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WEEDING OUT THE LEFT

THE roll of war drums has made silent killings in West Bengal easier. Hawks on either side of the border deserve the gratitude of the Government which was desperately in need of a side-show to distract attention while the programme of annihilation of the Opposition is put through. Having once claimed that the law and order situation has improved and the incidence of murder has gone down, the Government could not resort to the old police tactics of mass arrest and shooting down people like rabid dogs. A change of style was introduced during the short reign of Mr Siddhartha Shankar Ray when the carnage at Baranagar-Cossipore occurred. The chiefs of the Calcutta police and the Bengal police are at loggerheads over where exactly the murders were committed. One should have thought that the best way to find this out was to ask some of their own men who might have been eye-witnesses of the action, if not actual participants. But the manner in which the controversy between the two police chiefs is being nursed tends to suggest that doubts will soon surface about whether there was any killing at all. When both of them deny that any murder was committed in their respective areas, does it not add up to the truth that none was murdered in Baranagar-Cossipore?

Mr Ray has been made to bow out because his job is over. Crudity was permissible when the muskets were trained on the Naxalites, real or suspected, who had forfeited their right to live because they openly advocated violence instead of practising it on the sly like other parties. Mr Ray was also useful in enlisting the support of all parties in the Naxal-hunt that formed the first phase of the Centre's plan to clean up West Bengal and make it safe for the Congress(R). He has yielded place to Mr Dias, for the second phase of the programme which aims at decimating the CPI(M) requires more sophistication. The Naxalites did not care for a mass base; they thought they would be able to skate safely on the thin ice of popular discontent; they took themselves to be fish in water without ascertaining if the water was congenial. The CPI(M) is a different proposition. The party has mass support, though to what extent it deserves that support may be a matter of dispute. It is a party which swears by the Constitution and participates in the system; its members are not beyond the pale of law. In cutting the

CPI(M) down to size the police cannot have a dominant role. That job has been entrusted to the youth and students in the Congress(R), while the police and the administration are providing them the necessary cover and protection. One no longer hears of anti-social elements; they have all atoned and earned a reprieve by donning the khadi.

The CPI(M) is sore that it should be treated in this fashion for all its assistance to the Government in tackling the Naxalite problem. It was not prepared for this kind of poetic justice in politics, and it does not know how to meet the challenge. It has made a representation to the Governor; far more ludicrous was the suggestion made to the Chief Secretary by three leaders of the party that he should visit certain areas of Calcutta flying a CPI(M) flag on the bonnet of his car and see for himself how the car and its occupants are attacked. As if the policy of decimating the CPI(M) is at work without the knowledge of the Governor or the Chief Secretary; they are perhaps sending daily progress reports to the Centre. Other left parties are sitting on the sidelines, chuckling silently over the drubbing the CPI(M) is receiving; their leaders are busy inventing one pretext after another to postpone joint resistance against the Government offensive. They are behaving much in the same way as the CPI(M) did until recently; they also are under the same delusion that retribution will not visit them, that the Government has no intention to hurt them. The CPI may escape by merging itself formally in the Congress(R) but not some of the other left parties. Their turn will also come; for the Centre's plan is to weed out left politics from West Bengal. The State's integration with the rest of the country will be complete if the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra can be helped to fill the void that will be created by the elimination of the left parties.

A New Style

Speculation about the UN and China has ended, after the dramatic break through on Monday. Speculation about what is 'happening' in China is now centred on Lin Piao. He has not been heard of for a pretty long time; he is not named in toasts at official functions; even when he is by a visiting party, the Chinese do not name him. The Chief of Staff is also unseen and unheard.

On safe guess may be that the PLA, the great stabilising factor before and during the cathartic Cultural Revolution, is about to be subjected to the typical Chinese process of searching self-criticism. The very character of the PLA, the mass basis of it all, means that it is not immune to the frailties bared during the Cultural Revolution and perhaps the Chinese leaders think it is time the PLA went through the same process and that the process should begin with the men at the top, both those who were too strict with the Red Guards and those who were not, for different reasons. It does not mean that Lin Piao is in disgrace. The Chinese leaders—most of them—have been able to face criticism and be in the background for a time. The debate is not yet public because the army cannot afford to expose itself inside out.

It is also undeniable that in her foreign relations, China is now showing a new style, to the disappointment of many ultras, both at home and abroad. Maybe Mao Tse-tung, surveying the world scene after the passionate upheaval of the mid-sixties when developments abroad appeared in over-red tones, now thinks that the seventies should give a trial to negotiations from a position of calm strength. Chou En-lai told visitors that the Chinese, though ready to support armed struggle, are prepared to negotiate. Do the Chinese think that much of what they anticipated in the late sixties was rather subjective, seen as it was through the prism of the Cultural Revolution?

As indication of the new style—

however odd it may seem to Maoists abroad—is the impressions that Han Suyin, the noted Chinese writer with an Indian husband, received during her recent tour of Sinkiang. Take the Chinese attitude to India and Pakistan. A certain official "whose position and words command attention" told her that the Chinese do not desire anything for India except unity and progress. "We fervently hope that India and Pakistan will be able to live in peace and solve their problems through negotiations"... "The break-up of Pakistan can do India no good. The intrusion, under any pretext whatsoever, of any so-called great power in what concerns these two States alone can do harm to India herself". The sabre-rattling by certain Indian personalities forced China to issue a warning that "should the hysterical shouting for war with Pakistan lead to a crossing, by Indian troops, of the border with Pakistan (a border recognised by India herself) we should feel obliged to support Pakistan, because Pakistan would then be the victim of aggression". The official added that the Chinese and Indian peoples are friends and in the future will continue to be friends. The allegation that Chinese have been in command of Pakistani troops is designed to increase bad feelings between China and India.

Pakistan has been a consistent friend to China, despite changes of government. It does not mean that China agrees, or condones, everything that is done, either by the Pakistani Government or any other government. But it does mean that within the sphere of state relations, the principles of Panch Shila should be respected. China is accused of having supplied small arms to Pakistan to be utilised in East Pakistan. But aren't Soviet and American arms also used? How can the Chinese be expected to foresee years ahead the use of such small arms?

The key to the refugee problem lies in negotiations between India and Pakistan. The western world has said many things, on the subject most of it to inflame feelings.

On the Indo-Soviet treaty, the Chinese official remarked that Peking is aware of the military clauses of the treaty which actually put India in a position of inferiority. This should perhaps worry the Indian people. It certainly does not worry the Chinese.

The interview makes it clear that China is confident of herself—her vast underground defence system can meet a sudden nuclear attack or a combined attack by America, Russia, India and Japan—but that she is prepared to negotiate for peace. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why the so-called hardliners will stay in the background for a while.

There are many hardliners in this country who want a bust-up to end the wretched system. It is up to them to bring it about, without bothering about the State relations that might emerge between India and China. Of course this is not what the Chinese official said.

From Anathema To Dialogue

There are two ways of looking at it. Capitalism and communism are converging—capitalism veering to the left and communism to the right, capitalism acquiring socialist content and communism becoming liberal. Or communism is yielding ground to capitalism and becoming what the orthodox call revisionism.

Nobel Prize awards this year, notably for Peace and for Literature, must have satisfied ideologues like Sakharov and Garudy who believe in the former. That the prize can be given to a communist or a man who fraternises with communists is surely

a hell of an indication that capitalism is veering to the left. The Swedish panel for the award of the Literature prize, unquestionably bourgeois, are getting rid of their scare of communism and increasingly taking note, with appreciation, of communist poets and novelists. It would no doubt have shocked them in the past even to have suggested that a Neruda or a Sholokhov could be considered for a Nobel Prize. But the civilisation that dawned on the other side of the iron curtain since the Peaceful Coexistence Era has been dispelling the worries and anxieties, the qualms and fears of the bourgeois helmsmen, political and cultural. They have realised that the communists can also be human. The realisation has not hurt them. And if this be the change in the superstructure, can the change in the base be far behind!

It is understandably no fault of Neruda's that he has been thrust upon with a bourgeois prize. But it is not known that he views it suspiciously or considers it an insult; Sholokhov did not. Russophiles here in this country gleefully greeted this year's award and have left no doubt in the popular mind that the Nobel Prize has also two personalities, progressive and reactionary. If one can *manage to take a micro-view of it*, one can remember in this context how the Bengali right communist daily hailed the award of an *Uttorath* prize to a communist writer early this year.

Richard Nixon, however, is entitled to feel hurt. With his peace overtures to Vietnam and China he qualified par excellence for the Nobel Peace Prize. A shame, the Norwegian Parliament missed the point. Is it because they can't see beyond Europe? Do they not know that if the world is destroyed by communism or some such epidemic, Europe can't be left uninfected? How could they imagine that Chancellor Willy Brandt who forged detente between West Germany and East Europe was anything but a screw on the Kosygin-Nixon axis? Or are they feeling confident that once the world bourgeoisie have tamed the occidental commu-

nists, they can as well emasculate the oriental variety? If they feel so, for decency's sake, they ought to declare a posthumous award to Herr Khrushchev.

Kaunda And Vorster

Relations between Zambia and South Africa are now at a very low ebb and a major flare-up across the border cannot altogether be ruled out. Enmity between the two is old, but the recent incidents are rather serious and full of dangerous possibilities. It started with the two mine-blasts in South-West Africa early this month in which four white constables and one member of the officer corps of the South African armed constabulary were seriously injured. After the incidents Vorster, the South African premier, declared that his forces would chase the saboteurs to their base and would not hesitate to punish the country that supports them. He was referring to Zambia which helps the Swapo, the most active guerilla group in South-West Africa. The outcome has been the violation of the territory of Zambia by the South African army. Though Zambia has been aiding the Swapo partisans for quite a long time these incidents well within the Caprivi strip show clearly that the guerillas are operating not from Zambia but from within South-West Africa. They have demonstrated that they can pack all the punches despite Vorster's repression. Swapo sources have also confirmed this.

