

frontier

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SKELETONS IN THE GARDEN

MR Siddhartha Sankar Ray's city of gardens has been invaded by walking skeletons. Hungry people from nearby villages are pouring into the city in steady streams in search of food, doled out by charitable institutions or to be picked up from dustbins and garbage heaps. Those in faraway villages are making for the nearest towns in the hope that crumbs of charity, denied to the rural areas, will be available in the seats of the worthless administration. The misery of millions has provided the dispensers of mercy with a golden occasion for endlessly theorising on how to avoid starvation without any food. The acting Governor has returned from a tour of some distressed districts; that he does not see eye to eye with the Cabinet has been prominently reported in newspapers; how does it help the hungry ones is a question that should not be asked. Emissaries of New Delhi dignitaries are reported to have descended on the scene; the main point of their inquiry may not be the extent of the misery of the people but the possibility, if any, of an organised expression of disgust with an utterly incompetent and corrupt Government. For this, however, they need not have taken the trouble to travel to Calcutta; the Left parties are spoiling for an agitation late this month when it will be time for the new crop to appear on the market and bring a temporary respite. The Left parties do not have the heart to embarrass the benign Government.

The cake is taken by the Chief Minister, though, as usual. He has declared that he will not allow anyone in the State to die of starvation. Whether he will invoke the Defence of India Rules or the amended Maintenance of Internal Security Act to arrest starvation deaths is not clear; in times of emergency chief ministerial thoughts may naturally turn to emergency laws. At the moment, however, he seems to have decided to apply the well-worn bureaucratic remedy of declaring all starvation deaths as deaths due to malnutrition. Even the State Congress president has admitted that reports of starvation are being received at the party headquarters and if these reports are correct starvation deaths by now would add up to a neat thousand. The State secretary of the CPI(M) has mentioned the same figure—a coincidence that suggests that the figure is very near the truth. But by his magic statement the Chief Minister has brought back the dead thousand to life, a feat of which even the original Siddhartha (the Buddha) was incapable, for he could not raise a single dead, not to speak of a thousand. The Chief Minister's edict is quite simple: no one has died of starvation so far and everyone who will die in future after a prolonged spell

of starvation will die of malnutrition. This must have been the reasoning of Mr Swaran Singh too, when he said categorically in New York that there had not been one death in India because of famine.

Having solved the food problem so ingenuously for the current year, Mr Ray has turned his attention to the food policy for the coming year. The details of the policy are still to be worked out, but it has been decided that the procurement target for the coming year will be three hundred thousand tonnes of rice. By all counts, this is a very modest target and is apparently designed to assure the jotedar-cum-boarder-cum-profiteer in the villages that the Government has no intention to break their time-honoured racket. But cynics will remember that this year's target was five hundred thousand of which the Government was unable to procure even two hundred thousand. With the elections a year nearer, will the Government dare to procure even half of what it has fixed as its target and risk the non-cooperation of the rural rich who fill the ruling party's coffers with donations and ballot-boxes with votes? Not likely. The stage is being set for a grimmer situation next year. But Mr Ray does not care, for he has already taken advance precaution and decreed that no one will die of starvation in this State.

Eyes On Bihar

Part of the 'last phase' of the movement encouraged by Mr J. P. Narain in Bihar is due to end on Saturday, October 5, which means there is nothing we can report in this issue—we go to press on Wednesday. This part of the movement holds out prospects of a direct confrontation with the Centre also, as the organisers have asked for a three-day, total stoppage of railway trains, buses and other means of public transport. The Centre is very touchy about trains, though it knows or should know that Mr Narain would not like August 1942 to be repeated. He has advised against any violence and counselled people to squat on railway tracks in groups of hundreds, by turn.

Mr Narain himself will offer satyagraha in front of the Secretariat in Patna. The organisers of the movement, in which students are playing the leading part, have called for a stoppage of work in government offices till the Ministry goes and the Assembly is dissolved.

It is very difficult to guess how far Mr Narain has succeeded in his protracted agitation against corruption, high prices, maladministration, unemployment etc. Reports have been sketchy and subjective. Some sympathisers have pointed out that Mr Narain is much too fond of observing particular days as temporary focal points of the agitation—as the leftists are of general strikes—with the inevitable diminishing returns. Quite a number of youngsters have felt disheartened; and quite a few have gone into the countryside—which is a welcome development. The movement so far has been led by students. As Mr Narain told a Calcutta rally on Monday, the students are conscious elements, whereas the workers, so far as he can recollect, have never agitated for a cause other than their own immediate sectarian demands. Unless he has been misquoted, Mr Narain has a very short memory. He should have remembered the hundreds of workers who died in police and army firing in Bombay during the RIN Mutiny of 1946; of the innumerable occasions on which the workers went on general strike for political reasons, losing their wages. For the degeneration that has overcome vast segments of the working class, the leftist leaders who began to swear by Nehru and parliamentarism in the fifties and others by Bapuji are responsible.

However, let Mr Narain succeed. But can he, without the benighted workers and peasants? And, if and when they are aroused, will the tactics of Bapuji, who organised and sabotaged mass movements, come in handy? It may be that the Gujarat students succeeded, partially, because they had no Gandhite visionary to lead them. In this country violence, even anarchic, raw violence on a stubborn scale, moves the rulers, not Gandhian reasonableness. The Bihar Government has been jittery, arresting men like Vajpayee under the MISA. But what the Centre will do in face of Gandhian reasonableness should be interesting.

"No CIA Coup"

A correspondent writes:

Kissinger has assured Swaran Singh that there could not be any Chile-like CIA action in India. "What brazen impudence!", our outraged liberals will exclaim. It is nothing of the sort. It is plain-spokenness taken to its ultimate extreme; for the situation is past all concealment. There is no atrocity, no breach of faith that U.S. imperialism has not committed in recent years. Even so, this cool, callous statement from the ex-Harvard professor does give one a jolt. No effort even to put a verbal gloss on it. Once more the big leaf falls off and the naked ape coolly parades its ugly nakedness.

Coming down to the particularities of the matter one can read a lot of serious meaning in Kissinger's reassurance. Two basic facts are to be noted. One is that the Indian economy (public, private, mixed and all) has over the last six or seven years been passing gradually from imperialist American to imperialist Russian control within the increasing relegation of the American controlling influence to a secondary i.e., minor position. The second fact is that for all the "generous, liberal and socialist" deals with Russia and for all the nationalisation and public sector business, the Indian economy has been rapidly running down and is facing a major crisis—in fact the most major and dangerous of all crises, a food crisis. The result is that India has to turn again to the USA—and that on a massive scale—for capital to reduce the yawning gaps in her plan projects and for food to stave off mass starvation and a violent upheaval in the 27th year of her independence. That was what compelled Swaran Singh to go on his mission of begging and further surrender to President Ford.

The Kissinger assurance is meant to assure both Russia and India. The example of Chile is especially significant. Chile means copper which both the super-powers need for extending their giant electrical activities. Chile's quantitative transferepce from the ITT (International Telephones and Tele-

graph)-CIA grip to the control of the Allende regime, through which the Soviet Government sought to gain control over Chilean copper, was reversed by the CIA-ITT coup re-establishing U.S. hegemony.

The major control over India has shifted from the USA to the USSR and the USSR is certainly anxious to retain it and the present Indian ruling regime, though in a fix, has entered the Soviet trap too deeply to be able to effect even a partial withdrawal. But the formation of the ultra-rightist combine in the form of the Lok Dal, the J. P. Narain movement and other such signs on the horizon naturally make the Indira-Brezhnev set-up suspicious of U.S. intentions. That is why the USA, which is surely anxious to protect and promote its Indian interests and wishes to advance in that direction taking advantage of the present crisis, thinks it convenient to start with the flat assurance that it won't do anything to upset the rule of the Russian lobby, that its intention is, as ever, to trade on "equal terms" and of course to "help".

