

# frontier

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## DEAF AND DUMB

THEIR independence day is over, dampened by rain. The rain is welcome to millions of peasants after a prolonged, near-perilous period of drought which made the landless labourers waiting for work, starve for days, but the rain spoils the evening fun of the pleasure-hunters and also of those who, for want of nothing substantial to live for, always welcome some tamasha. A debate will now go on about the extent of damage to agriculture and the States will push the unwilling Centre for more relief allocations. Schemes and instant committees will continue to choke the air, without anything happening. The purchasing power of the people is so low that even if the public distribution system is improved, they will not benefit. A government which spends about Rs 200 crores to subsidise the kulaks will not lower the prices of foodgrains.

But in a way it is a very good year for the government because, except in two or three States, it is ruling the roost most merrily. There is not much of a protest anywhere, with the left or left-out parties still licking their election wounds. In West Bengal, the opposition, though it does not mind joining committees formed by the government, is still boycotting the Assembly, but some doubt is being expressed—why boycott this most effective forum for expression of dissent? They forget that the dissent is confined within the Assembly and not much of it appears in the papers. But perhaps the feeling is that something is better than vegetating.

There is no opposition. It is a stinking fact that there is talk of opposition, of mass movement, but there is no action. The Congress steamroller goes on, breaking up left strongholds in factory, field and office. There is no organised trade union resistance. Workers and employees are demoralised and some find it better to gang up with the ruling party. At many places, workers and employees cannot go back to their job for fear of life; thousands driven out from their strongholds are still out. The leftist leaders are perhaps waiting for some miracle. There is in-fighting in the Congress, but the Congress majority is so massive that it would be stupid to depend on this factor for anything big to happen. With prices going up everyday, there is discontent, but no resistance.

We have got used to everything. Using the pretext of two policemen being killed (by whom?), the government has so far arrested over four

hundred people in Calcutta alone on mere suspicion. Torture in lock-up is a crying fact. But there is no protest anywhere. Twenty-five years after independence, we have got used to everything.

## Truth Will Not Out

The Prime Minister has applied her healing touch to the so-called dispute over Farakka. She has resolved it with an ease that appears intriguing in the context of the harsh words that have been bandied about by the disputants in the last few months. Cynics may suspect that the whole thing was an image-building gimmick, that the controversy was whipped up to a pitch where the Prime Minister's intervention would appear neither hasty, nor unwarranted, nor incompatible with her high office. She herself helped in this build-up when she asked the West Bengal Chief Minister some time ago to pipe down on the demand for a discharge of 40,000 cusecs at Farakka during the lean months. Which is why the State Government prepared a White Paper which was not released and watered down the CPI resolution in the Assembly to an inoffensive demand. But its private posture was not in accord with its public posture; the Chief Minister was said to have carried a brief to New Delhi that for the survival of Calcutta port a minimum discharge of 40,000 cusecs was absolutely necessary.

This demand is said to have the backing of several experts. The Union Irrigation Minister, Mr K. L. Rao, who seems to have reached the still centre of the quick-changing politics in New Delhi, was of the same view as the experts at one stage. Why he changed his opinion is not known for certain. Gossips say that while in a political quandary, he hit upon the idea of utilizing the waters of the Ganga on the upper reaches to extend irrigation facilities in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Construction at Farakka was half-way through

by then, and it is only reasonable to assume that in planning for irrigation of the upper riparian zones of the Ganga he had kept in view the needs of Calcutta port. His advice to the port to make do with 20,000 cusecs was either wrong or deliberately inflated. After all, by no governmental writ the Ganga can be made to send down more water from Farakka than what she carries. No bridge between Mr Rao and Mr Ray can be built except by manipulation of figures.

Nobody is going to measure the actual discharge at Farakka, except for some official agency whose duty will be to put out figures dictated by the Government. False figures will not matter as long as the Hooghly is flushed, and there is no cause to doubt that the Centre will not ensure it. About Rs 200 crores have not been spent for nothing on the Farakka Project. The dust of controversy has blurred the fact that the Centre has halved its estimate of the requirement of Calcutta port almost simultaneously with the emergence of Bangladesh. It is perhaps a sign of the new relation between India and what was formerly East Pakistan that on a re-examination of hydrological data New Delhi has found that its earlier estimate of the minimum discharge at Farakka during the lean months was grossly exaggerated, that it took into account the requirement not only of Calcutta port but also of Indo-Pakistan politics. The latter has become irrelevant now, and the water that politics demanded should go waste can be allowed to flow through friendly Bangladesh. It is not the Prime Minister's constituency in Uttar Pradesh which will benefit from the disputed 20,000 or 40,000 cusecs, it is not Calcutta port which will suffer by the denial; both have been well cared for. It is Bangladesh which would benefit from the actual release. This cannot be publicly proclaimed for it will simultaneously be an admission of heartless politicking in the past. The real problem is of concealing the truth

about Farakka. The controversy over the discharge of water was merely an offshoot of the Government's unwillingness to confess. This has now been explained to appropriate quarters, and no more of the controversy may be heard in future. The Prime Minister has solved a dispute which never existed.

## Our Foreign Benefactors

If one is to believe what the investors of private capital say, the country is too hot to try financial luck in private. The twenty-fifth amendment of the Constitution enabled the legislatures of the country to enact laws acquiring or requisitioning property without having to go to the courts to determine the adequacy of the compensation to be paid. The Supreme Court had of course decided otherwise but Parliament paid no heed to its ruling. The question is being reopened, with the Supreme Court about to review the Goloknath case, but even if it declares the amendment ultra vires, the private sector has more worries coming. It is heard that the Government is seeking to bar the Supreme Court from sitting in judgment over its price fixation machinery. It has reportedly tightened the curbs on foreign companies. It has been taking over management of private companies on grounds of ill management. Radically inclined people apprehend that the Government would not dare touch the monopoly houses, but there goes IISCO. The number of monopoly houses being denied the right to expand is increasing every day.

After all this, what? These radical measures ought to have cooled the ardour of private capital investors, especially the foreign ones. But the fact is otherwise. From 1968 onwards, the period when these progressive restraints on private capital were being clamped, the number of schemes involving foreign collaboration has steadily increased:



132 (1968), 135 (1969), 183 (1970), 245 (1971). What is the secret of this enthusiasm? How is it that they are cavalierly ignoring the gravitational pull of swadeshi plus socialism? How is it again that they in the same period sent out more and more remittances?

Of all people, advertising agencies are the last ones to wash their dirty linen in public. But the convention of tongue-in-cheek advertising was broken when Golden Tobacco clashed with Imperial Tobacco, through advertisements. The public was taken into confidence and was informed that the Government was pampering the foreign companies at the expense of national ones. This Mondy, Bengal Lamps have again come out with a campaign against foreign collaborators who, it is reported, hold 9 out of every 10 tube lamp brands. The advertisement is again a reminder that the Government has not stopped offering easy incentives and facilities to foreign companies. Dividends and royalties continue to be remitted, with a heavy exchange drain.

What is more significant and ought to have been alarming is that the foreign collaborators are changing their arena. They have so far been engaged in producing consumer goods like tube lamps, which the Indian mass can afford to go without at the present stage of development or non-development. People who die like fleas, without food and without a roof in drough or floods, can dispense with peoples' car or peoples' bridge. But the Government did not prevent these outsiders from tempting the middle class and squeezing them out of their savings. The collaborationists have changed their style. They are now in industrial machinery, electrical equipment, transport, chemicals and iron and steel products. The infrastructure now being ready for these capital goods, they are coming in hordes. In the guise of benefactors too. They are helping us to steady the national economy, just as the British helped us to build railways and telegraphs about a century ago.

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## Uganda

Expulsion of individuals and groups for political and other reasons is nothing unusual. Religious fanaticism and political vendetta have often rendered countless men and women homeless and destitute in different parts of the world. In that respect, the President of Uganda, Mr Idi Amin's decision to expel the Asians in Uganda holding British passports would surprise few. After their departure their assets are to be handed out to the Ugandans. Kampala also seems to be sore about other Asians and has ordered the selling of shops owned by Indians, Pakistani and Bangladeshi nationals. This means that the axe will fall on them too.