The UN Security Council, debating Zambia's protest on the incursion, has censured South Africa for its act of aggression. Vorster, however, has little qualms and he can defy the world body, thanks to his Western allies. It is these countries which have made periodic denunciations of South Africa and yet mercifully allowed their capital to flow into South Africa. It is they who have talked peace and yet continually replenished South Africa's arsenal which the latter has used effectively to keep its people in

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bondage. Thanks largely to their help, South Africa is now on a firmer footing and can even extend its hold beyond its own border.

South Africa's glittering prosperity has also attracted the blacks. Hastings Banda and Houphouet-Boigny have shown the way and others have followed them to exchange friendly greetings with Pretoria. Even when the South African army was violating a black country, Ivory Coast's Minister of State was chatting in Pretoria on the question of dialogue between

the blacks and whites. Pan-Africanism is in a shambles; only Kaunda and Nyerere are holding on precariously. Naturally Vorster dislikes this and chose the opportunity to hit at Kaunda, particularly when he is in the midst of a political crisis at home.

But Vorster's real trouble is also internal. As the incidents prove, he has failed to contain the rebelliousness of the native blacks who, despite the pitfalls, have begun to dig in their heels. Vorster may survive this time but a harder time awaits him.

an extraordinary bilateral relationship.

Nobody seriously believes that Mr Firyubin came for the annual exercise. His presence in New Delhi was perhaps meant to keep liaison with India in the absence from his post of Ambassador Pegov and to ensure that there is no conflict. On October 20 Mr Jagjivan Ram called the local editors to dinner and told them that the threat of war had receded but went to Hyderabad and made one of his typical statements.

New Delhi now thinks that by keeping the forces on the border, General Yahya Khan can be overextended and Pakistan cannot hold on long keeping its forces on the borders. Meantime it expects international pressure to force General Yahya Khan to release Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and begin negotiations. Both the super-powers are engaged in this effort.

View from Delhi

Another Stalemate

FROM A POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

IT was near-war on October 13/14 but something seems to have happened in Teheran and Persopolis to forestall, though for the time being, the countdown that looked imminent. As President Tito left and Mr Nikolai Firyubin checked in, there was hardly any crisis in the air. The Prime Minister, whose dreary press conference on October 19 did not reveal anything, found time for elaborate exercises in ad hoc politicking between sessions of the Cabinet to discuss the need for clamping down an emergency on the nation. The Prime Minister was set on going abroad come what may and it would have looked absurd to have declared an emergency before going on a longish trip. Someone seems to have pointed out the incongruity of the whole thing and so it was decided that the more prudent course would be to declare an emergency if necessary when she was abroad.

The pattern is now clear. Mr Jagjivan Ram has been making one set of statements, all tough-sounding while Mrs Gandhi is reluctant to comment on them. For instance, the Defence Minister went on record at Jullunder that if Pakistan began a war, it would be fought on Pakistani

territory and India would not give up occupied territory come what may. At her press conference, Mrs Gandhi parried a question on this. One thought Mr Jagjivan Ram could be pulled up for the statement but later it appeared that there was perfect division of labour—Mr Jagjivan Ram taking tough, Mr Swaran Singh humouring the other treaty partner by talking of a political settlement short of independence in Bangladesh and Mrs Gandhi just incoherent and self-contradictory.

There was sharp official reaction to the United States advice of restraint to India but nobody seems to realise that India is already being restrained effectively from some other quarter. For instance, where was the need for the Firyubin visit, announced a bare 24 hours before his arrival? Bilateral talks... well there have been more rounds of such talks than one can remember. Beginning with Mr D. P. Dhar's visit to Moscow early in August, Mr Gromyko came, Mr Tsarapkin came, Mrs Gandhi went, Mr Podgorny came... With Mrs Gandhi went a high-power team and with Mr Podgorny came Mr Firyubin early in October. If there are still some bilateral issues outstanding, it indeed is

Mrs Gandhi implied at her press conference that as long as the Bangladesh issue remained, the danger of an Indo-Pakistani conflict was there. What however has gone unnoticed is that the build-up of Indian troops on the eastern border has forced Pakistan to send its troops to the East Bengal border and the Mukti Bahini's much-publicised successes in recent days are not real successes at all. The Bahini is moving into a vacuum behind the army control lines. On the contrary there are reports of slowing down of material aid to the Bahini to prevent the situation from drifting into war. The moment the Bahini really makes a military impact in East Bengal, the Pakistani generals might hit out in the western sector.

If anything, the Indo-Soviet treaty seems to have cramped New Delhi's style. Those who react sharply at official briefings to United States suggestions for restraint also talk the press into writing eulogistically about Soviet implorations of Indian restraint. In any case India has been restrained because it has entered into a treaty with Russia and the restraint does not carry any quid pro quo. For instance, in the event

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of a conflict, the Soviet Union is in no way obliged to take sides.

Official New Delhi is already talking of a confederation plan, autonomy and the like. The political settlement New Delhi now has in view will fall far short of an independent Bangladesh and the commitment to see a free Bangladesh no longer exists, whatever Mr Jagjivan Ram might say for public consumption.

What the Soviets and the United States want in Bangladesh are the same—a settlement within the framework of Pakistan. A section of the Bangladesh leadership is sold on this idea and yet the pro-Soviet section is accusing another section of a sell-out to the United States. The question simply is one of who will have greater influence on the Bangladesh leadership when a confrontation or an autonomous unit comes into being—the Soviets or the Americans.

Diplomats think the super-powers have gained full four weeks to work out a solution to be imposed on Bangladesh but the eight million or more refugees will refuse to go back even after a political settlement. The super-powers want to avoid a war but they also know that General Yahya Khan cannot afford to give up East Bengal without a war. Even a military dictatorship cannot afford to become unpopular.

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The Theatre Of The Absurd

D. G. SATARKAR

*Come, sit down, every mother's son
and rehearse your parts.*

—Shakespeare

A Midsummer Night's Dream

THERE was always a theatrical element present in this country's concern with the misery of East Bengal. First we made it look as if it were just "a happening" (the latest term in the jargon of American theatre). We shed the right amount

of tears and probably would have been willing to forget about it. However, soon the plot of the drama was seen unfolding itself. It was more than a happening. It was for us the conventional theatre. It had a hero, it had a villain—in fact quite a host of them made up of the Chinese and the Americans along with, of course, Yahya Khan. With continuing exodus from East Bengal, we also entered the stage as the victim. Now it is well on its way to becoming a theatre of the absurd—which is, of course, our contribution to the tragedy of East Bengal.

The reasons for this confusion are not far to seek. We started to play the role of a "reliable rear area" of a people's war in Bangladesh. We thought that it is one of the easiest roles to play. If China could play it for Vietnam why can't we play it for Bangladesh? Everybody had told us, so far, that the role does not cost much. The Chinese, clever as they are, do not have to make any sacrifices for the liberation war in Vietnam. Maybe we could do so for Bangladesh as well. All that one has to do is to pass resolutions of "support and sympathy" and keep a few people shouting for a war with Pakistan. The job will be done. The Algerians had to fight for eight long years. The Vietnamese have been fighting for as long as one can remember. The Mukti Bahini, however, was going to win the war short and quick. International public opinion was so incensed with the atrocities that the Yahya regime was committing that it would line up behind the Bangladesh cause. The result would be that the Pakistani regime would collapse—all within a short period of eight to ten months.

There was no earthly reason why we should have thought so. The repressive machinery does not give up so easily. A colonising power does not collapse so fast under the pressure of the increasing costs of colonisation. It is a long, protracted and bloody business. Besides, the "reliable rear areas", no matter what the power-pundits tell us, have to pay an enor-

mous cost. Crushing the people's rights at home (and abroad as in Ceylon) and upholding people's rights abroad do not go together. A whole series of questions about the political structure at home arises. We could not afford to expose our structure to these pressures.

It was clear that the Government has been uncomfortable in the face of these problems. Its major problem has been that it is a fight between Pakistan and the people of Bangladesh.

This sounds paradoxical. For it is our Government which has maintained that the fight is between Pakistan and the people of Bangladesh. However we say so without realising that supporting a people's war itself is a costly business. The sacrifices that an ordinary North Vietnamese citizen has made to sustain and help the FLN in South Vietnam are enormous. President Ho went about in tyre-slippers to symbolise that sacrifice. On the other hand we need the latest Mercedes Benz to take our guests around. The plain truth is that supporting a people's war is a costly business especially for the ruling elite. The elite is increasingly uncomfortable. It does not want to be swept away by a people's movement.

It looks as if the way out of this dilemma is visible. Transform the problem of war between the military junta of Pakistan and the Bangladesh people into a problem of war between India and Pakistan. General Yahya has no doubt been of some help in this. But we needed this change all the same. Now it is an old drama with which we are familiar. We can put it to good use.

This is being done by our leaders. Mr Jagjivan Ram's speech at Jullunder claiming that this time we could go as far as Lahore and Sialkot and keep them if necessary has removed that uncomfortable element of people's war from our thinking. It is an old text. Madame Gandhi has used a picturesque phrase—you cannot shake hands with a clenched fist.

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Now pressures and counter-pressures would be applied in the required measure to lead us and Pakistan into a pre-war (or a postwar, what is the difference any way?) Tashkent, Yahya Khan and we ourselves have started to "rehearse our parts" already. War, national unity, the need for "girding our loins" as an

eminent leftist like Gopalan put it the other day, are all parts of a text we know so well already. It would lead to the "happy ending" with all the Brechtian irony in it. Meanwhile, Bengal would continue to bleed. For it, it would be no more than an act in the theatre of the absurd with the end nowhere in sight.

