

# frontier

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## MISTAKEN REJOICING

THE much-maligned Prime Minister of Pakistan spoke some home truths during his visit to Bangladesh which chauvinists and communalists on this side of the border had better note. Despite an organised hark-back to the happenings in Bangladesh in 1971 and presumably prompted demonstrations against him, Mr Bhutto refused to hit back. If all that was meant as a trap he kept off it. Contrary to the apprehension in this country, he did not in his discussions with Bangladesh leaders complain of the Indian shadow or 'set down' a pre-condition that Bangladesh must move away from India to get close to Pakistan. On the contrary, he declared that Bangladesh's relation with a third country was its own affair and Bangladesh was the best judge of its own interest. On the face of it, no healthier acknowledgment of Bangladesh's sovereignty is possible.

Mr Bhutto left India out of his discussions in Bangladesh. His only reference to this country was at his press conference in reply to specific questions. But he did not try to sell his views to Bangladesh leaders. Perhaps he thinks that efforts on his part are unnecessary, because with the feel of nuclear power the chauvinists in this country will do that job before long. Instead he noted a fundamental similarity between the countries of this subcontinent when he declared that the greatest link between Pakistan, Bangladesh and India is Section 144 CrPC—the section that stands for the repressive measures in force in all three countries—the emergency, the acts and rules for defence of the country, the preventive detention laws etc which are all being used to suppress people's movements. The peoples of the three countries are united in a great hunger, and their rulers are united in their will and methods to repress them. Our attitudinising politicians will not like it. New Delhi may even protest that Mr Bhutto is interfering in our internal affairs. Where there is an awareness there may be a way. But what India has to hope for?

Mr Bhutto's success in Dacca has been limited. Unseen hands seem to have been busy to put as many spanners in the works as possible. Issues like division of assets and liabilities are complex and cannot be settled in three short days. Bangladesh has hiked its demand of the assets to the utmost by hitching it to the country's population which is larger than Pakistan's. Whether it is prepared to shoulder a higher share of liabilities also is unclear. As if this was not sufficiently vexatious, it has insisted upon the repatriation of some 360,000 so-called Pakistanis. Pakistan is prepared to take back its nationals who want

to return; some have already been repatriated. But the figure mentioned by Bangladesh was never accepted by Pakistan, not even when the fate of the Pakistani prisoners-of-war was linked with this issue. Reconciliation will be held up as long as Bangladesh refuses to be accommodative. This will certainly gladden some Indian hearts, for they will not need to search for new pretexts to prolong indefinitely the rule of Section 144. Reconciliation between Pakistan and Bangladesh will be a force for subcontinental peace which atomic militarists cannot like.

## Sea-Change

At this writing President Nixon is half way through his visit to the Soviet Union. He has already signed a couple of agreements in Moscow, the most important of which is going to be the ten-year economic pact; a lot will however depend on the change of heart among the members of Congress. They have till now refused the USSR the most favoured nation treatment because of the Kremlin's alleged harassment of the Jews. Before he went to Moscow where he was received by Comrade Brezhnev, against protocol, President Nixon signed a new Atlantic declaration along with most of the chiefs of governments of NATO member countries in Brussels. In fact this is for the first time since December 1957 that so many heads of State assembled around the American President. Nixon is lucky that M. Michel Jobert is no longer the Foreign Minister of France. Many Europeans must be feeling sad that the French President, the West German Chancellor and the British Prime Minister are all to pro-American.

What is, however, of greater consequence than President Nixon's diplomatic success in Europe and the Soviet Union is the total change of the scene in West Asia. It is only the Palestinian guerillas who have not yet flinched and in spite of the heavy odds they continue to assert their independence of action. To express their displeasure with the Nixon visit they carried out an

attack in Israel. Only when one is able to appreciate the accumulated frustration of the Palestinians and the constant pressure on them from different quarters, one will be able to see some reason in their murderous attacks against the Zionists. Unfortunately, in many cases the innocents fall victim to them.

There has been such a change in West Asia that the one who was hated most was given an unprecedented welcome in all the Arab capitals he visited. The Arab leaders have come to believe that they do not stand any chance of getting back the territories lost in the 1967 war unless they befriend President Nixon. It is surprising how they overlook two things—first the diminution of Nixon's authority at home and secondly the fact that the Nixon Administration has been the most liberal among all administrations in providing military aid to Israel. In fact Tel Aviv has got about twenty times more in the past five years than what it had in the previous years. It is a great paradox that though the October war was directed as much against the USA as against Israel, everyone else except the Americans had suffered grievously from the consequences of the war. The petroleum crisis has hit the United States but the countries which almost entirely depend on oil imports have been affected more. American goods have now become more competitive compared to European and Japanese products. The three-fold rise in petroleum prices has benefited most the big American petroleum companies; the net profit realised by five majors—Exxon, Mobil-Oil, Gulf-Oil, Texaco and Occidental—in the first quarter of the current year is nine times more than the annual average during the period 1958-62. While most of the developed countries have reported a deficit in balance of payments because of high oil prices, the United States has shown a surplus for the first time since 1970. There will be no change in the position as far as the USA is concerned since it is going to soak a huge amount of Arab money liberally selling arms in the region.

## Money, Money, Everywhere

The money supply, we have been hearing for months on end, has been multiplying disastrously. No use trying to find out the exact volume now circulating in the country because it is increasing every moment. People in Bombay, on the Marine Drive, take out a hundred-rupee-note to buy ground-nuts and pavement hawkers more often than not give back the small change. The Wanchob Commission recommended demonetisation; the Government accepted the other recommendations, but not demonetisation. We were told that demonetisation was no panacea; it had failed in many countries including India.

So what can be done? Inflation has become in this country as unfathomable as God or cancer; it does not seem to be under the control of the government-paid economists. Some suggest shrinking of money supply. But others object because most of the money is in the unorganised sector. Some suggest squeezing of credit, the latest of them being Dr Minhas who would love to hike the lending rate to 25 per cent from 13 per cent; but others object because production needs credit. Moreover, last year saw an increase of bank rate from 6 to 7 per cent and the minimum bank lending rate fixed at 10. The consequence was a 0.1 per cent growth in industries instead of the projected plan growth rate of 9; and the wholesale price index shot up by 28 per cent. Some suggest a wages and incomes freeze or, if that be somewhat scandalous in the absence of a price freeze, at least dearness allowance freeze. But wary people have spoken of severe labour unrest, including discontent among the government-controlled trade unions. Another suggestion is reduction of non-plan and non-priority expenditure. But this does not need any suggestion—it will be automatic, for lack of real resources in the country. What about, ask others, measures to promote or compulsorily impose the savings habit? They call it the Brazilian indexing system. Others promptly point out that savings were not too



bad in this country; they have been rising steadily though the majority of the people are being pauperised.

Apparently, the economists have been rattled well and good. Particularly foxed has been Dr V. K. R. V. Rao, who concludes that no laws of economics can operate in India, whether Brazilian, Argentinian Dutch or Polish. A few, however, are not that desperate. Dr Minas, for example, believes that the prime factor of our distress is the peasants' nasty habit of eating up credits which are given solely to improve their agricultural income! Some again, Dr Sukhamoy Chakravarti for instance, have found a novel measure by which workers can share the fruits of growth and New Delhi is reported to be working overtime giving a shape to his ideas. In case he succeeds, we should initiate an Order of Ruskin for the gallant economist. The Prime Minister, however, does not believe in any conventional remedies; she claimed that she was no prisoner of dogmas and she was not going to be bound by theories. Of such mettle are geniuses made and we are sure that some unconventional measures are in the offing. In this paradise of traders who hoard commodities and manipulate prices, in this bureaucrats' haven where the prices of foodgrains, fertilisers, kerosene, coal and other products are hiked up through underhand dealings, in this largest democracy where budgeting is synonymous with indirect taxation, we do need some unconventional economists like Mrs Indira Gandhi. Otherwise there will be money, money, everywhere but no rice or wheat, not to talk of salt, to buy.