One knows what value to put on U.S. assurances. They are more often than not a cloak for deep designs. What it signifies is the relative failure of the Russians to supply the goods and the USA's opportune bid for deeper reinfiltration into the Indian scene. The deeper the clash of interests between the controlling forces, the sharper the division between India's ruling classes, and the consequent reduction of their ability to suppress the revolutionary aspirations of the people.

Under Two Umbrellas ?

While both Russia and America are eager to exploit the present economic situation in India for political leverage, Mrs Indira Gandhi is trying to use the extremely critical food situation in the country—which is her own creation—to boost her position politically and perpetuate herself in power.

This is clear from the series of talks she has initiated through her emissaries, with the USA on the one hand and the

USSR on the other and which she will conclude by having a final round with Dr Kissinger, expected in New Delhi shortly. Later, she will herself visit Soviet Russia. The all too visible strategy she is following through these negotiations is to drive home to the super-powers that she is the only one with whom they can do business. Her emissaries have gone to Moscow and Washington to sell the line that no alternative government is likely to emerge on the Indian scene for quite a few years.

Both Moscow and Washington are keen in their own interest to see that there is stability in South Asia of which India happens to be kingpin. They might try to bail out India of the famine

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that is around the corner, with limited food aid. They seem ready to stabilise Mrs Gandhi's regime in return for tacit assurances of good behaviour.

The entire strategy has been worked out and implemented in the last three or four months of strenuous effort during which Mrs Gandhi has paid little attention to the mounting charges of corruption against her, her son, a number of her Ministers and her nominated Chief Ministers in States.

It is not for Russian aid for industry and the Fifth Plan alone that Mrs Gandhi sent one after other, Mr Y. B. Chavan, Mr Devkanta Barooah, Mr D. P. Dhar and Mr Swaran Singh to Moscow to coax the Soviet leaders and is now proposing to go herself. The main point, it is reported, was to make them commit at least three million tonnes of wheat which Soviet Russia can easily afford. But the Soviet leaders are being rather circumspect; before making any further commitment, they would

like to have a firmer commitment from Mrs Gandhi herself that she would continue to rotate within the adventurous framework of Soviet foreign policy. As far as the United States is concerned, a similar assessment has been made by the U.S. Ambassador, Mr Moynihan.

The Angolan Agony

I. K. SHUKLA

THOUGH it sounds too cynical to assert that "Any study of Angolan problems must be an exercise in scepticism", as Rene Pelissier has averred, the chiaroscuro that Angola is, does make it a complex of problems not lending too easily to solution. Yet, certain formulations are in order, and plausible, in the larger framework of decolonisation in the offing in Portuguese Africa.

The formal transfer of power in the case of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique on September 10 this year and June 25 next year respectively has set in motion a wave of speculation with respect to Angola's date of deliverance. Are the factors favourable to an early transfer of power as they were in the cases of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique? Unfortunately, no.

Guinea-Bissau was practically four-fifths free and under the active control and administration of the liberation forces under the command of PAIGG. Over 80 countries had already accorded it recognition. September 10 only marked a legalistic regularisation of reality calculated to benefit Portugal more than Guinea-Bissau. Its liberation movement, Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde, was nearly monolithic and representative in character. Guinea-Bissau is a small country which made mass mobilisation and total struggle easier, in a way. Despite furious reprisals by the Policia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado (PIDE), Guinea-Bissau could not be confused and divided the way Angola has been. PAIGG paid the supreme price for its tenacity when the PIDE had hired assassins mur-

der Amilcar Cabral a year ago. But this year did not break the liberation movement. If anything, it betrayed the Portuguese despair. Guinea-Bissau is their oldest possession in Africa, and the first to be free.

Likewise, despite splinter organisations like FROLIZI, Mozambique (had in FRELIMO (Front for the Liberation of Mozambique) its most representative and militantly consolidated freedom movement. Again, relatively smaller than Angola, it achieved unity and fighting cohesion sooner, and invited similar terror from the Portuguese who felt piqued at its audacity and their helplessness. The imperialist pattern of response, well known in such situations, repeated itself in the assassination of FRELIMO President, Eduardo Mondlane, in 1969. With this awesome price paid, a small country and monolithic liberation movement have bent the Portuguese to their will. The mass grave of 68 people near Beira, discovered recently, demonstrates the fact of grim sacrifices by the Mozambicans and eating of crow by the Portuguese.

Angola, by contrast, is a far bigger country, a more "developed" colony, more educated relatively, with a far bigger settler population and assimilated component, with an incredible variety and volume of mineral and other resources, the largest urban and semi-urban population, and bitter experience of intensive exploitation. Naturally therefore, the anti-colonial movement developed faster in Angola. But Angolan divisions are numerous—educated/uneducated, urban/rural, indigenes/assimilados, whites/mesticos, rich/poor, skilled/unskilled (workers) etc., besides ethnic, religious, linguistic, cultural and tribal ones. This makes uni-

fied resistance difficult, popular involvement a distant ideal. These divisions have been in part the gift of the Portuguese, and in part native to the soil. But these have proved a god-send to them, and extremely parlous to the cause of Angolan freedom.

Its political dimension may be elaborated just by way of illustrating how painful and prolonged the process of transfer of power in the case of Angola will be. One has only to recall the events in Congo and ramifications of neo-colonial conspiracy and medieval terror unleashed then. Something similar in design, but larger in scale, can well be anticipated in the case of Angola to realise that the birth pangs of its freedom are going to be over none too soon, and that its trail will be not exactly one of unmixed glory. It will be the last to be free, and, quality-wise, perhaps, the least. The Indian parallel too should be borne in mind.

Even though like PAIGC and FRELIMO respectively in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertacao de Angola) is the most representative and one of the first of its size and significance to bear the brunt of the Portuguese terror, having been set up in 1956, Angola has at least a hundred political parties and movements of whom 87 have been listed by Wheeler in his book on Angola (Pelissier is the joint author). It is interesting to see among them eight Associations, seven Fronts, six Leagues, eleven Movements, eleven Parties, and twelve Unions besides Alliances and Juntas.

This miscellany of parties will prove the first hurdle in any early settlement of the Angolan question. Then, pro-American and pro-left parties too are not coherently on the two sides of the divide. That America has been grooming someone for a role when the crunch comes is clear from the example of Roberto Holden who heads GRAE (Gouvernement Revolutionnaire de l'Angola en Exil), and functions, in style, from Leopoldville (Kinshasa). He has never seen the liberation war inside Angola, was educated abroad, has always had ample supply of money from sources known and unknown. His relatives live in Europe in unaccounted affluence and luxury. His own posh

living is the envy and despair of many princes and Presidents. His main supporters are the Bakongo people; MPLA has had a national and democratic character against GRAE's parochial and regional bias. This movement has deleteriously affected the freedom fighters of MPLA, and is going to provide divisive when the settlement talks start.

Travels A Bit Too Much

It would be interesting to hear, by way of warning, an eminent Pan-African leader, Ras Makonnen, Guyanan by birth and Kenyan by citizenship, on Roberto Holden, who, he says, "travelled around a bit too much, like going to Congo and then up to Algeria, and then settling in Ghana again... seemed trying to be loyal to too many masters. I felt Holden should be arrested. I had picked up some unfavourable information about him which I had begun to piece together; Roberto was not staying at the African Affairs Centre in Ghana, but at a colleague's house with one of the girl-friends that Barden had planted on him. Now this girl's brother was a good friend of mine and had begun to feed back to me what was happening. Apparently, Barden was helping himself to a lot of money that was meant to go to Roberto; also from my friends in the post office I had learnt that Holden had a number of millionaire American friends (I had these letters photographed). Geoffrey Bing on the legal side of the things, had also mentioned to me that Holden had an Algerian passport. I wondered therefore what kind of loyalties this man might have. They would certainly not be confined to Ghana, if he was concurrently doing business with both America and North Africa. In fact by the time Holden left Ghana for good, all this had led Welbeck and me to agree that he should be arrested because we didn't know whose revolution he was backing. His activities were contrary to our pan-African ideals." (Pan-Africanism From Within, Oxford University Press, 1973). This excerpt would show Holden's allegiances to be doubtful, his activities suspect. It will not be very long now to find out whose revolution he has been backing. Angola will be lucky if he does not turn out

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to be Chile's Pinochet or Congo's Tshombe.