Police, Paul Lafargue And The CPM

A. K. SANYAL

A truly novel phenomenon. The Marxist Communist cadres some time ago distributed circulars of the West Bengal Non-gazetted Police Employees Association. About a year ago *Ganashakti* printed the full text of one of the statements made by this association. This communist zeal in propagating a police point of view is unprecedented. Was there a tinge of rebellion, then, in the police circular? Not a trace of it. Except on questions of pay and other benefits, the points of view of the Government and the Police Association are in all basic matters alike. Such as: the police are innocent, impartial and are servants of the people; the extremist onslaught on them is entirely unjustified and is of a provocative nature.

But what is the common man's experience? And in what light does Marxism regard the police? Briefly, Marxism thinks of the police as *not* independent of state power, but as an instrument in the hands of a particular class, the ruling class, used to exploit and oppress the people. Lenin put it with daylight clarity when he said: "A standing army and police are the chief instruments of state power. How can it be otherwise?" Marx used to call the police semi-bandits. In Engels's words, "the shabbiest police servant has more authority than the representatives of the clan".

Such is the theory. And what does experience tell? The police, relatively speaking, are among the most offensive creatures in society. Even a high court judge of this bourgeois-landlord State was once obliged to comment that the police were the best organized hooligan gang in India. The ordinary, educated petty-bourgeois is not too often subjected to direct police provocation and atrocity. But the porter, the day-labourer, the vendor, the street-hawker, the rickshaw-puller and the rustic poor in general know only too well how ruthlessly coercive and oppressive the police, the "ordinary police", can be. The struggling peasant and worker know through everyday experience that the police are entirely at the beck and call of the millowner, the landlord, the man of means. The honest policemen is an extreme rarity. It is true, bribe-money is shared on the basis of rank, but hardly anybody is left out.

The Marxist view is that if one is to seize state power, one will inevitably have to come into conflict with the police and military protectors of the exploiting state. It is the specific function of the police to keep up the law and order of the capitalist state, and that is why they are paid. For the same reason, revolutionaries who try to disrupt this order automatically become their sworn enemies. That is why the police use all possible

means to annihilate them. The revolutionaries too prepare themselves psychologically as well as organizationally, to meet the demands of the occasion. Because they have to encounter the cruelty and heartlessness of the police in their daily life and struggle they keep up a ceaseless campaign of hatred against the police and cherish the records of their battles with the police to serve as an inspiration for their future struggles. We might in this context recall Engels's words:

"The police have opened up a really splendid field for our people: the ever-present and uninterrupted struggle with the police themselves... And I consider this struggle the most useful in the circumstances. Above all it keeps the contempt for the enemy alive among our lads... and what they lack in revolutionary tradition they are gaining more and more from the battle with the police."

Three points are worth noting here: Engels did not differentiate between ordinary and extraordinary policemen—that is, he had not discovered any "progressive section" among the police. He advocated a ceaseless campaign of hatred against the enemy, i.e., the police. In his view the struggle with the police compensates for the lack of revolutionary tradition and is therefore very much a revolutionary act.

Here, however, we find the Marxists in action and propaganda doing just the opposite of what Engels recommended. They have made the discovery that one section of the police is good while the other section is bad. But they are not specifying the bad ones; instead, they are naming the Naxalites. Furthermore, they have not differentiated between policemen on the basis of rank. They have discovered a progressive outlook in policemen, but they have not found the least trace of anything good in the Naxalites, not even in 'a section' of them. They get hysterical if anyone speaks a single word in their praise. They find the police good, but the Naxalites, the police agents, bad. They find the local police good, but

the CRP bad. Well, aren't the CRP police too and don't their ranks consist of youths coming from lowly families of U.P., M.P. and Punjab? But even in this the CPM leaders try to work up provincial feelings in their anxiety to capture middle-class votes. Instead of propagating hatred for the enemy they describe the police as innocent. When, driven to the last limit of desperation by indescribable atrocities in police lock-ups, the Naxalites started hitting back, a great cry was raised condemning them. But there were only half-hearted references to the unlawful murder and torture, to the cruel harassment of alleged Naxalites on the merest suspicion. On the contrary they tried to cover up the police atrocities. Promode Dasgupta made his famous discovery of a police-Naxalite entente. Like a thief calling out, "Catch the thief! Catch the thief," the Revisionist CPM leaders tried to cover up their semi-secret anti-Naxalite alliance with the police. Well, everyone knows, the police act in the interest of their job, of the bribes they get; but what selfish interest is it that impels Naxalite youths to throw away their lives? While the others were jabbing at one another, the Naxalites started hitting out at the class enemies and the state power. This had the effect of rousing a deep searching enquiry in the minds of all sections of the youthful community. The CPM leaders did not like this trend at all. They accordingly ferreted out the nearly forgotten figure of Paul Lafargue (1842-1911), a son-in-law of Marx, and a feature entitled *Police and the Anarchists* appeared in *People's Democracy* of 6-10-70 and was reprinted in *Deshahattai*.

A sly effort was made to conceal the true drift of Lafargue's words by holding up an apparent point of outward resemblance before the public. What Lafargue said was that in the situation then prevailing, the French police employed left-slogan-shouting anarchists to kill off trade union leaders; but when the anarchists got

out of hand and started killing rich people too, the police were obliged to inflict some penal measures on them, and the police used this chaotic situation to have their budget raised. The substance of the statement is that the police were the protectors of the real criminals, the rich, and they did not hesitate to take any measures to kill the revolutionaries. But whom have the police been killing secretly and openly by their hundreds in India? Surely not CPM people, the true 'revolutionaries'!

Lafargue said: "The capitalist class, incapable of defending its own riches as it is incapable of acquiring them by labour, is the first class of the propertied which has made of the police the most solid pillar of its state and society." Clear as daylight the police, the entire police, not 'a certain section' of them, are the protectors of the rich and the enemy of the working class. Has any Marxist ever, even from a tactical point of view, distinguished between different sections of the police?

Paul Lafargue wrote: "The deputies, trembling with fear, demanded anti-anarchist laws and an increase in the police budget." But here we find—and this is the most interesting point—that it was the CPM leader Jyoti Basu himself, Police Minister of the bourgeois-landlord state, who raised the police budget. That is to say, he allotted more money to the same police whose business it was to kill revolutionaries, and who, according to Jyoti Basu himself, had been employing Naxalite agents to slay the Marxists! And the budget was raised for the entire police, not for 'a section, of them. This is adherence indeed to Lafargue!

The Marxist cadres went on crying themselves hoarse over Paul Lafargue. They had found out the Naxalites; they had exposed their true colour. But Lafargue never mentioned a single case of police agents killing policemen. How then could the CPM thesis about the police-Naxalite alliance stand? It was evident that, although the common people disliked the Naxalites, they had an admiration

for their courage, their burning zeal and their spirit of self-sacrifice. Yet another thesis had therefore to be set up—clearly an afterthought. It was that the higher echelons of the police were employing the Naxalites to kill progressive policemen. This must be the most staggering revolutionary thesis of all time! Even supposing it was true—why then have the police authorities been slaughtering their beloved agents, the Naxalites, by the score and the hundred, here in West Bengal and all over India?

Then again, if a section of the police were progressive, all the common policeman's hatred would have been concentrated on the diabolical state authorities who could resort to such infinite cruelty and meanness. But it is common experience that the fiercest wrath of all classes of policemen is focussed on the Naxalites, and the CPM leaders have been adding fuel to that flame. The Marxist memorandum at the all-party conference expressed concern at the killing of a hundred policemen, but there was no reference to the unlawful killing of numerous Naxalites at the hands of big and small policemen in police lock-ups, in prisons, on public roads and even within the victims' own houses. The CPM thesis points to the upper strata of the police as the main enemy, but the people who get butchered everyday are the Naxalites! The strange shallowness and insensibility of the Marxist cadres reminds me of a famous story by Prabhat Mukherji. Two rival schoolmasters competing for superior proficiency in English came to receive the verdict of the rural masses. The relatively ignorant but sly Brojo Master said to his competent but simple rival Haran Master, before the assembled people: "Just tell these people aloud the meaning of 'I don't know'". Aloud came the simple reply, "Ami jani na". The villagers got indisputable proof of poor Haran Master's self-confessed ignorance, and they hooted him out of the locality. The CPM cadres bear a painful resemblance to these rural masses. They don't delve into things; they don't analyse; they just

swallow whatever is served up. Leaving out inter-party feuds, how many 'revolutionary' Marxist cadres have been killed by the police in the whole of India, and how many counter-revolutionary Naxalite 'police agents'? And in West Bengal, what are the respective numbers of CPM and Naxalite cadres butchered by the police?

