in mines and factories without revolting. But whereas the Blacks had been uprooted completely from their own environment and were later assimilated into the higher stages of U.S. capitalism, the story was different for the other two groups. For them the coloniser was clearly from the mother country,

an external aggressor against whom a national liberation struggle could be launched. (I am not trying to settle the question of a Black nation in the U.S. today but simply pointing out an obvious difference.) Now, is U.S. violence against the Indochinese people, particularly the North Vietnamese people, of a similar nature? This question can be made clearer by the following example. When the settlers from the "Old World" brought African slaves into North America they were already in the process of expropriating the land of Native Americans (American Indians), the indigenous population. These "natives" put up a strong resistance against the conquerors and among other things did not share the settlers' feudal past or the developing notions about private property. For these and other reasons Native Americans were not used as free or cheap labour and the violence used against them became genocide—in the sense of extermination of a whole people. The small fraction of Native Americans that survived were eventually put in concentration camps, where most of them live even today. The point I want to make is that the extreme form of repressive violence is in fact genocide and we have to sort out instances where that might occur. It seems to me (and not only to me) that at least against the people of Vietnam (in spite of the national bourgeoisie) the policy of the rulers of the United States is genocidal. Along with that, due to the rising tide of revolt at home, potential rebels (e.g. large numbers of proletarian and lumpen-proletarian youths) are being sent to Indochina to fight in the front lines. This is, of course, dividing and ruling and shows up another facet of repressive violence. I shall briefly dwell on that before returning to genocide.

The intellectual must remind himself that the warlord needs soldiers and that "dividing" does not mean putting oppressed groups in isolation but putting them *against* each other. Thus the warlord's needs to keep his power intact are satisfied when the

lynching of Blacks gradually becomes a task undertaken by poor whites or segments of proletarian Indians are goaded into desiring the elimination of the Naxalites. It is in its internalized form that repressive violence becomes more insidious. We must, however, distinguish between this classical internalizing process and revolutionary situations. In the one instance the significant struggle is between groups of the ruling classes or imperialistic powers (in our time this would include revisionist groups), each of which has the very people they exploit and oppress to carry out their violence. The world wars, the American civil war, religious fratricide in India are clear examples of this. In the other instance civil war becomes manifest class struggle. There the revolutionary army is the arm of the oppressed classes, locked against the warlord's forces. For example, the PLA against Chiang's forces in China or the NLF against the Diem or Thieu-Ky regime in Vietnam.

It is necessary to make some further observations on this distinction. First, where do national liberation struggles and the "United Front" concept fit? In the last analysis every historical situation has to be looked at in terms of class conflicts, so that, for example, the outcome of the Algerian struggle can be understood in contrast with the Vietnamese struggle, although in both instances at one stage the repressive violence combated was of a similar nature. The problem to be solved is the relationship between the communists and the national bourgeoisie, or more generally to discover when "nationalism is applied internationalism." In fact the dialectical nature of conflicts is never absent. Even when repressive violence appears internalized the situation is not static and often reflects elements of the class struggle: in partisans against European fascism, in Muslim peasants against Hindu landlords in East Bengal and so on. Similarly, the revolutionary forces against armies of repression do not constitute an unalterable division because

the warlord's legions are still formed by the oppressed classes. Recall the famous "changing of hats" in the Chinese revolution where the PLA grew out of the depletion in the KMT forces.

People's War

It is in this context of people's war

that I want to pose the more strategic question about repressive violence. Rather, I want to return to my question about genocide from a strategic viewpoint. As Ho Chi Minh's anecdote about the *traillleurs* indicates, the warlord will stick to teaching "the population a lesson" as long as he can. But what happens when he is

faced with a people's war or even the beginning of one, when he cannot isolate the fish from the sea? His policy may very well become one of genocide (incidentally, the so-called counter-insurgency techniques have never worked and those who have tried to use them know that) and his violence, indiscriminate. But at the same time the struggle against it becomes patient and long. (In the Indian situation people's war is necessarily protracted war.) In that case the warlord's victory cannot be assured short of extermination of his enemies. But in terms of his resources, manpower, strategy, tactics and politics he is unable to do that.

As for the grief-stricken intellectual who passes sleepless nights thinking about nuclear destruction, let me remind him, without repetition, of the arguments behind calling imperialism a paper tiger, particularly of the exchanges on this matter between the CCP and the Krushchevites.

What more can be said about the warlord's actions? Although I have simply tried to reiterate some of the historical (theoretical and practical) lessons already learned about repressive violence it is clear that this violence does not exist in isolation. Therefore, the clearest reminder for the continuing activities of intellectuals is that there is nothing similar, in quality or quantity, between repressive violence and insurgent (revolutionary or proto-revolutionary) violence. For the intellectual, a condemnation of the warlord's activities must mean supporting those who are fighting the warlord. A general condemnation of violent action, with words like "police terror" and "lunatic left", "fascist tendencies" and "misguided youth", or "people are not ready for the revolution", necessarily puts him on the warlord's side. Such pronouncements reflect, as I have remarked, the bankruptcy of the petit-bourgeois position. On the other hand, within the specificity of his condition, the intellectual must also be able to discern counter-revolutionary tendencies within a revo-

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davp 70/617

lutionary movement; for example, criminal violence disguised as revolutionary violence. But in order to do that correctly and without elitism, the intellectual has to be a part of that movement, he has to be "enlightened". This, of course, is a matter for further

discussion. But before that, those writers and doctors, engineers and teachers, scientists and humanists who carry the world in their heads must remember that the warlord's sword is hanging over their heads—all the time.

Frankly Speaking

Anatomy Of A Murder

K. K. MENON

CONSIDER the following scenario. In a quiet sleepy residential area in a small town somewhere in West Bengal where nothing ever happens and where the only entertainment consists in gossip about imaginary scandals, early in the evening one day five young men stand outside the closed door of a middle-aged clerical employee of a Central Government concern and call him by his name. No sooner has the man opened the door than the young men fall upon him and start to stab him before the horrified eyes of his wife and his three small children. They do not stab once but continue to do so in a fury without stop; afterwards one counted at least 50 wounds on the body. The children cry out, the wife falls at the feet of the young men and beg them to spare her husband's life, even though that life must have already expired. The only result her pleadings have on the young men is for her to get a few knife injuries in her hands. The job done, the young men walk away unhurriedly, not without encountering passers-by in the street. The police have not made any arrest uptil now. The press in reporting the incident did not ascribe it to any suspected Naxalites as it does so often with recent murders. The local people seem not to have the slightest clue as to who might be the murderers or what their motives might be.