## Moment Of Truth

The West Bengal Chief Minister, Mr Siddhartha Sankar Ray, very often does not measure his words before uttering them. As a result, on a very recent occasion, the home truth came out that the Congress organisation in the villages serves the rural rich and is thoroughly anti-peasant. He told a meeting in a village of Malda district that unless the laws enacted to safeguard the

interests of peasants were properly implemented, "none will be spared, stormy days are coming, everybody's throat will be slashed". In his vote-catching speeches to rural people he mentioned three enactments relating to the ceiling on landholdings, the registration of rights of sharecroppers, a 75 per cent share of the crops for the bhagchasis, none of which was working. These were enacted on the basis of resolutions of the Congress, yet most Congressmen were working against them now. No surplus land could be found. The levy was not being paid by most. And instead of 75 per cent, the landlords were giving the sharecroppers whatever they liked. Further, Congress workers gheraoed police stations if thieves, rogues and murderers were arrested. But when rich and profiteering jotedars dodged the levy, nobody cared to gherao them, said Mr Ray. When the landlord did not pay the fixed share to the sharecroppers, none of the Congress workers were there to gherao the landlord. Nor did they gherao the teshildar when the sharecroppers' names were not registered. Where did the Congress workers go on such occasions, the Chief Minister asked.

Mr Ray and his party leaders know very well where the Congress workers go. He knows better than anybody else that the Congress party in the countryside is solely and truly an instrument of the landlords.

## For A Front

A correspondent writes:

The Naxalbari armed struggle of the peasantry had its impact on a sizeable section of the intelligentsia. This eventually resulted in a spate of small revolutionary journals all over India—a majority of them in regional languages with the inevitable literary slant. As most of these journals were too small to be financially viable, quite a few folded up in course of time; others, thanks to friends and admirers, managed to pull on somehow—though, no doubt, it was pretty rough sailing for them. According to a rough estimate, there are about 100 such journals at present.

The year-long newsprint famine, which will continue for at least another three or four years according to the Information and Broadcasting Minister, has affected these journals too and it is obvious that the small papers had to bear the brunt of the crisis. Besides all the disadvantages of being small papers, they have to face much more—persecution, law suits, police harassment and attacks from anti-social as well as fascist elements. All these facts taken together, they are facing (economically speaking) a crisis of survival.

There is very little co-ordination among these journals. The voices of dissent are many, but scattered. The need of the hour is a united front of such journals. Minor differences are there but they can be forgotten for the time being. A great and dynamic force might emerge on the horizon of the moth-eaten Indian journals if these journals get together on a single platform and pool their resources.

Besides providing a platform to fight the repressive measures of the government and the rightist forces, the front may help these journals to improve their quality by mutual exchange of ideas. (Many are very ill-produced at present.) It may also help the business side by providing a circulation network—which is the biggest problem faced—and advertisement collection.

A seminar of revolutionary writers and journalists held in Delhi in May emphasised the need for an organisation of working (small) journals and an independent people's news agency to cater to their needs. It would be heartening indeed if concrete steps are taken in this direction.

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## They Are Ready What About Us ?

SHUKLA

**T**HINGS have started falling in place to make the ominous pattern surface with a sinister familiarity. The PM has been on a tour of the forward areas; the Defence Minister has assured the nation that our preparations are adequate; in its issue of June 23, a Bombay weekly has illustratively corroborated him; and the book of our new, nationalist Folk Tales tells us suggestively that Pakistan has evil designs and is going to attack us if it has not already done so. Patriotically, we should believe that we are under attack from Pakistan.

A cursory look at our own preparedness (to what end, is a superfluous question) will prove quite exhilarating. The salaries of the IAS/IPS and military personnel have been raised. This is an advance recognition of, and reward for, their services which will be increasingly in demand by our rulers in the days ahead—to crush the people. In a cynical mix of bullets and bribes the college/university teachers were not forgotten. To insulate them from the masses and their plight, which might have been articulated by them with the aid of students at their command, a 75% increase in their salaries was also announced. And, mark the timing, all the three announcements just before and after the ruthless smash-up of the railmen's strike. This was to serve as notice to organised labour in the country to forget trade unionism, or else...

Murder of dissidents and non-conformists is on the increase. Only two instances will do—1. Mr Rajvir Singh, a former student leader of Bareilly, was found murdered on June 19 in mysterious circumstances. 2. Mr Ashok Kumar Saxena, a young socialist, was murdered in the Wazirpur colony of Delhi on June 18. He had helped in identifying the hoarders and blackmarketeers.

Deaths in the police lock-up will be frequent. Nearly a dozen have died thus since the railmen's strike. Liquidation

and silencing of political opponents will become normal. Just after the victory in the U.P. elections, the ruling clique ordered nearly half-a-dozen men squatting on the rail track in Sirathu (Allahabad) to be shot dead. They were socialists. During the same time that the guns were trained on them and the trigger released they could have been bodily removed or kicked away. But the mandate to kill was paramount, and arrogantly in operation.

So long as China and Pakistan are there our emergency is permanent. Cornwallis' Permanent Settlement of land had pampered a few and pauperized the masses. Mrs G.'s Permanent Settlement of law—rule by ordinance (there are some soft-headed ones who believe Parliament to be functioning yet, and in the interest of the nation!), has similarly swelled a few at the cost of many. So that we need the DIR, PDA and MISA—the draconian illegalities—to silence and squash the many (the people) for the benefit of the few, i.e., the hoarders, blackmarketeers, profiteers, adulterators, hooch-makers, smugglers, tycoons, tax-evaders and speculators who oil the electoral machine to the benefit of the oligopolists. It would be a common thing henceforward to hear of writers, poets, editors, teachers, voicing independent and inconvenient heresies being arrested or murdered, if Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, West Bengal and Gujarat are any guide.

For popular diversion now, besides the Vividh Bharati, the TV and Hindi films, there is the nuclear feather in our cap. Just as the people have been force-fed with the deception that one-party rule for 27 years is democracy despite 70% of the national populace rejecting it, so too the masses (literate and illiterate (both) will be convinced that but for the Opposition nuisance now and then several feathers like the nuclear one could be added to our national cap if only the ruling clique were left in undisputed possession of power for ever, or just some time more. The artificial scarcities and rising prices being temporary, and problems like unemployment or corruption being too mundane, let us concentrate on, so the ruling mafia will say, abiding

and august assets like the nuclear device. Induced paranoia will be a viable distraction for the wretched masses to make them forget their perennial privations and progressive degradation.

### The Opposition

As to the Opposition, it was never before in a dirtier disarray than at present. The CPI, famously busy with its monumental metaphysical research project "Detection of Radical Molecules in the Congress and its Mobilisation in the service of People's Democracy", is thriving in collaboration with the rulers. To compete with it on an equal footing, its offshoot is busy soliciting the charter of legitimacy from the Kremlin. The Congress will deign to accept its co-operation in full only when Soviet-sanitized. The CPI(ML) is torn into factions. The SP is in for severe drubbing. No other party is politically consequential, not even the 8-party combine on the anvil. This splintering and resultant demoralization makes it easier for the white terror to stalk the land. (The CPI was made defunct by the Gentle Colossus, the CPM by the Good looking).