The Mensheviks

What has been actually happening before one's naked eyes is that the police have been colluding with a section of the Marxists to kill off the Naxalites, while the CPM leadership has been directly conspiring with the police. Their purpose is to destroy their revolutionary political opponents. Apart from local and temporary variations, the Congress is the CPM's vanishing enemy. Why? Because the Naxalites believe in armed rebellion, not in ministry-grabbing. That is why the Naxalites are a thorn in the flesh of the CPM leaders. What the wealthy classes cannot do directly they get done through petty-bourgeois social democrats. The petty-bourgeois CPM is revolutionary just to the extent that the service-holding middle class or the well-to-do peasant is warlike. But it might be said by way of objection that large numbers of workers and peasants support the CPM. Yes, just as they support the Congress in Bihar, U.P. and other places. History offers not a few examples of the working class towing the petty-bourgeois line. In the pre-revolutionary days of Lenin's Russia most of the trade unions, particularly the clerks' unions were under the control of the Mensheviks. All this shows that apparent and temporary public support is not the last word in the matter. What after all, is the class character of the petty bourgeois? He is the junior partner in this exploitative social system. His tiny share of the loot does not satisfy his needs; he is therefore discontented and wants more. It is here that he is in conflict with the big shareholders, the monopolists and this conflict is not of a revolutionary character. In the event of a revolution, there is a chance of this small-

shareholding section turning against it, because it does not like the uncertainties involved in the process. As middle class, they are against revolution and therefore against the 'reckless destructive actions' of the Naxalites. They too want socialism, but without tears. That is to say, they want a rise in their emoluments, a gentle social progress, not drastic change. They wish to be leaders of unions and co-operatives, commissioners, MPs and MLAs, to protest occasionally, even to stage general strikes, and at the most to serve short-term sentences as first or second class prisoners. This exactly is the utmost limit to which the CPM leaders are now prepared to proceed: it is on the basis of this 'sacrifice' that they will seek votes, become ministers and give 'modest relief.' What could be greater or nobler than that? Secondly, on becoming ministers they are sure to find the help of the police indispensable; therefore, 'a section' of them has to be kept appeased; therefore the Marxist leaders find no use in halting the police; on the contrary, they would need their help in suppressing inevitable revolutionary uprisings. Doubtless the leftists too carry on the struggle, but it is like guided democracy under a dictatorship, its scope is predetermined. That is why the immediate headache of the police is not the CPM or other leftists, but the Naxalites. The police fears about the leftists have in all fundamentals proved groundless. The police budget was raised by Jyoti Basu, and all classes of police feel no end of gratitude towards him. They got more money and drew public favour at the same time. Jyoti Basu's argument was: the police are poor. As if they were not poor in the British or Congress days. The slogan that used to be heard so often saying it won't do to keep the police to slaughter students and teachers and peasants and workers is no longer heard. Likewise, the slogan, 'Price rise must be resisted' has vanished, although it was on the score of this slogan that these leaders had risen to power. The

truth is, it is not the police who have changed but the leftist leaders, the ministry-grabbing CPM chiefs. The police and CRP atrocities are unparalleled in modern Indian history; they are reckless murderers. The ordinary leftist cadres see and feel everything, but the leadership constantly resorts to all sorts of ruses to calm down the fierce, murderous hatred of the masses. In the interest of revolution, they say, they have to make a distinction between good and bad policemen. But even then they do not do it on a class basis. And that explains the origin of the term 'a section of the police'. The Marxist leaders have of course lately made even greater progress; they have discovered progressiveness in a 'certain section' of the Ruling Congress (vide *Ganashakti* editorial on the Baranagar-Cossipore killings). The Right Communists' way was to draw a line between Nehru and Patel. The 'Left' 'anti-revisionist' CPM leaders have now completely mastered that craft. That is to say, they have found all possible excuses for collaborating with the enemy. The motto is: Let us support all who are progressive and isolate the reactionary sections. That is why the Marxists supported V. V. Giri, a former agent of the capitalists in the trade union movement, and lend 'selective support' to Indira Gandhi, the craftiest agent of that class. This is clearly a Menshevik, a capitalist-agent point of view, as would be evident from the following quotation from Lenin:

"The essence of the Menshevik tactics of the time was recently expressed by L. Martov in these words: 'The Mensheviks saw no other way by which the proletariat could take a useful part in that crisis except by assisting the bourgeois-liberal democrats in their attempts to eject the reactionary section of the propertied classes from political power—but while rendering this assistance, the proletariat was to maintain its complete independence.' In practice these tactics of 'assisting' the liberals amounted to making the workers dependent on them; in practice they

were liberal-labour tactics. The Bolsheviks' tactics on the contrary ensured the independence of the proletariat in the bourgeois crisis by fighting to bring that crisis to a head by exposing the treachery of liberalism, by enlightening and rallying the petty-bourgeois (especially in the countryside) to counteract that treachery." (From *The History of the Workers' Press in Russia*.) Put the Menshevik Martov's point of view beside the 'Left' and 'Right' Communist leaders' statements, and you will find they are alike. Instead of making use of the inner contradictions of the bourgeoisie, the reactionaries, with the purpose of undoing the entire enemy, the CPM leaders are finding excuses for aligning themselves with 'a certain section' of the police etc.

Corrupt

True, the lower ranks of the police are mostly recruited from poor families. Hunger and personal interest induce them to act against their class interest, and to become instruments in the hands of the rich. Especially because of his everyday involvement in the bourgeois administration, the policeman has been corrupt, always and everywhere. A fierce greed is ingrained in him. Nowhere in the history of progress has there been any mention of the slightest progressive role played by 'a section' of the police. Even a section of the army, because of their distance from the daily filth of bourgeois administration, might have a certain progressive possibility, but the police—never, barring a few stray individuals.

Have the common policeman ever raised his voice against the atrocities committed in police lock-ups, at Lal Bazar, at Lord Sinha Road? Have they ever refused to commit these barbarities? It is true, the Naxalites kill policemen. But why do they do it and why do they risk death in the process? Out of a superabundance of joy? The purpose of all this is not to say that whatever the Naxalites are doing is right. On the contrary a great deal of what they are still doing is wrong. But the common man,

the oppressed worker and peasant is sure to realise with ever-increasing force that this is but a mortal struggle to remove the accumulated debris of a thousand years. The common man is sure to understand, as time passes and events move on, that Naxalism is, fundamentally speaking, revolutionism, and that the CPM-brand 'Marxism' is, equally fundamentally, counter-revolutionary petty-bourgeois opportunism.

Andhra Pradesh

Conspiracy Case Diaries

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

DURING September-October 1970 the Revolutionary Communists operating in Warangal-Khammam districts issued a leaflet addressed to police personnel. After enumerating the job conditions of the inferior police services, the leaflet pointed out that they were no better off than the masses; most of them were from poor peasant and working class families; the present struggle would help them as much as it would their own down-trodden families and the guerillas were not interested in killing them so long as they behaved well. The leaflet, it is said, had a demoralising effect on the police.

The morale of the officers is no better, for other reasons. Though more men are detailed to provide them security than is normal the officers as a rule do not believe in leaving the warmth of a rest house or camp bungalow to chase an unseen enemy. Even if they move out during the day, by sunset they are in a hurry to get back to camp and down a few quick drinks—enough to induce sound sleep. The commies can go to hell—seems to be the motto after sundown.

Unfortunately, most of the valiant communist leaders of Srikakulam have been despatched to hell in the course of "encounters". A few who

escaped the "encounters" are now in jail, facing trial in the Parvathipuram Conspiracy Cases. The prosecution has filed numerous personal diaries, papers etc. seized from various people as evidence. This police evidence gives the true clue to the mystery of the "encounters".

The first major upset for the Srikakulam movement was the loss of Panchadi Krishnamurthy, popularly known as PK, and six others. The six had gone to receive PK arriving by train at Sompeta railway station. They and PK were arrested and shot dead.

"...that day along with Comrade PK, six other valuable comrades were arrested. They were Thammada China Babu, Bayanapalli Paparao, Donnu Gopala Rao, Niranjana Rao, Ramachandra Pradhan and Sringavarapu Narsimhulu. Except Sringavarapu Narasimhulu all the other comrades were young revolutionaries aged between 12 and 20 years. Even these people were shot dead one after another by the reactionary forces. At the time when the reactionary forces had lined them up for killing, amidst the earth-shaking slogans given out by other comrades, Comrade PK said the reactionary forces who think they can stop the great revolutionary movement by shooting us, are mistaken. They cannot stop it. They cannot stop it. There is no force on earth which can stop your decay."

[Parvathipuram Conspiracy Case Vol X—N 12-P. 55. A cyclostyled pamphlet issued by Sompeta Area Committee of the CPI(ML) dated 27-5-70. The handwriting is that of Appala Swamy].

"Comrades, on Feb 4 (1970) Comrade Gummidji Latchayya was taken into custody by the enemies in the Chapara area. Latchayya was subjected to inhuman torture by the enemies for 15 days. Even then, not one secret could the enemy learn from him, not even his name. Eventually, they poured petrol on our valiant comrade and burnt him to death."

"On 21-11-69 at Mathalabpet village, Srikakulam Taluk, comrades

Bhaskara Rao and Ganapathi were arrested along with two other comrades, Sanyasi and Krishnamurthi. These people were taken away...and without even a vestige of enquiry shot dead on the very next day...But the other party, the exploiting class, can never speak the truth. That is why, after arresting and killing Bhaskara Rao and Ganapathi and in Srikakulam town itself, they spread the news that they were killed in an encounter at Karasingi Hills near Tekkali..." [We will carry on the wishes of the martyrs Dr Bhaskara Rao and Ganapathi, issued by the District Committee of the CPI(ML) and District Ryotanga Samithi].

"At Engursingi on Dec. 22, 1969 police raid: six comrades arrested and shot dead, Subbarao Panigrahi, Ramesh Chandra Sahu, P. Nirmala, Saraswathi, Ankamma, Ummarao" [Parvathipuram Conspiracy case Vol X-OZ—A pocket diary maintained by Dr Mallikarjunudu and others].

"On 21st (December 1969) night I chalked out the sentry time-table. From 4 to 5-30 a.m. Ramanna and Nirmala were on duty. In the den we were 16 including 5 women. As it was a wintry morning some people were warming themselves near a fire and some sleeping. At about 5-45 a.m. police raided the place. We do not know what the sentry was doing. All of a sudden the police came and beat the sentry. Some say it was the tribals, and some it was the police, entered the den. Those warming themselves tried to run away. Awakened by the noise, even the people sleeping tried to get up and run away—that same evening we heard in the AIR local news bulletin that Subbarao Panigrahi, Ramesh Chandra Sahu and four others had been shot dead". (Parvathipuram Conspiracy Case Vol. IX M. 4. Note-book maintained by PUC Appa Rao.)