Some months back during the United Front regime, when a gruesome murder took place in a family of

Burdwan, the incident caused an all-round shock in the country and the matter was much talked about in the press, costing quite some damage to the public image of a certain political party. But this more recent murder has not received any comment at all in the press beyond the briefest reference. Not only murder, but gruesome murder, has become so common practice in West Bengal that such news seem no more to make any news. They have become a matter of everyday existence. But as this particular incident combines certain features that are associated with the murders that are taking place every day in West Bengal, we are taking it up for a case study.

Firstly, the fact that it is not only not known but is impossible to guess who might have committed the murder. The suggestion "Naxalites" comes first to mind, as if they are the only people who are avowedly going around killing "class enemies". But the Naxalites are not known to be strong in that area; in any case, Naxalites are far from being the only people who are indulging in systematic killing. There are others. There are assassins of other parties and there are obviously assassins for hire ready to kill anybody for anybody. As to motives, revolutionary or even party political ones are certainly not the only ones at work. Lots of murders for purely personal reasons are taking place. If this particular murder is indeed one carried out by some individuals who had some grudge

against the murdered person, one cannot but consider what after all such a petty employee could possibly have done to anybody to call for such reprisal. The personal-motive hypothesis cannot but lead to the following observation about the society as a whole: Bengal is fast becoming a place where people can be murdered for the most trivial of reasons, where there are larger numbers of persons going around who have become specialists in the job of killing; who are so deprived of normal human sensibilities that they can kill a person before the eyes of his wife and children in the most horrible fashion, plunging the knife into the body and taking it out and plunging it back again, doing so about fifty times, without getting the least upset by the bloody mess so created or the effect produced on the wife and children. It is not only murder that is becoming a part of normal life, as it has been in this country during various anarchic phases in history or in many other countries of South-East Asia but there is something else and that is sheer savagery, primitive blood-lust and sadism.

* *

Does the murder look any the less disquieting if it was politically motivated?

Before we proceed to take up the question, we owe an explanation to the reader. By our very question we imply that certain murders may be less acceptable than others and therefore certain murders more acceptable than others. This position we do own. It is probably comfortable for one's conscience to be able to declare oneself to be a total and unconditional adherent of non-violence, though it is well known that there has not been any such admirer who could stick to his position through all circumstances. But we take sides with the large bulk of humanity who accept the unavoidability of capital punishment for some crimes and of wars of resistance and of liberation which all involve the deliberate taking of lives. But we also accept the norm of most civilised societies that while killing may be accepted as non-criminal as a part of active combat, massacre of civilians and torture and killing of

prisoners are repugnant and criminal. On the premise of such qualified and conditional acceptance of killing we shall now look once again at the particular murder case and judge whether it may be regarded as a revolutionary action.

There seem to be several most glaring reasons why the action cannot be remotely construed as a revolutionary one. If the murder is to be treated as revolutionary killing, the victim has to be an identifiable enemy. Objectively this particular victim cannot be regarded as an enemy of revolution, for a petty employee of a government concern cannot be regarded as a class enemy. If he was an enemy, he must have been so in a subjective fashion. He might have, by any particular action or by his general conduct, acted against the revolution. If so, if he was condemned to death for some offences, why are these offences not made known to the public, why do the public not know who are the people sitting on judgment on this man and condemning him to death in the name of that very public? For a revolutionary, the death sentence has to be interpreted as a sentence passed by the people or at least on behalf of the people and thus explicitly or implicitly sanctioned by the people. Can this action be extended to a murder which takes everybody by shock and surprise and puzzles everybody for its apparent pointlessness? Can a murder conceived in deadly secrecy and carried out in the most inhuman fashion, be likened to a people's revolutionary court sitting on trial on a local class enemy or a local agent of class enemies and passing the death sentence after reading out the charges and getting the approbation of the local masses present at the trial? If two, three or four young boys living in conspiratorial secrecy sit down to decide who might be reactionaries or agents of reactionaries, would the assessment not be affected not only by their own immature minds and inadequate information but also by a whole host of local facts like petty jealousies and old personal grudges and gossip? Is it not monstrous that a few young boys subject to all these subjective facts

should arrogate to themselves the prerogatives of the revolutionary masses and decide upon who should be allowed to live and who should not?

* * *

There is another aspect of the murder case under discussion which should worry all those who accept revolutionary violence as unavoidable. It has been mentioned before, the murder was carried out in the most brutal manner before the eyes of the wife and children. Even if the victim were indeed known to be a confirmed enemy class agent whose elimination was a necessity, can a person be considered a revolutionary if he is capable of such brutality and total lack of sensibilities? The question must not be confused by talk of class hatred etc. We are not discussing the killing of a moneylender or landlord who has for long been responsible for various oppressions and tyrannies, by those who were the victims of such tyranny and oppression during an uprising: such killing can legitimately involve much brutality given the accumulated hatred of the oppressed people. Most of the killings in Bengal today cannot be likened to such spontaneous lynching and butchering by crowds. In many cases the killer does not even know by face the person he kills, so that the question of any personal hatred cannot arise. Yet different degrees of gruesomeness are associated with most murders taking place now. One reads the frequent reports of heads being severed from bodies or bodies being dismembered. These expressions of primitive blood-lust, cannot be related to any Marxism or any Maoism and could tempt a bourgeois sociologist to trace them rather to the various esoteric cults involving human sacrifice and mutilations of the human body that flourished in this area where even the official presiding goddess has been a naked ogre flaunting a garland of several heads or a similar stained with blood. This pseudo-sociological enquiry about the cultural patterns of killings need not be pursued further, but can it be denied that it does matter to ask the question: should expressions of

primitive blood-lust and total lack of human sensibilities not disqualify a person from being a revolutionary? A revolutionary has to be defined primarily by his love for oppressed humanity and hatred for the oppressors of humanity, which can arise only out of love for human life as such.

