

frontier

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LEFTIST MANOEUVRES

THREE constituents of the nine-party left front led by the CPI(M) have dissociated themselves from the joint movement proposed to be launched later this month for restoration of civil liberty and ensuring a free and fair election in West Bengal. Not that they are opposed to a movement of this kind; their protest is against the decision of the CPI(M) and its like-minded associates in the left front to join hands with Mr Prafulla Sen, one-time Chief Minister and now a super-leader of the Congress(O), to launch the movement. Their objection has gone unheeded, and Mr Jyoti Basu in retinue has called on Mr Sen twice to finalise the details of a proposed joint convention. The left movement in this State has grown through opposition to Mr Sen, and the irony of Mr Basu going to Mr Sen's residence to discuss measures to save liberty and democracy cannot be missed. Mr Sen has ceased to be the villain that he was all these years, obviously because he is no longer a mere leader of the Congress(O) but also chief of the Navaniram Samiti which has been recently constituted to start a Bihar-type movement in West Bengal.

The CPI is in hysterics. Its sole commitment is to Kerala-type, and it does not want a Bihar-type movement in West Bengal to upset the prospects of a Kerala-type ministry in the State. In the tenth congress of the party in Vijayawada the most sought-after person was, however, said to be the leader of the party unit in Bihar because of his successful counter-offensive against Mr Narayan's movement which has brightened the chances of a Kerala-type ministry in Bihar. If anything, the CPI should be grateful to Mr Japaprakash Narayan for organising a movement in Bihar which, in the CPI's reckoning, will force the Congress to share power with it in the State. A Bihar-type movement in West Bengal should not therefore be unwelcome to the CPI. The party may have a motive, though. It is counting on the emergence of a new dissent in the CPI(M) against the party's overtures earlier to Mr Narayan and now to Mr Sen. It hopes that by criticising the CPI(M)'s liaison with the Navanirman Samiti it will be able to draw the CPI(M) dissidents to its fold. What it ignores is that there is no difference between the ruling Congress and the Congress(O), except in the eyes of the CPI. On the other hand, the Congress(O), being out of office, is incapable of the mischief that the ruling Congress is doing.

The motivation of the CPI(M) and its leftist associates is different from that of the Samiti. They do not intend to agitate for the overthrow of the

Ray Ministry. Their collaboration will be for the limited purpose of wresting from the Government an assurance of freedom of electioneering and a fair poll. The nine-party left front decided some weeks ago to start a movement to secure these ends. The movement has not yet got off the ground, and it may well go to the way of all previous movements promised by the left front. The left parties have not been able to organise any movement against the Ray Ministry's misrule because of what has been called the semi-fascist terror let loose by the ruling party and its government. Their helplessness is a testimony to the weakness of the left in this State. The ruling party is unlike-

ly to change tactics; no, is the left likely to be able to summon enough courage to confront them. But the CPI(M) and those of its associates who have made up their mind to participate in the coming elections need a gesture from the Government which they may vaunt as a justification for their decision to end their three-year old boycott of elections in this State. A movement for civil liberty and free poll will provide the Government with an occasion for making such a gesture. They are uniting with Mr Sen in the hope that a movement led by him will cause less fury in the Government than a movement solely organised by the left.

cratic process. It is sheer hypocrisy to talk of building a socialist society on the basis of the politics of monopoly capitalism.

The politics of unauthorised money in elections has a more sinister aspect. A great deal of the money collected is not spent in elections, it ends in the hands of the political managers, middle men and local bosses. This money is either appropriated by them or used in day-to-day politics. In either case, the political atmosphere is vitiated. Undesirable persons come to occupy crucial positions and enjoy the power. Examples of rising men in the ruling party are there for all to see.

"Money Go Round"

The Congress party, according to a Delhi newspaper, has set a target of Rs. 30 crores for its election fund for a possible parliamentary poll in May or June this year. The target exceeds the party's central fund for parliamentary elections in 1971 by Rs. 11 crores. Fund raising has already started and fund-getters have been directed to reach the target as quickly as possible, the newspaper report says.

The Congress, since the last general elections, has injected an overdose of corruption into the electoral process. It has reduced the electoral process to what is being called a money-go-round. At the same time it has made sure that it has better access to the sources of money than any other party or group of parties.

Apart from the big money that the Congress fund-raisers are able to collect from the black market, there is a patent misuse of public funds for electoral purposes. The allotment of a large number of Plan projects to Uttar Pradesh and the inauguration of scores of schemes by the Prime Minister at functions held at public cost just before the last Assembly elections in the State cannot but be treated as a corrupt practice. The fact that most of the schemes inaugurated were completely forgotten after the poll makes the entire exercise an

unmitigated fraud on the electorate.

All in all, the U.P. elections brought out the sheer inequality of the electoral game. The elections exposed the role of money in a manner quite different from earlier charges of corruption or rigging. That the ruling party secured only 32 per cent of the votes polled would seem to suggest that money failed to influence the voter. But the public does not view it in this way. There is a widespread feeling that none can beat the ruling party because it has all the money with it. The Supreme Court judgment setting aside the election of Amar Nath Chawla, a Congress MP from Delhi, could have countered this feeling. The court held that election expenses incurred by political parties were to be computed as authorised expenditure by the candidate. But the Government promptly promulgated an Ordinance reversing this interpretation. The Ordinance was later converted into an Act of Parliament. Even if the Government's intervention is defended on the ground that individuals against whom election petitions are pending ought not to be punished for not anticipating the judgment, there was a clear case for paying due regard to the observations of the court for future cases. The Government's intervention can have only one result—erosion of the demo-

A correspondent writes—

There are far more coincidences in Indian politics than can be dreamt of by Hindi films. How else to explain Hemanta Basu's murder (before the elections in West Bengal, and L. N. Misra's murder before the national election looming on the horizon)? One was an Ajatashatru (having no enemies), the other at the centre of roaring scandals. In both cases the beneficiary was the same, viz., Congress. A ritual killings to ensure victory of social democrats and national

Then there are other coincidences. Our present ambassadors in London, Moscow and Washington happen to be Kashmiris—Nehru, Dhar, Kaul; this will make for better control and coordination of policies. Lesions and lacunae have thus been ruled out in advance. There will be no leakage, no dissonance.