Over two months after this "encounter", the guerilla squads were able to arrest one of the tribals who was suspected to have led the police to the hideout. A people's court was

held and the proceedings are an eye-opener.

"...a People's Court with 80 villagers from 10 villages was held. During the proceedings, Latchanna told us that he was bribed by the police who gave him Rs 200, one bedsheet and one dhoti. 'I agreed to show the den. Along with me Sari Narasinga, Sucha and Yanga of Kummurikunta came. The police and we at midnight reached Bona. At 5-30 a.m. we raided the den. In the raid two guns, one bag of bombs, one radio, utensils were seized. We took S.R. Panigrahi, Ummarao, Ramesh Chandra Sahu, Nirmala, Ankamma and Saraswathi to the Rungmattia hills. They were asked to walk in front and shot dead. Wherever they fell, two bombs were exploded. I asked them why they were doing it. They said it was to prove that they died in an encounter'. Latchanna was released." [Parvathipuram Conspiracy case Vol XI S2-P. 143. A note-book of Urlam Mallewara Rao alias Jaganadha Rao].

"On 14-6-70 Comrade Umapathi was arrested. At once he was taken to Uddanam and shot dead. According to police circles, however severely Comrade Umapathi was beaten and tortured, except the word 'Mao Zindabad' he did not utter one word, not even 'father'; 'mother.' (Parvathipuram Conspiracy Case Vol X-01—A pocket diary maintained by Dr Mallikarjunudu).

Kanagala Krishnamurthy turned approver. In his statement before Sri K. Kosal Ram I.A.S., Subdivisional Magistrate, Parvathipuram, he said, "The police version of encounters is false. The Girijans usually have plenty of M.L. guns. They are taken away by police during raids. Immediately after a person is shot by the police, one gun is placed by his side and the story of 'encounter' is fabricated."

"One Naxalite was killed and some others received bullet injuries in an exchange of fire with police yesterday at Dhamslapuram forest about seven miles from Yelandu" (*Indian Express*: 11-8-71). This is another

typical case of encounter. According to knowledgeable sources, the actual fact was that a tribal, Bathakayya, was asked to pick a few articles which a certain lorry driver would bring to a certain spot to be handed over to the extremists' squad in that area. The lorry driver turned traitor and carried in his lorry armed police—dressed as labourers. When the lorry stopped at the agreed spot and Bathakayya stepped out of the forest to take over the articles he was riddled with bullets. It is learnt that Bathakayya, who had still life left, refused even to divulge his name and died with his lips sealed. He was not even armed with a stick.

This is the story of "killed in encounters" for which more police officers have been awarded the President's medal for gallantry during the course of two years than the number of gallant Indian army heroes awarded Victoria Cross during the two world wars. The bag of the presidential awardees includes three unarmed women and a few boys aged less than 15 years. What heroism! what gallantry!

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Guinea Gives The Lead Again

A. K. ESSACK

DAR-es-Salaam: Guinea has given a lead to Africa again. In November last year she demonstrated clearly that though a small country and poor, she could defeat big powers. When the Portuguese soldiers fled from Guinean soil, it meant a clear defeat for the strategy of imperialism for the reconquest of Africa. Guinea did not rest on her laurels. She is pursuing the advantages gained from this victory methodically and relentlessly without any sentiment, for in a life and death struggle there can be no sentiment. The dispersal of the forces of counter-revolution has brought about the internal disintegration of the forces within Guinea itself. Guinea today has laid bare the well-planned network of espionage in which millions of dollars were poured.

When imperialism withdrew, granting independence, in some cases it took with it its main column, the military. But it sent the second, third and fourth columns in the form of aid and joint collaboration projects. The three columns thus dispersed and worked in the fields of agriculture, industry and cultural and educational institutions. What Guinea is now showing to Africa as well as the developing countries of the Third World is that these three columns sought out and linked up with the country's fifth column in order to bring about the downfall of the government of Sekou Toure. A feature of this fifth column was that it was recruited by the West Germans and the French from Guineans holding top positions in the political and administrative life of the nation and some even holding party cards since the founding of the Parti Democratique Guinea.

Now that the centre of the spy ring has been smashed, the nerves and arteries which supplied all the information are left without direction. The ramifications of the conspiracy were as deep as they were wide, with Guineans having associations with the

French and West German SS networks as far back as 1958 and 1966 respectively. Arraigned before the National Council of Investigations are former Ministers of Information, Justice, Youth and Minister of High Guinea. More are to make their appearance. Also arraigned with them are the Director General of Agriculture, the Commander in Chief of Inter Armed Forces and the ex-Secretary general of the Organisation of Senegal River States (OERS). Their evidence before the Council shows the depths of corruption, intrigue and sabotage resorted to bring about the downfall of the government of Sekou Toure.

President Sekou Toure admitted in all humility before a mass public rally of the party that he made mistakes. As a human being he could not believe that those whom he had loved and trusted, those whom he had known since childhood and who had worked together, first before independence and then after, would betray their country, principles, friends and comrades for money. The President said that for some time, party militants both in and out of uniform had warned him against some of these. They signed their names openly when they made accusations against persons in high authority. They knew the consequences. He had so much trust in these men that he sent them the very letters of accusation, thus endangering the life and security of the party militants. One example. A peasant militant requested audience with President Sekou Toure. He had come from Kankan, Guinea's second capital, almost 600 hundred miles from Conakry, to warn him that the Governor of Kankan was a traitor and in the pay of the West Germans. Recalling this before the mass rally President Sekou Toure said the conversation went like this.

Sekou Toure: Are you sure?

Peasant militant: I have the proof.

S. T. Are you prepared to say this before the party committee?

P. M. Not only to them, but publicly and in front of the Governor.

S. T. I have known Barry Samba Safe for a long time. He has rendered service to the party and government. How can he betray the Guinean revolution?

P. M. Mr President, I have travelled 600 miles by train at my own expense. Do you think that I have travelled all this way to tell you lies? What brings me here is my country and the revolution which is being threatened. If you do not believe me you can record in the tape every word of the conversation.

The President then called the Governor although he could well have been handed over to the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution. He urged him to tell the truth and make a clean breast of it. "Perhaps I can save you and transfer you to another post," he said. Safe replied "Do you think I can betray you?" The governor while descending the steps had a qualm of conscience and requested a second interview. But his spirits failed him and he said nothing. He had gone too deep. He then called a mass meeting in Kankan. At this meeting the same militant mounted the platform and denounced the governor and his complicity with the West Germans. The members of the Committee for the Defence of the Revolution promptly arrested the governor. What he failed to say before the President he now said before his interrogators. His confession ran to over thirty pages.

The trials reveal the following. The base of espionage was an organisation called the Artisanal Center of Bordo. Its aim was to train Guineans in certain skills. At the head of this institute was Siebald, one of the two West Germans arrested and who later committed suicide. The artisanal centres are established all over Africa—who could object to this noble and disinterested effort at training the youth with the much needed skills? It turned out that Siebald was at the head of the spy ring and was its mas-

ter. He had a Nazi past and all those who came in as instructors were in fact SS men. The technique here was that they should not come into Guinea in big numbers but encourage building up of the Guinean underground of its fifth column. The students who were enrolled for training were not just youths but those the anti-Guinean Front had recommended. These were to be the soldiers of the Guinean counter-revolution. Recruitment was not random. Those who were placed in the strategic sectors of the economy were the ones who were enticed, bribed and corrupted. For instance, one such person was at the head of the Customs. He was asked to get others whom he could trust. Their main job was to allow the transit of all goods from West Germany into Guinea without any inspection. It was in this way that large quantities of arms were smuggled in and distributed to the fifth column inside. West Germany worked on some collaboration projects. What this meant was that its planes now flew over Conakry and were able to photograph the entire capital and the strategic places. These were turned over to the Portuguese invaders who knew just what to attack. The June-August issue of *Africa and the World* carries a reply by its editor to a question about Nkrumah during the November abortive invasion. "It is true that one group of the invaders destroyed a house where they evidently thought—erroneously—that President Nkrumah was residing. . .the invaders had specific instructions as to the places they were to attack. These included what they thought was Nkrumah's house. But Nkrumah was not there. He was directing with President Sekou Toure defence operations in Conakry", he replied.

Ghanaians who are with Nkrumah in Conakry also took part in the fighting. So did Stokely Carmichael and his wife Miriam Makeba, the well-known singer. Everyone was involved.

Millions were spent to bribe and corrupt the Guineans. Many on

the pay roll were getting \$5000 a month which was equivalent to 50,000 francs or about the same in shillings. The Minister of Information has confessed to receiving \$34,000 thousand which means a million francs.

Guinea is a poor country, the per capita income being no higher than that in many an African country. It

Documents

Pakistani Envoys' Conference

A meeting of Pakistan ambassadors was held in Geneva on August 24-25 presided by the Foreign Secretary, Sultan M. Khan, and attended by Lt. Gen M. Umar and Information Secretary, Roedad Khan. The main points were:

The Foreign Secretary admitted that the present crisis was the biggest since 1947 and blamed India. He referred to the hostile press in USA and the hostile press and Government reaction in U.K. He thought that Pakistan's case had not been understood. He mentioned the August 17 letter of Kosygin promising Russia's continued desire to help Pakistan. President Nixon had also agreed to continue maintaining economic and other aid to Pakistan. China is also interested to maintain the integrity and strengthening of Pakistan. Many Arab states had told India not to interfere.