We realise we are balancing ourselves on the narrow path of the techniques of murder. Yes, even techniques of murder do matter. It may not matter to the person who gets killed what technique is followed in murdering him. But it does matter to those who carry out the murder and those who watch. Is there not a difference between Socrates being offered a cup of poison and Siraj-ud-dowla being first stabbed, then quartered? Is there not some difference between shooting a person from a distance and clubbing or hacking him to death?

The topic of techniques of murder acquires all the more importance in view of the theory held by some people that knives are more revolutionary than bullets, not merely because they are more readily available but because the use of knives calls for more class hatred than the use of firearms. But it is not only with the burning flame of pure class hatred—hatred of nothing else and nobody else but the class enemy, and no other emotions—that the knife has been used by the world. The knife is very active in this country during all the communal riots; it is also used by the hardened criminal. It is to be very seriously doubted whether the current wide spread of the cult of the knife signifies an equally wide spread of class hatred or infection of a larger mass of the youth of our country with the lust for blood.

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FEBRUARY 27, 1971

The Wish Poll

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE shrewd pollsters know when to stop forecasting and when to begin hedging. Closer the poll, the vaguer the forecasts become. Certainities give place to uncertainties. Barring about 20 "pocket boroughs" across the sprawling country, no constituency looks safe for any party or candidate and it is fragmentation over and over again making for a bizarre spectrum of micro-politics.

The consternation in the Prime Minister's camp is sure sign that the comfortable calculations are outmoded. Now everything depends on that extra-something, the personality cult that is supposed to ensure the translation of a claimed political shift into voting arithmetic. The imponderable of the extra-plus aside for purposes of analysis, every calculation (State-wise, party wise, combination-wise and what have you) converges on 205 to 230 of the 518 Lok Sabha seats for the ruling party. So it has to be an across the board swing to give Mrs Gandhi the critical figure of 262 on which she has set her sights. If she fails in this, the entire election exercise would have gone waste and the people will tend to be more cynical about the system as a whole.

Looking back on the seven weeks or so since the dissolution of the Lok Sabha, there is nothing to suggest a mass upsurge over national issues. The only national issue so far posed in a number of devious ways by the Prime Minister is whether she should have an absolute majority or not. But for this, this election is no different from the one in 1967. The objective of the de-linking plan was to bring national issues into focus. But the ruling party has had to soft-pedal all the national issues, real and imaginary. The campaign has reduced itself into one of naked power equations. Mrs Gandhi's one-point programme is to stay on and the

rightist alliance's one-point programme is not to vote itself into office but to topple her. The first step to this end would be to deny her a clear majority.

It would be a debacle for Mrs Gandhi if she gets say less than 200 seats, according to observers. She might head a minority government, organise an adequate number of defections, knock together an uneasy coalition and run a status quo government, and be toppled anytime. To get the clearance for coalition arrangement she would have to seek the party's mandate and it is quite possible that the rightist crowd that the next Congress parliamentary party is going to be might insist that instead of coalition arrangements with parties like the CPI or the DMK, it would be ideologically more consistent to have an arrangement with the other Congress and be done with it. Mr Kamraj might well emerge as the king-maker once again with an enigmatic formula which might require the political exile of both Mrs Gandhi and Mr Morarji Desai so that Mr Jagjivan Ram or Mr Chavan could be elected the compromise Prime Minister.

It is too much to expect all the accidents from now on to take place to the exclusive advantage of the Prime Minister. If the faction-ridden Congress party, fragmented by the caste factor, organisationally weak but rich in funds manages to win say 280 to 300 seats (that could only mean a landslide not to be foreseen by any) Mrs Gandhi might be heading a right-wing party impervious to pressures from the CPI and the so-called left. The CPI's game of securing a "left-oriented" Lok Sabha (a euphemism for a minority Congress compelled to take the CPI into a coalition) would be defeated. A 280 or 300 member Congress Parliamentary Party means serious in-fighting, with Mr Jagjivan Ram and Mr Chavan convinced that

Mrs Gandhi should be toppled with the help of the Opposition. The "Save Democracy" demolition squad now led by the Congress-O would find new adherents. It would be difficult for Mrs Gandhi to have a stable government and she might be compelled to think of a coalition with parties like the PSP and regional forces to undercut her factional rivals in the power game.

On the whole the mid-term election exercise would have achieved this: it would have added to the doubts about the legitimacy of the system and robbed it of much of its credibility to large sections of voters.

West Bengal

Suppose the voting percentage in West Bengal is kept low, the CPI-(ML) can see vindication of its "boycott elections" slogan though the low turn-out would not be the result of voluntary abstention from the electoral process. Come to think of it, the uncertainties about the poll schedules in Kerala and West Bengal, the general atmosphere of violence in other parts of the country and the hostile demonstrations the Prime Minister faced in Andhra Pradesh and Gujarat add up to a pattern. In 1967, at the end of two successive drought years, there was a general atmosphere of discontent and violence but the present poll is beset with uncertainties unknown in 1967. It is good to say the general anti-Congress atmosphere is missing this time but for all that one knows anti-Congressism might not find overt expression now and the voter might have the last laugh at all the parties. All the old digits are becoming irrelevant. The new voter, the one voting for the first, accounts for a sizeable percentage this time and a deadlocked Parliament next month should not surprise anyone.

Secondly, no problem will be solved through the elections or by the elections. Mr Chavan did not want to present the kind of budget he had to and was an enthusiastic campaigner for a mid-term poll. The next finance minister would be left holding the baby. Not only can the Government not balance the budget without a

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massive dose of taxation but government would become difficult even if there is a stable one-party majority at the Centre. The manoeuvrability of any Government will be limited with the rightist forces relatively stronger than the left in terms of electoral strength. Even a left-of-centre shift in policies would be difficult when the forces regroup after the elections. That is the price the left would have paid for its premium on parliamentary politics. A massive offensive against the so-called "left

adventurism" is in the offing, with the CPI abetting it. This is not withstanding a CPI(M) victory in West Bengal. It is now fairly certain that whichever faction or combination rules the Centre, the CPI(M) would be treated as political interlopers and if this party is forced outside the spectrum of parliamentary politics it would not be because a Promode Das Gupta or a Jyoti Basu has discovered that peaceful transition to socialism is impossible in India.