Then, the recent bloodshed in Lourenco Marques, the capital of Mozambique, by the whites is a symbolic evidence of the savage arrogance and gross inability of the settlers to reconcile to the reality, if not justice. It is this that will make their acceptance by and adjustment to the new society in a free Mozambique difficult. A Unilateral Declaration of Independence, a la Rhodesia's Ian Smith, could be only a one-time wonder that clicked. UDI in Portuguese Africa may be a prospect, but it will not be feasible even if, like the U.K., Portugal tacitly wished for it.

Another snag is that General Spínola (of 'bullets and smiles' fame) and his right-wing coterie in Lisbon are not reconciled to the loss of an empire where the poor and backward Portuguese strutted in imperial masks. Who knows, the uncertainties and divisions in Angola might compel the leftists in the Lisbon Cabinet to defer hastening its liberation. If the rightists assume ascendancy by some quirk of chance soon, they may, with the aid of Southern African whites, succeed in controlling Angola for as long as possible. In any reckoning, the Angolans will have to pay a heavy price in men before they can break free from the stranglehold of Portuguese colonialism. The Portuguese may set the Ovimbundu tribe against the northern and eastern peoples. They may arm the settlers as a parting kick.

Foreign Investments

The limited investment capacity of the Portuguese "led them to accept in Angola Belgian, British, American, German, French, Japanese, Scandinavian and South African capital participation in mining development which will play an

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essential part in the coming years... Angola is probably the African country south of Sahara with the brightest prospect of economic development (apart from South Africa). This is known in Luanda, in Lisbon, in New York, in Moscow, and possibly, in Peking". Precisely this, alas, may prove its misfortune—with so many interests of cartels and colonialists converging and clashing there.

Also, the Portuguese succeeded in 'lucitanifying' rapidly a good number of Angolans who very rigidly accepted the coloniser's civilisation, so much so that many Africans today speak no tribal language any more. The weakness of the nationalist movement, and these intermediaries—the indigenous beneficiaries of Portuguese patronage—may, in diverse ways, retard the freedom of Angola. The South African counter-revolutionary imperialism against Angolan emergence into sovereign freedom is a threat likely to complicate matters. It is no wild conjecture, given South Africa's record of defiance of world opinion. The massive oil and iron reserves, recently discovered, will bring the multinationals on to the foreground—in the wings at present.

Will Angola have to settle for less than total freedom for the nonce? Will there be gradual devolution of authority to African hands as in Mozambique? Will Angola be partitioned into the western and eastern zones, the former rich in mines, for the whites, the latter, poor and landlocked, for the Africans? Will it not be deliberate re-enactment of Vietnam? Angola, "the black mother of the New World", hangs by the dangerous thread of suspense amidst this host of ravening portents lashing at it.

As an indication of what is ahead, perhaps, Dr Agostinho Neto, the greatest living poet of Angola and President of MPLA, left Angola for Tanzania nearly a month ago. Many are asking in wonder, to escape assassination? To quote a line of his own poem, in Angola 'the earth is hot and the horizon afire'. One guess would be as valid as another as to whom it is going to consume, and when it is going to be quenched. Angolans have a long time ahead of suspense and sabotage.

African Diary

NARENDRA SINGH

SEPTEMBER 10 saw Guinea-Bissau become an independent country. Mozambique is assured independence; only in Angola uncertainty reigns.

For Guinea-Bissau an agreement was signed on August 26 in Algiers between Portugal and PAIGC. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau was formally recognised as an independent State on September 10 by Portugal. In the current U.N. General Assembly the new republic has been admitted as a fully accredited member. All Portuguese forces are to withdraw by 31 October. Under the agreement, Cape Verde Islands (400 miles off the West African coast) would not immediately form part of the new State of Guinea-Bissau and Portugal would hold a referendum on the islands "in accordance with relevant resolutions of the United Nations". However, both Portugal and the PAIGC agreed that the end of Portuguese rule on the Cape Verde Islands "constitutes a necessary element of durable peace and sincere cooperation" between the two nations (Portugal and Guinea-Bissau). Thus ended four centuries of Portuguese rule in the West African State, after a concerted armed liberation struggle by the freedom fighters for more than 11 years. During the independence struggle, PAIGC developed very good system of medical care, education and commerce, and the people in liberated zones lived in a world different from that of their neighbours under Portuguese domination. PAIGC's new challenge is to knit the two parts of Guinea-Bissau back together.

For Mozambique, an agreement was signed on 7 September in Lusaka between Portugal and FRELIMO. This provided for an immediate cease-fire, independence of Mozambique on 25 June next year, and immediate installation of a joint Portuguese-FRELIMO Commission to maintain order until then. FRELIMO guns were silent on 8 September after a bloody 10-year armed liberation struggle. But the agreement threw the Portuguese ex-service-

men and militant civilians into a frenzied coup attempt. On the night of 7/8 September groups of whites occupied Mozambique's main radio station in the capital of Lourenco Marques, and also broke into the central prison to free some 200 secret policemen of the infamous DGS (Colonial secret police). An appeal was broadcast to the people to refuse to live under FRELIMO and to make a bid for independence. White rebels claimed support of armed forces and police with overall control over the territory. FRELIMO ordered its supporters not to attack the white rebels. The Portuguese Government and armed forces in Lisbon described the group involved as a reactionary minority making false and fantastic claims, and stated that the local authorities in Mozambique were trying to ease the situation without recourse to violence. In the end, the uprising proved abortive and the first rebellion of the Portuguese whites fizzled out. On 10 September Portuguese troops dislodged the rebels from the radio station and the airport. A spokesman of the white rebels confessed that the movement had been "temporarily disbanded". Now the whites are reported to be trying to escape to South Africa. But reports also abound that sympathisers and mercenaries from Rhodesia and South Africa have crossed over into Mozambique and are gathering at places for further action. The purpose of the rebellion was also to create some sort of anarchy to provoke intervention by South Africa, which has been sitting on the fence.

Angola

Angola continues to be in a state of uncertainty. Talks to unite the three nationalist guerilla movements, MPLA, FNLA and UNITA, are reported to have broken down. Resolution of the leadership crisis within the biggest group, MPLA, appears to be far from successful, with the two-week congress in Lusaka already over at the end of August. The smallest, UNITA is alleged to be indulging in divisive tactics and making efforts for a compromise with the colonial authorities. The divisions in the Angolan nationalist movement as a whole have so far meant a failure

to force the Portuguese into talks of any sort. There is also the fact that the territory happens to be the richest in resources for exploitation by the colonialists and neo-colonialists.

For the rapid pace of development of negotiations in Mozambique an understanding of the events during the last few months is relevant.