Lt. Gen Umer believed that the military situation was under control in the absence of any organised military resistance. As such no organised military operation was necessary except repelling Indian aggression and action of saboteurs. To counter saboteurs, civil armed forces and Razakars have been organised. He admitted that the communications had been almost ruined and it would take a very long time to restore them. The Awami League would remain banned and some members would face criminal charges and if found guilty would lose their seats. He mentioned that some civi-

lisation of the administration was to take place soon. Martial Law would assist civil administration. He asserted that the economy had to be restored, food sent to areas of shortage. The future constitution would ensure autonomy as well as integrity. But according to him nothing was constant in politics.

Information Secretary, Roedad Khan, admitted that the image of Pakistan had been badly tarnished. He said that a most resolute publicity offensive was to be launched. He asserted that adequate staff and funds would be made available.

Main observations of the Ambassadors/High Commissioners:

U.S.A. Mr. Z. M. Faruqi (For Agha Hilali) said that Nixon is well disposed to Pak views as a result of the Pak role in US/China rapprochement. He admitted the scepticism of U.S. public and Congressmen over East Pakistan. The U.S. would continue to assist the current projects. Admitted that Senator Kennedy's support of Awami League and refugees in India made adverse publicity for Pakistan. He believed that the establishment of civil government in East Pakistan would improve the image of Pakistan. He urged intellectuals, students from both wings to visit USA to influence the views of the U.S. government and the public.

USSR: Ambassador Jamshed Marker believes that the Russians have no intention of severing ties with Pakistan and that the Indo-Soviet

Treaty was mainly aimed at extending Russian influence in South-East Asia. He regarded the Treaty as more anti-Chinese than anti-Pakistan. The Soviet Union has given no indication that economic aid to Pakistan would be reduced.

UK: High Commissioner Salman Ali said that the British Government had not seen Pak views. He revealed that the High Commission had set up a Pakistan Solidarity Organisation to counter the various Bangladesh organisations. He blamed the British press as Jewish inspired and thought that the Labour Party was bent on undoing the partition of 1947. The H. C. had been financing groups and individuals to focus Pakistani views. He also spoke of methods to befriend the Syhetis. He advocated the insertion of advertised publicity in *The Times* and other newspapers during the visit of Mrs Gandhi to UK and the opening of the General Assembly of the UN. He would also try to screen the Pak films on the Bengali massacre of the non-Bengalis.

China: Ambassador K. M. Kaiser said that China wanted non-intervention. He stated that China had advised a political settlement maintaining the integrity of Pakistan. China suspects the Indian motives in supporting Bangladesh. China is ready to give aid for rehabilitation of E. Pakistan economy. The Chinese press did not publicize the Indo-Soviet Treaty and China believed that it is directed against China. China intends to strengthen her relations with Afghanistan, Ceylon, Nepal and Burma. China would like to see Pakistan active in the politics of Indo-China. Ambassador Kaiser was not sure about the nature of Chinese help in case of a war between India and Pakistan. Private sources indicate arms shipment to Pakistan since March 25 was almost nil. Most of the Chinese weapons Pakistan is using were received during the years after 1965.

UNO: Ambassador Agha Shahi said that in the last ECOSOC meeting Pakistan got support on technical grounds and not on substance. He is afraid that in the forthcoming General Assem-

bly session India would get strong support on Bangladesh issue. He suggested that some drastic measures must be taken to prevent this. Restoration of civil government, substantial return of refugees, tackling the present food shortage, postponing the trial of Sk. Mujib were some of his suggested measures. He mentioned the hostile press in the USA—*New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines—and recommended advertised publicity. He strongly suggested that the press and TV must be made to see Pak view at any cost. He recommended that the Pak. delegation to UN should include East Pakistanis.

France: Ambassador Dehlavi said that the French press and public are not sympathetic to Pak views. According to him France regarded the Pak problem as a humanitarian problem.

W. Germany: Ambassador J. G. Kharas said that the German Government regarded this as an internal affair but India had been trying to blackmail West Germany with the threat of recognising East Germany. He mentioned the adverse publicity in the German press and suggested that action be taken to counter this.

Canada: H/C Sajjad Hyder said that the Indian Foreign Office is trying its utmost to influence the foreign ambassadors. He did not agree that the Indo-Soviet treaty would restrain Mrs Gandhi in her plan to recognise Bangladesh. He believed that India and Russia may have some agreement on future actions with regard to Bangladesh.

Switzerland: Ambassador Afzal Iqbal said that the Swiss government was very much distressed at the human misery in East Pakistan.

Austria: Ambassador Enver Murrad said that the Austrian government had shown great anxiety over the reported loss of human lives as well as the influx of refugees into India. The Austrian press had been very critical of Pakistan's action in East Pakistan.

Turkey: Ambassador Iftikhar Ali said that although the Turkish government was committed to assist Pa-

kistan both the Turkish press and public were divided on this issue. He did not foresee any favourable change in their attitude towards Pakistan.

Poland: Ambassador Bashirul Alam said that the Polish government did not agree with the contentions of the Pakistan government. The Polish government is greatly concerned over the refugee problem. The Polish press was critical of Pakistan and held it responsible for the E.P. tragedy. He also did not foresee any appreciable change in the position of either the Polish press or government.

Spain: Ambassador Maj. Gen Abid Ali said that the Spanish government completely understood Pakistan's stand. Spain not only fulfilled with promptitude all the arms orders placed with them but had offered additional supplies at favourable terms. But a part of the press was critical of Pakistan.

Czechoslovakia: Ambassador Kamaluddin said that the Czech government as well as the press were anxious about the Pakistan tragedy and urged a political settlement.

Sweden: Ambassador M. Safqat Ali did not participate in the discussion.

Argentina: Ambassador Abdul Momin arrived after the meeting had ended.

Ghana: H/C S. A. Moid said that the Ghana government followed a neutral policy.

Bulgaria: Ambassador Mustapha Kamal did not say much of any importance.

Netherlands: Ambassador R. S. Chatari said that the Dutch government was greatly perturbed over the human misery. Holland was distressed over the unilateral moratorium decision. But the Dutch government had agreed to lease out 7 coasters on payment of 2.8 million dollars.

Nigeria: H/C Samiullah Koreshi said that Nigeria supported Pakistan since Nigeria herself suffered from such a secessionist revolt.

Belgium: Ambassador M. Sood said that neither the press nor the government did appreciate the stand of the Pakistan government.

Yugoslavia: Ambassador I. A. Akhund said that the Yugoslav government was well disposed towards Pakistan but did not agree that the revolt was India-inspired. He also reported the very active part played by one Mr Bism of India, at present head of UNDP in Belgrade.

Clippings

The State Of West Pakistan

Since 25th March 1971... the situation in West Pakistan has been deteriorating rapidly. The invasion of East Bengal has inevitably created a chronic recession in all sectors of industry in West Pakistan. Two principal factors have contributed to the present state of the economy: the colossal expenditure involved in the maintenance of the armed forces in East Bengal and the sharp decline of the Bengal market for West Pakistani manufactured goods... A swift decline in the economy of West Pakistan followed the stagnation of trade in Bengal.

The West Pakistan capitalists, however, refused to suffer any losses incurred as a result of the crisis and have taken full advantage of the opportunity to carry out a devastating attack on the standard of living of the working class and the peasantry. The bourgeoisie, with the help of Yahya's military clique, has embarked on a programme of systematic and ruthless oppression, which has been manifested in both the public and private sectors of industry in West Pakistan. The government departments have been forced to cut expenditure drastically. As a result the redundancy rate in this sector has shot up to 80-85%... In the private sector, banks, battery manufacturing plants, textile mills, sugar mills, printing presses, and the whole of the service industry have been very badly hit. In an attempt to maintain their profits the capita-

lists have taken extreme measures. They have ordered lock-outs, closed a whole number of plants, and sold them to the scrapyards on the pretext of underproduction and unprofitability of the units. Retrenchment of the workers, closing down of industries and mass eviction of tenants by landlords have become a permanent feature of the generally abysmal situation. Since March this year, in the textile industry alone, 400,000 workers have been arbitrarily thrown out of their jobs. Because of the limited development of industry in general, once a worker is thrown out of a job, the likelihood of his finding another is negligible.

The collusion of the military junta with the bourgeoisie is blatant. Under the present martial law regulations, arbitrary retrenchment of workers and lock-outs is illegal; yet no action is taken against the entrepreneurs when these acts occur, nor when workers are dismissed without the correct legal procedure being observed.

An additional feature of the oppression is the deliberately created shortage of supply of commodities to the market. The result of this has been that the price of consumer and other primary products has soared, thus ensuing super-profits to the capitalists. The following figures provide an estimate of some of the increases that have taken place in the last three months:

Raw Cotton—50%; Batteries—400%; Cloth—25%; Petro—25%; Meat—100%; Oils—30%; Matches—100%; Soap—33%.

The stagnation of the economy is reflected in the sinking share prices, drastic cuts in all allocations of funds for industrial projects and a chronic shortage of strategic materials. For example, as a result of the crisis in East Bengal, no cheap newsprint paper is being imported from that area.

Of course the regime itself has taken a series of measures in an attempt to crush any sign of militancy appearing among the workers. The crumbs thrown to pacify the masses in periods of relative prosperity, such as tax relief for the lower income

groups, have all been taken away. All political and trade union activity is banned. There is total press censorship, and contradictory reports in the newspapers are a common occurrence.

The repression has quickly spread to the rural areas. Landless tenants eking out a meagre existence by working for the feudal lords are being forcibly ejected from the estates. This is mainly achieved with the help of the police and the collusion of the local bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie. Tear gas, batons and other instruments have been used by the forces of repression in carrying out these evictions.