Thus the ground is well laid for the dacoits' democracy to march in splendour. Anybody, individual or organization, raising the accusing finger, spotlighting the criminals, protesting their corruption, and pleading for the people will be effectively muffled and declared insane or absconding. While Idi Amin massively liquidated his opponents in Uganda, our Parliament heard last March the Minister of State for Home Affairs nonchalantly declare that the category of political prisoners was abolished. A quick way of declaring your political opponents ordinary criminals. Thus 60,000 of Indians in jails languishing for years without trial, without specific charges, were declared unpersons. That nobody among the millions of citizens, their relatives and friends, agitated for their release shows how, and in whose favour, the law of the land functions with lathis as its support. But does it not make us a nation of prisoners?

The British, essentially a commercial nation, left 'free' India, assured of



their profits and returns on their massive investments, convinced that their brown successors and compradors will deliver the goods quite well. They have been vindicated in their assessment. Similarly, the Indian banias are assured of their loot and are ruling us by proxy with their touts and toadies among the politicians, bureaucrats, police and army. Thus corruption becomes an imperative adjunct of the coercive state, that is, bourgeois democracy, the enemies of the people usurping power. This usurpation cannot be undone with the scarecrow of a paper parliament. Those having a pie in the System rooted in violence and iniquity and reeking of carrion, will, as always in history, resist any attempt at redressal with a lot of blood-letting. It is noticeable that the government firearms are at the ready in Bihar and Assam to deal with the students and the Assam CPI has blamed the Opposition. Why could not the government similarly deal with wheat levy or groundnut levy-dodgers? Is it not cheeky of the rulers to get away by blandly naming the the Opposition as responsible for the 'peoples' misery?

Whatever else Bihar may be heading for, if it can bring about the dissolution of the Assembly, the people will have learnt that it is within their power to dismantle a dishonest device. The chasm between the Sarvodaya and J.P. is evident in two instances. The Acharya has dissociated himself from J.P. And, the students in Bihar have warned the Sarvodayites against meddling with their agitation. Unless something dramatic happens on July 10 when Bhawe and J.P. are scheduled to meet in Allahabad, let us hope that Bihar's agitational dynamism will not get the disease called Gandhi's Chauri Chaura.

It is significant that Mrs. G has paid several visits to the Acharya in the last few months which contrasts strikingly with her stout disinclination to see J.P. The saint-scholar Bhawe has hailed our nuclear explosion. He should have been present among the chosen few to witness this feat in Pokaran. Maybe, he will see the Lord in fiery splendour, described in the Gita, later, when our

scientists have progressed towards that spectacular display.

Distress sale of children in Goalpara, Harijan-bating in U.P. and Gujarat, telephonic threats to income-tax officials by steel merchants, use of army weapons by dacoits, 8000 smallpox deaths in Bihar, starvation deaths in Assam and Tripura, merchants of death and hoarders going scot-free, an Indian scientist liquidated by smugglers, Adivasi huts burnt by officials in Maharashtra, the Madhya Pradesh Government feasting its 78 dacoits in Mungaoli jail with film shows, silver/gold utensils, and separate well-furnished rooms at a cost of Rs. 1500/- per month each, demo-

ralized trade unionism and a splintered opposition, the subverted mass media, and a permissive society gorging itself with sex, consumerism, accumulation, and a vulgarly imitative non-culture—these are the ingredients of an Establishment which needs urgent liquidation. These betoken incipient fascism. The question is, will we allow this authoritarian aggression and militarist violence in favour of exploiters and predators go unchallenged, for how long more? And, will our response to it with petitions and parliamentary kirtans be deemed honest and enough by our masses? The enemy's preparedness is awesome. What will the people match it with?

## Social Scenario

B. G.

**A**N eminent writer-intellectual of the CPI, who is now a septuagenarian, was once, in the late 1930s, one of the Vice-Presidents of the All India Kisan Sabha, the peasants' organisation of the CPI. In the police report he was described as 'the cultural leader of the agricultural front of the Communist Party of India'. 'Although the police are "police", a body of men employed "to maintain law and order", and no one should expect any kind of cultural "polish" in either the behaviour or the report of the police, it must be admitted that in the above description there is a substratum of truth. The correlation between culture and agriculture is undeniable. The credit of establishing this correlation goes to Gurudev Tagore. Bengali 'kristi' means 'culture', and 'kristi' is derived from 'karshan', which means ploughing a field, which is an agricultural operation. The analogy is clear. Ploughing the virgin soil of your mind or intellect, you reach the stage of 'culture', as you reap the harvest in 'agriculture'. The police report is therefore not laughable.

What matters most in the present context of our socio-economic situation is, why this tremendous emphasis on the revival of the 'cultural front' when the 'agricultural front' is fast descend-

ing to the nadir of crisis? With the rising cost of 'everything under the sun' and with the growing misery of the common people, is it not sheer madness to divert all attention to the cultural superstructure—to cultural seminars, conferences, solidarity festivals, folk culture etc? No, it is not madness, though it seems to be so. It is a well-thought-out policy of the present rulers of India and by pursuing that policy, they are proving themselves true to the Indian tradition. The Indian people, through ages of changing rulers, Vedic Buddhist Hindu Muslim British, have been ruled by 'culture', which is the 'culture of contentment', the 'culture of silence' (Paulo Freire). Our rulers, Indians as they are, are thoroughly acquainted with the 'Indianness' of this art of ruling the people. They know it for certain that even with the nuclear missile of Marx-Lenin-Mao's class-struggle, it will not be so easy to explode this stratified rock of the 'culture of silence' of the Indian people. Famines, epidemics, floods, riots, food crises, class struggles and caste struggles will come and go, but the Indian people will go on for ever with their 'kirtan' and 'baul' songs, their fairs and festivals, their gods and goddesses, their 'gurus' and 'avatars', their astrology and otherworldliness, which together

go to the making of the massive rock of the 'culture of silence' of the Indian people. This rock has to be dynamited by the ideology of the oppressed, and unless that is done, the masses, in a country like India, cannot move forward to 'cultural action for freedom' (Paulo Freire). And without this cultural action for freedom, the struggle for 'agricultural liberation' will be doomed to repeated failures.

### Explosions Galore

Just after May 18, one day as I was travelling in an overcrowded state bus, perspiring in the oppressive midday heat, I found a fellow-traveller, quite an old man, chuckling to himself over the explosion: 'Nuclear explosion! One wonders'. Then a subtle provocation came from another passenger. Casting an angry glance at him, the old man suddenly lost himself in a loud explosion of temper. 'This is neither new nor the first explosion in India', the old man declared at the top of his voice. "We have been pounded with, at least, half-a-dozen explosions in India since independence; first, population explosion; second, black-money explosion; third, hoarders' explosion; fourth, adulteration explosion; fifth, paper-money explosion; sixth, price explosion. The nuclear explosion is seventh in this schedule'. There was an explosion of laughter in the bus. 'What then logically, sir, should be the eighth?' asked some passengers. While getting off the bus, the old man answered angrily: 'How can I say that? Better ask an astrologer, because there is nothing logical in India, everything is astrological'. Again there was an explosion of laughter in the bus.

### Self-help

If you are young and unemployed, no one can help you, you have to help yourself. That is the first lesson of Indian socialism which you should learn if you want to live. Hence the 'Self-help Society' which has already set up five units in different parts of Calcutta. You will be astonished to learn that by collecting waste cloth from rag-pickers and selling this to big factories which use them as machine napkins, sixty young men, who are members of SHS,

are now earning, on an average, Rs. 200 month. The president of the Society has requested the State Government to offer, at reasonable price, the huge quantity of waste cloth discarded by eight government hospitals, to the Society. The best way, in our humble opinion, would be to increase considerably the number of rag pickers, if possible to give them some training in the art of rag picking and then to appeal to CMDA and Calcutta Corporation that the huge garbage piles in the city be not removed or cleared till the rag picking is done. At least 750 unemployed young men, among several lakhs, will then be earning, on an average, Rs. 200 p.m.