The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission is, again, a Kashmiri. He will hold ministerial rank, and will not be very particularly responsible to Parliament but to the Prime Minister—a clanswoman. The Prime Minister can thus get the Planning Commission rubber stamp her wishes. It will be Mr Haksar's job to spin out a rationale in the economists' lingo. Such assistance will be forthcoming to him in abundance with the Establishment economists in attendance.

What To Distribute

Her Principal Private Secretary, that is boss of the Prime Minister's Secretariat, is a Kashmiri, by chance. Many will fail to resist the temptation of asking—Or by design? Ancillary, he will be the Czar of the RAW, which is directly answerable to Mrs G. He too answers to the name of a Dhar.

Another symbolic appointment, is that of Dr M. L. Dhar as Chairman, Board of Governors, Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur. In the public sector undertakings generals and admirals are now appointed directors or chairmen. The two committees under the Indo-U.S. Joint Commission are headed by two trustworthy and proven men, the present (a Bengali) and the past (a Tamilian) Vice-Chancellors of the Jawaharlal Nehru University, a pocket institution of the PM. Rapprochement with Sheikh Abdullah at this juncture can well be used to persuade him that he is sharing an all-India role and historic destiny by happening to be a fellow Kashmiri. The Sheikh can now afford to be reasonable. The Central Cabinet has also a Kashmiri Maharaja in it.

The State apparatus and all its major organs thus lassoed. Mrs Gandhi has become unchallengeable. This is logical. One rule the progression is from one-person rule to one-person rule. Congress and I.C. (what an ominous pair of initials) are no exceptions. This formidable array of power under her thumb renders Parliament into a puppet parade and the Constitution into gibberish. What is being hatched? Where do these preparations tend? Seizure of power? Dictatorship with democratic frills on the facade?

Who said the Praetors belonged to the Roman history and the Prussians spent an arrogant militarism in the Europe of a bygone era! They are here and now. The encirclement of the demos is total, its escape an impossibility.

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FEBRUARY 8, 1975

Last week saw the virtual breakdown of the statutory rationing system in Calcutta and its suburbs. Nearly 40 per cent of about 2,000 ration shops in the area did not have stocks of rice or wheat or sugar to distribute among the card-holders. There was of course no dearth of official assurances that the situation would be normalised very soon. But then people cannot live by assurances alone; if they could, India would have possibly been the most well-fed country in the world. Interestingly, when the Government and the ration shops ran short of stocks, one could still buy as much of rice and sugar as one liked from the open market at a higher price. Such supplies are being left untouched. It is of course an accepted fact of economics that the black market is always more efficient and "honest" than the open market. But the shocking part of it was that the standards of efficiency between the two markets should differ so much. Even earlier, the people of Calcutta had occasions to become familiar with "due" slips issued by ration shops whenever they ran out of stocks in a particular commodity. But the total breakdown of the system is a different matter and is indicative of the shape of things to come. Paradoxically, the breakdown has come after the high-powered Essential Commodities Corporation of the West Bengal Government is believed to have gone into operation.

Quite undeterred by such failures, the Centre is now toying with a scheme to distribute essential commodities in the cities and major towns. To start with, the scheme will include 13 or 14 items, to be expanded to about 60 commodities in the course of time. The plan on paper looks unimpeachable. But how far will it work in reality? One of the obvious dangers is that this will act as an invitation to a fresh outbreak of black-markets in these commodities. The Government will have to depend on private industry for the supplies of these goods. And if past experience is any guide, the manufacturers, traders and a section of the bureaucracy will connive

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with each other, jam the distribution system at strategic points and make black-marketing both inevitable and more paying. If the Government really had the will and the strength, it would have not allowed in the first place the capitalists to make money by deliberately pegging down production and by doing whatever they want with the supplies. The Government has already demonstrated its utter failure to keep these people on leash. There is no assurance that its performance would be any better in the new fields.

Taking Care of the Chinese

A correspondent writes:

Sinophiles never had it so good, it seems. The arrival in Calcutta a few days back of the Chinese table tennis squad merely marked the climax of a process that had started much earlier. From the way the big media have focussed their attention on the Chinese it is apparent that the Centre does not look with disfavour on the revival of the bhai-bhai spirit.

The State Government, however, is different. Even reporters and photographers were almost physically prevented from doing their duty not by Central security personnel as the Chinese arrived at Calcutta airport but by those employed by the State Government. More

significantly, the State Government has also taken care that 'undesirables' do not get within shouting distance of the Chinese players and officials. Included among the undesirables are the Indo-Chinese Friendship Association and the Kotnis Memorial Committee members.

Dr Bejoy Bose, who till recently enjoyed enough confidence at the Centre to have gone on a visit to China, wrote to the Chief Minister, Mr Ray asking permission to hold a reception for the Chinese. Nobody can doubt that he is eminently qualified for the task. Till this writing Dr Bose has received no answer from the Chief Minister, who swears by his democratic instincts at the drop of a hat. Dr Bose may be acceptable to the Centre, but is not good enough for the West Bengal Government.

This is, of course, not to hold a brief for whatever Dr Bose does. It is said that the spreading of acupuncture among the common people has not been all that satisfactory. Unfortunately, acupuncture has become a status symbol, an 'in' thing for the affluent, with each session costing not fewer than Rs 16, and with training given half-heartedly to only a set of supporters. The latter went to practise the technique in the villages. It did not work, because no preparatory explanations about the nature and scope of the treatment was given to the patients. As a result popular interest has waned and misconceptions have increased. But all this is another matter.