The settlers were brought to Uganda by the British for their own benefit. Thanks to this colonial patronage, they dug in there and became watchdogs of the British interest. After Uganda's independence they hung on to their trade without snapping their links with London. The new African elite, however, looked askance at their dominant economic position and clashes occurred between the two. Milton Obote could ward off the showdown for the time being. But he failed to remove the seeds of conflict. Idi Amin, a protege of Uganda's military-bureaucratic caucus, does not have Obote's patience and has shown his fangs.

Since these Asians hold British passports, the British Government is technically responsible for resettling them. But London is likely to slam its door on their face. Partly because of the economic burden of an impoverished multitude and partly for denying any further rope to snowballing Powellism at home it will perhaps refuse to accept most of these Asians. Though there is the lone voice of compassion of Mrs Page, proposing a holding area for these people, London has instructed the British air and sea transport not to accept any Asians from Uganda.

It is trying diplomatic pressure on Amin. It may use the aid string too. The effectiveness of these actions remains to be seen. Will London risk the valuable British assets in Uganda for a few brown Asians?

Britain's apprehension seems to have infected New Delhi too. It has already clamped down restrictions on the entry of these British Asians into India and alerted the appropriate authorities to check any influx. Mercifully, however, it has offered to meditate on the issue, if Kampala and London need it. It has also asked the Indian High Commissioner to ascertain the fate of the Indians affected by the Presidential proclamation. As these talks drag on, some of the Asians might be regretting their own inability to integrate themselves with the local people, their almost instinctive predatory activities, their colonial attachment to the old masters.

ঢলে খোঁজ করুন

## সীমানা

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# The Eagle Over Bangladesh

KALYAN CHAUDHURI

**T**HE swift, silent and deep penetration of the USA in the political and economic life of Bangladesh is a frightening tribute to the efficiency of current American diplomacy, particularly to its ubiquitous and legendary machinery, the Central Intelligence Agency.

Gone are the days of the ham-handed, muscular intervention in the affairs of other countries, which began with Korea, and went on to the landing of the U.S. Marines in Lebanon during the tenure of Mr Dulles, and the ill-fated expedition against Cuba, ending in the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs. The thrust in Bangladesh is the thrust of a rapier, deftly wielded.

Since liberation the CIA has been active and it is now on the crest of its activities in Bangladesh. Already it has managed to purchase a section of policy makers, men in key positions in the Ministry and administration and certain other individuals, groups and organisations and set them to work in its favour.

The modus operandi of the organisation, in the background of its notorious game during the period of turmoil, is obviously surreptitious and secret. Its masked activities are spreading out very shrewdly but with the power of a canker through the fabric of the society all over the country. Already its influence is deep and widespread.

The people of Bangladesh who were found to be hysterically hostile to the USA only two to three months ago now appear to be cringing under the CIA's hypnotic influence.

Though reports on secret operations and acts of sabotage by the Central Intelligence Agency in Bangladesh have been appearing in certain sections of the Bangladesh Press, the Government machinery as it appears is not as alert as it should be to counter them. Perhaps it prefers to remain silent over this issue. While addressing a press conference recently in

Dacca. Prof Muzaffar Ahmed, President of the pro-Moscow National Awami Party, openly alleged that the CIA and its local agents were feeding communalism to grow and spread in Bangladesh. Playing on the people's communal instincts which divide them into warring groups seems to be a fieldwork of the CIA for America's penetration in Bangladesh.

How fast the USA will be able to infiltrate into the political and economic life of Bangladesh largely depends upon how far the CIA will be able to exploit the current fluid and unstable political situation of the country by its secret activities. The USA is trying to establish its influence in Bangladesh through implementation of two well-planned political programmes. If it is able to successfully implement these programmes only then would it have its footing in Bangladesh at least for the time being.

The widespread CIA network in Bangladesh is aimed at making these programmes a success. While on the one hand it is trying to resuscitate the diehard reactionaries belonging to the outlawed Muslim League or Jamaat-e-Islam by inciting communalism and to get their service in its favour, the CIA agents, on the other, are busy raising a countrywide anti-Soviet campaign to such an extent that the entire energy of the "extreme left forces" is spent up for propaganda against Russia.

Mr Bhasani and some left parties other than the pro-Soviet NAP or the Bangladesh Communist Party have the unquestioned right, and indeed, duty, to guard against the political and economic pressure on Bangladesh by Soviet Russia and expose her "social imperialist" character which seeks a considerable area of influence in this sub-continent. But it is at the same time expected that they and some of the new papers that have mushroomed should not be so

blindly obsessed with their vigilance about Soviet Russia as to make way for America to nourish its plan of internal subversion through gold and guile. Caution about America is all the more called for, specially in the context of its design to be "At War With Asia." Any lapse making allowance for this ugly scheme might further put the interest of Asia in jeopardy.

## Volunteers in Villages

Reports received from official and non-official sources from the countryside disclose that volunteers of American relief organisations, whose number is nearly 60, are very active among the politically backward and innocent village people. They are fed with cheap, concocted and motivated stories of how Hindu Indians are planning to dominate Bangladesh and thus lead to communal clashes. To achieve their objective these agents posing to be innocent relief workers are trying to bluff the poor villagers into believing that the whole quantum of relief in Bangladesh was in fact an aid from the USA. Even some puerile stories of smuggling of milk from Bangladesh to Delhi and Calcutta across the Agartala border by air and also of pushing out Bangladesh fish to India through an improvised canal of the Halda river close to the Agartala border are also being sold to the unsuspecting villagers. Analytical power being hopelessly low, the innocent rural folk become immediately hostile to their Hindu neighbours. Some newspapers, published from all major cities and towns of Bangladesh, give these stories a good coverage. And all this is done in an organised way so that even saner sections of the Bangladesh people find no time to observe the slow and silent infiltration of the USA in their country. Strangely enough, even some of the papers with an "extreme left" bias are absolutely silent over the USA's

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penetration in Bangladesh through its dollar diplomacy.

The adaptability of U.S. foreign policy can at times be stunning. The early seventies have already seen two major shifts—from open hostility to deep friendliness—in respect of Bangladesh and China.

In less than seven months, the U.S. has covered a lot of ground and has already become the principal donor country for Bangladesh. The Nixon administration is evidently "straining" all its nerves to see that "the youngest nation of the world can stand on its feet". Unfortunately, however, experience has it that such dramatic shifts in U.S. foreign policy almost invariably lead to new developments—developments that often prove harmful to the country at the receiving end. As days go, the rôle of a benefactor seems fast losing its halo of catholicity and the ugly spots over its skin become nakedly exposed.

The USA's role in Cambodia is a case in point. It shows with devastating clarity that American sympathy is carefully rationed. The USA went on giving liberal aid to Cambodia as long as it liked to remain a stooge. The moment Prince Norodom Sihanouk wanted to assert the independence of his country from the clever clutches of the USA, the latter stopped its aid at once, knowing fully well that the top brass of the Cambodian army, pampered so long with American money, would not feel happy and that an insurrection or a civil war would be inevitable. Even this was not the end of the story. America did not shrink back from direct intervention at a later stage. Antecedents being so ominous, one is apt to be uncomfortable with the readiness of the Bangladesh Government to fill its bowl with America's offer. Here at least parties claiming to be leftist must step in with full vigour to disallow America's overnight "change of heart" in regard to Bangladesh that tends to invite the Nixon agents without recounting their acts in the recent past.

In December last U.S. *Enterprise* anchored ominously in the Bay of

Bengal training its nuclear arsenal on Bangladesh. In April Robert McNamara came to say hello to Bangabandhu and others and in July Mr John Connally, the U.S. President's special envoy, paid a brief visit to Dacca. And up to this moment reports that the Presidential Adviser, Mr Henry Kissinger, had paid a secret visit to Dacca in late April have remained uncontradicted. In between the U.S. has pledged 125 million dollars of "stringless" aid and the *Time* magazine, well known as a tool of U.S. foreign policy, has suddenly started finding everything "promising" in young Bangladesh. The degree of change is good enough to raise apprehensions.