### Naked Truth

It was reported in a newspaper in February that five armed young men raided the house of a beggar in a refugee colony in Suri (Birbhum) and got away with Rs. 250, his life's savings, two hens and ten kg of rice. There was threat of violence here, because the young men were armed. It was reported in May that hungry men and women in the Jhargram area of Midnapore were moving in groups and going straight into the kitchens of families (not always rich) to eat whatever cooked food was available. These hungry people were non-violent as they were not armed. It was reported in the June 26 Statesman that people in groups were moving about in search of food and sometimes looting foodgrains from 'comparatively affluent households in some areas (in Bankura and Purulia). Women could not go out as they have no clothes to put on. These people are also nonviolent and have faith in peaceful transition to socialism. This is also socialism a la self-help. Of course, it is something different from the style of self-help of the Self-help Society of Calcutta. Hungry men have some rags at least to put on, which the women do not have. Therefore hungry women cannot go out with hungry men in search of food. But we are sure, this age-old superstition will soon vanish in the new refreshing climate of Indian socialism. Men, as well as women, who are hungry in India, will

soon realise that man (including woman) is born with hunger, but not with clothes. Men and women both are born NAKED. The sooner the truth is realised the better. Then the men and women, both naked, will be moving about freely in search of food, like the men and women of the Paleolithic Age. The prejudice of putting on clothes should be shunned, by all means. Otherwise, the romance of the journey to socialism in India will not be keenly felt by those who are hungry and dying for want of food today.

### Discussion

## Western Workers : Facts And Illusions

SHABNAM

I have read the articles in "Frontier" about the situation of the working class in West Germany by Herbert Rheindorf and Peter Nielsen and the comments of a European-minded Indian living in West Germany.

I am surprised to know that H. Rheindorf and D. A. are talking about "the struggling masses" in West Germany and other Western countries. I did not stay for long in West Germany—I am living in Denmark—but it is true that the situation of the working class is not 'basically' different from one country to another in Europe.

In the opinion of H. Rheindorf and D. A. the workers in the European countries are being exploited and oppressed brutally by the capitalists. The workers must "constantly struggle to maintain their existence minimum". They are talking about the increasing number of spontaneous strikes and the growing revolutionary consciousness of the European working class. From these writings one may get the impression that revolution is about to break out in Europe.

Is it really like this?

First of all it is necessary to know about the living standards of the European working class. What Peter Nielsen wrote about living conditions of



the West German working class corresponds very much to my own experiences in Denmark.

The working class here is really having all the facilities of a pleasant life. You can compare the standard of living of a Danish worker with that of an Indian Class I officer. The average worker family has got a car, a nice furnished flat or house with TV, refrigerator, telephone and all kinds of electrical kitchen tools, and many workers have even got their own summer house.

The worker family has got more than sufficient to eat every day, and it is common here to throw away food, which is one or two days old. One of the most common causes of death are diseases from over-eating!

While working it is the favourite entertainment of the workers (at least the male workers) to drink beer. Almost every evening after work they enjoy drinking at the bar. Particularly the weekends are there to enjoy these and other pleasures.

About medical aid they have got so many facilities. When a worker is ill, the factory has to pay his wages. (Many of the workers misuse this aid!)

Some weeks ago there was a strike in Aalborg in Denmark. The reason: the workers could not buy strong beer (only light beer!) in the canteen of their factory.

There was another strike in Copenhagen in protest against some taxes on cars, refrigerators, wine, beer and cigarettes: 60,000 workers went to demonstrate in front of Parliament House, which was guarded by one or two smiling policemen. (This strike was 'spontaneous' and very much against the will of the union leadership). But a great number of workers were drunk and enjoying the day as a holiday.

So, if workers in Denmark strike it does not mean that they are "struggling

masses" or revolutionary forces.

This is the Danish working class.

In other European countries strikes and actions may be more or even less "militant" but basically there is no big difference.

The majority of all kinds of strikes and actions of the European working class (legal or illegal, spontaneous or organized) are guided by the aim to increase or to defend its privileges.

This working class is not acting as a class "which has only got its chains to lose" and which is ready to sacrifice its life.

Dare you compare this working class with the Indian railwaymen? The European working class is acting as a workers' aristocracy which—being rich, selfish and narrowminded—is closer to what we consider middle class than to the proletariat.

All left organisations in Europe—as far as I know—are trying their best to prove themselves the leaders of "the struggling masses of the European working class". In this effort they always show that the working class is being exploited by the capitalists.

The only job of these organisations is to encourage the working class to get higher wages and more privileges, and some of the so called revolutionary leftists even think that this work will surely lead to socialism.

European leftists like the German H. R. and his half-Indian, half-German colleague are basing their theories and activities on illusions about oppression and misery of the European working classes

Can't they see the facts?

The wealth and the privileges of the European working class are undeniable facts and have nothing to do with bourgeois propaganda.

You must base your theories and practice—not on illusions but on concrete conditions.

Conditions in Europe are not favourable for a revolution now or in the near future, and wishful thinking will not bring the day of revolution closer.

True revolutionaries everywhere in the world must never deny facts. Nothing fruitful can be built on illusions.

## First Conference Of Mozambican Women

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

A GENUINELY popular revolution is taking place and is being consolidated in Mozambique. As a result of the armed struggle for national liberation, initiated by the people under the leadership of FRELIMO, vast areas that cover approximately a quarter of the country have been liberated. The struggle has been extended to a new province—Manica e Sofala.

In the liberated regions, Cabo Delgado, Niassa and Tete, a new life is being built, inspired by an ideology that places the interest of the masses of the people above all; that rejects every form of oppression and exploitation by any individual, group, class or sex over others, and that seeks to establish healthy human relationships in the country.

The struggle to liberate women occupies a prominent place in the revolution. It was within this context that the First Conference of Mozambican Women was held. More than 80 delegates attended from all sectors of activity, predominantly members of the Women's Detachment.

The agenda included the following points:

1. Reports on activities.
2. Analysis and description of the Mozambican woman in traditional and in colonial society and in the present situation.
3. Examination of the commitment of the women of Mozambique to the revolutionary process.

Special attention was given to the following points:

obstacles to her participation and the nature of existing contradictions, definitions of goals; formulation of the strategy to follow; tasks of the Organization of Mozambican Women and its place within the structure of FRELIMO.

The Conference was presided over by Comrade Samora Machel, President of FRELIMO, who defined in his opening

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JULY 6, 1974

speech, the political-historical context in which the conference was being held, analyzing the origins of the alienation of women and indicating the line that must be followed to obtain success in the struggle for the emancipation of women. The Conference adopted the FRELIMO President's speech as a basic document.

In analyzing the information presented by the comrades engaged in armed action, and others who work in schools, hospitals, nursery schools, etc, the Conference pointed out that the Mozambican women organized in the Women's Detachment are working correctly, with a high level of consciousness and great efficiency. Among the tasks of the Women's Detachment are: armed struggle and mobilization; organizing and defending the people; transporting materials, assuring production; recruitment and security; work in nursery schools; carrying out clandestine work, etc.

The Conference nevertheless pointed out that there is a psychological factor that affects the majority of the women comrades, which makes the execution of their tasks difficult: an inferiority complex.