February 20, 1971

Science In An Underdeveloped Society

DIPANKAR CHATTARJI

EDWARD Shils in his book 'Indian Intellectuals' has commented on the influence of the Brahminical tradition on the trends of scientific research in India. He seems to feel that the aversion to manual work embodied in our caste hierarchy finds expression in our choice of relatively 'clean' theoretical subjects and a corresponding apathy towards the applied sciences. Add to this our flair for abstract reasoning dating back to the schools of logic at Nabadwip and Mithila, and you have a pattern of prejudices cut out for you. Of course this pattern has its own little frills—take, for example, our record in statistics and applied mathematics. Quite significantly, here is a major scientific field in which we can claim to have our own tradition. Areas like theoretical physics may have been favoured at least partly for similar reasons. Maybe we have here an interesting problem for the Indian sociologist.

Actually, the landscape is quite complicated. There are, in the first instance, the obvious limitations of a backward economy which cannot afford to invest large sums in hardware essential to any meaningful activity

in the applied sciences. Not only does this impede the progress of projects immediately related to technology, but by making the process of fiddling with hardware immensely more difficult it precludes that interplay of theoretical speculation and experimental innovation which is so vital to both science and technology. One tends to remember in this connection the well-known but non-trivial truth that no scientific activity can be wholly applied or wholly pure in character.

Next only to the problem of hardware, there is the near absence of a psychological climate for science or technology. In other words, there is a lack of feeling for technology, a failure to recognize technology as an essential element of a modern culture. Such recognition can only result from a long tradition of technological innovation and widespread use of the fruits of technology. Unfortunately, its importance in fostering all kinds of sustained scientific work is often not adequately emphasized. We have here an almost vicious circle—the very conditions essential to the growth of science and technology are the most difficult to create and maintain in a relatively

poor, non-scientific, tradition-bound and hierarchical society.

Taking a close look at these problems, it seems a little surprising that Indian science could produce the number of eminent figures it did in the first half of this century. J. C. Bose, Ramanujam, C. V. Raman, M. N. Saha, H. J. Bhaba, S. N. Bose, P. C. Mahalanobis—the roll of honour makes us feel like so many name-dropping relatives. Yet there is a somewhat deceptive aspect to this whole thing—it was a story with several starring roles but no supporting cast, a superstructure without a commensurate infrastructure. Barring a few notable exceptions, first-rate schools of research just did not materialize. Whatever did materialize quite often did not match expectations. Of course there was great financial stringency, particularly during the doldrums of the thirties when much was happening elsewhere. But above all this, science just did not enter into the productive processes of a colonial society. It was in the interests of our alien rulers that this be so. In a more than figurative sense, the eminent Indian scientists of the early decades were modern Brahmins of a sort. Their interesting and sometimes heroic pursuit was not immediately related to the contemporary scene—social, political or economic. Lacking the support of a historic necessity, their brilliant work could not always develop into fountainheads of further creativity. At least one of them, namely, J. C. Bose, is known to have faced serious impediments in his research career—all carefully devised by his superiors in government. Others were at best tolerated by the British—perhaps only because science was considered a minor nuisance when compared with politics.

Coming down to our times, one must admit that despite much bungling there is now something of a technological base in India. Much of our technical capability is still of a routine character—maintenance rather than innovation is our somewhat indifferent forte. Large-scale foreign

collaboration of a dubious type can only help perpetuate this state of affairs. So long as blueprints and know-how are imported wholesale, we cannot possibly have an independent technology of our own. The problem attains a level of sheer absurdity in the case of sophisticated equipment like electronic computers, where a machine worth many lakhs of rupees may have to remain idle for want of a single switch or solid state device worth only a few rupees.

Real Question

The real question, however, relates to something much deeper than the state of our technology. So long as the sole function of any given technology is somehow to deliver the goods for a pseudo-mercantile sector of the economy, it does not necessarily ensure either the growth of scientific research or of an awareness of science. In a society with built-in disparities like ours, a great majority of the people cannot even become aware of the existence of a technology, which in any case is likely to be more visible than science. The gimmicks of packaged products and sundry gadgetry lie beyond their reach. And science is at best a vague and romantic luxury meant for the few. The kind of scientific activity which can maintain itself under such conditions is quite often peripheral in character. Once in a while, with a combination of good luck and individual drive, the scientist hits upon a really good idea or discovery. Far more frequently, he has to satisfy himself by nibbling half-heartedly at the problems gurgitated by the better-equipped laboratories of advanced nations. Difficulties like lack of equipment and poor monetary reward have by now been discussed threadbare. Not so obvious but equally poignant for the scientist is the frustra-

tion of tending a neglected cultural pasture far from the active centres manned by his more fortunate peers. Perpetual pioneering on a diet of poor recognition can be a deadening experience.

Given these realities, what option do we have for science in an under-developed society? Of course we cannot afford to be a lost case even before we have begun! The choice, we believe, must depend to a considerable extent on the priorities in other sectors of our socio-economic endeavour. Take, for example, the case of the life sciences. Historically, the scientific revolution in Europe began as an adjunct to the growth of a mercantile economy which understandably had little interest in the physical well-being of the people. As a result, medicine and biology were the last to develop among the sciences. Since public health and population planning are two of the most important problems faced by an under-developed society like ours, there is good reason for us to be more interested in the life sciences. Fortunately, this is one of the disciplines where exciting things are happening right now at a breakneck speed. Even here one can pick and choose, perhaps emphasizing those areas which would tie in nicely with our efforts in the agricultural sector. One could even think of very interesting problems of a fundamental nature having a bearing on the practical aspects of the agricultural and life sciences.

Thinking in a similar vein about the natural sciences, communications, meteorology and the earth sciences are some of the areas with a special relevance to India. Development of modern communications implies the growth of a whole range of disciplines in science and technology including, for example, cybernetics, information theory, linguistics, electronics, solid state physics and chemistry, microwave spectroscopy, quantum optics etc. At least some of these could serve as focal

points for Indian scientific research in the near future. Again it is quite fortunate that in many of these areas a good beginning can be made on a relatively modest budget. Whereas it is hard to believe that Indian scientists can make much headway in relatively glamorous fields like space research or high energy physics in the coming decades, we already have something of an infrastructure in spectroscopy, chemistry and applied mathematics which may help us in breaking new ground in related areas of productive and exciting research.