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The Naga Struggle: 1947-74—III

UDAYON MISRA

FROM the beginning of 1966 the situation in Nagaland was changing fast. The Peace Mission had been dissolved, the Church's influence was on the decline, and the underground was trying to establish contacts with friendly countries, especially Communist China. In the midst of such developments, the underground leaders had a third round of talks with Mrs Gandhi in August. They presented a 14-point memorandum which reasserted that "Nagaland has always been an independent territory adjoining the territories of Assam and Burma" and that "Nagaland shall never yield its sovereign independence to any State".¹⁹ This round of talks too failed and was followed by further talks in January and October 1967. It was in the October talks that the final and irreconcilable hitch between the GOI and the Naga Federal side took place. After the first round of talks, the Naga leaders were expecting another sitting with the PM. But, not only was this denied, they were also summarily asked to vacate the premises (Hyderabad House) they were occupying. The Naga delegation took this as a severe insult to the entire Naga people and declared: "We take the treatment given us by the GOI as an insult to our nation". The delegation immediately left New Delhi on October 14, 1967, the Federal Government declared that the Delhi talks had finally ended. The Indian side was held responsible for the failure of the talks.

Contacts with China

The failure led the Naga underground to search for new quarters of help and sympathy for their cause. It was from 1968 onwards that the Federal side started establishing contacts with the People's Republic of China. Turning for support to China was being hotly debated by the Church as well as by a section of the underground. This led to changes in the underground leadership.

In a meeting of the Naga National Council held in January, 1968, one of the three items on the agenda read: "(3) Is Nagaland prepared to accept the way of socialism and communism?" In the debate on the topic that followed, Mr Ranyo, a top underground leader, declared: "To be frank we have received some help and time will come when we will receive more. Is it sensible to fight the friend who helps? One does not become a socialist by accepting help from China or a communist country". Mr Ranyo was refuting charges that acceptance of help from China would endanger the Naga pattern of life. China had suddenly emerged into the complicated picture of Naga politics and reports increased about the China traffic. Although the debate regarding Chinese help continued in the underground circles, it became evident that the majority including the top leadership were in favour of accepting Chinese military training and arms supplies. The question of political guidance was to come up later. The China side also dominated the proceedings of the Nagaland State Assembly meeting in March 1968, and it adopted a resolution condemning the underground for seeking help from China. The resolution stated: "This Assembly feels strongly that the contacts with China by a section of the underground Nagas to bring communism into Nagaland and turn it into another Vietnam is a suicidal policy".²⁰ The Naga underground retorted by saying that its aim was not to import communism from China but to attain Naga independence with China's help. Tension continued to mount and the number of armed clashes registered a sharp increase. In order to stem this, the Dimapur Joint Conference was arranged by the Peace Observers' Team. The underground sent a strong delegation to it, but the Government of India delegation consisted only of members of the Nagaland State Cabinet. Commenting on this, the leader of the le-

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ederal side said: "I am fully disappointed at the composition of the Indian representatives. India wants to show to the world, that the Nagas are opposing Nagas in their territory." 21 Nothing emerged from the much publicised Dimapur conference except the fact that the Federal side was not prepared to give up its China policy. The Federal delegation refused to give any assurance that they would not send their men to China for arms and training. The Federal side's China policy showed, among other things, that the Church's hold over the underground was weakening. As a result, the Church, headed by leaders like the Rev. Rongri Ao, started a well-planned campaign against the threat from communism" and against the China supporters in the underground. The weakening of the Church's influence over the Federal Government was one of the most important developments in the political scene of Nagaland. From now onwards, the Federal side refused to associate itself with the peace initiatives of the Church leaders and even declared that the Church should keep out of Naga politics. This has been so even with the latest peace initiative headed by the Church.

From 1968, onwards events in Nagaland have been clearly leading to a polarisation of forces. Those who disagreed with the Federal stand on China left the underground and finally surrendered to the GOI, e.g. the "Revolutionary Government" led by Scato Scu and the "Hongkin Government" led by Thongi Chang. Some took to underground activity and participated in elections.

UDF

The present United Democratic Front, the ruling party of Nagaland, is composed of people who till recently actively associated themselves with the Federal Government. As such, the UDF is often seen as a cover organisation of the underground. But essentially, the hard core of the Federal set-up has not only remained steadfast but has also been able to increase its strength. The Naga Federal Government today is undoubtedly a stronger force than it was

ten years ago, although the lightning strikes of earlier days are no longer witnessed. The UDF victory is, in a sense, a limited success for the underground. For, in the UDF the underground has got an administration largely sympathetic to its cause. The stand of the UDF regarding the extension of the Unlawful Activities Prevention Act, the demand for the lease of political prisoners, the lessening of the powers of the Indian army in Nagaland—all these prove that the victory of the UDF has been a gain for the underground. The UDF won against severe odds just because the masses supported its programme which underlined the need for peace in strife-torn Nagaland. Even the Federal side has been seriously talking of peace. But anyone acquainted with Naga politics will know that if peace is to come to Nagaland, it will have to be, as far as the Federal side is concerned, linked up with the question of sovereignty. This is what the Nagas mean when they refer to 'peace with honour'.

The GOI, while all along talking of a political settlement, has been trying to impose a military solution on the Naga problem. The advocates of a military solution are many; even in 1957 it was suggested that the Indian Army be given full powers to crush the revolt. A representative view of those who delivered in crushing the unruly Nagas is to be found in what D. R. Manekkar, one-time editor of *The Times of India* and *The Indian Express*, has to say on the Naga issue: "One cannot temporise with rebellion, without courting frustration. Either you crush the rebellion or the rebellion will crush you." Fascist methods as those suggested by Manekkar only reveal the absolute lack of understanding of the Naga issue on the part of most Indians. The Naga concept of freedom, justice and independence which flourishes in a society which could still be called primitive communistic, is dismissed by the average educated Indian as savage customs. The Naga demand for independence is even today peremptorily dismissed as if the 'savage' Nagas have no idea of what independence and sovereignty mean. The more the GOI is resorting to repressive measures,