In making a more profound analysis, the Conference found that the reasons for this complex lie in an amalgam of the traditional system of education and the colonial system. It was shown that, throughout her life, in different phases of her growth, woman is subjected to what are called "rites of initiation" which, although they vary from one region to another, have in common the fact that they inculcate in the woman a submissive attitude toward the man, and teach her that her place in society is secondary. During the puberty ceremony specifically, girls are told that their role from that moment on is to have children and take care of their

husbands and home, with all other tasks forbidden. The initiation rites, surrounded by an aura of mystery and religious solemnity, have a powerful psychological impact and succeed in getting the youth to accept blindly everything they are taught, traumatizing them for the rest of their lives.

The Conference also pointed out that these rites are simply a manifestation of the existing concept of women's position in traditional society. Other manifestations, for example, are:

the price of the bride, which reduces the woman to a mere object that is bought and sold, and which converts her into a simple object of pleasure and reproduction in the eyes of her purchaser — her husband; polygamy and premature and obligatory marriages in which girls no more than ten years old are forced to contract marriage.

These customs, in addition to reflecting a reactionary attitude, constitute a serious obstacle to the woman's commitment to the liberation struggle. They accustom the woman to feeling alienated and limit her to domestic life and agricultural production for her husband, depriving her of taking part in political, cultural or social work.

The colonial system makes the situation worse, subjects the Mozambican woman to a double oppression and exploitation: first, the oppression and indiscriminate exploitation of men and women alike, in the form of forced work, obligatory harvests, arbitrary imprisonment, racial discrimination, etc. And then the other and more specific discrimination directed solely against the woman. Through forced work, women are separated from their husbands, thus denying them the means of maintaining their children and their homes and creating the conditions that oblige women to resort to the sale of their bodies, prostituting themselves in order to be able to survive. Women are debased, degraded and subjected to the most extreme humiliation by the colonialists.

Having thus analysed the situation of the woman in our country, the Conference studied the strategy of struggle that should be adopted in order to give women their position and rights within

the new society we are building in a revolutionary manner. The poles of the contradiction were delineated. The Conference declared that a fundamental contradiction exists between the Mozambican woman and the system of oppression and exploitation that reigns in our country and which excludes her from making decisions, and it called the attention of the delegates to the danger of misinterpreting the goals of the struggle. As an example it raised the position taken by the so-called "women's liberation movements" that are now proliferating in the capitalist countries. These movements direct their struggle against men, converting them into their target and accusing them of being responsible for their oppression and exploitation.

The Conference emphasized that male workers are themselves exploited and oppressed in these societies, the same as women are, and that whatever reactionary ideas they might hold concerning women, have been inculcated in them by the system in which they live.

It is against the system, that is against the negative aspects of tradition and against colonialism and imperialism, that the women of Mozambique must really direct their struggle.

The Conference reiterated that, at present, the genuine revolution that is being carried out in Mozambique, sets as its goal the destruction of the old social order, based on government by the minority, in order to build on its ruins a new society in which power will belong to the working masses.

The First Conference of Mozambican Women emphasized that the principal path that women should take is to involve themselves in the tasks of the struggle, in the work of the revolutionary process.

The Organization of Mozambican Women will form part of the general structure of FRELIMO, within which it will be like an arm extended toward a new sector, the feminine sector, whose appropriate and complete participation had been neglected up to now.

The Conference applauded the Central Committee for declaring April 7 (date of the death of Comrade Josina Machel, leader of the Women's Detach-

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ment, and Director of the Section of Social Affairs, and the Feminine section of the Department of Foreign Affairs), "Mozambican Women's Day".

The Fourth Front, opened in Portugal by Portuguese anti-fascist and anti-colonialist patriots, in the very heart of the enemy, was warmly applauded by the Conference as an important step toward the consolidation of the links of friendship and solidarity among the peoples of Mozambique and Portugal.

The Conference expressed its satisfaction with the great victory won by the peoples of Indochina and especially of Viet Nam, over the United States of America, leader of international imperialism. The Conference emphasized that the victory of the peoples of Indochina represents a great source of inspiration for our peoples.

The First Conference of Mozambican Women adopted as its slogan the words of the President of FRELIMO: "The liberation of women is a basic requirement of the Revolution, the guarantee of its continuation, and a prior condition for its victory."

## War And Revolution—I

R. L. MAHANTI

THE aim of the present essay is to examine the following well-known saying of Mao Tse-tung quoted in the Report to the Ninth National Congress of the Communist Party of China:

"With regard to the question of world war, there are but two possibilities: one is that the war will give rise to revolution and the other is that revolution will prevent the war."

This should be considered along with his no less famous saying contained in the statement of May, 20, 1970:

"The danger of a third world war still exists, but revolution is the main trend in the world today."

The first part of the (first) statement, namely, that another world war, if it takes place, will bring further revolutions does not present any great difficulty, since the truth of it has been overwhelmingly demonstrated by historical events. It is the implication of the second part of the (first) statement, namely, that revolutionary upsurges, if they take place, will prevent the outbreak of a third world war that appears to present some difficulty to many progressive thinkers and requires a clear explanation. Since, however, the two questions are inter-related, we shall try to deal with them together.

Why does war give rise to revolution? Why have inter-imperialist wars repeatedly given birth to great revolutions in this century? Because the desperate fighting between the imperialist forces of the different countries (or groups of countries) has the effect of (more or less) weakening the imperialist state power in every such country, rendering it less capable than in times of peace to repress or resist the revolutionary forces in the country. Hence, during or following an inter-imperialist war, revolutions are likely to arise in those imperialist countries which present a critical combination of two factors: a signal weakening of the war-worn bourgeois state power and a signal development of the revolutionary proletarian forces.

That is exactly what happened in Russia in 1905 and, again, in 1917. Since the failure of the German bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848 (and of the fantastically premature proletarian revolution of the Paris Commune in 1871), the hopes of Marx and Engels had been increasingly drawn towards the maturing contradictions of the Russian scene. The Russo-Japanese War, by weakening the Tsarist Government, facilitated the revolutionary upsurge of 1905, while the quick (though ignominious) peace treaty with Japan concluded by the Tsar was one of the factors which enabled him to rally his forces against the revolution and crush it. The brilliant success of the two closely successive revolutions of 1917 were, of course, primarily due to the superior organization of the revolutionary forces and to Lenin's profoundly correct assessments of the situation: (1) That Russia was the weakest link in the imperialist chain; that it was, therefore, intrinsically fittest to be snapped; and that it had, after its signal defeat at the hands of Germany, become extremely weak. (2) That the Russian bourgeoisie was timid and hesitant and was afraid of carrying the revolution too far, as the abortive 1905 revolution had amply proved, and would be only too ready to come to terms with Tsarist feudal privilege again at the least prospect of difficulty; and that the Russian democratic revolution must, therefore, be led by the Russian proletariat (under the Communist Party) in alliance with the entire peasantry, if the revolution was to clinch the issue finally and succeed in creating a democratic republic and not stop halfway in the disastrous manner of 1905. (3) That, considering the new array of forces, there must be no gap between the democratic and the socialist revolutions; that the relatively strong proletariat should in alliance with the semi-proletarian peasantry strike a mortal blow at the relatively weak and unprepared bourgeoisie before the latter was able to put its state machine in order and before the other imperialist powers were able to recover from their war-worn state. This basic plan could, however, be so thoroughly executed