#### Drifting Towards U.S.

There are clear indications that Bangladesh is steadily drifting towards the U.S. lobby. A section of policy makers have been heavily bribed to work in favour of the USA in Bangladesh and see that it gets a strong footing in the country. They put pressure on the Government to come to a trade agreement with Japan—the USA's watchdog in Asia—and purchase heavy machinery from West Germany which is yet another bedfellow of the imperialist USA. How these pro-American elements can have their say in vital economic issues is well illustrated by a recent change in the programme of the Shipping Corporation of Bangladesh. The Corporation decided to buy ships from the socialist countries but ultimately changed its plan at the instance of the American lobby inside the Government which desired the purchases to be made either from America or her friends. Terms of some shipping business have already been settled with the great pro-American shipping magnate, Onasis.

It is of course uncharitable to say that all Bangladesh people are blind to or meekly compromising with the pro-American forces inside the country. But the dissenters both in the Government and at the ruling party level are numerically few and being isolated and made ineffective.

An example of this tussle is the recent split in the Chhatra League, the students' wing of the ruling party. The faction led by Mr A.S.M. Rab which is most critical of the Government's leaning towards the USA had to finally get out of the party and Mujibur Rahman maintained a strange silence over the issue. The split in the Chhatra League leading to violent chashes is the direct outcome of the CIA conspiracy in Bangladesh.

There is little doubt that Bangladesh needs help and needs it desperately. With Uncle Sam standing with the dollar box it is a teasing situation—the prospect of a short-cut to reconstruction and prosperity. But at what cost the Bangladesh people must try to evaluate. First, the U.S. aid, however large, will in no case seek to hasten the economic recovery of Bangladesh unless America is sure of its place there. Besides, it will surely arrest the efforts of Bangladesh for a self-reliant economy so very essential in the context of a terrible race for political domination of the newly liberated country involving the USA, the USSR and India. Though the reality of Bangladesh has been accepted by a great many countries this young nation is still very much in political trouble. And when other countries face a crisis the U.S., proverbially skilled in fishing in troubled waters, can once again move for exploiting the situation. Therein lies the ulterior motive of U.S. foreign policy. Keeping this in view Bangladesh should not allow itself to be a hotbed of international power politics and must stay clear of any big power influence until it finds itself strong enough, politically and socio-economically, to face an offensive. Keeping this in view the "left" parties of Bangladesh are at least expected to severely oppose the Government's acceptance of U.S. aid and make people realise the basic truth that imperialist aid cannot be without any string.

For the Awami League the situation is really nerve-racking. With its love for Western-style democracy and built-in dislike of plain socia-



lism, the ruling party is steadily drifting. From "no aid" to "aid without strings" and then to "plain aid" can in the long run effect a qualitative change in the political situation in

Bangladesh. But would that be in the interest of her people? At the moment it is for the Awami League to answer this 125-million-dollar question.

## Socialist Diplomacy And The CPI(M)

MONI GUHA

**T**HE Communist Party of India (Marxist) in its Ninth Congress at Madurai has accused China and the CPC, putting China in the same bracket with the Soviet Union. It said in its "Political Resolution": "In pursuance of the short-term needs of their foreign policy they (China and the Soviet Union) seek to impose upon the workers and the communist parties such policies as virtually make them obedient adjuncts of the respective bourgeois regimes."

It is wellknown, at least to the students of politics, that one of the basic differences between the CPC and the CPSU is over the attempt of the CPSU to tie the communist parties of the capitalist world with the foreign policies and practices of the Soviet Union. The CPC, in 1963, in its historic "Proposal Concerning the General line of the International Communist Movement", which is more known as "14th July letter" or "Peking line", said: "Necessary compromises between the socialist countries and imperialist countries do not require the oppressed peoples and nations to follow suit and compromise with imperialism and its lackeys. No one should demand in the name of peaceful co-existence that the oppressed peoples and nations should give up their revolutionary struggle." The CPC advised the fraternal parties, more than once, to regard party statements as authoritative and, if necessary, government statements may be ignored.

There is nothing surprising or new in it. This is the normal practice of the communist movement. In the heyday of revolution, when a severe famine and isolation from interna-

tional trade were about to defeat the very purpose of the revolution, Lenin himself separated the party and State relations and party and State apparatus and functions in 1920 and made compromise with the capitalist world. "In July [1920]... Britain submitted the complete text of an agreement which said: you must declare as a matter of principle that you will not carry on official propaganda and do nothing opposed to British interests in the East. That will be elaborated at a subsequent political conference, but at present we conclude such and such trade agreement, would you like to sign it? We replied that we would.... That is more important for us than anything.... The line we followed in the Central Committee is one of maximum concession to Britain. And if these gentlemen think they are going to catch us breaking some promise, we declare that our Government will carry on no official propaganda and that we have no intention of infringing on any of Britain's interests in the East." (Lenin, *Report on Concessions*, Vol. 31). It is at this time that Lenin asked the Soviet Government and the Party to separate the functions and apparatus of the Party and State, so that official propaganda on behalf of the Soviet Government was not done against Britain. It is at this time that the Peoples' Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (Narkomindel) was set up. This is an unavoidable limitation of socialist diplomacy, as simultaneous revolutions cannot occur where unequal development is the absolute law of capitalist imperialism. As usual the 'purist' Trotsky wailed at this, like our CPM Central Commit-

tee. The task of the socialist State is to skilfully and effectively bypass and overcome the diplomatic limitations by other means. Recognition of the Soviet Union by the United States came only in November 1933, in return for a Soviet promise to abstain from revolutionary propaganda in that country. So a socialist State never binds any fraternal party to its diplomatic policy and practice.

The CPC also did not bind any fraternal party to "follow suit" so far as its diplomacy was concerned. A few years before the Chinese revolution, and immediately after the termination of the Second World War, when there was a possibility of a series of pacts between the capitalist countries and the Soviet Union, Mao Tse-tung in his "Some points of appraisal of the present situation" said, inter alia, "Such compromises do not require the people in the countries of the capitalist world to follow suit and make compromises at home. The people in these countries will continue to wage different struggle in accordance with their different conditions" (Vol IV). In "Long live Leninism", published and circulated during the Lenin Centenary, we find: "Modern revisionists seek to confuse the peaceful foreign policy of the socialist countries with the domestic policies of the proletariat in capitalist countries. Peaceful co-existence between nations and people's revolution in various countries are by nature two different things, not the same thing; two different concepts, not one; two different kinds of questions, not the same kind of question." In "More on the differences between Comrade Togliatti and us" and in several other booklets and pamphlets the CPC advocated the same thing. Nowhere and at no time did the CPC tie its own hands or of the hands of the communist parties of the capitalist world to the foreign policy of People's China. The CPC not only advocated this theory, but also practised it without whining a whit like our philistine "independent" and "impartial" CPM regarding the foreign po-

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licies of the Soviet Union and China.

Let us recall the history of the Chinese revolution and the Soviet diplomacy in China.