the more hardened is the Naga underground's attitude. Today, the Naga struggle is not as isolated as it was some ten to fifteen years ago. The underground is reported to have entered into a tripartite agreement with the Kachin Independent Army and the Eastern Naga Revolutionary Council with headquarters in the Arakan Mountains. Over and above this, it is also reported to have achieved co-ordination with the outlawed Mizo National Front. The attempts to internationalise the Naga issue have not been entirely unsuccessful and the Nagas have found powerful friends. The talk of the rebels forming a government in exile is also gaining ground and has been hinted at even by UDF Ministers. Displaying a tenacity and consistency of purpose which has compelled worldwide attention, the Naga underground has proved that it is capable of a high degree of political sophistication. Pitted against a very powerful opponent, the Naga Federal troops have not only succeeded in holding their ground, but have made fresh inroads. The very fact that despite overwhelming odds the struggle has been very much kept alive is indicative of the powerful popular support which the underground enjoys. Whether one agrees or not with the Naga Federal stand on the question of Naga sovereignty, it must be said in all fairness that such long drawn out resistance on the part of the underground would never have been possible but for the force of Naga nationalism. Although nowadays it is common for official circles to dismiss the underground as a group of frustrated extremists led by Phizo who commands the loyalty of only a section of the Angami tribe to which he belongs, it is just too evident that the past thirty years of struggle has welded the diverse Naga clans into one solid national force. Whether the protracted struggle of the underground will eventually lead to a people's liberation movement similar to those of nearby South-East Asian countries remains to be seen. Such an apprehension may be at the back of the minds of those who are advocating the solution of the Naga issue solely through military means. For those who still believe in a purely military solution, it would be relevant to conclude with the following lines attri-

buted to A. Z. Phizo: This is what he has to say about his much-misunderstood people:

"Truly, we are a peculiar people. We are all equals. Men and women have an equal social status. We have no caste distinctions; no high class or low class of people. . . . There is no minority problem. We believe in that form of democratic government which permits the rule, not of the majority, but of the people as a whole. . . . We have no land tax, no wine tax, no water tax. Forests, woodlands, rivers belong to the people for their exploitation without paying taxes. We cultivate as much land as we need or desire and no one to question our rights. We have food to eat and drinks to drink exceedingly above our needs. We have no beggars. And wonder of wonders, we have no jails. We do not 'arrest' or 'imprison' anybody. Our civil authority never condemns a man to die. We fear nobody, individually or collectively. We are a healthy people and fear corrupts the health of man. . . . We talk freely, live freely and often fight freely too. We have no inhibitions of any kind. Wild? Yes. . . . But free. There is order in this chaos; law in this freedom. If I were to choose a country, it would be my Nagaland, my fair Nagaland — again and again".

(The author regrets unintentional errors, owing to lack of material, in the formulation of judgments and conclusions. He shall be grateful if any such errors are pointed out).

(Concluded)

REFERENCES:

1. The Naga Club was founded in 1918 and was the first organisation of its kind in the Naga Hills. It was the first effort at organised all-Naga opinion.
2. **A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland**: M. Alemchiba: p. 164.
3. *ibid* p. 166.
4. Angami Zapo Phizo was born in 1900 in the village of Khonoma. He started his career as a businessman. Served in the INA of Subhas Chandra Bose from 1943-

45; was in Central Jail, Rangoon alone with INA prisoners after the British recapture of Burma; returned to the Naga Hills in 1946 and joined the Naga National Council; has been President of the NNC and its undisputed leader since 1949; in self-exile since 1957.

5. See M. Aram: **Peace in Nagaland** pp. 173-174.
7. "The Naga Home Guard" was raised by Phizo from among Naga ex-servicemen and young recruits. It was the beginning of the Federal Naga Army. The Naga Youth Movement and the Naga Women's Society are the youthful wings of the Naga National Council.
8. Reports of atrocities committed by the Indian Security Forces have, of late, been published in the Indian press too, e.g. "**Economic & Political Weekly**" April 20, 1974; similar charges have also been made in the Lok Sabha.
9. Regrouping has resulted in people from different villages being grouped together, stockaded and isolated from their fields. This is done to prevent the villagers from helping the hostiles with food and other necessities. Such regrouping has resulted in untold suffering for the villagers and, most important of all, has led to the destruction of the village unit so very central to Naga tribal life and on which depends almost everything that the Naga holds dear. See **Nagaland Night-mare**; P. D. Stracey; pp 164-166.
10. Stracey, P. D., : **Nagaland Night-mare**: pp 93.
11. *ibid* pp 144-45.
12. *ibid* p 144.
13. Anglican Chaplain; was in India 1934-1943; joined the struggle against apartheid in South Africa; tried to draw international support through the UN for the Hereros, a Bantu people oppressed by the racial government of South Africa; in 1961 helped Phizo to come to London and from then on has been advocat-

ing the Naga cause of independence.

14. For full text of the Proposals see **A Brief Historical Account of Nagaland**: pp 208-12.
15. Aram, M.: **Peace in Nagaland**: pp. 43-45.
16. *ibid*, pp. 93.
17. *ibid*, p. 102.
18. Mankekar, D. R., **On The Slippery Slope in Nagaland**: p. 115.
19. Aram, M., **Peace in Nagaland**: p. 117.
20. *ibid*, p. 152.
21. *ibid*, p. 157.
22. Mankekar, D. R., **On The Slippery Slope in Nagaland**: p. 180.

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Government's Anti-employment Policy for Promoting Inequality

ASHOK RUDRA

WE have seen in three previous articles how the Government's price policy, investment policy and production policy all go to increase inequality among different sections of the population in the matter of their standard of living. These different sections, affected by the Government's economic policy, are defined by their production relations. There is however another very large section of population against which Government pursues a systematic policy of discrimination and which is not defined in terms of any production relations, not being in the production process in any manner; they are the unemployed.