### অগ্রগতি সাহিত্যের অদ্বিতীয় সংগ্রহ

নজরুল—মৃত্যুকথা (উপগ্রহ) ৩.৫০। মালিক বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়—চিহ্ন ৩.৫০। অমরেন্দ্রনাথ ঘোষ—চর কাশেম ৬.০০। জুশীল আনা—বিপ্লবের ডাক ২.০০। দত্তয়েভস্কি—চেকভ, পুশকিন, ওলস্তয়ের গল্পসংগ্রহ—চতুর্দোলা ৩.০০। লু শুনের গল্প ১০.০০। শেভ্রিনের গল্প ৪.০০। হেমাক্ষ বিশ্বাস—শঙ্খচিলের গান ৮.৫০। অনাথ মিত্র—মাতৃ বন্দনা ১.০০। মিহির আচার্য—অতুল গ্রন্থ ৬.০০। লাল লণ্ঠন ২.৫০। পবিত্র গঙ্গা—পাখ্যায়—চাহাব দরবেশ ৪.০০। বীরেন্দ্র চট্টোপাধ্যায়—এই জন্ম জন্মভূমি। চীনের উপকথা ৩.০০ ইত্যাদি সহ দুর্লভ ও সমকালীন যে কোন বইয়ের জ্ঞাত আমাদের সঙ্গে যোগাযোগ করুন।

### বুক মার্ক

c/o অগ্রগতি বুক ক্লাব

এ-১, কলেজ স্ট্রিট মার্কেট, কলকাতা-১২

(and even massive foreign imperialist invasion could not reverse the issue) because of the perfect post-war timing of the revolution.

War, thus, had brought revolution thrice within twelve years—the third time with world-shaking success. The weakening of the weakest link in the world capitalist chain had led to its smashing at the hands of the relatively strong proletariat.

The Second World War was a still bigger and fiercer inter-imperialist struggle for a redivision of the world and, consequently, led to even greater weakening of most of the imperialist countries—in fact of all of them with the solitary exception of the United States of America. But if that was so, why didn't socialist revolutions, resulting in the overthrow of the bourgeois state machine, occur at least in some of these weakened imperialist countries? They did not, because, although the bourgeoisie was weak, the proletarians in these countries were not correspondingly strong, and "the critical combination of the two vital factors was missing". The proletarians in these countries were not strong because the edge of their struggle had been taken off by revisionism, by the opportunism of their social-democratic leaders and this, again, could happen because the imperialist bourgeoisie, by wielding their finance capital all over the colonized and semi-colonized world, had been drawing colossal super-profits and buying up the upper sections of the proletariat with a portion of their world-loot, thus dividing and weakening the entire working class movements in these countries.

But, if the Second World War failed to bring revolution in the advanced capitalist countries because of the softening down of the contradictions there, it did bring revolution elsewhere, in the colonial and semi-colonial world, where the contradictions had been correspondingly sharpened by the extreme expansion and intensification of imperialist exploitation. Again, differences in concrete conditions brought different results in the different colonies and semi-colonies. While great revolutions took place in China, Algeria

and the Indo-Chinese countries, no real revolution took place in India.

### India

In India the immemorial tradition of being conquered and ruled, the deep feudal stagnation, the extraordinarily thorough nature of the Western colonization, the permeation of the upper classes with an ingeniously propagated colonial culture, the cunning stabilization of agrarian feudalism, the comprador orientation of all big Indian capitalist enterprises and the extreme weakness of the Indian Communist Party had the effect of "smoothing down the anti-imperialist contradictions" to an extent unparalleled in history, and of bringing about a purely formal independence which only threw the door wider open to foreign economic exploitation, turning the country into what is called a neo-colony.

In China things turned out differently as a result of great differences presented by the entire Chinese historical process. The Chinese always had national pride. China was an inland, insular semi-colony, never a full-fledged colony; she was a semi-independent semi-feudal country and was simultaneously oppressed by several imperialist powers. The slow and repeated incursions of the Western powers, and later of Japan, into her rich coastal territory resulted not in unqualified submission but in repeated wars of resistance, each successive defeat causing her greater humiliation and deepening the anti-imperialist spirit among the Chinese people, even among the upper classes, barring the abjectly comprador sections. Eight decades of Chinese history from the first Opium War of 1839 to the May 4 Movement of 1919 bear witness to this pronounced anti-imperialist trend among the Chinese people.

The bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1911 staged under the leadership of Sun Yat-sen had only a partial and temporary success. It failed to consolidate itself. Severe factional opposition from the feudal warlords reinforced by the Western imperialist powers (who naturally wanted China to linger on in feudal backwardness) had the effect of reversing the course of the revolution

—a treacherous process of retrogression of which Chiang Kai-shek, once Sun Yat-sen's right-hand man, came to be the leader. This led the Chinese Communist Party, after the failure of its urban insurrectionary coups, to the task of building up the anti-feudal (and secondarily, anti-imperialist) agrarian revolutionary war which continued from 1928 to 1935. The invasion of China by imperialist Japan in 1931 and further massive Japanese invasion of the Chinese heartland in 1937 had the effect of turning the war between the (Western) imperialist-aided feudals and the Communist-led peasantry into a war of national liberation against chiefly one imperialist power.

It was at this stage of the Chinese Revolution that the second inter-imperialist world war broke out in 1939. Japan, although not immediately involved, had to make hectic preparations for joining this mortal struggle for a redivision of the world. Her grip on China was, consequently, partially loosened, allowing the Chinese patriots, particularly the forces under the Communist Party, to rally and start an effective counter-offensive. As Japan became increasingly involved in a massive offensive on the Western colonies in the Far East, her hold on China inevitably grew weaker, allowing the Chinese to slowly turn the tide against them. The Western imperialists watched with alarm the growing revolutionary tide in China; but they had first to fight Japan, their mortal enemy, and for that reason were even obliged to help China against Japan which at that time was the only imperialist power with a foothold on Chinese territory.

Thus, inter-imperialist clashes, by weakening each of the imperialist powers (and especially Japan in the present context) had loosened the imperialist stranglehold on China. The result was that, when Japan was finally beaten at the end of the war and Japanese presence in China was wiped out, there were no Western powers ready to leap into the vacancy created by the Japanese departure. They were all gasping for breath—with the lone exception of the USA which started trying to infiltrate into the old colonies from where the



old Western powers were being obliged to withdraw their direct rule. The USA was now most anxious to become the exclusive successor to the old imperialists in China. But the new nationalist forces rising in the colonies and the semi-colonies had rendered the old method of direct colonial occupation obsolete and impracticable. The British prevented a revolution in India by cunningly handing over power to the Nehru and Jinnah governments. The USA did its best to keep China under her economic and political control, by rendering all-out aid to the pro-feudal and pro-imperialist (especially pro-USA) Chiang Kai-shek Government in crushing the Chinese Revolution. But the inter-imperialist clashes resulting in the weakening of the imperialist forces had already helped the revolutionary forces led by the Communist Party to advance too far. They had also brought into too sharp a relief the difference between the truly patriotic Left revolutionaries and the cowardly, greedy and capitulationist Kuomintang reactionaries masquerading as patriots. So, when the second Chinese civil war began in 1946, the Communist-led united front had become so powerful intrinsically and the feudal-comprador Kuomintang had become so weak and corrupt that the Communists could absolutely crush them in a little over three years in spite of the most massive American aid to the latter. In fact, the array of forces had so drastically changed that the American military aid helped the Communists (who systematically snatched the war materials away) more than it did the Kuomintang.

Thus, again, war had brought revolution and was soon to do so again in French Indochina. All the imperialists were licking their wounds and even though the USA was still fresh, it did not dare interfere directly with the course of either the Chinese or the Viet Minh (anti-French) revolution amidst the universal imperialist decay, the widespread national revolutionary forces and the triumphant socialist might of the Soviet Union.

(To be concluded)

## Book Review

### STUDIES IN AGRARIAN SOCIAL STRUCTURE

By Andre Beteille.