In June 400 Frelimo operations were reported. The Frelimo President claimed a new front in the strategically vital district of Zambezia. Also claims were made of capture of large quantities of arms and other material from the Portuguese forces and defection of 2000 local people trained and armed by the Portuguese. (Star Weekly, S.A., 13 July). In the rich Zambezia agricultural district, white farmers are reported to have pleaded their cause with FRELIMO forces who were mounting a major offensive in the area. They were assured that they had nothing to fear from the nationalist action. (Daily Telegraph, Br., 25 July). On 15 July, guerillas blew up a section of the Tete railway line, the third major sabotage on the line in three weeks, bringing the traffic to standstill less than 24 hours after the line was reopened following a series of explosions on 11 September. (Guardian, Br., 16 July). FRELIMO forces captured the border town of Morrumbala, close to Malawi and north of the Zambezi river, after pouring automatic and mortar fire into the town centre in a siege of three days. It was the first time that FRELIMO had succeeded in occupying a town. Portuguese paratroops were rushed in an attempt to retake the town. Its fleeing inhabitants were picked up and evacuated. Meanwhile other FRELIMO units launched attacks on other targets, throwing the north of Tete and Zambezia into turmoil. The attacks coincided with widespread and growing political and labour unrest in Mozambique. While Portuguese paratroops flew towards Morrumbala near Malawi to counter FRELIMO attacks, the guerillas struck hundreds of kilometers south in the Gorongosa game reserve. Crack black Mozambique troops were reported to have abandoned their posts in Chire district near the Malawi border, and joined FRELIMO. (Star Weekly, S.A.,

20 July). FRELIMO blew up part of Rhodesia's most important link with Mozambique, the Umtali to Beira rail-line, which had been reopened only a week ago after a similar attack on July 16. Meanwhile, there was still no traffic on another FRELIMO-hit line, linking Beira with the Caborra Bassa dam site.

White insurgent forces were also reported to be organising themselves, in reaction to the growing successes of the liberation movement and the resultant mood of the Portuguese for negotiations with FRELIMO. A Portuguese military communique on 13 July confirmed sighting right-wing insurgent forces in the Vila Pery area, about 80 kms from the Rhodesian border. They might be linked to a movement instigated by a prominent Mozambique businessman (Jorge Jardim), who had an arrest warrant against him and was hiding in Malawi. Jorge Jardim was reported to have arrived from Malawi in the South African capital, allegedly to raise an armed force to liberate Mozambique. (Star Weekly, S.A., 20 July). An immensely rich group of swashbuckling whites, claiming powerful allies close to General Spinoza, was feverishly planning to replace the government in Lourenco Marques with 'strong men' and wage a 'last chance all-out war against FRELIMO'. The group called itself Convergencia Democratica Mozambique (CDM) and its organisers were bank officials, engineers and lawyers and top people in large companies. Colonel 'Mad Mike' Hoare—the British soldier who led the white mercenaries in the Congo in the 1960s—was reported to have arrived secretly in Malawi to help raise a white-officered black army to take over the role of the Portuguese army in fighting FRELIMO. Portugal broke diplomatic relations with Malawi after protesting that it was giving protection to Jorge Jardim and alleging that it was encouraging 'terrorist activity' of the white rebels of Mozambique. (Daily News, Tanzania, 9 August).

ANGOLA: The capital Luanda saw the worst racial riots in mid-July. A military communique of 21 July in Luanda said more than 43 people had been killed in 6 days of violence in Angola, while MPLA claimed on 20

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July that at least 100 died and 200 were seriously injured following the murder of a white taxi driver. The racial riots originated with the discovery of a white taxi-driver dead in the back of his car, obviously killed by a pistol shot, in the coloured district. Three hundred whites after demonstrating in front of the palace of the Governor-General, started the massacre in the black Cazenga district on the following night. Earlier two delegations, one of blacks, the other mixed, had requested protection against imminent retaliation from white taxi drivers, but to no avail. After the slaughter night, on 12 July, a black demonstration set out for the Governor-General's palace, but could not proceed because of police and army resistance. From 12 July onwards, arrests began, all among the coloured. Following nights, slaughter by whites continued and raids by blacks on white shops in their neighbourhood. MPLA asked its supporters not to be provoked. On 13 July pamphlets were distributed in the capital, calling for a general strike. This call was supported by white movements also. But on 15 July, the strike day, the trouble again started with the white soldiers and Air Force police shooting into a crowd of thousands of black demonstrators. Officially twelve, but eyewitness accounts reported thirty killed. Local authority puts all blame on the coloured population, instigated by MPLA and FNLA. Portugal set up an enquiry committee. On 17 July, the Governor-General issued a proclamation prohibiting Luanda citizens from carrying arms, and took further measures to meet the situation. Lisbon sent 500 extra troops to Luanda to maintain the calm prevailing after the racial clashes. Various press reports revealed the continuing activity of the Portuguese secret police.

DGS, in Angola, in spite of orders from the metropolis for its disbanding. Responsibility for the attacks by white extremists was being placed on a movement called United Resistance of Angola (RUA), accredited with killing some 3000 Africans in 1961. Since then it has been dormant, but it is now being revived and receiving arms from South Africa through one of Angola's main companies, owned by a wealthy right-wing Portuguese family. (Observer, Br., 11 August).

Common Front

Leaders of MPLA and FNLA reaffirmed their determination to pursue common action during this particularly decisive phase of their liberation struggle. It was decided to set up a common front organisation to negotiate with the Portuguese authorities the accession to independence of Angola. This was the outcome of a meeting held on 27 and 28 July in Bukavu in the presence of the heads of State of Tanzania, Zambia, Congo and Zaire, and the OAU Secretary-General. FNLA has rejected the constitutional blueprint of the Angolan Junta President, insofar as it was a blatant contradiction of the spirit and letter of the Angolan people's right to self-determination. The colonial authorities were warned against manoeuvres at this decisive hour, without the participation of the true representatives of the Angolan people (the liberation movements), which might strike a blow at the climate of understanding required to build a new Angola. (Radio Clube Portugues, Lisbon, Commercial, 30 July). MPLA called upon the "Angolan soldiers in the colonial army" to play a fundamental role in the current phase of struggle. They were asked to demand immediate withdrawal to Portugal of all PSP (ordinary public security police) members serving in Angola and their replacement by Angolan military. PSP officers are known to be the main source of arms supplies to the settlers. The Angolan military had to keep watch on the movements of certain high-ranking officers who support UNITA and bring pressure on the Portuguese government for its presence at the negotiation table. The President of

UNITA, the smallest of the three nationalist guerilla movements, is now being hailed as a future president of Angola by many of the territory's 450,000 whites. UNITA is reported to have the tacit backing of Angola's ruling junta and several large commercial concerns with interests in the territory. Having accepted that Angola will have a Black Government, the whites were making clear by demonstrations and other actions that their support would be for the non-communist and pro-white approach of UNITA. (Daily Telegraph, Br., 22 August).

Namibia

Evidently, the African liberation struggles in this part of Africa are gaining strength. The chairman of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) has crossed into Angola. He is the most important of the political dissidents, having illegally left Ovambo. (Star Weekly, S.A., 6 July). An independent Angola will provide SWAPO guerillas with an extensive and strategic area from which to operate. Already SWAPO has expanded its offensive by using routes passing through the liberated areas in Angola. MPLA has announced that "an independent Angola would assist SWAPO's armed insurgents and would come to the aid of its African brothers struggling in Namibia". The effect of these possibilities will be withdrawal of South Africa's forces now fighting in Rhodesia in parts vulnerable to guerilla attacks. MPLA has also given assurance of independent Angola's total and unconditional support to guerillas attacking Rhodesia and South Africa. It would provide bases for them in Angola and use sanctions and other means. **Guardian Weekly**, 3 August, confirms the reports that more than 100 Africans were murdered on 19 September last year in the Caprivi Strip of Namibia, during anti-guerilla reprisals by South African paramilitary forces. Two Swedish Television men have found and filmed ruined huts, spent grenades, charred skeletons, and other debris.