It is a strange but true fact that the ruling party, which is supposed to be committed to socialism, has got neither an employment policy nor an incomes policy. That is to say, while removal of poverty, reduction of inequality and liquidation of unemployment are enshrined as national objectives in all the paper plans that have been adopted one after another during the last 25 years, no target date has been set by the Government by when any able-bodied person who wants to work and make an honest living can be assured of a job that would offer him at least a minimum subsistence. Of course, additional employment targets were used to be set in our earlier plans. But the Government's own targets were so low that even if they were achieved unemployment would have increased if we were to go by the Government's own calculations as to the increase that has taken place in addition to the work force. But even these low targets were never achieved. Thus the Second Five Year Plan calculated that as a result of its implementation employment would increase by 8 millions outside agriculture, whereas it was stated that the increase in the labour force by the end of the Second Five Year Plan would be 10 millions and that there was a back-

ing of employment of more than 5 millions. In the Third Five Year Plan it was stated that the creation of new jobs during the Second Five Year Plan was only to the extent of 6.5 millions outside agriculture, so that during the course of the Second Plan the number of unemployed went up by as much as 4 millions, from 5 millions to 9 millions.

The same story was repeated for the Third and the Fourth plans. By the time work on the Fifth Plan got started the realisation dawned on the plan-makers that it was inconvenient for them to announce in the successive plans how unemployment was going up. So it was given out that such figures would not be given out any more. The reason given was that in a country like India where the greater part of the working people are self-employed and under-employed in varying degrees, it is statistically meaningless to have numbers representing the unemployed. This particular reasoning has a great deal of validity. It is indeed true that the problem in this country is not only that of those who are totally unemployed, but is of much vaster dimensions if even those who are supposed to be employed are largely so only to a very low intensity of working per unit of time. But this indubitable total unemployment, which is a different kind of problem from underemployment of those who are formally employed has been taken advantage of by the Government to suspend all calculations of how many people are unemployed in what manner or to what degree and what increases are taking place in them despite the plans.

As a matter of fact unemployment in all its kinds is increasing in the country not despite the plans but because of them. Our plans, instead of being employment-oriented, are the opposite. If our plans were employment-oriented that orientation would have revealed itself in their investment policy and there would have been an incomes policy to

go with it. An employment investment policy that is oriented towards employment generation would be such as to involve labour-intensive technological choices whenever such choices are available and wherever labour-intensive production techniques do not militate against long-term growth of the economy. But the investment projects of the public sector about which we commented in one earlier article are mostly such as to generate very little employment; the commodities which our industries are engaged to produce (about which too we commented in an earlier article) are such as to call for capital-intensive techniques. Of course in the plans there is a lot of talk about encouragement to be given to small-scale industries, village industries etc to generate greater employment. In actual practice the small-scale industries that have developed in this fashion have given rise to very little employment as smallness of scale has every little to do with labour intensity of production technique. As to the village industries, the Gandhian ideals of charkha, hand industries etc have ended up in a colossal joke represented by glittering fashionable girls selling high-priced objects of luxury to rich Indians and foreign tourists. That the Government has no serious intent whatsoever of generating employment through an appropriate choice of techniques is best shown in its active promotion of the mechanisation of agriculture that is taking place at a fantastic pace in certain parts of the country. It is agreed by certain economists that not all agricultural machines are labour displacing and that is no doubt true. But if not all, many of the agricultural machines that are being introduced are indeed labour displacing. In any case, even if some particular agricultural machinery is not labour displacing, it is not employment-creating either; which means that the capital used up to bring the machinery to our agriculture could have been used for such investments as generate employment.

If there were to be a genuine employment policy there has to be simultaneously an income redistribution policy. For giving employment to the unemployed means necessarily giving income to

the incomeless, and in the short run at least a substantial part of the incomeless cannot be given an income that would represent a net addition to the income of the people as a whole: a large part of the income that has to go to the now incomeless would have to come from giving less income to those who are already earning some income now.

But there is no such policy. Big chunks of the country's income go entirely tax-free. Thus the income of the rich farmer is tax-free; so is virtually the income of sundry traders and commission agents who make money precisely out of the vices of the economic

system and run the "paralled economy" of black money. As to the big capitalists and their agents, there has been a growing volume of tax concessions of all kinds in the name of giving them incentives to invest and produce. One knows how much these incentives have worked when country seems to be getting deeper and deeper into economic crisis of recession combined with inflation.

The unemployed people have thus a conflict of interest with the income earners who belong to the big capitalist class, the rich farming class or their agents. Not only that, it has been possible for the Government to create a

conflict of interests between the industrial workers and petit bourgeois salary earners who have been organised by trade unions and the unemployed. The trade unions in our country are all led either by reactionary political parties or revisionist parties; and under such leadership the trade union movements have more and more sunk into the quicksands of utterly narrow and shortsighted economism. These movements being set only to achieve wage and salary increases and not being a part of any revolutionary political programme have allowed divisions within the ranks of the employed (by the employers conceding the wage demands of one section and refusing it to another section; by announcing salary increases even when not demanded while crushing agitations by another section of workers by resorting to fascistic methods). More openly it creates a division between the unemployed and the employed. It is a sad fact of very many places of employment that not only the employers but also the employees are opposed to fresh recruits being employed; they would rather get more money for themselves by way of wage revisions or overtime allowances or what not than let some new faces get that money on lower scales. It is of course not being suggested that trade unions should not agitate for wage and salary demands. But what is being suggested is that what revisionist trade unions may claim as victories of the working class movement may often be even greater victories of the ruling classes in their war against the toiling masses in so far as the wage or salary concessions conceded, create divisions among different sections of the toiling masses and between the employed and the unemployed.

APPEAL FOR FUNDS

We do not know if the newsprint exporters have again substantially raised their prices. But from the prices charged by the State Trading Corporation it appears that they have done so. And these prices, together with the commission demanded by dealers these days, are crippling. Printing costs, postal rates, office rent etc are all going up.

On the other hand, there is very little advertising,

One of the means of survival seems, once again, to be donations.

We are therefore asking those to donate who think that FRONTIER should continue.

For Frontier contact

APOLLO BOOK HOUSE,

K. B. Road,

Jorhat-2,

Assam.

Private Intelligence

ROBI CHAKRAVORTI

THE recent probe into the domestic espionage by the CIA may turn out to be much ado about nothing, unless it triggers off press exposures of further scandals involving startling acts of foreign intervention.