Oxford University Press. Price Rs. 30

USING the Commerce Research Bureau as a source of information one finds that there were 179.3 million workers (about 33 per cent of the total population of 548 million) in India in 1971. Of this the organised sector in the cities employed only 10 per cent (17.5 million). The rest, 161.8 million, were in the unorganised sector, mainly as cultivators and agricultural labourers (77.5 per cent) in rural areas. Again, of the total 9.1 million unemployed workers in 1971, 8.2 million (or 99 per cent) were in the rural areas. Another 18 million workers in the rural areas were underemployed in 1971.

These bits of information, if not anything else, invariably lead to the logical inference that any venture to study Indian society and people that side-tracks India's rural society will have little meaning or will serve little purpose. Conversely, to undertake a serious investigation of rural society is of paramount importance, the angle of approach notwithstanding.

Professor Andre Beteille of Delhi University has made a serious effort to probe the patterns of inequality and conflict that exist in rural India. How horrifying the effect of this inequality is can be seen from the fact that while the per capita net national product (and consumption also) rose by six to eight per cent a year during 1960-1969, the rural population with an average monthly consumption expenditure of less than Rs. 15 (1960-61 prices) rose from about 38 per cent to 53 per cent (Sources: On the Incidence of Poverty in Rural India, P. K. Bardhan). Things have become worse.

In order not to indulge in subjective a-priorism Mr Beteille has laboured hard to gather materials from a concrete field study which forced him to stay in different rural belts for a fairly long time. But a major part of the book under review is preoccupied with theo-

retical discussion on the approach and methodology to be adopted for such a study. Naturally, the material derived from a painstaking field study has found much less space than it should have. Strictly speaking, only two chapters, Class Structure in an Agrarian Society and Agrarian Relations in Tanjore District, comprise the results of his direct investigation of the concrete situation in these. Prof Beteille has definitely brought some new material which stimulates further studies. Thus, in an endeavour to grasp the real connotation of the term jotedar and its difference from the term jamindar or latdar he dwells upon the subject at length gathering material from a rural setting in West Bengal. Again, using Tanjore District in Tamil Nadu as a practical field of investigation, he analyses agrarian relations mainly from the angle of the ownership, control and use of land. While doing so he gives much interesting information.

To study his main subject, inequality and conflict in the domain of agrarian relations Prof Beteille rightly prefers a class approach to a caste approach as is not done by many sociologists. And as he himself writes, "The study of inequality and social class is in the popular mind vaguely associated with Marxism". He, therefore, not only frequently refers to Marxism but also pretends to "have been greatly fascinated by the Marxist method of social inquiry", though not "equally fascinated by Marxist programmes of social change".

"For the orthodox Marxist", Prof Beteille writes, "there cannot be any separation between what others would call the 'methodology' and the 'ideology' of Marxism, for in his view the two are inseparable aspects of one indivisible whole. Since I do not seek to attach myself to any kind of orthodoxy—conservative or radical, Marxist or sociological—I give myself the liberty of separating the two, and using as the occasion demands, the Marxist method of analysis without paying too much attention to the ideological objectives of Marxism..."

Yes, one can enjoy as much liberty as he wants, to separate something of Marxism from the rest or to sunder one

aspect of it from the other but one should not have the liberty to make Marx say what he did not. So when a scholar like Prof Beteille informs us that "for Marx, property was the basic criterion by which the nature of class was defined...", one is prone to infer that his knowledge of Marxism is derived only from a secondary source like Ossowski's "Class structure in the social consciousness". Prof Andre Beteille, a scholar of international repute, should not have allowed himself to be carried away by this current of the day.

Had he studied a primary source he could have understood Marx in a different way. Let Marx himself project his postulation.

"...Population is an abstraction, if we leave out, e.g., the classes of which it consists. These classes, again, are but an empty word, unless we know what are the elements on which they are based. Such as wage labour, capital

etc. These imply in their turn, exchange, division of labour, prices, etc...."

("Critique of Political Economy")

Again, "Economic categories are only the social relations of production. Social relations are closely bound up with productive forces. Men change their mode of production; and in changing their mode of production, in changing the way of earning their living, they change all their social relations...."

("Poverty of Philosophy")

Further "...Finally, the last category in M. Proudhon's system is constituted by property. In the real world, on the other hand the division of labour and all M. Proudhon's other categories are social relations forming in the entirety what is known as property; outside these relations bourgeois property is nothing but a metaphysical or juristic illusion. The property of a different epoch, feudal property, develops in a series of, entirely different social relations. M. Proudhon, by establishing property as an independent relation, commits more than a mistake in method;...."

(Letter to P. V. Annenkov)

This criterion, 'relations of production' and not property in defining the nature of class is explicit even in Marx's "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" which Prof Beteille has referred to and that in the very paragraph from which he has gathered his reference matter. So one finds that Prof Beteille, though greatly 'fascinated by the Marxist method of social enquiry', could not really comprehend that method. Had he been able to do so he could have found it absurd to treat Marxism in mutilation and would not have fallen into the mire of subjectivism to avert which he had so painstakingly done a concrete field investigation. He would not have to write then as a helpless spectator of events: "It is impossible to give a general sociological answer to the question as to why human beings who live under conditions of extreme inequality at a certain time begin to find these conditions intolerable at another time".

Prof Beteille has touched upon every aspect of economic and political life of rural society. But it is queer that he has not brought that class to light which

is no less vital in controlling and governing the rural social structure and the problem of whose existence is inseparably connected with the problem of ownership, control and use of land. This class is the class of trader-money-lender.

A great loophole though it is, Prof Beteille's book is of much value on a different score and is a worthy addition to rural sociology.

A. Sen

## Two Artists

SANDIP SARKAR

NANDADULAL Kundu and Atul Talukder had their one-man shows at the Birla Academy in the middle of June. Both had their training in Calcutta and at present reside in Delhi. They have managed to pick up such mannerisms as pass off as art in the capital and have insulated themselves against life and are living in a puerile world of their imagination.

Of the two Kundu is not only older but certainly the more mature person. His monographs were pleasing but had nothing else to offer. It is possible that these natural abstractions in colour might attract those who have eyes but cannot see. However, Kundu seems to have enough skill and should find something more worthwhile than this child's play.

In Calcutta anyone can exhibit provided he has money to rent a hall. This often makes the life of an art critic terribly trying. Talukder's exhibition was really bad. His paintings did not have relevance. He belongs to that tribe of artists whose number is increasing day by day and who believe that their imagination can substitute experience and life.

Talukder generally takes a canvas and draws a square a little away from the natural borders of the canvas. He paints the area in between the canvas and the square in a single colour. The figures inside the square are painted with circles and squares and in a fashion

## বিপ্লবের গান

চিন চিং মাই

চীনের বিপ্লবী উপন্যাস "বিপ্লবের গান" আবার (তৃতীয় সংস্করণ) প্রকাশিত হচ্ছে জুলাইয়ের শেষ সপ্তাহে। দাম : ৮ টাকা। দ্বারা ৩১শে জুলাই '৭৪-এর মধ্যে ৬ টাকা পাঠিয়ে গ্রাহক তালিকাভুক্ত হবেন, তাঁরা ৬ টাকাতৈই বইটি পাবেন।

টাকা পাঠাবার সময়ে (১) মানিঅর্ডার কুশনে স্পষ্ট কোরে নাম ও ঠিকানা লিখতে হবে; (২) বইটি হাতে নেবেন, না ডাকযোগে নেবেন, তা জানাতে হবে।

কলকাতা ও বহরমপুরে হাতে হাতে বই পাওয়া যাবে—অন্যত্র ভি.পি.তে বই পাঠানো হবে, এবং ডাকখরচ ক্রেতাকেই বহন কোরতে হবে।

পিপলস বুক এজেন্সি

১, কুলদা রায় লেন \* পোঃ খাগড়া

মুর্শিদাবাদ জেলা



## FRONTIER

of bad cubistic imitation. He maintains symmetry all along and carefully uses his brush, fearful of taking any risk. He has painted sadhus and lovers and some of his canvases have the reproductive organs. He has even tried to depict coitus. What he lacks is aesthetic insight and experience of life.