SOUTH AFRICA: A South African army officer was killed in a skirmish

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OCTOBER 5, 1974

Mideast War In Retrospect—II

WILFRD BURCHETT

with guerillas on the country's northern borders. The skirmish took place when a group of terrorists wanted to cross the border. Possibly the engagement was in the Caprivi strip of Namibia. The presence of the South African army in this area was a closely guarded secret until a few weeks ago. (Times, Br., 1 July). South Africa is making an all-out drive to become a nuclear power, and France is expected to offer the necessary technical equipment. In turn, France is interested in getting uranium from there, possibly in enriched form, and could itself export French technology for uranium enrichment to South Africa. (Zambia Daily Mail, 3 July). South Africa was giving more than a hint of disengagement from supporting Rhodesia against freedom fighters' attacks. Hitherto soldiers were seconded to the border and to Rhodesia for anti-terrorist action and to help the colonialists. This system is being scrapped, instead a special volunteer unit is being raised. (Zambia Daily Mail, 5 August).

প্রকাশিত হয়েছে

সৈন্য / কবিতাপত্র

লিপিকার / সরোজ দত্ত (অপ্রকাশিত)

লু-লুন / বীরেন্দ্র চট্টোপাধ্যায় প্রমুখ

তেইশ জন কবি / সর্বত্র পাওয়া যাবে

ধাম—১

২৬, পটলডাঙা স্ট্রিট, কলি-২

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Looking at the October Mideast war through the optic of the Vietnamese experience, major differences in political and military strategies are apparent.

Militarily, Egypt and Syria decided to fight the war on the adversary's terms, something the Vietnamese always avoided. It was planes against planes, tanks against tanks, artillery against artillery, armies and divisions against armies and divisions.

In terms of weaponry this meant fighting it out with weapons developed by the United States and the Soviet Union for the types of war each envisaged it might have to fight—not necessarily the sort of war that the Arab States and Israel were to fight—and for the military strategies each expected to adopt. This places the Arab States at a disadvantage.

In terms of technique it meant pitting Arabs with little experience in modern technique against adversaries far more able to master the use of modern weapons, because of longer training and greater experience. That Egyptian and Syrian soldiers did as well as they did was proof of their great courage and high morale.

In Cairo I was told that the following explanation, at a high official level, was given to students and intellectuals protesting that Egypt had not done better in the October war.

"Our country is still 72 per cent illiterate. Over 60 per cent of our manpower suffer from trachoma, the same proportion from schistosomiasis. Our average income is \$150 per head, a quarter of which goes for defence. The average gross income per person in Israel is \$1800 which leaves over \$1500 after defence costs are paid. Israel has a high educational level, a high technical level, higher living standards and no endemic diseases. It has unlimited military and financial support from the United States, South Africa and other wealthy States."

In South Vietnam when the resistance struggle started, the situation as far as education and public health was con-

cerned was not much better. But completely illiterate peasants and tribespeople soon showed themselves masters of an infinite variety of tactics and weapons of people's war, which they used against an enemy infinitely superior in everything that money could buy—including education and good health. And the struggle to wipe out illiteracy and disease went on in parallel with the armed struggle of the people.

On the question of the disadvantages of the weaponry which the Arab States had at their disposal, there is an interesting analysis by Riad Ashkar of the Institute for Palestinian Studies in Kuwait, in the quarterly review "Palestinian Studies":

"One common complaint during this period (the October war) was to the effect that the Russians were only supplying the Arabs with 'defensive' weaponry, while the Americans equipped Israel with 'offensive' weapons. In one sense this is an oversimplification...

"What the Egyptians might have claimed with justification was that the Soviet fighters they were receiving had very short range compared to the main fighters the Israelis possessed. The combat radius of a MIG-21 fighter at low altitude is a mere 100-150 kilometers, less than one-third of the combat radius of Israel's Mirage fighter at the same operational altitude. The MIG-21 was designed as a point-defence interceptor, to intercept NATO bombers... Thus the MIG-21 was designed to be very light, with minimum range, but good manoeuvrability, and any other mission was thought to be secondary.

"The Sukhoi SU-7, another key airplane, was designed as a close support fighter-bomber, to operate in the battle field area, under the command of land forces... Thus the SU-7 had excellent manoeuvrability and rough field capabilities but a short range and low ordinance-carrying capability...

"On the other hand, European and American strategy, as reflected in Israeli military planning and equipment, relies

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upon deep penetration, accurate fire and high mobility...."

Riad Ashkar also deals with the difference in the types of tanks and artillery — self propelled as far as Israel was concerned, towed behind trucks as far as Egypt and Syria were concerned. The inescapable conclusion was, especially as far as Egypt was concerned, that she was conducting an offensive into the Sinai peninsula with essentially defensive weapons.

Sam Missiles

The excellent performance of the family of SAM missiles does not change the picture because they were a defensive arm against Israeli air attacks.

Here again, there was a difference in the handling of SAM batteries, as compared to the Vietnamese experience. The Vietnamese astonished the Soviet military attaches in Hanoi, by making their SAM-2 missiles mobile, changing their positions frequently between the time of U.S. air reconnaissance and air attacks. A major blow was dealt to Egyptian defence of its ground forces after the Israeli army crossed to the West Bank of Suez Canal and destroyed a whole system of missile bases set in fixed positions.

Egyptians with whom I have discussed the wisdom of fighting the enemy on his own terms argued that the desert, as distinct from the jungle, imposed classical warfare. Vietnamese friends to whom I advanced this argument said: "Of course geography and terrain are important but what is decisive is man and not technique. For a developing country to put itself in a position where technique is decisive, is to be at a disadvantage. People's war has shown that man can always be superior to the weaponry used against him".

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OCTOBER 5, 1974

Egyptian commandos had proved this in dealing with the fearsome obstacles in crossing the Suez Canal but from then on the Egyptian Army was at the mercy of which side could put most technology on the battlefields fastest.

The weaponry at Egypt's disposal, however, more or less coincided with President Sadat's limited aims of "heating up" the situation. As Riad Ashkar expressed it: "The main objective of the war was political — to break the deadlock that prevented the implementation of (UN) Security Council Resolution 242. Secondary objectives were reopening of the Suez Canal and the destruction of the Sinai oil fields in order to deprive Israel of their exploitation...

"The Syrian plan, meanwhile, was to liberate the Golan Heights (or, at least, a major part of it) and continue fighting until a de facto cease-fire prevailed, probably without a commitment to a 'peaceful settlement'. However, the plan was flexible and included plans for withdrawal to initial positions in the case of a strong Israeli counter-offensive whereupon the Syrians would engage in a long war of attrition..."

That there were no agreed political aims, or plans to achieve those aims, is of course something which distinguishes the Arab struggle sharply from that in Vietnam. "If the solidarity expressed at one stage in the struggle could have been transformed into unity, then we would have been totally victorious" was how one of the Palestinian leaders expressed it.

The fact that the Egyptian political aim could be expressed in the vague phrase of "heating up" the situation found its military expression in vague aims as to what objectives were to be attained. In a game, it is alright for some one to blow a whistle and signal for the players to stop and remain in their positions. In war, it is a deadly serious business.

"On October 14, the ninth day of the war", continues the Riad Ashkar analysis, "Egyptian forces, in what appears to have been a move to decrease the enemy pressure on the Syrian front moved towards the Mitla and Giddi passes but were repulsed by the Israelis during a very fierce

and closely fought battle...." It was just behind these passes together with that of Khatima to the northwest of Giddi that the main Israeli counter-attack forces were stationed. But the Egyptian forces "were satisfied with what they had achieved and took a defensive attitude".

If they had displayed the same energy as the Syrian forces in the Golan Heights, there seems little doubt that the Mitla and Giddi passes could have been taken and the Israeli infiltration to the West Bank of Suez Canal with the encirclement of a large part of the Egyptian Third Army would never have taken place.