The basic thing is to concentrate on a few selected areas closely related to our requirements so as to make the most of our physical and intellectual assets. Only by doing this can we hope to develop our own schools of scientific research wedded to an indigenous technology. Quite possibly, such a selective approach would imply priorities which do not rank very highly in the international fashion circuit. Yet by sticking to our own schedule based on our scale of values, we just might achieve the rather limited but desirable goal of standing on our own feet. If anything, this is the kind of lesson held out by the scientific communities in some of the smaller nations of the developed world—countries in eastern Europe being the closest analogue.

Finally, and quite importantly, all this hinges on a proper approach to science teaching at the high school and college levels. A system geared to the mere imparting of scientific information cannot foster the kind of growth we have been discussing in this article. Science and technology must form part of the mental culture of the younger generation. At the same time there must be a keen awareness of the scientific resources and capabilities of the nation, the region and the local community. Only by being really effective in our own limited environment can we hope eventually to become truly cosmopolitan.

ANNOUNCEMENT

A partial breakdown in the press has affected the planning of this issue.

Integration Through Music ?

BY A MUSIC CRITIC

HAS Indian music any role to play in the matter of national integration? The point was strongly posed in connexion with the 2nd Annual Conference of Indian Music recently sponsored by the Suresh-Sangit-Samsad at the Rabindra Sadan. The term '*sangit-samhati-sammelan*' would have been appropriate if it meant acquaintance with and awareness of the various forms and styles of Indian music, tribal, folk and sophisticated. But the name seemed to carry a socio-political meaning too. Instead of a mere annual soiree of classical and kindred music, the sponsors professed to achieve 'national integration through music'. Whatever be the purpose, overt or covert, a name should be semantically sensible in order to be logically valid.

Music has, at all stages of history, been the effect of tribal and racial integration and never the cause of the same. History views Indian music also as the effect of the fusion of the culture-patterns of the various Aryan and non-Aryan races and tribes inhabiting this vast peninsula and not the other way round. The same process is taking place today in Japan, China and the Balkan countries. Socio-economic integration is therefore the condition precedent to any form of cultural integration in which music is also included. Near at hand, Tagore music, the resultant of Indo-European socio-economic fusion, may be cited as an example. Moreover, every cultural renaissance is preceded by an ideological revolt which provides the necessary content to the various art forms including music. Tagore music would never have been possible without the 19th century Bengali thought-revolt preceding it. The Samsad seems to have devised too simple a panacea for too complex a problem.

However loudly proclaimed, the 2nd National Integration Conference

of the Samsad did not put up any musical specimen imbued with the consciousness of national integration which might have enthused the audience. Instead, barring few, the numbers consisted of traditional and purely formalistic abstractions.

What it put up on the stage actually was nothing unusual. The good old vocal and instrumental classics interspersed with a few dance and folk numbers preceded by the show of some short documentary films; short receptions to Badi Moti Bai, an associate of the late Mouzuddin of legendary fame. Not a trace of contemporaneity was discernible in the numbers performed, not to speak of consciousness of national integration.

National integration was attempted by Kabir, Nanak and Sri Chaitanya on the religio-philosophical plane but they did not succeed for lack of economic content. It has been the headache of our thinkers since Bankimchandra; it has eluded our national leaders since the days of Deshabandhu and has continued to plague our body-politic till today. To be brief, casteism and economic deprivation have been the perennial curses inflicted upon national integration in India: religio-linguistic jingoism has only added fuel to the already simmering flame.

The diagnosis of the national malady by the sponsors has been all too simple and therefore wrong. Lack of musical acquaintance was not behind events taking place, say, in Kashmir or Nagaland, Bangal-kheda in Assam and Dravid-kheda in Bombay, the caste-riots taking place between the caste Hindus and pariah students in the hostels of U.P. or the case of Prof Javed Alam of Delhi. Instead of fighting the forces of medieval fanaticism and superstition the Samsad preferred to put the cart before the horse by raising the slogan of integration through music. Of course, such things are all very handy in attracting official munificence and all that. And it is no use mincing matters. It is no secret that most of the organisers of the Samsad belong to a group of papers whose ideology and role during communal riots are well known.

Programme

But the programme put up by the Samsad turned out to be a variegated festival of songs and dances. There was, of course, a little trickery in the folk dances of Rajasthan being represented not by Rajasthani folk but by the Bharatiya-Nritya-Kalamandir of Calcutta whose standard of performance was far below the mark.

The regional troupes, especially the folk ones, added colour to the show. The Carnatic programme, so very enchanting last year, was much below standard this time because of wrong selection of personnel. The West Bengal day also failed equally, except the numbers sung by Chhabi Banerjee and Ashoketoru Banerjee.

A novel method of secret ballot by members of the audience was used to award the Ashit Bagchi Memorial Gold Medals in vocal, instrumental and percussion music to Pt. Vinayakrao Patavardhan (60 votes), Amjad Ali (157 votes) and Latif Ahmed (70 votes) respectively. Although some connoisseurs might have preferred Munwar Ali (54 votes) or Kishori Amonkar (44 votes) for the vocal prize while others might have named Nikhil Banerjee for the instrumental and Ramji Mishra (son of the late Anokhelal) for the percussion one, yet it was better to bow down to the verdict of the majority which seemed not very far from objectivity.

On the West Bengal day Nirmalendu Chowdhury's urbane folk songs failed miserably and he polled zero (0) vote. The programme of Tagore music was no less disappointing. Shantidev Ghosh, the much-vaunted 'protagonist' of Rabindra-Sangeet after Tagore (according to the Santiniketan group and its sycophants), failed so much so as to poll only 3 votes. '*Amay gahite bolona bolona (Sindhu, Ektal)*' was rendered by Mr Ghosh in an out-of-tempo fashion when it

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FEBRUARY 27, 1971

was definitely notated and has all along been sung in the syncopated triple tempo. All the time he was so out of tune that all his seven notes seemed to disagree with their respective pitch value. Curiously enough, all the singers differing with Mr Ghosh were kept at an arm's length. This is politics with music—not musical integration. Shruti Sinha and Suchitra Mitra also failed to impress. (Who is this Shruti Sinha, by the way?) It was Ashoktoru Banerjee (14 votes) whose singing saved the session, particularly his last three songs.