The Soviet Government found two governments in China, in the twenties, one in Peking which was known as the Republic of China, governed by warlords, and the other in Canton, a revolutionary government led by the Kuomintang Nationalists under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen. The People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs (Narkomindel) established diplomatic relation with the Chinese Republic of Peking led by the warlords, as it was then the "legally constituted government". Did it hinder the Chinese communists or the Kuomintang from forming the Kuomintang-Communist United Front or developing most friendly relations with the Kuomintang and the Soviet Union? Not in the least. While the Soviet Government had diplomatic relations with the Government of Peking, the Comintern had its relation with Canton. In 1924 a treaty with the Kuomintang Government was signed; it ruptured in 1928. Diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union were re-established by the Chiang Kai-shek Government again during the Second World War in 1942 and continued up to 1949. That did not hinder the CPC from fighting and waging war against the Chiang regime. Roosevelt and Stalin proposed a Communist-Kuomintang coalition government in China headed by Chiang Kai-shek, but that did not bind the Chinese communists to become "obedient adjuncts" either of Soviet diplomacy or of the Chiang regime. On the contrary the CPC placed an alternative proposal for a coalition government headed by Mao Tse-tung. The negotiations failed in spite of Soviet efforts, the Communist-Kuomintang United Front broke down, another period of bitter civil war began but the diplomatic relations of the Soviet Union with the Chiang regime continued uninterruptedly. Did that hinder or deter the CPC from marching forward and encircling city after city against the

Chiang regime? Did that upset, in any way, the fraternal relations between the CPSU and the CPC? Not in the least. When the Chinese communists besieged Nanking, the capital seat of Chiang, the Soviet ambassador accompanied Chiang to Canton with bag and baggage; he did not stay behind to help the Chinese communists officially. That did not strain, in any way, the relations between the Soviet Union and the Chinese communists.

These are the history, theory and facts. Is it not, then, a rather brazen lie to put the CPC and the CPSU in the same bracket and say that China "seek(s) to impose upon the workers and communist parties such policies as virtually make them obedient adjuncts of the respective bourgeois regimes"? The CPM (undivided CPI included) leaders had thought that working wholeheartedly for the foreign policies of the socialist countries is true proletarian internationalism, which will automatically bring the revolution in India. Now being "disillusioned" (and becoming "independent" and "impartial" the CPM Central Committee thinks that opposing wholeheartedly

the foreign policies of the socialist country would bring the revolution round the corner. Like a pendulum it swings from one pole to the other. It has conveniently managed to forget that "there is one and only one, kind of internationalism in deeds: working wholeheartedly for the development of the revolutionary movement and the revolutionary struggle in one's own country and supporting (by propaganda, sympathy and material aid) such a struggle, such and only such a line in every country, without exception. Everything else is deception and Manilovism." (Lenin, "The task of the proletariat in our revolution", Vol. 24). In fact it is a dirty trick of the CPM leaders, who abandoning the path of revolution against the government, are trying to shift their responsibility for their failure to the CPC, in the name of honeyed petty bourgeois phrase of proletarian internationalism, to save their skin from the just anger and resentment of their cadres and followers. Let these misleaders say whatever they like. "People are judged not by what they think of themselves, but by their political conduct" (Lenin).

## What About Cuba ?

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

IT seems unlikely, though it may be just a coincidence. Two distinguished newspapers, *Christian Science Monitor* and *Los Angeles Times* have published respectively an editorial and an editorial page story favouring better relations between Cuba and the United States. In this age of diplomatic surprises, Cuba, as far as Americans are concerned, still remains the odd person out and the logic for this attitude is hard to understand.

*Christian Science Monitor*, a Boston-based newspaper, published an editorial on July 28, questioning the wisdom of the U.S. attitude. "There was a time when Washington believ-

ed that its policy towards Cuba would hasten the downfall of the Castro government. But today, 13 years after he came to power, Fidel Castro appears as entrenched as ever with support from a sizable segment of his people..." Camouflaged in the finesse of the editorial style are the reasons why the U.S. should alter its present policy. "Washington need not alter its disapproval of many Cuban policies, including the once-strong Cuban support for guerrilla movements in Latin America." Why? Because "Castro for his part seems to have embraced the Soviet idea that diplomatic and trade ties with Latin American nations are more



desirable..." *Monitor* does not consider it advisable to follow the isolationist policy, especially in view of the fact that many Latin American countries are soon going to join the ranks of Mexico, Chile and Peru, who already have diplomatic ties with Cuba.

An editorial page story written by Prof Edward Gonzalez appeared on the same day in *Los Angeles Times*. Prof Gonzalez went into some details analysing the present situation in Cuba with special reference to its newly announced entry in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON). He seemed considerably alarmed by the increasing Soviet influence in Cuba "...the rising Soviet presence on the island rather than Castro himself—despite his objectionable policies at home and abroad—portends the greater threat to U.S. hemispheric and security interests."

Cuba's economic problems have reduced its autonomy considerably. Ever since 1970, Soviet planners directly control the Cuban economy. It hardly takes any time for economic influence to seep through the thin boundary line into political influence and that is where Gonzalez sees the imminent danger. Signs are already there. The old Communist Party which almost sat out the Cuban revolution is becoming more and more powerful everyday. Fidelistas, loyal to the revolution, are being replaced by old communists loyal to Moscow—if not directly by Soviet officials. While Castro gets an Order of Lenin in Moscow, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, his chief economist and an old communist, announces the Cuban entry into the COMECON.

Castro's options are not very clear. Soviet dominance is not suited to his taste. An approach to America would amount to complete surrender and Americans would relish it. An independent line could bring Soviet displeasure and make him vulnerable to American plans, something he has been apprehensive about from the very beginning. His only escape

perhaps lies in the tightly knit Organisation of Latin American States, an alternative which could be easily sabotaged by any of the big powers and perhaps in their own interest.

### Tamilnadu

## Toppling Stratagem

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

THE modus operandi of the Congress(R) in toppling the DMK in Tamilnadu has now turned into a long-term process. The Congress(R) is fully aware of the fact that the DMK is the only party which has a strong mass appeal in Tamilnadu. Mr Karunanidhi is very shrewd in keeping the revolting DMK leaders under constant check. He never allows the rebels to form a group. For instance, he managed a crisis by sacking the former District Secretary, Mr Dharmalingam, in April. Mr Dharmalingam lost both ministership and the district secretary post. His close friends were offered good posts in the DMK so that the victim could not raise his voice. Mr Dharmalingam once had about 60 MLAs under his control. Now he is nowhere in the party. The next was Mr Muthu, the District Secretary of Madurai, the most outspoken man whom Mr Karunanidhi still fears. By allowing him to continue as Mayor of Madurai Corporation for the second year, he has managed another crisis. The third headache was Mr Manoharan, MP. He, too, has been handled by the Chief Minister. Mr Karunanidhi has made Mr Era Chezhian the opposition leader of the DMK for both the Lok and the Rajya Sabha. The creation of this new post was to ridicule Mr Manoharan. His close friends in Parliament were appointed members of the opposition committee so that Mr Manoharan might not raise his voice.

Further, it is learnt that Mr Karuna-

A softer American outlook could make the difference. And if the two articles are not just a coincidence we may witness another diplomatic surprise.

nidhi has not given any chance to his colleagues to form a group. Neither Mr Nedunchezian (No 2) nor Mr Anbazhagan (No 3) has any group except themselves. Therefore, it is not very easy for the Congress(R) to make large-scale purchases of individual MLAs separately. Secondly, it is risky for it to believe the DMK MLAs individually. They are happy under Mr Karunanidhi because he does not interfere with their corrupt activities. If they are getting money from the Congress(R), that money perhaps is being deposited in the banks of Mr Karunanidhi, without the knowledge of the Congress(R).

The DMK press and the leading English dailies expressed the opinion that the recent kulak agitation was a failure. However, many pro-Congress Tamil dailies and weeklies, which are widely read by educated people, said that it was successful. A neutral opinion can be formed at the present stage. A general reader may not understand that the recent farmers' agitation was started in the interest of the kulaks. He will not excuse the police firing and the deaths of innocent people. It is easy for the anti-DMK parties to tarnish the DMK at the expense of the dead. The purpose of the Congress(R) is to spoil the name of the DMK. To some extent that purpose has been achieved. The idea of the Congress(R) is to capture power from the DMK in the long run by the will of the people. With this end in view the Congress(R) in Tamilnadu is giving support to all agitations by workers, peasants and



teachers, including Mr Kuchelar's movement.