But the masses are seething with anger under this murderous oppression and there has been strong resistance in many cases. The peasants have vigorously opposed their oppression and armed clashes between police and tenants have taken place in the North West Frontier Province. Landlords have been kidnapped and held to ransom as a reprisal for the atrocities committed against the peasants. Already workers in many of the mass industries are resorting to mass strikes. The militancy of the workers, Martial Law notwithstanding, is rising and can be illustrated by a strike at a pharmaceutical plant of Sandoz in Hyderabad. 250 workers, 80 of them women, came out for a day, in contravention of the martial law regulations, demanding higher pay, better working conditions and the reinstatement of a worker who had recently been sacked. The employees called in the local bureaucrats to "quell the disturbance". When the news got round to the other industries in the area (Telephone and Telegraph Workshop and Indus Gas) the workers immediately intervened on behalf of the Sandoz employees. They threatened to call solidarity strikes in their industries, too, if the bureaucrats contrived to interfere. The authorities and the employers backed down and the workers' demands were met in full. Similar actions have been successful in other industries. Although strikes are ille-

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gal under the present emergency, some militant unions are so well organised that they confidently fight the bourgeoisie tooth and nail and come out victorious in their struggles.

Unfortunately the unions, or rather, Federations of Unions, are themselves hegemonised by different political groupings, ranging from fanatical religious parties on the extreme right to the Maoists on the left. The situation is further confused by the splits among the Maoists. For example C. R. Aslam's Pakistan Socialist Party supports the West Pakistan Army's invasion of East Bengal and limits itself to propagandistic activity. Major Ishaq's Kissan Mazdoor Party (Peasant-Workers Party) did some important work at the grassroots level but in the last two months has capitulated to the West Pakistani hysteria against East Bengal.

However, despite this disarray in the revolutionary ranks, there are some significant groupings, predominantly Maoist, doing serious, mainly underground, work amongst the peasants and workers.

The student federations are also split according to their political affiliations. Numerous clashes have occurred between the religious fanatics (Jamaats) and the left-wing groups led in the major universities by the Maoists.

After the general elections the hopes raised by the bourgeois opportunists, and specifically, Bhutto's People's Party, mainly through the use of "left-wing" rhetoric, have been shattered. The more conscious workers have seen through the vile deception of these leaders of "national stature", and stand now in total opposition to them. At the same time there has been a regroupment of the forces of reaction, mainly due to the chauvinism generated by the crisis in East Bengal.

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OCTOBER 30, 1971

The State propaganda machine has reinforced this reaction by being ruthlessly efficient in West Pakistan in creating mass hysteria against the Bengali nation. This has been done through the government-controlled newspapers, which means nearly all of them, and the national radio and television. Two recent examples of the blatant propaganda are the production of a 55-minute colour fiction, purporting to be a documentary, outlining what was claimed to be the "atrocities committed by Awami League cadres, rebels and Indian infiltrators" before the invasion by the West Pakistani armed forces. The other was the publication of a White Paper on the "Crisis in East Pakistan", which is a massive concoction of lies, presented as data on the "barbarities of the Awami League hoodlums, bad elements, saboteurs and miscreants." It is noteworthy that the guerilla fighters are more recently called "Indian agents". The savage attacks on the Hindu minority have become intensified and a systematic campaign is in operation to whip up mass religious hysteria against this minority. People are inveigled into joining the armed forces by being persuaded that they are carrying out a "holy war against the heathens" in defence of the fatherland.

As a result of this "national emergency", political life has become totally paralysed. The bourgeois parties impotently plead for the lifting of the restrictions on their activities. The Maoists, after the stand taken by the Chinese bureaucracy supporting Yahya's actions, find themselves totally confused...

...All the indications point towards the fact that the explosion in Bengal has produced a political fermentation in West Pakistan and deep-going change is taking place in the relation of forces in the arena of class struggle. The transformation of this struggle into an armed confrontation in the not too distant future is more than a remote possibility.

—Mohd Hussein, writing from Karachi in *The Red Mole*, London

The Long Wait

MRIGANKA SEKHAR RAY

MONI Kaul's *Uski Roti* has all the ingredients of an inspired first film, with all its virtues and vices. The virtues are the enthusiasm, an overpowering urge for self-expression, a stubborn refusal to compromise with conventions and a sure command over the medium. The vices are familiar too, a little bit of intellectual arrogance and a tendency to cram all cinematic knowledge into a single work. The director is content with his own world and he is not bothered about communication on a mass level. Whether this is an ideal situation in films is a debatable point, but in *Uski Roti* we meet something very personal and the response to the film must be equally personal. The story material is tenuous, a lone housewife's long wait on the village highway for her bus-driver husband, a part of her daily chore because she has to deliver the food to him. The film depicts the complex relationship between husband and wife, but the chronological sequence of events is deliberately disturbed and the film emerges as a series of fragmented experiences. Curiously enough, the director has somehow not totally discarded the plot-line and there is something of a round-up at the end when the husband returns for reconciliation with his wife—or does he really? Maybe it is all her fantasy creation. Anyway, the popular idioms of story telling have all been done away with and the film turns into a spectrum of moods, conveying varied feelings, monotony, anger, anxiety, fear, tender and violent passions. And here the director excels in his control of his craft and he has been able to communicate all these moods beautifully, solely with the help of his medium without resorting to any literary or dramatic devices. K. K. Mahajan's evocative camerawork superbly aids the director in the proper visualisation of his work. The camera is never restless,

but slowly goes deep into the heart of the setting and the characters, and the formal composition of the images is excellent. There is also the sparing but telling use of sound and all the familiar incidental effects of the village, like the distant barking of a dog, the whining noise of automobiles, the slow murmur of a stream; these add fresh dimensions to the atmosphere and the occasional strains of a santoor as the background score creates a haunting effect.

Letters

For Whom The Bell Tolls

The "Story of a Naxalite" (September 18) clears the inside story of the Cossipore massacre when it says, "It is true we had genuine hatred for Congress but our hatred of the CPI (M) was unlimited. It was because they speak of revolution but sit in Parliament... That is why we made the CPI(M) our main political enemy. We first attacked the party's student front." This proves what was earlier considered to be a slander—that the offensive in the inter-party clashes between the CPI(M) and the CPI(ML) always lies with the latter. This also makes the accusation of the CPI(M)'s complicity in the Cossipore massacre meaningless and gives credibility to the other version that the Naxalite offensive drove the Marxists out of that area long ago in the way young Naxalites drove away Marxist boys from the Agartala college. Secondly, if the CPI(M) is held to be the principal enemy, that would automatically lead to a tacit united front with the Congress and other anti-CPI(M) parties to crush the CPI(M). This led to the exposure of the organisational secrecy of the Naxalites to the Congress so that the latter could strike with such deadly efficiency as in Cossipore. In many areas the Naxalites have been served with notice to either join the Youth Congress or face annihilation either directly in the hands of the "resistance force" or indirectly by the police in the name of "encounter".

The "Story of a Naxalite" also substantiates the third aspect of Cossipore hitherto considered a wild allegation, i.e. the establishment or the police remain passive if not interested in the clash between the CPI(M) and the CPI(ML) so that one may neutralise the other. In Agartala the CPI(M) student leader was openly stabbed in the college, bombed and chased but nowhere was there a mention of police interference. The object was first to weaken the CPI(M) with the help of the CPI(ML) and then eliminate the CPI(ML). So Cossipore first became a "liberated zone" for the Naxalites with the rout of the "revisionists" only to become a "liberated zone" for the Congress after the liquidation of the "extremists". Thus the Cossipore way is the way to liberate the whole of West Bengal from the Left.

If the aim of the Naxalites is to wrest the state power from the hands of the feudal plus comprador bourgeoisie through armed peasant revolution then one would wonder how the CPI(M) could become the main target of attack—by no stretch of imagination could the CPI(M) be called the spokesman of these classes. It is said that the "revisionists" are the first line of defence for the "reactionaries". But this is to be proved by attacking the "reactionaries" so that the politics of encounter with the CPI(M) becomes intelligible to the public. Experience shows the contrary. Wherever the Naxalites have gone to the peasants and started working among them to attack the "reactionaries", whether in Debra or Birbhum, there was no clash with the Marxists, and so there could not be any "Cossipore" there.

This is also true for other states of India. In Andhra there were Srikulam and T. Nagi Reddi, but there was no clash between the Naxalites and the Marxists. In Kerala Ajita attacked a police station, and not E.M.S. In Bihar Surajgarha used to be the traditional belt of the CPI and CPI(M) and is now publicised as a "liberated zone" for the Naxalites but there was not a single inter-party

clash between the three varieties of communists.

So inter-party clash is a phenomenon where peasant revolution is enacted in the city by the middle class.

The whole line of considering the alleged "revisionists" to be the main enemy leading to inter-party clashes is the reflection of the international diplomacy of China. It may be noted that as the West is interested to make one communist country fight another, similarly the bourgeois press within the country, to heighten tension between the CPI(M) and the CPI(ML), attributes all murders of the comrades to each other, though the agencies may be altogether different. Regarding the killing of the Naxalite youths in the Barasat area the bourgeois press nearly succeeded in creating doubt about the Marxists. The reason for the cold-blooded murders of Naxalites in different jails was said to be the "affiliation" of the jail warders' union with the Marxists until that was belied by the big killing at Hazaribagh Jail in Bihar where the CPI(M) had no say. There is top-level planning on the part of the Government to liquidate in jails the hard core of political elements among the Naxalites who have registered their revolutionary zeal by refusing to come out on bail.