### Clippings

## Revolt On Midway

In one of the biggest uprisings within the U.S. military since the Vietnam ceasefire 17 months ago, more than 100 crew members of the USS Midway refused to sail when the giant aircraft carrier left its home port at Yokosuka Naval Base (Japan) on June 14.

The men, about half of them black, left the carrier within a four-hour period and quickly went underground in various parts of the Tokyo area. The spontaneous rebellion was the latest and most dramatic example of mounting discontent among enlisted men over bad living conditions and constant harassment in the new image "peacetime Navy".

The walkout, talked up on board since April, was also an expression of doubts about the purpose of the U.S. Navy in Asia today. As one sailor told New Asia, "I won't serve on it any more. If they send me back, they'll be paying a man who won't work. In my opinion the Midway's over here for one thing: America's an aggressive nation, they always want to get ahead of other countries. It's just a Cold War".

The "new Navy", inaugurated with great fanfare in 1972 to overcome the seething discontent of the Vietnam era, is meeting its most severe test at Yokosuka. The basic promise: more privileges and pay and an end to racism and petty harassment of enlisted men. Recent events suggest that the programme is in a shambles.

The USN command of Yokosuka, shaken by the walkout, has tried to cover up the incident. It announced that 32 men went AWOL on June 14, and that half of these had turned themselves in by June 18. However, New Asia News

confirmed that 100 Midway crew members were still underground on June 20. (New Asia News, Tokyo)

### Prices

A rather dubious record was set by the Indian economy when the index of wholesale prices (1961-62: 100) crossed 300 points in the first week of June. This was nearly 28 per cent higher than a year ago, and 56 per cent higher than two years ago. Wholesale prices are currently going up at an annual rate of 36 per cent. Foodgrains are now 37 per cent more expensive at the wholesale level than about a year ago. Fuel, power, light and lubricants have, not surprisingly, gone up in price by 52 per cent in a year. Edible oil has touched the highest point of 398.2, which is 109 per cent higher than what it was at the end of May 1972. Prices of raw materials have almost doubled in the two years and other groups have also gone up in price, though not on this scale.

(Editorial, "Hindustan Times", Delhi)

### Letters

## Lalbazar

A report in "Satyajug" dated 26-6-1974 says that Mr Indrajit Gupta, CPI MP, has drawn the Prime Minister's attention to the "unutterable" or "vulgar" (akathhya) torture on women political prisoners inside Lalbazar (Calcutta Police headquarters).

Is this the first time that Mr Gupta has learnt that the police adopt third degree methods inside Lalbazar police lock-up? It is an open secret known to the magistrates, judges, lawyers and the lay public. It is no use having an impartial enquiry regarding this particular incident as suggested by Mr Gupta in his letter to Mrs Gandhi. No one will dare to depose against the police. Moreover, people have lost faith in these "impartial enquiries and commissions". They produce nothing except a report and such reports are seldom published.

Some time ago a news-item was published that two of the accused in the Hemanta Bose murder case were being tortured to force them to become approvers. Nobody drew the attention of the Prime Minister to that fact. As far as I know a complaint to that effect is still pending enquiry before the ACMM, Calcutta.

Can't Mr Gupta persuade his party to hold a mammoth meeting near the Shahid Minar to protest against the brutalities of the police?

K. S. GUPTA  
Calcutta

## Protest On Jail Conditions

The national plenary meeting of the international branches of the students' unions of the universities and technical universities of West Germany met in Heidelberg, West Germany, from June 14 to 16. A seven-page-report was submitted on the situation of political prisoners in India, the Parvathipuram Conspiracy Case and the hunger-strike in Indian jails. A resolution was passed, with a few abstentions (on the part of students from CPSU-lined 'DKP'), declaring 'solidarity' with political prisoners in India who ask for the end of torture, protest against the denial of medical treatment, the denial of visits, and ask for freedom of information, because they are denied any literature.

They ask also for the end of the arbitrary arrests on emergency rules (MISA, DIR), which have brought the number of political prisoners in India up to more than 20,000—not counting those arrested during the rail workers' strike.

For Frontier contact :

BANKURA NEWSPAPER

AGENCY,

Lokepur,

P.O. & Dist. Bankura.

## Opportunism

This has reference to a letter "Mathura Arrest" in your issue of June 8. "Frontier", financed by the CIA, and the mouthpiece of Naxalites (it is thus that "Frontier" is described by the CPM in Delhi) being resorted to for publishing the news of arrest of a CPM worker! This is the party that divides and confuses the people and opposition. Its collusion with the Establishment in the capital and its intrigues for jockeying for power and gains make a sordid record. Please be discriminating in future before wasting space on enemies and subversives, touts and turncoats. They hold the view that only fools are arrested and those confronting the Government are no heroes, but those begging for favours and amassing fortunes are the real revolutionaries.

BHARATI  
New Delhi

## Part I

The results of the Part-I examination of 1973 have come out after long nine months. The results are surprising. Certain questions arise:

The date for the Part-I B.A. and B.Sc. examinations of 1974 has not yet been announced. What happens to the prospective candidates for the 1974 examination? The last date for filing the application being over, the students lose a precious year for no fault of theirs.

This year only 20%—23% have passed. Has the general merit of the students of this year gone down or the standard of imparting lessons gone worse? Or, has there been any directive to withhold deserving marks to answers written by examinees?

The circumstances demand that the student community as a whole should come forward and protest against the evident mismanagement, nay mal-management. Should they act with determination and unity, they are invincible. What has been established in Gujarat the other day and is going to be in Bihar has proved that.

RC  
Jum Dum

# FRONTIER

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## Defend Prisoners

The Legal Aid Committee has been organised to defend all those who are being victimised for holding political beliefs dissimilar to those of the party in power. Our object is to defend such cases irrespective of the political ideology of the victims.

There are thousands of detenus and undertrial prisoners in West Bengal only. Innumerable cases have been pending since 1968-69. Despite reminders the police are reluctant to submit chargesheets and bail is being opposed stubbornly. If one is granted bail he is tagged to some other cases. Thus the prisoners are virtually denied any defence. The overwhelming majority of those who had to be released after the Supreme Court struck down Section 17A of the MISA, were immediately re-arrested.

There is great need to expand our work and the task before us is huge. We can hope to tackle it adequately only if greater co-operation is forthcoming from all democratically-

minded people not only in this State but in the whole of India.

We appeal to all democratic people :

To contribute generously to this Committee ;

To communicate to us all cases of political victimization in need of legal aid.

Cheques drawn in favour of Bina Banerjee may be sent to either of the addresses given below ; money orders, cash and communications to the office (2).

1. Bina Banerjee  
Account No. 10816  
United Bank of India,  
Sealdah Branch,  
28, Acharya Prafulla Chandra  
Roy Road,  
Calcutta-9.
2. Jayasree Rana  
Legal Aid Committee  
C/o. Mukul Ghose, Advocate  
9, Old Post Office Street  
First Floor,  
Calcutta-1.  
Visiting hours: 4-30 p.m. to  
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Regd WB/CC-90

Frontier

July 6, 1974

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[Faint, illegible text visible through the paper, likely bleed-through from the reverse side.]