This is why many observers are eagerly waiting for the publication in the Spring of a book on the CIA operations by one of its officers. The book will supposedly describe ugly and destructive CIA activities in Latin America during the past ten years.

The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence published last year could not tell the story. Written by two former CIA agents, it ran into court proceedings instituted by the CIA trying to prevent its publication. The CIA won partial victory when the court ordered deletion of sections of the book. Intrepid Seymour Hersh of the *New York Times* whose entry to daily journalism was paved by his Pulitzer prize winning stories of the My Lai massacre about four years ago and who started the recent furore on CIA's domestic spying made another scoop last year when he reported the excised portions of the book. If his report is correct, it means that the United States' penchant for using CIA for subversion and intervention in other countries has not changed at all since the fifties and the sixties when the CIA was praised, not criticised, for overthrowing governments in Guatemala and Iran.

The chapter in the book dealing with the CIA operations in Chile is entitled, "Clandestine Theory". Much of this chapter was heavily censored by court orders. Seymour Hersh, however, reported that the uncensored original described Kissinger as upset at Allende's victory. In a meeting of the "40 Committee", the highest policy-making body authorising clandestine activities abroad, Kissinger is reported to have said, "I don't see why we need to stand by and watch a country go Communist due to

the irresponsibility of its own people." He was addressing four top strategists of the Administration with the privilege and prestige of sitting in the committee—Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Director of the CIA, Defence Secretary or his assistant, and Kissinger's favourite hatchet-man, Joseph Sisco who is Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs. Kissinger is the chairman of the 40-committee.

The CIA was authorised, according to Hersh's account published in September last year, to spend over \$8 million between 1970 and 1973 in an effort to make it impossible for Allende to govern. And yet, shortly after the coup that destroyed Allende and his government, Kissinger told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, "The CIA has nothing to do with the coup to the best of my knowledge." If pressed, witty Kissinger can defend himself saying that the coup that toppled Allende was engineered by Chile's generals and therefore, technically, the CIA was not responsible for the coup. This will appear to many as logic-chopping which is an art that practitioners of diplomacy employ to ward off charges of deception.

The present probe is focussed on the CIA's domestic espionage. By charter, the CIA's beat is foreign espionage, leaving domestic intelligence to the FBI. This has often resulted in bureaucratic in-fighting. Both organisations and their top officials jealously guard their secrets and exchanges of information between them are rarely frank or complete. The FBI used to maintain a 7-man liaison office through which it kept in touch with other intelligence organisations of the government of which the CIA is one. According to a report, the FBI's Edgar Hoover was so incensed in 1970 over the CIA's refusal to name an FBI agent who had given the CIA some useful information that in a huff he dissolved this liaison committee.

Stories of the intramural fights between different intelligence agencies are now grist of the rumour mill. These stories divert attention from the fact that the business of intelligence has grown big in the past ten years. It is ironical that at a time when people are

talking of the end of the cold war and the new era of 'detente', the "intelligence community", a euphemism for describing people engaged in undercover activities, should also grow in size.

Thieves in the Night

There are a number of reasons for this apparent contradiction. To begin with, the foreign policy of 'detente' dramatised by Kissinger's secret flight from Islamabad to Peking is only a small segment of America's far-flung foreign activities. Our attention has been engaged by the well-publicised visits to Moscow, Peking and Vladivostok and recently, by the "shuttle diplomacy" in the Middle East while thieves in the night continue to work as feverishly as before in Latin America, Africa and Asia, supposedly preserving America's "national interest". In large, usually ignored but nonetheless continuing areas of U.S. foreign policy, the U.S. Administration has been using undercover activities as before. Exposures of intervention in Chile supply proof of the unchanging attitudes of policymakers to this type of activities.

Following the Middle East war, American foreign policy is faced with a new problem, the problem of resource diplomacy. The oil crisis has suddenly revealed the depth of dependence of the U.S. and its allies on resources from other countries. This dependence has already been acknowledged, though tacitly, by policymakers in the past. Marxist analysis of American foreign policy would argue that control of resources and markets were the major concern of American foreign policy. Traditional analysts of American foreign policy would not go that far.

In any case, the economics of feeding America's vast technologies is now a major concern of American foreign policies, since this country is facing depression and an energy-squeeze. Kissinger was once reported to be bored with economics. He cannot be so many more. Problems of reduction of oil price and recycling of rapidly-accumulating petrodollars are now among his major concerns. Intelligence activities in these areas, it can be safely assumed, are feverish. Spies must be swarming all

over oil-rich countries, watching political trends and activities of their tycoons, trying to influence them before Kissinger's strategy and persuasive power take over.

Thirdly, multinationals in the United States, jittery by the economic crisis at home and political uncertainty abroad have been more active than in the past, consolidating access to resources, processing collaborations and markets abroad, softening the nationalism of influential government officials and independence of native entrepreneurs.

This development has led to a proliferation of private intelligence firms selling their services to multinationals. Jim Hougan recently wrote a sensational article in the *Harper's* magazine giving an outline of activities by private intelligence agencies in the United States. The federal intelligence community has spun off "an invisible industry, a security-industrial complex whose "influence", he claims, "is more insidious for the fact that its activities are mostly unseen".

Hougan reports that in the past decade dozens of private intelligence agencies have flourished, often passing as "management consultants" who gather intelligence data for the benefit of multinational corporations. In some areas, these private intelligence corporations are bigger than those of the CIA. Exxon's Venezuela subsidiary, Creole Inc., for example, has a larger intelligence budget than the local CIA station. In recognition of this, the two organisations have consolidated their files. "In Venezuela, at least, what's good for Creole is apparently good for America". Venezuela, it should be remembered, is an oil-exporting country.

The fourth reason for the increase in intelligence activities is the fear of radical thought which briefly flourished during the peak of the Vietnam protest movement, is now keeping a low profile, but may re-emerge if the economic situation gets worse. The CIA's domestic espionage was apparently started by the fear of the Vietnam protest movement. Following the present probe, its domestic activities would almost certainly be wound up but this does not mean, there will be a reduction in in-

ternal intelligence activities.