The cease-fire accepted by Egypt was embarrassing to Syria not only as the expression of the absence of unity on political aims but also because it was accepted at the moment when Syria had prepared to launch a counter-offensive to the Kuneitra bulge between the Golan Heights and Damascus.

By October 23, the Israeli forces were surrounded on three sides by powerful Syrian forces. Moshe Dayan had failed to make good his boast to Israeli newspaper editors on the fourth day of the war, that by concentrating his heaviest blows on Syria, he would either force Syria to "ask for a cease-fire" or bring Syria "to a situation where it will, in fact, cease firing".

On the contrary, Syria vigorously resisted Egypt's acceptance of the cease-fire.

While Egypt was interested primarily in getting Israeli troops far enough away from the Suez Canal to get it functioning again and making Egypt safe for foreign investors, Syria was interested not only in getting rid of the last Israeli soldier from Syrian soil but also a final and permanent solution of the Palestinian problem.

(Part I, misprinted on p. I as Part II. appeared on August 10.)

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Clippings

Korea : The Nuclear Race

FRANK LANICH

SEOUL—"Nuclear proliferation is the name of the game and all can play." With this attitude, and with lots of help from Canadians and Japanese, the Pak Chung Hee regime has stepped up its race to go nuclear. Immediately on the heels of India's nuclear explosion, the South Korean Government-run Korea Electric Co. (KECO) announced that it was purchasing the first of two Canadian-made Candu reactors—the same kind of reactor which produced the plutonium-239 for the Indian blast. The reactors will cost \$300 million each, an unreachable sum for the ROK Government, with billion-dollar-a-year trade deficits. Due to international goodwill toward his dictatorship, though, President Pak isn't worried about paying for either one. In fact, his Government did not even seek competitive bids for its nuclear reactors. The first Candu is being financed by funds put up by the Canadian Government through its Export Development Corporation (EDC). The second will be financed through

KECO debentures to be underwritten in Japan by Yamaichi Securities and sold to the Mitsubishi group.

Given the tense situation on the Korean peninsula and India's use of its Candu reactor, the import of such international cooperation is clear. What then are Canadian and Japanese motivations? The prime Canadian consideration appears to be simply economic: it was willing to take a loss on the first Candu sale in order (1) to beat out competing U.S. nuclear reactor companies and (2) to open the door for future sales of Canadian uranium to South Korea.

The Japanese interest is more devious and potentially more significant. Osanai Hiroshi, a Japanese military expert, claims that Japan's true intentions are to use South Korean ability to develop nuclear weapons as an excuse for Japan to do the same. "South Korea is acting as Japan's dummy in obtaining weapons", says Osanai.

Thus Japan has promised to cooperate with ROK nuclear development programme. Moriyama Kinji, director of the Japanese Government's Science and Technology Agency, conveyed the promise to Seoul in May and in return was decorated by the Korean Government in special ceremonies.

South Korea's first nuclear power station is being built by Westinghouse. It is a 595-megawatt station located near Pusan and scheduled for completion next year. The 600-megawatt Candu reactors are the second and most crucial stage in South Korea's plans to have nine nuclear power plants by 1986. The South Korean Government insists that it has speeded up its nuclear plans "purely for peaceful purposes" because of the increased costs of oil.

But suspicions linger here and elsewhere about the purposes to which nuclear energy might be put in the future. Koreans fear that, after U.S. troops finally pull out of the south, Pak might feel free to develop and possibly use nuclear weapons to shore up his eroded power base. Apparently this fear is shared among some Canadians who have vehemently protested their government's support for the Candu sales. To date, however, there have been no protests in Japan about the Japanese connection.

(New Asia News)

Canvas Artists' Circle

SANDIP SARKAR

THE annual exhibition of paintings, sculptures, drawings and graphics of the Canvas Group, on view at the Birla Academy from September 17 to 22, showed a marked improvement in display and execution. However, this younger group of artists have not yet measured up to their full stature. They have ploughed, sown but had not harrowed and weeded their field. So there was much that was irrelevant. Sculpture was the strong point of the group while painting seemed the weakest.

Artists in Calcutta are now not only returning to the figurative style, the trend is also vigorously thematic. The question is: how to treat a theme not only competently but in depth? Here the painters seem to have not arisen to their task, although one can hardly miss their sincere efforts. Aloke Bhattacharya seems to have skill of sorts but lacks the ability to take risks. He has been, for quite some time now, dividing the canvas into square areas on which he displays a male or female body enlarged in some square areas, and minimises in others, for some kind of effect. His technique of fragmentation does not go with his realistic style. He has not been able to break through and his technique becomes a gimmick. Moreover, it is childish for Bhattacharya to attempt what great masters have done long ago.

These days younger artists are afraid to use the brush with any sweep or flourish. They hate to give their canvas an unfinished look. They are neat in their brushwork. Everything is sweet and sugarcoated. They seem to be running away from the sordid world around them and may be aiming at rich air-conditioned houses for their paintings. Especially Vishnu Das seems to have deliberately tried to do this in his tempera. Balai Karmakar has tried to be graceful, but his whole composition reeks of commercialism. His 'Windows' has bright colourful areas with a floating nude or two but even here his drawing is very weak. Parimal Dutta Ray has missed the boat. His 'Frozen

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সম্প্রতি প্রকাশিত

চীনের বিপ্লবী যুদ্ধের বর্ণনামূলক সমগ্র

মাও সেতুঙ — ২-৫০

(গণ চীনে প্রকাশিত অস্বাভাবিক পূর্বমুদ্রন)

২০শে মে ১৯৭০ তারিখে প্রদত্ত মহান বিবৃতি

মাও সেতুঙ — ০.১২

চীনা সমাজের শ্রেণী বিশ্লেষণ — ০.৩০

সাম্রাজ্যবাদবিরোধী একটি কর্মসূচী — ০.১৫

সর্বহারা শ্রেণীর একনায়কত্বের বিজয়

দীর্ঘজীবী হোক — ০.৫০

ডাকমাণ্ডল অতিরিক্ত

PEOPLE'S BOOK AGENCY

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Life"—a standing nude woman—is a real horror. Tridib Chaudhury seems to be searching but his arrangement and colours are uninspiring. His horse in "To life" is a copy of Bijon Chaudhury's. Subir Choudhury is sincere but has lost his way. His areas around his figures do not go with the figure as there is no interplay among his colours. Sakti Chakraborty's 'Impulse' is well organised and communicative. Swapnesh Choudhury is repeating himself. Rathin Roy's "Something somewhere lost, not in the heart" is quite simple and straight. Though Monohar Lal tries to fit himself into the moulds of the Indian school of fantasy, his graphics have technical excellence written in bold script over them.

In the sculpture section Sudhir Dhar shows that he is a shipwrecked man in search of an island, while Manik Talukdar proves that he is one of the most promising sculptors of the younger generation. He takes a surface as a two-dimensional flat area and tries to discover depths in linear terms. Straight lines swerve and trace with elegance the basic design that the sculptor has in mind. There is something breathtaking in the simplicity of his terracotta sculptures. His Row I, Row I., Couplet—all have imagination and sensibility.

Two Musicians

BY A MUSIC CRITIC

MRS Rajdulari Khan gave a vocal recital at the monthly session of Acharya Alauddin Music Circle at Lansdowne Court on September 21. She sang khval in Madhuvanti. Although her voice was a little strained, she disclosed ample evidence of systematic

training. Her rendition of the Thumri son "lagata hai kalejwa mo chot" was better done and appreciated. She concluded her programme with a dadra.

Mr Umashankar Mishra of Bombay, a disciple of Pandit Ravishankar, gave

a commendable sitar recital in Puryakalyan. His alap and jod were systematic. He commands sonorous resourcefulness in handling gatkari and tankari. His boljhara also was enjoyable.