The issue of inter-party clashes, particularly those between the CPI(M) and CPI(ML), has also seriously shaken the whole social base of the progressive left movement. After two years in different Bihar jails I came to Calcutta for a few days and felt absolutely suffocated. There were tears and unconsolable cries among the lower middle class. Even traditional political families have lost their best boys, either as Marxists or Naxalites, not in the hands of the class enemy, but in inter-party killing. One morning I was being told how Ashu Majumdar, a CPI(ML) cadre, was murdered by the CRP. A non-political person was describing the incident to me in the minutest detail, with so much affection for Majumdar even after so many days. Suddenly I saw fresh pas-

ters that Khokan Chakravorty, a CPI(M) cadre equally loved by the people, had been murdered by the CRP with equal brutality. There were again tears and cries that got mixed up with the rain and storm that swept the Puja pandals this year, as a defiant, indignant, determined CPI(M) procession marched through the road and even passed through a hitherto considered forbidden zone controlled by the CPI(ML) without any incident except for rare compassionate silence. For the moment everyone seemed to feel that the CRP makes no difference between the CPI(M) and CPI(ML), and the Establishment is advancing after storming Vijaygar to "liberate" Jaidavpur in the "Cossipore way".

I do not know for whom the bell tolls. Perhaps nobody knows. I do not know whether the stains of blood would ever be washed away by the tears now being shed in almost every by-lane of urban Bengal. But what I know is that inter-party murder is negative politics which only strengthens the hands of those who want to keep their cadres physically after failing to keep them politically within the fold, and I know physical elimination is no road to political elimination of either "revisionism" or "dogmatism". Even if one is convinced of the "revisionist" role of the CPM, why murder its middle cadres? The Naxalites may not reconsider their basic politics till they are further convinced through experience, but I would request them to reconsider and reassess their line with respect to the CPI(M) so that we may read next time in *Frontier* an altogether different "story of a Naxalite" inspiring us not only to die with dignity but also to live with hope.

ARUN KUMAR RAY, MLA
Bihar

China And CP(ML)

"China critical of Charu Mazumdar's line"—so ran a fairly long news-item in *The Statesman* (11-10-71). The write-up is misleading.

"The ideological clash in CPI(ML), ..., has at last attracted Peking's formal attention... this was discernible through Peking Radio broadcasts during the whole of last week". But over the 'last week' or even during the last few months Radio Peking never said anything bearing even a distant semblance to such a thing.

On October 9 Radio Peking merely read out incisively selected and edited excerpts from a reporting of CPI (ML): "Revolutionary Armed Struggle Rises to a Higher Stage in West Bengal" Without mentioning the title, Radio Peking categorically mentioned the source of the reporting "CPI(ML) organ *Liberation*, June 1971 issue", thus fixing the responsibility for correctness of reporting squarely on the CPI(ML). It is not only natural but also desirable. Peking Radio or Review always adheres to this practice for reporting revolutionary struggles in various parts of the world, except where reporting is made by their own correspondent or representative, when they clearly mention the same without mincing anything.

The broadcast used no significant word that was not in the original report, with one important exception. The report in *Liberation* mentioned a 'People's Army' in the Naxalbari area. Radio Peking rightly used the term 'guerilla squads' (guerilla bahini) instead of 'People's Army'. However, Radio Peking quoted nothing regarding urban 'actions' specially of Calcutta, slitting the throat of a policeman or class-enemy individual.

"Peking Radio specifically mentioned Mr Chatterjee's (i.e. Ashim Chatterjee) regional committee several times". Radio Peking mentioned it as many times as it was in the original report—that is only Once.

Not satisfied, the 'special representative' went on to conclude: "such mention is indicative of Peking's possible recognition of Mr Chatterjee and its rejection of Mr Mazumdar as the CPI(M-L)'s supreme leader". How can a quotation from *Liberation* bring forth a firm conclusion on "re-

cognition" of one and "rejection of the other?"

Most of us know that on the East Pakistan issue the Charu Mazumdar faction's stand is timid because they have not thoroughly dissected and exposed the Indian Government's underplay. Their stand is unclear because they have not come out sharply to define the correct course for the Indian people and more so for the Indian nationalities inhabiting the geographical areas surrounding landlocked East Pakistan. Their stand suffers from a lackadaisical approach; as CM says: "Indian Government has not declared war against Pakistan as yet; full-fledged war has not begun". Help us, if he is thereby calling for war to be declared! In any case, even the war that is burning the whole of Indochina was never 'declared'. More than fifty wars have taken place since 1945—which one of these was ever 'declared'? Which one of these matured into a "full-fledged war"? Nevertheless they were wars—dirty wars of aggression. It is such political bankruptcies that have denied the Charu Mazumdar faction of popular support.

The Ashim Chatterjee faction's stand is bold—right or wrong. As such it has managed to attract the ultra-militants of the CPI(ML). However, his strategy and tactics disregard the prevalent objective conditions and turn out to be rather subjective. That is also the reason why he (they) hastily rushes to formulate an international line to prevent World War III. Their subjectivism denied them correctness in totality. Chatterjee has come out harshly in favour of Yahya Khan in total disregard of the atrocities of the Pakistan army. Atrocities are an inseparable aspect of the feudal and bourgeois maintained standing army (Please recall the atrocities of the Indian army in Hyderabad or even in Goa where they were reportedly "liberating" our own Indian people!). The fact remains that the Indian Government and press have taken the whole Indian public for a ride on this issue of "atrocities". But the reactionary and expansionist propaganda

has to be defeated first politically, before it can be consolidated by a military victory over them. For this a lot more patient work is required (specially when the CPI(ML) till date does not have a base area and a people's army) than vilification and breast-stealing harangues. Not having carried out this essential ground-work, the Ashim Chatterjee faction has failed to muster popular support.

The Statesman has intervened at this juncture and has first tried to denounce Charu Mazumdar and his comrades-in-arms by misquoting and falsifying Radio Peking. Alongside, it has upheld Asim Chatterjee—only to suit its purpose. It knows too well that even if Ashim Chatterjee is held high now, the sod under his feet can be before long removed by continued reactionary propaganda on narrow nationalism and then allow him to sink fathomlessly. Clever indeed. Kennedy also advocated nationalism as a counter-measure to communism and proletarian internationalism (please refer to Kennedy's inaugural speech of 1960). He and his successors have not succeeded so far. Revolutionary struggles and proletarian parties are repeatedly bringing home to people that communism and proletarian internationalism are not devoid of patriotism. But it is not the patriotism of the kind advocated and practised by Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo, Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon or even by Indira and her ilk. The patriotism of the revolutionaries is not for the purpose of subjugating other people's patriotism. A communist is necessarily a patriot and honours all those who are genuinely patriots and that is why he calls out for proletarian internationalism. This is what must necessarily be established politically among the Indian people before the revolutionary masses take hold of the

gun. Otherwise politics will fail to command the gun. A fascism of a newer order will emerge. The CPI (ML) as a whole or even the Ashim Chatterjee faction has not successfully outmanoeuvred the reactionary bourgeois propaganda.

The Statesman writes, "According to the police, the Peking Radio broadcasts indicated that the Chinese Communist Party had come across the CPI(ML)'s 'inner-party documents' which carried in full the ideological clash between the two groups". Radio Peking neither did say anything in this context nor is expected to do so. The "bitter criticism" was either seized by the police (after killing or torturing the possessor) or picked up by the 'special representative himself "a few months ago" from someone probably involved but not sharp enough. In any case, the referred criticism did not originate from the CPC. These criticisms, right or wrong, were made by some other fraternal parties.

S. LAL
Calcutta

A Father's Appeal

My appeal to the administration having failed, I now appeal to the public at large through your weekly to do something to save the life of my son. My son, Bijan Sarker, aged 14 years, was shot at by the Siliguri police on 12-5-71 at Deshbandhupara, in Siliguri town on his way back home from the market. The police arrested him and took him to the Siliguri hospital.

On 23-5-71 he was discharged from hospital and handed over to the police with a report that, no further treatment being possible at the Siliguri hospital he should be removed to a neurological unit of any hospital in Calcutta. On 31-5-71 the SDM, Siliguri, passed an order asking the OC, Siliguri P.S., to immediately arrange for an escort for taking him to Calcutta for treatment. But no step was taken by the police to send my son to Calcutta till 14-6-71 in spite

of repeated orders of the SDM. He was kept at the Siliguri Special Jail without treatment.

On 14-6-71 he was sent to Alipore Central Jail, Calcutta in a police van. On the way to Calcutta he was treated like a beast and not given any food till he arrived in Calcutta.

Since 15-6-71 he has been kept behind iron bars without any treatment whatsoever. He has not been removed to any neurological unit of any hospital. I have come to learn from relations who met him in the jail with great difficulty that he has been attacked with gangrene and cannot even sleep for excessive pain. He is not being given proper and sufficient food. The jail authorities have not, in spite of repeated reminders to send reports to the SDM, Siliguri, cared to state what steps have been taken for his treatment.

I am a poor citizen of India and I am not interested in any tug-of-war between the administration and the judiciary. I am only interested in the life of my son, who is my future hope. I do not want to interfere with the laws of the land, nor do I want to enter into any controversy as to whether my son is guilty or not. Let law take its own course. But the administration should not be allowed to move like an oriental despot. I, therefore, appeal to people to suggest what steps can be taken to save my son's life. I think that the people of our country will certainly feel that the life of no person should be taken except in the due course of law and that the 'right to live' should not be denied to any citizen unless he is held by a competent court of justice to be guilty of such an offence as deserves the ultimate penalty.

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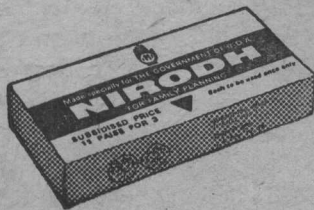
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