The *Bagesri kheyal* and *Kafi thumri* by Badi Moti Bai (aged 84) were reminiscent of old times when symmetrical structure of composition was a condition of beauty in music. *Sri* and *Darbari* of Krishnarao Shankar Pandit of Gwalior was archaic, dry and maestraistic. The famous *Shori Tappa 'mia bejanewale'* was not efficiently rendered by him though he has some academic value. Kishori Amonkar's *Kheyal* in *Nand* in *adagio* *tin tal* was an illustration of the classic type of the *Atrauli Gharana*, fast disappearing nowadays, and her superb *vis-tar* and *tans* were reminiscent of the great Kesarbai although her voice was a little affected.

Except the Bengali songs sung on the West Bengal day, most of the vocal compositions related to emotions and consciousness of the middle ages. Mr Chinmoy Lahiri's composition in imitative Brajabhasha in the Carnatic Raga *Ramaranjani* (resembling our *Purvai* with the flat seventh) and another in Bengali had nothing to do with contemporary ethos. But his adaptation was nonetheless commendable. The only musical dissertation worth the name read in the conference was that of Krishnarao Shankar Pandit on the origin of the Gwalior gharana.

In spite of the few lapses and omissions mentioned before, the organisers of the conference deserve to be complimented (their ideological allegiance notwithstanding) on their success in assembling so many types of dance, music and allied things in a colourful *jalsa* in an atmosphere of taste and decorum. But it is a great pity that the correct names of Pt.

S. N. Ratanjankar and Krishnarao Shankar Pandit are not known to the organisers of the Samsad who are supposed to be knowledgeable persons in matters musical. Ratanjankar has nothing to do with *Jhankar* and Krishnarao Pandit repaired long ago to the other world from where he was most unlikely to return to participate in the conference.

Clippings

'Operation Clinics'

Montevideo, Uruguay—

MONDAYS, Wednesdays and Fridays are days for breaking into houses. Tuesdays and Thursdays are for planning the next breaks and the weekend is for relaxing in the sun. This may seem rather frivolous, but it was the most coherent answer I got when I asked experienced political observers what they thought of operations carried out by the Armed Forces and the police in their search for kidnapped foreigners.

Here tension-filled days are followed by perfectly calm normal ones: one day 1500 houses will be searched, several blocks surrounded, university halls and faculties attacked. And the next day not a soldier is to be seen, and greatly daring, we can walk out into the street without our papers, an act which the day before would have meant spending several days in the Chief of Police's office.

Whenever a dramatic "operation" takes place, the press, in obedience to police declarations, says that the operation so-and-so has begun, and gives it a name. Thus Montevideo has been swept recently by the fan operation, the tooth-comb operation, the funnel operation, the pincer operation, and others, depending on the enthusiasm of the civil servant who christened it or the imagination of the journalist who gave him credit for thinking it up.

...The repressive forces' intelligence and information system has

broken down, and they have simply not the slightest idea of the whereabouts of the people's prison in which the Tupamaros have hidden their three hostages, British Ambassador Geoffrey Jackson, Brazilian Consul Gomide and American technician Claude Fly. (The Brazilian Consul has now been released).

...Very perturbed over this insoluble problem, Salvador de Brum Carvajal, Minister for Home Affairs, considered calling officers of the reserve. They are civilians who have had some rudimentary voluntary military training (there is no compulsory military service here) in case Uruguay's frontiers should be threatened. But many people (including the Government) doubt if more than five percent of them would appear if they were mobilized to take part in the repression. Of the five per cent, some suspect that three per cent would appear in order to work "from within" with the Tupamaros. So it is certain that the Ministry for Home Affairs will not issue an order mobilizing officers of the reserve.

Despite this "depressing" picture of police inefficiency, it must not be thought that there is police brutality in Montevideo everyday. It depends on whether it is Monday, Wednesday or Friday. If it is one of those days, the occupied zones look like a theatre of war, except that there is very little sound of shooting. Friday January 29 was one of those days. At 3-30 on a dark rainy morning, dozens of trucks and Army and Navy jeeps appeared on the streets. The police were also mobilized. Just before 6 am the zero hour came, and the operation began.

The 23 floors of the clinical hospital, the biggest in the country, were invaded by 2000 soldiers armed to the teeth, and by hundreds of police. The forces of "law and order" burst in at every door, and much damage was done.

The troops carefully inspected the operating rooms in case the "people's prison" might really be in one of them. Invalids in oxygen tents were peered at suspiciously. After all, you never know. One of them might be the British Ambassador...For three days

the operating rooms could not be used because the soldiers had inspected even the boxes of sterile objects to see if in some inexplicable manner the kidnapped foreigners had been reduced in size and popped inside. The Veterinary Faculty was similarly invaded, but the whole operation was a dismal failure....The same day they even searched the Zoo but didn't burst into any of the cages: nor did they find the elusive kidnapped.

Saturday January 30 was a day of rest: the sun came out finally after three rainy cloudy days. So Montevideo got organized for another "operation": operation beach. (Orlando Contreras, Prensa Latina correspondent).

Out Of Nowhere

It is widely known that hundreds of Chinese with guns, the book, Quotations from Chairman Mao, and other Maoist literature have managed to smuggle themselves into India. On entering the country they mix with the rural and urban masses and arouse agitation. It is almost impossible for the Government to pick them up from thousands of other Chinese who have been staying in Calcutta and other towns—and who resemble some of India's own tribes, such as the Mizos and the Nagas.

Maoists have been holding public functions regularly in which they not only raise slogans, "Long live Mao", but also wave aloft the book containing Mao's teachings. The book is freely distributed to the audience.... Maoists have infiltrated into educational institutions some of which have been converted into "mini Red Chinas". Educational authorities have closed many of these colleges and universities. (New Delhi Correspondent, *Christian Science Monitor*).

Bullets And Ballot

Gen. Aurora (GOC-in-C, Eastern Command) made it quite clear that the Army would not shun the use of force to create a climate of confidence in the State. He said, "certain amount of force is necessary to eradicate the

evils threatening democratic institutions. Without using force it is not possible to stop large-scale coercion and intimidation of the electorate". "Bullet", he said, "is an effective language". "Besides we have not been taught anything else."—(*Hindusthan Standard*).