From the number of people present, the meetings of anti-DMK parties are more effective than those of the DMK over the farmers' agitation. A large section of the Tamil elite believe that the DMK would be defeated if Mr Kamaraj and Mrs Indira Gandhi unite. The Congress(O) and Congress(R) may not unite in this State but they may have electoral adjustments with a view to succeed the DMK. The enmity between the Congress(O) and the DMK is greater at the State level than the enmity between the Congress(O) and Congress(R). About 50% of the leaders of the Congress(O) in Tamilnadu have now joined the Congress(R). At the same time, the new converts are not opposing Mr Kamaraj, personally. His statewide tours enable the Congress(R) to create anti-DMK feelings among the public. Nearly 100,000 people attended when Mr Kamaraj led a silent procession in Madras city condemning the police firing. His strength has increased in the districts of Tirunelveli, Kanyakumari, most parts of Ramnad, Trichy and Tanjore. But the DMK is still unshakeable in the other districts. Mr Kamaraj's labours will be reaped by the Congress(R) in the long run.

The Congress(R) is now showing interest in the case of Mr Royappa, the former Chief Secretary of Tamilnadu. The quarrels between him and Mr Karunanidhi occasion headlines in the pro-Congress dailies. The case is typical of how the administration of India is used for the selfish interests of chief officials and chief politicians. Mr Royappa, IAS, now acting as a Special Commissioner for Commercial Taxes, has filed a suit against the Government of Tamilnadu and Mr Karunanidhi in the Supreme Court for sacking him from the top post of Chief Secretary which, according to Mr Royappa, is beyond the competence of the Chief Minister. The sacking was effected last year. After a lapse of 15 months, Mr Royappa took his case to the Supreme Court with the blessings of the Con-

gress(R). He has explained how the Chief Minister pressed the Chief Secretary to yield to the alleged corrupt activities of some industrialists and leading contractors. Mr Royappa has stated how the Chief Minister helped Mr Thiagaraja Mudaliar, the Chairman of the Tamilnadu Cooperative Banks. The amount involved was about Rs 2 crores. The filing petition of Mr Royappa runs to nearly 100 pages, exposing various alleged corruptions of the DMK Government. In brief, Mr Royappa complained that he was sacked because he did not agree with the alleged corrupt designs of the Chief Minister. He was not able to tolerate the pressure by the Chief Minister to promote to the IAS grade Mr Vaithilingam (who served as a personal secretary to the Chief Minister in 1970) whose place was much lower on the seniority list. According to Mr Royappa, Mr Vaithilingam is a corrupt official who acquired properties worth several lakhs of rupees with the help of the Chief Minister. Mr Royappa is ready to prove in the court, with the help of documents, all his charges if the court is allowed to see the files in question of the State Government.

The case exposes the emptiness of the present bureaucratic set-up in India. While accepting the case of Mr Royappa, the background and origin must be cleared. Mr Royappa was a pro-Congress man. If the Chief Minister had been a Congress leader like Mr Kamaraj or Mr Bhakthavatsalam, Mr Royappa might have yielded to their pressures. It is also reported that Mr Royappa has acquired a big estate in North Arcot district. He became the Chief Secretary by superseding Mr Mani, a senior ICS official. Being a Brahmin Mr Mani was not able to get the post. Mr Royappa became the Chief Secretary only because of Mr Karunanidhi. Mr Royappa accepted the spirit of Brahmin-hating of the DMK while accepting the post. He was the Chief Secretary on the eve of the 1971 elections to the Tamilnadu Assembly. He joined Mr Mahadevan, the former IG of Police, and Mr

Kuppusamy, the former Commissioner of Police, in garlanding both Rajaji and Mr Kamaraj at the time of the 1971 election. Contrary to his expectations the DMK won absolute majority. Immediately after, Mr Karunanidhi sacked the three of them in vengeance. Mr Royappa was shifted to the post of a powerless deputy chairman in the Tamilnadu Planning Commission. He applied for long leave without accepting the post. Meanwhile, the post of deputy chairman expired and he was giving a new post as Special Commissioner in the Commercial Tax Department.

The protestations of Mr Royappa about his honesty may capture the mind of the public. Conspiracies between top officials and leading business magnates or a top level understanding between officials and ministers are common in any democratic country where bourgeois values are in vogue. Mr Royappa is ready to expose the corruptions of the DMK in the Supreme Court but he may not be prepared to say a word against the corruptions of the Congress before the DMK came to power. He is angry with the leadership of the DMK for corruption but not with the present type of bureaucratic set-up where the officials are slaves to the interests of traders.

According to a large section of the educated middle class, corruption is more rampant now than it was during the previous regime. To get a new bus route, the traders have to pay Rs 15,000 to the district secretary of the DMK and the district secretary Rs 5000 to the Collector. By bribing the DMK chairman of a panchayat union, the kulak president of village cooperative societies can take easy loans of lakhs of rupees. By bribing a DMK MLA the traders and kulak sections of the people can achieve their selfish ends through the various revenue divisional officers and tehsildars. During the Congress rule, rich people bribed the officials directly. The Congress did not, generally, share the corruption at the lower levels. Now the DMK has fixed a rate contract system in the field of corruption which Mr Kamaraj



or Mr Bhakthavatsalam cannot dream off. Large groups of officials of Revenue, Civil Supplies, Cooperative and Panchayat Departments are very happy with the DMK for this rate contract system. Previously the bribes were shared by a few only. Now, they are shared equally by all officials—a socialist point of view. Of course, officials like Mr Royappa do not like the rate contract system of corruption, where the DMK party men take the lion's share. Mr Royappa likes to deal independently so that officials can get their full share. Mr Royappa does not want the DMK partymen to act like agents in the dealings of government sanctions. One should appreciate Mr Royappa who gave a chance to the public to understand how the trade interests and business magnates use the Ministers for their service. After all it is a well-known fact that Indian Ministers are only acting as the agents of traders.

The Simpson affair will not be used as part of the toppling strategy because Mr Kuchelar leans more towards the CMP than towards the Congress(R). Except the CPM none of the parties expressed sincere concern at the attempts of the DMK to kill Mr Kuchelar and harass the Simpson employees. Recently, Mr Chintan, a leading CPM leader with extremist views and a close ally of Mr Kuchelar, was brutally attacked by DMK rowdies when he addressed workers in the Tamilnadu Electricity Board. As vice-president in the Simpson Union, Mr Chintan is looking after the union activities there as Mr Kuchelar is in jail. More than 10,000 workers have been in a state of hunger since the Simpson plant declared an illegal lock-out on June 15. The DMK leaders are now conspiring with Mr Sivasailam, Managing Director of the Simpson groups, to execute their anti-labour policies. Rowdy elements are attacking the active supporters of Mr Kuchelar or the CPM. The Congress(R) too is trying to woo Mr Sivasailam by accepting his proposal to sack nearly 250 employees who were arrested on June 15 for causing riots at the time of the murder of Mr Kannan and Mr Chandran.

## Book Review

# Calcutta

ROBI CHAKRAVORTI

FROM Rudyard Kipling to Geoffrey Moorhouse, Calcutta has remained a much-maligned city. In this sense, Calcutta is indeed India's city, for India is equally maligned in the West. Discuss the population problem with a demographer, he will mention India. Any report on disease, poverty and famine will be deemed incomplete without a reference to India. Before the communist take-over, China was a competitor to India in this game of exemplary citations by scholars and journalists. Since China shut its doors to prying visitors, India has carried alone the unenviable burden of providing dramatic examples of human misery to writers in the West.

In recent years, India has presented another image to the West. This image is not new; it is the same old spirit presented in new bottles and drunk by new consumers. Segments of American youth have been attracted to the so-called spiritual aspects of India. Transcendental meditation and Tibetan trinkets, sitar and marijuana, Krishna cult and Kirtana have become fads along with long hair and naturally grown food. Indian export of durable goods may have declined, but export of these peripheral products of dubious importance has boomed.