There are several intelligence agencies which can legitimately pick up where the CIA leaves off and continue the same activities. Federally-operated intelligence agencies are numerous and any of them can take up the discarded cloak of the CIA for domestic espionage. Apart from the FBI, three Defence services maintain their own spy networks. Likewise, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Treasury Department and the State Department have their own intelligence agencies. In 1950, a separate and vast international electronic intelligence network was created—the National Security Agency. Then, in 1961 a Defence Intelligence Agency came into being, linking the security intelligence operations of the military services.

This vast intelligence community is not threatened by the recent probe. Its budget is estimated to be somewhere between \$4 billion and \$10 billion a year. This is the educated guess of the respected former editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, Edwin Canham. Senator Proxmire estimated last year that over 148,000 intelligence workers are employed by different intelligence networks of the Federal government. This estimate may be on the low side because it does not include subsidiary alien agencies, businesses which exist by virtue of their contracts with the intelligence agencies and a vast number of de facto investigators scattered throughout the government.

The intelligence community—particularly the CIA—is perhaps shaken up a little bit by the press disclosures of some of its activities. Top members of this community are unlikely, however, to have any moral second thoughts about their work. Some heads have rolled; others may, also, be sacrificed. But the terrible goddess of espionage will not crack or fall from the pedestal. Nor, will the number of its devotees decline.

International Film Festival

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

IN the Fourth International Film Festival held in 1969 the film one easily got a ticket for was Bert Haanstra's documentary, *Water*. In the Fifth held last month in New Delhi work had got round that in Haanstra's documentary this time *Ape and Super-Ape* there are shots of mating, both animal and human. Promptly tickets for it travelled to the black market. The Delhi public, for raising whose film consciousness the costly junket was supposedly held, demonstrated its remarkable knowledge of films by knowing beforehand which of the hundreds shown had how many nudes and what they do in the altogether in or out of bed. The ticket-fetched prices depending on their number, viewpoint of nudity—frontal, sideways or back—and their activities. For the less informed the label A was, on the whole, a dependable guide.

It was fun reading a report in the newspapers of how, for instance, in the Delhi University campus screenings the students demanded re-running of a sequence in a film which showed a copulating couple. As for films like *Godfather* or *Clockwork Orange* whose reputation of gory or sexual frenzies had spread earlier hordes of policemen had to be detailed to control the crowds eager for a ticket which, in any case, was not there except at three figure prices. To quote a report from the weekly *Screen*, "the police had to be called in to control the huge crowd which collected at a hall in Paharganj where a special show of *Godfather* was screened for VIPs. It was one of the unannounced, almost secret shows of festival entries. Obviously the VIPs wanted to see only the sexy 'adults only' entries. . . There was a stampede and it appears that besides the VIPs everyone who had a godfather in the I & B ministry succeeded in getting a pass". Many papers headlined reports of lathi charges at the University campus screenings; one did not have to read the reports to guess which were the film our university stu-

denits made a dash for.

The Delhi public — those; that is, who managed to get tickets and passes — had, one hopefully assumes, their fill of nudity. A great many of the large number screened laid it on pretty thick. In context or out of context (mostly the latter), with provocation or without (mostly the latter), at the drop of a hat or without waiting for it they dropped their clothes. The meaty (literal) fare the films served was ample if, for the most part, indifferently cooked. But then who cared, certainly not the paying or pass-holding public nor those in authority whose business it should have been to see that films had some qualities in addition to depiction of curves, protrusions and cleavages.

To compound this medley of what a film weekly called a blue festival there was endless bungling and worse. A steady refrain in the reports which appeared in newspapers and periodicals during and after the festival was on the ineptitude and lack of control on the part of the organizers. Thus one daily in its issue of January 12, commented that "the Fifth International Film Festival leaving behind bitter memories of the biggest bureaucratic bungling and mismanagement will be remembered for its chaos and confusion only".

'Two Festivals'

Nor was the scandal confined to black-marketing, mismanagement and confusion. After the festival was over *The Statesman* carried a report from its staff reporter on clandestine shows of festival films. It read, "Delhi had not one but two film festivals. The second unofficial but perhaps the more successful was nocturnal. The films were supposed

to have been screened only two or three times. But in fact, some of them were 'used' 12 to 15 times. According to a reliable source and witness to the event a courier of the Ministry of I & B was paid Rs. 500/- for each print given for the clandestine shows... Money, it appears, was not the only commodity used to buy tickets. At some cinema halls a bottle of whisky ensured entry... According to one source 50% (of tickets) was the "quota" for police officers. The University also had its share of festival scandals. A secret show of *Siddharta* was arranged overnight and even the Registrar did not know about it. Tickets were printed at night and distributed the next day".

No wonder an office bearer and representative of the world affiliating body for film festivals was quoted by the correspondent of the *Hindusthan Times* as saying in disgust that Delhi was the last place to have held the festival in and after what he saw he was dead set against holding another one in Delhi. So much for the efficiency of the organisers and the educative value of the festival.

While cinema halls for the regular or the clandestine shows of the 'hot' films got choked with crowds, the films with 'U' certificates ran to comparatively empty houses. A telling comment on the 52000 odd persons who, according to the Minister, I & B, daily saw films during the festival and proved thereby the growing film consciousness of the people, was the sparse number who went to see the one package of films which more than any other rescued the festival from total disrepute. The package was a part retrospective of Chaplin and made up of all his feature length films except *City Lights* and *Countess from Hongkong*.

Chaplin Films

Seeing the films from *The Kid* to *Monsieur Verdoux* — never mind when one had seen them last — gave one a sense of awe and mystery which only the truly great artist can evoke. How many of the countless number of films made since 1920 when Chaplin made *The Kid* one wonders, will bear repeated viewings. Each time something new is dis-

covered and a new understanding experienced. With the limited technological aids at his disposal Chaplin, by the sheer power of his inventive genius, his pantomimic skill, his sense of timing and visual rhythm, his breathtaking range of interpretative gestures, has held in thrall generation after successive generation of viewers of all ages and climes.