'Nixon's War on Geography' in our Clippings last week was from *Le Monde*.

Letters

'Politics Of Murder'

I hasten to record my protest against the tone of Mr Tarun De's letter (Feb. 13). The letter itself is telling proof of the CPM's intolerant attitude. Ordinary citizens are not only afraid of the CPI (ML), they are equally, if not more, afraid of the CPM and for more than one reason. Why does not Mr De say this? If the CPI (ML) has introduced the politics of murder, the CPM started murder of political opponents long before the ML joined the fray. One small paper which has tried to combat the one-sided tidal wave of indoctrination against those who have many important points to say is now accused of encouraging anarchist activities and of being violently anti-CPM—a wholly unwarranted slur. Of course, *Frontier* has the decency to refrain from joining the unworthy chorus against those who are just dying at the hands of the police for no personal gains.

Despite its hesitation towards CPM fascism and CP (ML) anarchism *Frontier* has been rendering invaluable service to the cause of Indian revolution and the cause of world anti-imperialist struggle. Only the motivated or the utterly blind will deny it.

HARENDRANATH MONDAL
Garia, 24-Parganas.

Mr De's sense of direction seems mixed up. He should have addressed

his letter to *Ganashakti* and its directors who have introduced pogrom and murder, defended it (never once denounced it) with the usual slogan 'tooth for tooth' and have been practising it, through their cadre, on the Naxalites (not on the hated CRP). A Government college lecturer, who was a critic of the CPM though himself not a Naxalite, was choked to death in the Sinthi area; the son of an old CPM member in the Jadavpur area was nailed to death; a Naxalite student of Surendra Nath College in Belghoria was hacked to pieces, to give only a few examples. *Frontier* has not published these incidents though they were brought to its knowledge; it is still soft towards the CPM. According to a rough estimate the CPM has murdered at least 215 persons in West Bengal since 1967; between the CPM and the Naxalites, according to official reports, more Naxalites died. Let Mr De honestly investigate. The CPM and its followers are an intoxicated lot but I would draw their attention to an old adage—'He who laughs last laughs best'.

S. RUDRA
Calcutta

Battle Of Baranagar

It is a battle not for the victory or defeat of any individual but a battle for the trial of "Mirjafars". The audacity of the "Midnapore Gandhi" in entering the election fray at Baranagar has been surpassed by the stupidity of the CPI in withdrawing its declared candidate in order to bring about an ugly communion of anti-people "black sheep" of national politics on a common platform—the Indicate, Syndicate and Bangla Congress, EPC and the like.

Both in the 1967 general and the 1969 mid-term elections Ajoy Babu stood against P. C. Sen at Arambagh. As usual, the gate of Tamluk was kept open for retreat. In 1967 he got 27,916 votes against P. C. Sen's 27,035, with a narrow margin of 881, and declared himself as the uncrowned king so that he could claim the chief minis-

tership as a hereditary right. The table was turned in the 1969 mid-term poll. The hero of October 2 drama, "the Gandhi of Midnapur", was defeated by "the Gandhi of Arambagh" by a margin of about 16,000 votes (P. C. Sen 37,495 and Ajoy Bamu 22,231). At Tamluk also, Ajoy Babu got 6,000 votes less in 1969 than in 1967 (1967—47,099 and 1969—41,094). The people of both Arambagh and Tamluk taught him a lesson for his treachery. The myth was shattered. But illusion and utopia still guide him and will now guide him to political burial. The relation between the Bangla Congress and the pseudo-Communist Party—the CPI—is full of contradictions. Bhupesh Gupta brands Bangla Congress as a "stooge of right reaction" (*The Statesman* and *Anandabazar*, February 14, 1971) and S. A. Dange had already called it a party of kulaks. But the pseudo-Communists never care for ideology. Enemy's enemy is their friend in spite of ideological differences.

The people of Bengal are not sleeping; from Midnapore to Dinajpur, from the Bay of Bengal to the slopes of the Himalayas and from all corners of Bengal, people are alert and vigilant: so far and no further. The days of "Rajbhavan coups" and of conspiracies concocted in the parlours of industrialist-landlord combines in the darkness of night are over. The writing is on the wall. The peasant with the sickle in hand, the worker with the hammer in his grip, every man in the huts and streets, are preparing in hope and aspiration to salute the morning star of tomorrow. Baranagar will be the Waterloo for Mirjafars and their cohorts. Baranagar is the symbol—it is the glaring symbol of confrontation between Gandhian provocation and revolutionary resistance, between conspirators and saviours and, above all, between reaction and progress. Baranagar will lead the pattern of polling in the rest of the State.

Incidentally, the CPM is supporting the CPI in Bombay Central South Parliamentary Constituency (*The Statesman*, February 14, 1971). Look at the ballet at Baranagar with the

CPI as the leader of the reactionary orchestra. A melancholy contrast indeed: Indicate-Syndicate-Bangla Congress-EPC-Jana Sanga dancing together merrily on the same dais at Baranagar.

SISIR K. MAJUMDAR (DR.)
Calcutta

Left Intellectuals?

The problem of the left intellectual, raised in recent issues of *Frontier*, is not peculiar to India, but is characteristic of the ex-colonial countries of this region which inherited similar bourgeois liberal traditions. In this connection I would like to raise a few points:

When we speak of left intellectuals do we not really mean *liberal* intellectuals? How do we categorise a person as a leftist or Marxist? It is done in several ways. If a person goes around (cocktail parties etc.) proclaiming himself to be a leftist, prefacing his remarks with "We Marxists..." He is taken to be a Marxist, in the same way that anyone declaring himself to be a Christian is usually taken to be a Christian (and we don't bother to ask him if he says his prayers or goes to Church.) We have therefore fallen into the trap of taking without questioning people's statements about themselves.

There used to be a time when Marxists disguised themselves as liberals. But today, in our part of the world, among a certain group of intellectuals, Marxism is identified with decency, honesty and justice. There are therefore many *who would like to be known as Marxists*, because after all they are good chaps, who are for equal distribution of income and all that.

There are some "Marxists" who live on a past reputation usually associated with student politics or membership of the London Majlis, Cambridge and Oxford Socialist Clubs or visits to youth festivals in a communist country or a trip to the Soviet Union or East Europe. This enables the cocktail-circuit 'Marxists' to get a kick out of remarks intended to horrify CIA types—"Oh yes, when I

was in Budapest..."