In this madhouse confusion of catch-as-catch-can, analytical appraisals of India's prototype city, Calcutta, have been rare. Foreigners have either neglected Calcutta or used it as a convenient whipping boy. Calcutta intellectuals have not helped matters, either. Wallowing in misery they raised intellectual storms over dirty tea cups and wrote scholastic exercises on everything except their own city. Calcutta is certainly not the prettiest city on earth, but it nonetheless deserved a less cavalier

and more respectful treatment.

As Dr Surajit Sinha pointed out in a brief introduction to the collection of papers on Calcutta read at a Seminar organized by the Indian Anthropological Society,\* social scientists in Calcutta virtually "ignored the existence of this city as a social and cultural fact". He mentioned two notable exceptions,—Dr S. N. Sen's pioneering socio-economic survey of the city, published twelve years ago, and Professor Nirmal Bose's short profile of Calcutta, published first in the *Scientific American* and later in a paper-back edition entitled *Cities*. Another exception which he forgot to mention is Asok Mitra's slim volume, *Calcutta: India's City*.

If social scientists ignored Calcutta as a city and human community, literary writers either wrote anecdotal histories of its past or chose to malign it *a la* Katherine Mayo. Good, clean descriptive pieces on Calcutta are rare, too. One does not necessarily look for compassion or sympathy; but competence and humanistic concern can be expected.

Ved Mehta's *Portrait of India* contains a long section on Calcutta which was recently praised by an American reviewer of Moorhouse's recent book as a contrasting study in compassion. Mehta's Calcutta, however, suffers from a fatal flaw, a flaw which often afflicts Asian writers writing for Eastern readers. Mehta played the role of a brown sahib, a native turned American, a man, in other words, with two faces. Mimicking Western writers, he went through the predictable motion of describing

\* *Cultural Profile of Calcutta*.

Edited by Surajit Sinha

The Indian Anthropological Society, Calcutta; 1972. Price Rs. 45/-.



the misery of the city in a salacious manner, not forgetting to throw occasional charities of praise for a few persons. As expected, Satyajit Ray was one of the praiseworthy items of this god-forsaken city. The gloom is relieved, as well as dramatized, by a few twinkling stars.

Of the few acceptable writings on Calcutta that I remember, two are outstanding—the passages on Calcutta in Nirad Chaudhuri's *Autobiography of an Unknown Indian* and the article on Calcutta by Professor Nirmal Bose to which reference has already been made. Chaudhuri wrote as an essayist, a breed becoming extinct in these days of canned words which are picked up from the shelves of slick journals. He drew sketches of Calcutta as he had known it, and they were lively and vivid. Bose wrote as a social scientist, drawing reasonably a comprehensive picture of Calcutta as an urban community. In my estimation this article is the best short introductory essay on Calcutta written by anyone in any language. The article has a rare balance between facts and speculation, details and generalities. It was, therefore, in the fitness of things that the first comprehensive seminar on Calcutta which led to the publication of the volume under review, was held on the occasion of the 69th birthday of Professor Bose.

This brief review of the literature on Calcutta proves the uniqueness of the *Cultural Profile of Calcutta*—it is the first of its kind. It attempts to cover a wide range of subjects related to the life and culture of the city, and this, it must be added, was never done before. To give an example of the range of the topics covered, there are articles on the dialects of Calcutta and on the musical, dance, theatre and film traditions in the city along with papers on the slums, the world of executives and the subculture of the goondas.

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The writers can claim to have competent knowledge of the areas they covered either as intellectuals, officials or active participants. The paper on the movie-makers, for instance, was written by Mrinal Sen; Sabyasachi Mukherjee of the Central Detective Training Institute wrote the paper on the world of goondas; Dikshit Sinha of the Anthropological Survey of India wrote the results of his survey of life in a Calcutta bustee.

In the last section of the book, there are reports on discussions on the papers. Particularly innovative is a report on *adda* held in the house of the editor of the volume. Frustratingly for the reviewer, most of the criticisms that can be levelled against the papers in this volume have been covered in these discussions. This does not mean that the book is without much blemish, only that I feel hesitant about sniping at a good effort which was made under the condition of not only a paucity of funds, but also of talents. Trained social scientists or observers are rare; rarer still are those who can express themselves lucidly and intelligibly without resorting to jargon.

Some of the papers in the volume are slipshod, like hastily jotted lecture notes. In contrast with these loose, impressionistic pieces are papers bearing the stamp of professional expertise. The article on the Kali temple belongs to this genre; of the same class is the paper on the language and dialects of Calcutta. Papers on the life in a Calcutta slum and the world of goondas deserve second mention because they focus attention on the disreputable side of Calcutta which has frequently been portrayed in Bengali literature but seldom researched systematically. In the context of the political upheavals that have plagued the city, a systematic study of the characteristics of the *goondas* or *mastans* will be of interest not only to social anthropologists and sociologists, but, also, political scientists.

The drawing on the cover of the book is Thurbesque. It tries to

capture the bewildering complexity of Calcutta—its varied ethnic groups, modes of transportation, architecture and subcultures. It was done by Dr Purnima Sinha who, also, contributed a paper on the community of scientists in Calcutta.

## Letters

### Degeneration Of Frontier

The incredibly multiluted version of my review of George Thompson's *From Marx to Mao Tse-tung* which came out in your August 5 issue is sickening. It took me a full month of intense concentration and hard labour to study that invaluable work and to write the review, and the outcome of it all is the senselessly jumbled and misshapen stuff you chose, consciously or unconsciously, to make of it.

Apart from the remarkably incompetent editing, causing the review to lose a great deal of its intended emphasis, you could not even print the different sections in their proper sequence. Another of your achievements has been the clean omission of the entire section on the vitally important 5th chapter in which Thompson advances an indispensable part of his thesis, viz., that the idea

৪র্থ সংখ্যা ১৯শে আগস্ট বেরুচ্ছে

## সন্নিবেশ

এই সংখ্যায় থাকছে :

- মন্তব্য ● জাতীয় পটভূমি—আজকের সংগ্রাম, সমস্যা ও অর্থনীতির সমীক্ষা
- ক্যাসিবাদ ও আজকের ভারতবর্ষ—৩
- ঐক্য প্রসঙ্গে—২ ● ভিয়েৎনাম—
- আজকের যুদ্ধ, আন্তর্জাতিক তাৎপর্য
- আন্তর্জাতিক—রুটেন / দক্ষিণ আফ্রিকা /
- বাংলাদেশ ● উদ্ধৃতি ● পাঠকের কলম

দাম : ৩০ পয়সা

[ স্টলে খোঁজ করুন ]



of doggedly building up socialism in one country was not a Stalinist caprice opposed to the idea of proletarian internationalism, but a practice which followed the highroad of Leninist theory in this respect. Thompson's original sub-headings have in certain cases been deleted and in others replaced by brilliant improvisations which make no sense whatever. On page 10 an important negative statement has been turned into a positive one by the omission of a 'not'. Then, the final summing-up paragraph has been left out in toto.

Please allow me to try to analyse the causes behind these apparent lapses of yours which have been a general feature of your work for a long time. The jumbling up of the sequence was the result of extreme carelessness which, I have long noticed, is an invariable trait of those sections of the Indian colonial petty-bourgeoisie who profess a revolutionary passion. Secondly, one of the reasons why you can so cavalierly alter and distort people's writings, sometimes beyond recognition, is that you look upon yourself as a kind of God Almighty, a master mind wielding a master pen, who understands everything, can sum anything up in a moment and can breathe perfection into imperfect things with a few careless strokes of your pen. Because you were a renowned student of English language and literature and because you used to be a competent bourgeois journalist you have grown this typical bourgeois vanity which prompts you to take liberties with people's writings even when—as is often the case—you don't understand their general theoretical drift. Along with this overlord complex you also have the bourgeois proprietary complex which prompts you to look upon the whole editing business as a personal matter.