On Unification

AJITHA NARAYANAN

THE discussion going on among party comrades on the past mistakes, current situation and our task has one very healthy aspect. They are all airing their views with a daring and this will in the end give rise to a new unity. The process of "unity-criticism-self-criticism-unity" is vigorously on. Our comrades, a majority of them, have understood that the party had been dominated by a "Left" deviationist line initiated by Comrade Charu Mazumdar. But from where did this line start? Was "Left" deviation a phenomenon which arose only from the middle of our party's growth, i.e. from the 1970 Congress or did it have its roots even at its very inception? This is a crucial issue. In this connection I wish to point out that the CPC and its great leader Chairman Mao have always given guidance for our advance at every critical juncture. The CPC has always shown the warmest concern for our growth. Have we given the requisite attention to its opinions? From all these self-criticisms and discussions aired I am convinced that we have not. We have gone on discussing things off the point.

When our party was founded on April 22, 1969 it proclaimed to the world its political stand through the Political Resolution it adopted. The Political Resolution is the first and basic document of the party. After two months of the founding of the party Radio Peking broadcast the event. The international movement, while unreservedly upholding our Party, also gave expression to their views on the Political Resolution, in their own way, in these broadcasts. Did our leadership or any other comrades give serious attention to

them in a courageous spirit of self-criticism? Even while some comrades pointed this out and dared to uphold the Political Resolution in the form broadcast by the Radio, they were attacked and maligned and not given a chance to place their viewpoints. History has shown that the Political Resolution contained the seeds of certain fundamental defects in analysing the Indian situation, that it contained the origins of a "Left" deviationist tendency which was bound to grow and dominate the Party if not detected and fought against at its very inception. There can be no dispute on the question of the damage done to our Party and the movement by the "Left" deviationist line. I request all our comrades to critically study the Political Resolution with the guidance given by the CPC in mind. Let this document be the starting point of our discussion, because all our mistakes and shortcomings are there in their embryonic form.

A most fundamental error in the Political Resolution is on the question of the principal contradiction. One proof that our comrades have not gone deep into the problem is that they are still harping on the theory that the principal contradiction in our country is between feudalism and the great masses of the Indian people. The CPC has already shown that this is wrong by carefully omitting the para in the Political Resolution which states that the principal contradiction is between feudalism and the peasants. To help our discussion to go along the right lines, I request comrades to go through all the articles in *Peking Review*, etc., after Naxalbari, especially the *People's Daily* editorial—"Spring

CORRECTION

Ashim Chatterjee points out that the sentence "The general organisation (emphasis ours) in our party is, as always, correct" ("A Statement", Point 8, May 18, 1974) should read "The general reorientation..." etc. (emphasis ours).

Thunder Over India". When we go deep into the problem we see that the "Left" deviation had its roots in this wrong analysis of the principal contradiction.

When we take the whole history of our country before and after the British conquest, we can clearly see that the principal contradiction before the British conquest was between feudalism and the great masses of the Indian people and that during and after the British conquest, it was between British imperialism and the Indian nation i.e. the content of the struggle at that time was national revolution. After it transferred power to its Indian henchmen on August 15, 1947, in other words when Britain's hold on India became indirect, our society changed from its character of an exclusive colony of British imperialism to a semi-colony of Britain and other imperialist powers. In the 1950s, we see the gradual receding of British imperialism from domination and gradual rise of U.S. imperialism to domination. All the capitalist countries in the world struggled with each other for exploitation of India, a country of such important resources and immense labour. As it was the U.S. which reached the top of the whole imperialist system after World War II due to its share in the war-lott, it was the U.S. which became dominant in India too. The 1962 Indian aggression against China is the historical turning point which showed that the U.S. had become the master of the Indian ruling classes. At that time the principal contradiction in India was between imperialism as a whole headed by the U.S. and Indian reaction on the one side and the broad masses of the Indian people consisting of workers, peasants, the urban petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie on the other side. Imperialism headed by the U.S., the comprador-bureaucratic big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class were the target of the revolution but the late 60s and the early 70s, especially after the Indo-Pak War of 1965, showed the gradual overtaking of the dominant influence of the U.S. on the Indian ruling clique by the slowly but surely rising influence of Soviet social-imperialism. Internationally and domes-

tically, this ruling clique is always willing to serve the interests of its foreign masters. Here, the Treaty of 1971 marks a decisive shift in striking the balance between the two masters. While the two super-powers contend with each other desperately for domination, the U.S. tacitly agrees to the domination of the Indian political, military and economic fields by the Soviet Union, because it wants to encourage this alliance for the containment of China through the Asian Collective Security System proposed by Brezhnev. At present, therefore, the principal contradiction is between the alliance of the two super-powers, with Soviet social-imperialism in dominance and the Indian ruling clique which also includes the Indian revisionists, both of the CPI and CPM leadership on the one hand and the broad masses of the Indian people consisting of workers, peasants, the urban petty-bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie and even the comprador elements representing the developed countries of the Second World (the EEC, Japan, etc.) on the other. Though there is collusion between the super-powers, the contention between them is absolute and permanent. Hence we must be able to take advantage of this contention as it develops more vigorously to isolate one or the other super-power at a time for the final elimination of both. The principal contradiction in India after the British withdrawal was never, even in any so-called 'Phase' of the revolution, between feudalism and the broad masses of the Indian people. From this period onwards as during the period of British conquest feudalism after its defeat on the battlefield could only play a subordinate and servile role towards imperialism. In the relationship between imperialism and feudalism, imperialism was the active element and the other only a passive one, serving the other's interest. As Chairman Mao says: "There are many contradictions in the process of development of a complex thing, and one of them is necessarily the principal contradiction whose existence and development determine or influence the existence and development of other contradictions".

We are at present airing our views

and discussing things to find a correct line. A correct line emerges through struggle against erroneous lines. Without the question of "who are our enemies? Who are our friends?" being solved, in other words, without the question of the principal contradiction being solved 'correctly', can a correct line emerge? I think not. Let us take up the study of the important documents, namely our Political Resolution, Spring Thunder Over India, etc., and also take up the study of other Marxist classics. Let us start a sort of rectification movement to cleanse our party of wrong ideas and viewpoints, which will hamper our march forward. I also request them to pay attention to the series of five articles by a Marxist-Leninist entitled "Long Live the CPI(ML)" and the second edition of the Political Resolution in the form in which it was published in **Peking Review** published in Malayalam by China Publications of Calicut. It is these publications which made us "outcasts" from the Party. Criticism was never tolerated by the then leadership. Let us attack the wrong style in inner-party relations and fight for democratic centralism. Through these criticisms and struggles our Party will become a hundredfold strong and mature and lead the Indian revolution victoriously

Letters

An Intervention On Unification

The Indian communist movement has all along been suffering from a heritage of dependence on the communist parties of other countries. Instead of applying the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism on the basis of a painstaking analysis of the concrete situation, the communists of this country always sought for 'models' of revolution and when one 'model' failed in its application, another was substituted. This was again repeated by the CPI (ML) when they imposed a sweeping generalisation regarding the stage of the Indian revolution. How or why the Chinese model of New Democratic Revolution should be accepted for India was never explained in a scientific man-

ner, but was later sought to be justified by fitting facts into the already accepted scheme. This culminated in the disastrous slogan "China's Chairman is our Chairman, China's path is our path".