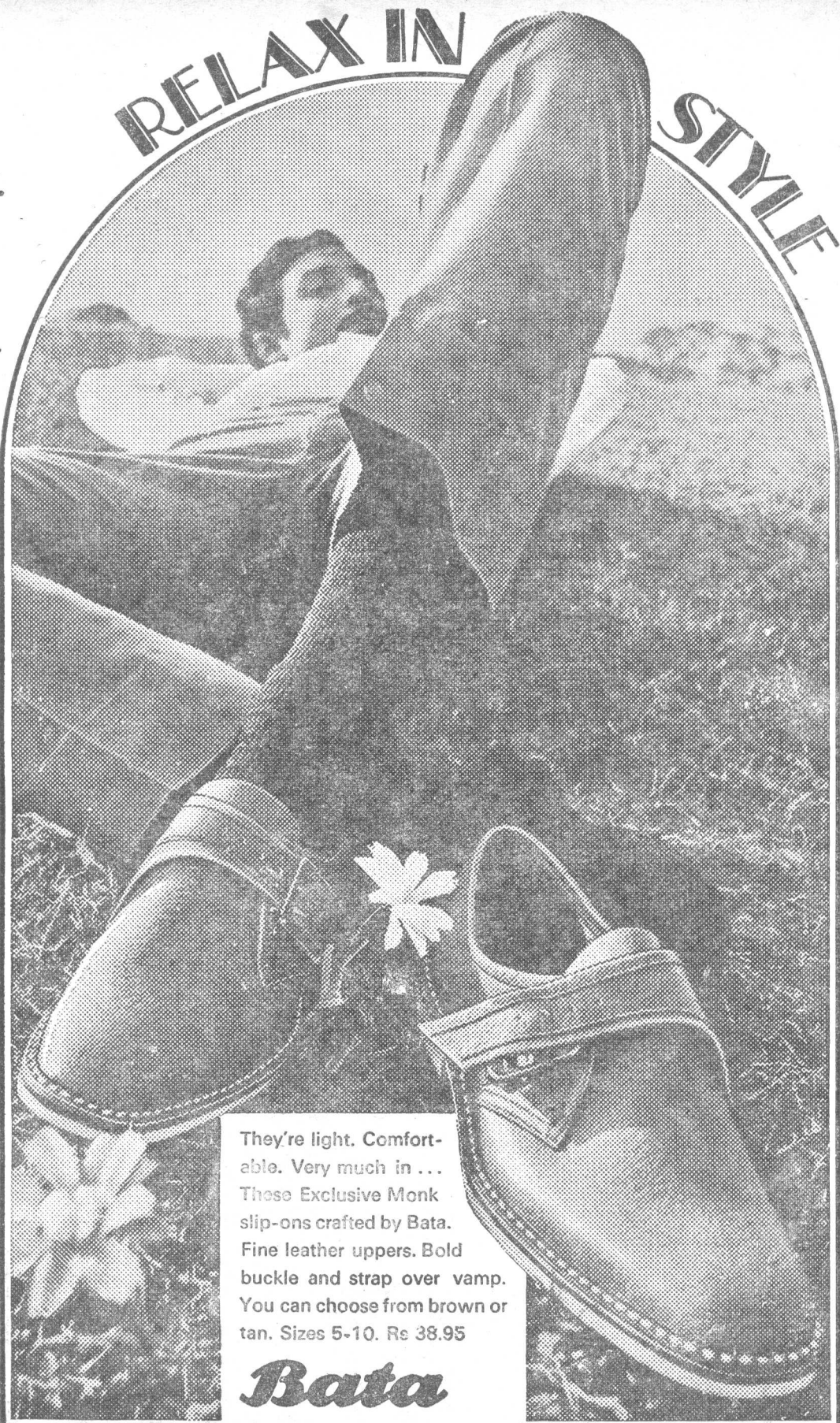
Another way of branding people Marxists is to judge them by some action such as signing petitions against the Vietnam war, apartheid etc, giving money for progressive causes or writing non-committal articles for left journals. In this way we put all the crowd of "progressives", humanists, rationalists, pacifists, theosophists, social reformers and do-gooders into one broad category of LEFT intellectuals.

Who then is a Marxist? As I see it, Marxism implies the adoption of a dialectical approach to problems, a belief in classless society and the social ownership of the means of production, and the achievement of this form of society through the class struggle and revolution. Those who fall short of this by becoming reformists advocating state capitalism and bourgeois parliamentarism are not Marxists. All these "left intellectuals" whom we criticise for un-Marxist activity are really liberals who are busy propagating bourgeois ideology and doing well out of the system. (Naturally they only teach bourgeois-economics in between travelling to the USA. And after all why not?) It is we who are wrong in calling such people Marxists. Hence the problem raised in *Frontier* is bit of a non-issue. The real Marxist intellectuals are in the struggle and don't have to be told how to opt out of the system and what to do next. As for the liberals, we can expose them and forget about them. As long ago as 1937 Mao Tse-tung in an article on 'Combating Liberalism' wrote:

People who are liberals look upon the principles of Marxism as abstract dogma. They approve of Marxism, but are not prepared to practise it or to practise it in full; they are not prepared to replace their liberalism as well—they talk Marxism but practise liberalism; they apply Marxism to others but liberalism to themselves. They keep both kinds of goods in stock and find a use for each.

ANANDA JAYASENA
University of Ceylon
Colombo

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only yesterday . . .

They had a house, though small. They had a home; laughter filled the place.
They were happy . . . humble, yet happy.
Today they are without home, without a smile. Even the children dare not speak . . . there is grief in the air.

The mob had destroyed all. Why? . . .
Nobody knows. It was an angry mob . . . slogan and noise filled the air. Men were marching . . .
Suddenly someone entered this house and set it ablaze. Who? Nobody knows.
Nobody stayed to tell.

It was only yesterday, but . . . it seems ages since they had a home and saw happiness.
Desolate, they sit and moan.

*The mob is faceless;
its deeds are thoughtless.*

What you can do

Form Mohalla committees.
Stop harmful rumours.
Get to know your neighbours.
Teach your child
the equality of mankind.

AVOID THE MOB