Another of the reasons behind this dictatorial attitude on your part is your poor understanding of the Marxist point of view, of both its philosophical essence and its social-evolutionary implications. While professing genuine proletarian sym-

pathies, you are unconsciously steeped in the bourgeois philosophical and cultural point of view, thus floating somewhere midway between two irreconcilable positions and consequently, as often as not, misconstruing and misrepresenting things. The 'left' deviation evident in your editorials during the Naxalite turmoil in the urban areas was a typical bourgeois-individualist reaction. This has, through natural evolution, turned into the right opportunism currently noticeable in your comments. Yet another symptom of the same malady is to be found in the queerness of some of the things chosen for publication in a journal which is supposed to lead leftist thought. For illustration I would mention only the *Letter from Sweden* appearing in one of the recent issues which one of your warm admirers described as 'filthy' and which starts with the exquisite observation that the author has recently got into the curious habit of looking closely at people's genitals.

Yet another symptom of your colonial-bourgeois orientation is your total attachment to twisted, oversophisticated bourgeois jargon. Antony was not more infatuated with Cleopatra than you are with this 'clever' and 'superior' style which is clean beyond the understanding of the 'stupid' and 'inferior' 80 per cent of the few English-reading people of your country. The more sophisticated, the more 'highbrow' the style of an article, the greater is your inclination to put it in regardless of its contents. I could cite dozens of examples. This habitual scorn for simplicity, ultimately speaking, reflects scorn for the common people for whom, paradoxically enough, you seem to be carrying on an undaunted campaign. For contrast, please look at the London *Broadsheet*, run by world-renowned intellectuals, who are in the habit of putting their profound and acute observations in a clear, forceful and elegant style aimed at the understanding of hundreds of thousands of simple English-reading people all over the world.

While *Broadsheet* is intelligible to most lower-division clerks in India, *Frontier* is most incomprehensible except at academic intellectual levels.

The all-important question is, does *Frontier* wish to serve the people, the great downtrodden masses of India? If so, it must shed its 'superiority' and its 'cleverness' and attune its message to the understanding of the common English-reading people of this country. Correspondingly, every article should in some way or other be connected with the broader interests of the common people; every cultural feature should show a vital awareness of the evolving social background. The patching-up or smoothing-down tendency of bourgeois journalism should be given up and articles, particularly letters, should not be altered or cut unless such alteration serves to bring out more clearly and meaningfully the truth as judged from the suffering people's point of view. In short, only a conscious and painstaking re-orientation of political outlook can turn *Frontier* into a truly effective instrument of people's welfare.

There was a time when, with the most exemplary moral resolution, you led progressive thought, in spite of your bourgeois-cultural confusion, first through *Now* and then through *Frontier*. But the course of political evolution was in those days a more or less straight line: from the renegade CPI to the rebellious CPI(M) and again from the renegade CPI(M) to the revolutionary CPI(ML) and other Naxalite groups. But since then the picture has been steadily increasing in complexity casting shadows of confusion on your halfway-house thinking. In this painful twilight of confusion, there is for every one of us, for me as much as for you, only one great torch of truth to light our way—the torch of Marxism-Leninism as applied to the task of exploring and illuminating the social realities of our country and the world, a task in which George Thompson's superb unfolding of revolutionary dialectics—of which you have presented such a distorted



version—can be a most useful guide. Such a reorientation alone can deliver us from the clutches of this unhappy confusion; but the acquiring of it needs conscious and hard labour, because it is something essentially different from the feudal-colonial culture in which we, urban intellectuals here, are soaked to the gills and which insidiously seeps into our revolutionary consciousness, misdirecting it in a hundred ways.

All of us who love to see true social progress need this reconditioning; but in your case it is especially important. It is to *Frontier* that progressive intellectuals in this country look for guidance in this hour of confusion; and it will be possible for you to fulfil this mission only if you can attune your moral and intellectual powers to a true proletarian consciousness and make *Frontier* the voice of the people—not otherwise.

Will it be too much to expect that this letter, if it is at all published, will be allowed to appear in an undistorted form?

DILIP KARMAKAR  
Calcutta

(The full review would have taken up nearly half of *Frontier*. The reviewer and a common friend were asked to reduce it, but it ultimately came back to the editor, who does not claim to be a Marxist.—Editor.)

### McMahon Line

It was claimed by a section of British imperialists, before they left India in 1947, that the so-called McMahon line was formalised at the Simla Conference of 1913.

Further details of the machinations and manoeuvres carried on at the Simla Conference and thereafter by Sir Henry McMahon, the then Secretary of the Foreign and Political Department of the Government of India, and subsequently by Mr O. F. Caroe, a Deputy Secretary, in the 1930s, in regard to what is known as the "Kingdon Ward incident" for the creation and formalisation of the

McMahon Line have not been unearthed from the India Office Records available at the Whitehall, London, by research scholars. In this connection Dr Karunakar Gupta's article "The McMahon Line 1914-45: The British Legacy" published in the July-September 1971 issue of the *China Quarterly* (a British magazine published from London) is very revealing. According to this article which quotes India Office Records at length, it was not only that the Chinese Government refused to ratify and to permit their representative to put his full signature on the Simla document, even the then British Viceroy, Lord Hardinge himself, did not accept the McMahon Line proposal as an official one. Lord Hardinge, in his communication of July 23, 1914, told the India Office: "...we recognise that a consideration of the eastern or Indo-Chinese portion of the North-Eastern Frontier did not form part of the functions of the Conference; and we would therefore request that the views and proposals put forward (in Enclosure 5 to McMahon's Final Memorandum) may be regarded as personal to Sir Henry McMahon, and not at present carrying the endorsement of the Government of India."

Dr Gupta, on the basis of India Office documents, exposes in detail how those overzealous British officials of British India went out of their way to commit a "diplomatic forgery" in regard to the surreptitious replacement of Volume XIV of the 1929 edition of Aitchison's *Treaties* and the publication of a revised edition thereof later with "minimum publicity".

So independent India fell a victim to a "diplomatic forgery" committed by the British. The sooner the wrong is rectified the better for all. Mrs Gandhi has taken some bold initiative in regard to Pakistan. Will she now take some bold and imaginative initiative to rectify the situation created as a result of a "diplomatic forgery" committed by British imperialism in regard to the McMahon Line?

Another apple of discord between India and China is 50,000 square miles of territory in the Ladakh region of Jammu and Kashmir State. We claim that this area belongs to us, the Chinese claim that it is theirs. Of the 50,000 sq. miles a territory measuring 18,000 sq. miles is under our occupation and 1,000 sq. miles under Chinese occupation; 20,000 sq. miles are no man's land. Last year, on August 9, Mr T. N. Kaul, while explaining to journalists the implications of the Indo-Soviet Treaty was reported to have admitted the disputed nature of the territory involved, between India and China. He was reported to have said that with China India had a border dispute while Pakistan had committed aggression on Indian territory and occupied a portion of Jammu and Kashmir State.

If the Prime Minister can take the initiative to normalise relations with Pakistan (no doubt a correct and welcome step), why should she delay a similar initiative in regard to China? The first step seems to be to send our Ambassador to China. We withdrew our Ambassador first in 1961. China waited for more than eight months for the return of our Ambassador to Peking. When we did not send our Ambassador, China withdrew her Ambassador from New Delhi in July 1962.

On July 12 this year at her Press Conference here Mrs Gandhi is reported to have said that it was the United States that had stopped aid to India and now if they wanted to improve the situation it would be for them to take the initiative.

Will she apply the same standard in regard to the issue of exchanging ambassadors with China?