Instead of using reason, intellect and intelligence to accept and use Marxism-Leninism, there was a sort of blind, dogmatic and emotional attachment to it leading to the absence of a sense of enquiry and learning among the party members which resulted in obnoxious concepts of practice and theory. They treated practice and theory in such a manner as if they were separate and opposite entities. The CPI(ML) cadres unhesitatingly accepted that without revolutionary practice there can be no revolutionary theory. But at the same time they forgot that without revolutionary theory, practice gropes in the dark. And thus we find among the cadres of the CPI(ML) a peculiar fascination for 'actions' and a disdainful attitude towards theory. They failed to realise that the crux of the problem is to unite theory, with practice and not to separate them. Isolation of practice from theory is just one of the manifestations of the petty bourgeois thinking process. This myopic and limited concept of practice resulted in the belief that any kind of work at the superstructural level is alienated from revolutionary struggle. Once more, very mechanically, they treated superstructure as entirely dependent on the economic base but failed to realise the role of the superstructure in changing the base. It appears as a mystery to us that while the ruling classes are meticulously using the superstructure in diluting the revolutionary fervour of the masses and sowing the seeds of spiritual impotency, the avant garde of the working class should abstain from ideological and cultural struggle at the superstructural level to inculcate the masses with revolutionary consciousness and determination. The ideological battle in the realm of superstructure is vitally important and without this the toiling millions can never be imbued with revolutionary theory. It should be remembered, "once the correct ideas characteristic of the advanced classes are grasped by the masses, these ideas then turn into a material force which changes society

and changes the world".

The heritage of dependence and the narrow concept of practice and ideology developed because the communist leaders of our country never sought to inculcate the science of Marxism among the cadres and enforce it in all aspects of their lives. Instead they formulated certain abstract concepts without ever trying to improve the cultural, moral and ethical standards of the party cadres. This enabled the authoritarian attitude of some leaders to prevail at some time or the other. In fact the entire concept of the infallibility of the authority and unconditional loyalty to the leadership had its source in the lack of political education of the cadres. This blind and unconditional submission to the leadership gave birth to the mystification of the revolutionary authority resulting in the end of fraternal inner-party debates, polemics and exchange of ideas. The fight between the two lines came to an abrupt halt and a non-dialectical unilateral Marxism came into existence.

The true concept of a communist party was never realised in India. Theoretically it has always been accepted that the communist party is a party of the working class. However, we were made to understand that the physical presence of the working class is sufficient to make an organisation truly communistic. The communist party is the highest form of working class organisation, and, therefore, it consists of the best sons of the working class. This means that a communist party is an organisation primarily of those persons who through the workers' movements and political struggles have grasped the philosophy of the working class and have "proved their capacity to lead the toiling classes" movements. Hence in a genuine working class party dominance of the physical elements of the working class is a necessity. The entire history of the communist parties in this land shows the neglect and careful avoidance of the above concept resulting in the degeneration of party activities into reformism, economism or anarchism. The CPI(ML) was no exception to it. In its efforts to emphasise the importance of the peasant question it virtually neglected the central question of work-

ing class leadership in the movement. Hence a careful analysis of the class composition of the CPI(ML) shows that in spite of the tremendous revolutionary fervour of its members it was nothing but a conglomeration of petty-bourgeois individuals and groups.

Hence any effort to reorganise the broken up CPI(ML) will be tantamount to the unification and reorganisation of the same petty-bourgeois groups and individuals. The question of unification can arise only when a proper and scientific analysis of the causes behind the petty-bourgeois degenerations are eliminated. People who have started serious mass work can unite only through uncompromising ideological struggle and mass movement. In other words political understanding and revolutionary mass work and not allegiance to any individual or group should be the basis for political unification. Only in this way, we think, we can strengthen the base of the movement. Otherwise the heterogeneity of individual-cum-group ideas may once again degenerate into disunity and chaos very soon. Strengthening an organised movement does not just mean unification in an eclectic manner but unification on the basis of ideological understanding leading to the formulation of specific political and organisational tasks in specific historical conjunctures.

Group of Students
Delhi

Strange Encounter

When some students of Sikkim went to meet the Chief Minister, Mr Lhendup Dorji Kazi, on September 6 in connection with the constitutional amendment whereby Sikkim is included in the Tenth Schedule of the Indian Union, the CRP surrounded them before they entered the campus, under orders of the Chief Minister's personal secretary, Mr N. B. Khatiwara. The Chief Minister himself made enquiries and called them into the sitting room. First of all, he had a suspicion that they were not Sikkimese. He wanted them to give their names, addresses etc.

The students asked him whether or

not Sikkim was going to be merged into India. 'Does she still preserve her separate identity?' was the first question put to the Chief Minister. He answered furiously, "Where are the written documents that prove that Sikkim has been merged into India?"

Soon after this, the Kazini stormed into the room and bitterly started abusing them. They then asked if they could leave, but Mr Khatiwara closed the door and ordered the CRP to be alert. A little later, those below twenty years of age were driven out of the room, leaving five collegians inside. Those who were shut inside were pushed to and from by the hefty Minister, Mr Rinzin Lepcha! Those who were outside could not move because of the watertight guard of the CRP.

An hour later, Mr L. D. Kazi called them and said that students had no right to ask such questions. They should not worry about the country. They could be expelled from their schools.

The students, in a statement, said: "We are much aggrieved that our so-called Ministers, instead of telling us the facts, used brutal force on us. How can we believe that they will respect the promises they had made to us? Do you think that such leaders can run the Government machinery efficiently? We condemn the leaders, particularly Mr Kazi Khangsarpa and his so-called adopted son Mr Khatiwara, who are living under the protection of the CRP with the only aim of disintegrating the harmonious and peaceful life of the general masses in Sikkim.

"The time has come for us Sikkimese to fight for the betterment of our future generations and our beloved motherland. There is no actual democracy in Sikkim. What we have is worse than autocracy—Indian dictatorship without any law, principles and rules of conduct. We must save our country from being swallowed up by India. Let us unite, save the separate identity of Sikkim and condemn the Government of Sikkim Act, 1974, and the traitors as well".

A Correspondent
Gangtok

How Many Detenus ?

As per the GOI Naxalite detenus number only a few hundreds and they are pretty well treated indeed, to go by the recitation of the Jail Code given as a part of the statement. It is significant that this horrible travesty of truth was elicited only by reports in the "foreign Press".

There is no doubt that the nit picking salaried stooges of this Raj, founded on and sustained in fraud, with all its trappings of Satyameva Jayate and all, will have some highly technical defence to support their statement. Not that they will have to defend. Circle rules unchallenged. But, there seems to persist a hang-over of the British touch... the "rule by law" thing... manifest in the elaborate concern of the Raj for technicalities, as seen in the Sikkim Bill. One thinks of the entire operation, the scrupulous reference to the "nuclear weapons club" in all media utterances, all the malnutrition-starvation polemics, the "if an election is rigged, why don't you file petition" approach etc.

To make the point, the technicality-fixation of this utterly amoral Raj only compounds the complicity of the intelligentsia—the well-mannered, well-dressed minions of our class (people like and of us) in sustaining its pretences.

T. R. Ramalingam
Calcutta

Assam Floods

The random deforestation in Assam on various pretexts leading to malpractices, unfair means, illegal transactions and gratification, wastage of public property, etc. has lowered the usual rainfall in Assam. This year it is a bit higher but though compared to, say, the previous 30 years on an average it is not that abnormal, we never had such a devastating flood during the British rule.

The Chief Minister's recent remark, "the people of Assam must co-exist with the floods" is rather sarcastically true. But what is the root

cause of the floods? Dams, roads, embankments, etc. were constructed most unscientifically for controlling rivers, the schemes were and are made on political consideration rather than actual needs. Crores of public money were wasted by the concerned departments in collusion with pet contractors. The dams are breached and break down, making innumerable people homeless and refugees. There is no or little repair work or maintenance. The concerned departments are "busy" when practically no work is possible but during the rest of the year, i.e. the dry season when work should be done, there is hardly any work.

Jagat Ray Pradhani
Gauripur, Assam

অনুষ্ঠান

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