KALIKINKAR CHAUDHURI  
New Delhi

### Charu Mazumdar

Apropos your leading article on the death of Charu Mazumdar, (August 5) we would like to point out that reactionaries always cherish the false hope of stalling the inevit-



able course of history by arresting, killing and maligning the revolutionaries. Charu Mazumdar's continued physical leadership would certainly have given us more determination but his death shall not put us in despair. For, it has been our privilege that he lived through the most crucial and critical stage of history during which time he daringly and fiercely combated counter-revolutionary ideas and designs, including those masquerading as Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung's thoughts, and carried to thousands of men the essence of revolutionary ideas and actions. He has died, but his ideas remain with us. His death only strengthens our vow for vengeance which shall be ruthless and terrible. All gentlemen may combine to malign our great leader but we shall firmly hold on to the 'dreadful' line of annihilating the class enemies in a most ungentleman-like manner. No amount of shedding tears for the "poor" policemen can save them from our hands. They shall have to pay blood for blood with compound interest. We boldly pronounce that we shall be 'conspiratorial' like the CIA agents, merciless like the Chambal dacoits, mad with the thirst for the blood of all the reactionaries who shall not exclude the police, the military, the fascist hoodlums, the protagonists of non-violence and, of course, the revisionist chieftains trading in Marxism. Let all of them be jubilant, overtly or covertly, over the death of our immortal leader, we will continue to prepare for the day when their blood-stained hands will no longer operate.

X.Y.Z.

Members of the CPI (ML)

Mr B. Basu's letter (5-8-72) about Charu Mazumdar needs a rejoinder. He has invested him with some qualities which others will refuse to attribute to him. His theory of physical elimination of class enemies, destroying the bourgeois educational system, encircling the cities by the revolutionary masses and creating red terror throughout the country

created doubts among the people, as the strategy left the upper echelons practically unaffected, while it made the commoner's life intolerable.

Mr Mazumdar was aware of the frustrations of the student community in West Bengal, but did not give his youthful followers any time to think about the validity or justifiability of the Chinese-type cultural revolution. What he failed to take note of was that his party which consisted mostly of middle class people could ill afford to depend on them. Conservative in outlook but revolutionary in postures (though genuine in their own way), the middle class young men, who participated in his 'cultural revolution' not so much out of ideological conviction as out of a sense of adventurism and blind anger against the establishment, are more fond of the 'permissiveness' that a liberal bourgeois democracy allows than of the iron discipline and rigidity required by a socialist society. Mr Mazumdar was probably under the impression that since bottomless poverty and naked exploitation were there, revolution was only a question of leadership and a little preparation, forgetting that the dubious charm of liberal democracy which systematically feeds the gullibility of the ordinary mortals is the greatest enemy of revolution and that it requires long, hard and painful preparation to disabuse the people's mind of the elaborate hoax.

PHANI BHUSAN GHOSH

Ashokenagar

I protest against Mr Bikram Basu's view that Mr Charu Mazumdar "was the first man in Indian politics to try the application of Maoism, i.e. Marxism-Leninism of today, to the Indian soil" (August 5, 1972). While paying tribute to a great personality, whoever he may be, one should not be overcome by emotion. Does not Mr Basu know of the armed struggle of the peasants of Telengana in the late fifties? That was perhaps the first conscious attempt to build up correct revolutionary armed warfare in India in the light of Mao's thoughts.

Mr Mazumdar is no more. The mystery that covers his arrest and death will perhaps never be unravelled. Why the correspondents and photographers of even the reactionary press were not allowed to have a glimpse of his dead body, why his family members were escorted and constantly guarded by the police-hoodlums and why they remained totally tight-lipped, why this curtain of top secrecy prevailed all though etc. will ever remain matters of public speculation. One has every reason to question whether he died a natural death.

Mr Mazumdar's ideas and performances were a composite mixture of a few rights and innumerable wrongs.

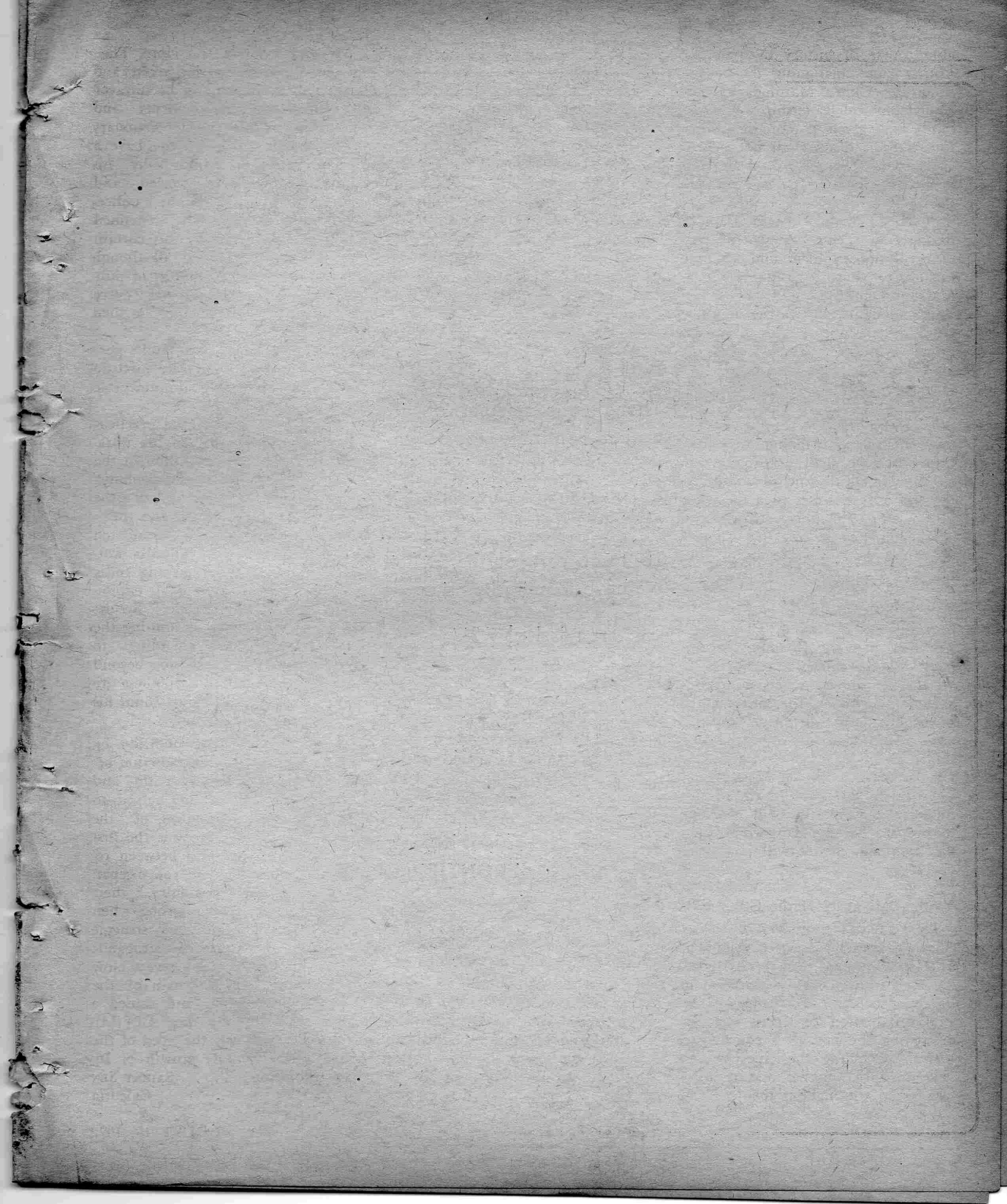
He tended to deny the practicality of the leadership of the working class in Indian revolution in the near and distant future and denounced the working class as, on the whole, bogged down in the quagmire of revisionism. He formulated strange propositions of guerilla warfare and talked about making India free from the shackles of all exploitation within this decade. Besides this, how far his way of running the party-machinery was according to Marxist norms is also not beyond doubt and dispute. But all these are part of a whole. We must count his positive contributions too.

In a new objective condition he tried to sharpen the contradiction between the parliamentary path and the revolutionary path and helped, to some extent, the exploding of the myth of elections. He was the first to pinpoint the relation between revolution, liberation and the inseparable role of the peasantry, their struggles. (But he was wrong when he prescribed the peasants' struggle to be the 'only' form of struggle). He was the first to give a severe blow to break the closed chain of the CPI(M) bureaucracy and caused a visible split among the CPI(M) members, which was the need of the hour for the healthy growth of Indian revolution.

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