In retrospect one is struck by how Chaplin's social commitment steadily grew and finally burst the bonds of cinematic constraints in the direct statements on fascism and capitalist society in *Great Dictator* and *Monsieur Verdoux*. With each successive film he added a new dimension to the archetypal figure of the tramp. By a miraculous composition of filmic language he made this kicked-around little man a creature of profound significance. By the time in *Monsieur Verdoux* Chaplin was finally ready to grow out of him, the ramp had become a symbol as much of oppressed humanity as of the ordinary man's unconquerable spirit. There was never any doubt on which side of the barricade Chaplin chose to be.

But more, perhaps, of what he created as how he did it that left one wonderous and adoring. To have packed so much meaning fitted unobtrusively into a form which has drawn people from all segments of society the world over has been an achievement rarely, if ever, equalled in the history of the cinema. The enormous quantity of erotic rubbish unloaded on the film festival had, after all, its good point. One could get tickets for the Chaplin films without difficulty.

For Frontier contact

VISALANDHRA

BOOK DEPOT,

Srikakulam,

A. P.

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People's Book House

Cowasji Patel Street,

Meher House,

Fort, Bombay

FEBRUARY 8, 1975

Jamini Ray's Retrospective Exhibition

SANDIP SARKAR

Encounter

A year or so before Jamini Ray's death, a friend took me to his house. Jamini Ray was in one of his expansive moods and talked freely about what he thought of the younger generation of artists, which was not much. Finally he paused and looked at us. Not having much to say, I asked him why he did not have an exhibition for the benefit of people like me who had not had the opportunity of seeing his work. Jamini Ray looked straight at me and after a pause asked me to sit on his mat which I did. He brought two of his paintings and placed them on the floor in front of me. Immediately the two paintings were transformed. I confessed the experience to him. He said, that's right. So you are not blind. Actually I do not point at the eye-level as the European painters always do. So hanging my pictures on the walls is beside the point. I am a *patua* and galleries are not for people like me.

I met Mr Hebber two years back when he had an exhibition in the Academy of Fine Arts. He told me he had not included Jamini Ray in his show called 'Twenty-five years of Indian Painting'. To justify Ray's exclusion he said, "I don't consider Jamini Ray to be a painter. A few years back when I was coming to Calcutta, a friend who happens to be a Christian asked me to buy a Christ by Jamini Ray for him. I went to Jamini Ray's studio. On hearing my errand Ray brought out two paintings of the Nativity. One was bigger than the other and had one more cow or donkey. The bigger one was hundred and twenty-five while the smaller one seventy-five only. I was flabbergasted, you know! It was like being in a photographers shop, the bigger the size of the photograph the costlier the price". I told him that Jamini Ray was acting in a very Indian fashion. If you

went to a Dokra metal craftsmen and wanted to buy a baul or an elephant he would ask his price according to the size you chose. The big-sized baul or elephant would be identical to the smaller variety. Jamini Ray identified with the folk artists and not with artists trained in European-style art colleges. Hebber fell silent and said, "Maybe you are right. I have not thought of Jamini Ray in this light."

From eye-witness accounts it would perhaps not be wrong to say that Jamini Ray tried to assume an artistic personality free of colonial trappings. He did not want art to flourish in a hothouse plant atmosphere. He was like the shepherd boy David matched against a touring giant—Abanindranath. The secret of Jamini Ray's success lies in his ability to declass. He refused to identify with the middle-class Bengali babus and Brahmos. His whole stance was fraught with pitfalls and even perhaps unavoidable contradictions. He was willing to accept for instance electricity or cars in his stride, as Buddhadeva Bose has pointed out in his memoirs, but not allowing this to have an impact on his creativity.

Problem of Identity

Two recent studies by Asish Nandy of J. C. Bose and Ramanujan have showed how the problem of identity was faced in scientific disciplines. It was impossible for Bose to arrive at a satisfactory solution because physics and botany demanded strict adherence to certain inherent principles. Ramanujan remained a South Indian Brahmin because pure mathematics did not create problems for his personality. Moreover, Bose was a Brahmo, so to say a Protestant Hindu, while Ramanujan was a Catholic Hindu by the same token. In a similar fashion Jamini Ray was a Catholic Hindu as writers from Bankim

Chandra to Tarasankar and Bibhutibhushan have been in their various capacities. They are people who see the light in modernity but unwilling to accept convention because to them it is meaningless. They are like castles built on rock unmoved by the mighty onrush of a cyclonic or the tremors of an earthquake.

Jamini Ray might have felt the problem of identity acutely or not at all, but he rejected systematically the Western artistic norms he had learnt in the Art School and did not even think of acquiring the beautifully designed shock-absorber that Abanindranath and his disciples had manufactured. He could do this as he did not believe in the rarified version of Indian artistic tradition which was the brain-child of the Orientalists and art historians. To him the tradition of Indian art was the sum total of various local traditions which at times was dissimilar to each other. In other words, he looked at tradition as a social scientist would look at it rather than the historian prone to system-building. So he did not look to the past but to the living present, not to classical or medieval periods but to the grassroots level of folk tradition.

How he arrived at this point needs detailed investigation and one could only guess about the socio-economic forces that made him what he was. Suffice to say that in spite of his lapses and failures he brought Indian artists face to face with the real problem.

The Retrospective

A tree painted by a *patua* is unmistakably a tree: But you can hardly call it an actual tree.

*

In all art, the essential is the child mind. Not the unconscious child. The child produces the things of a child. But the conscious child...

Jamini Ray on art.

The retrospective exhibition of Jamini Ray's work was an experience in itself. It was a strict selection from his works and no wonder: Bishnu Dey tells us that Jamini Ray has 20,000 paintings to his credit. The selection was as good

as it possibly could be as many of his most outstanding paintings are with collectors outside India. Many people forget that it was the Bengali poets and intellectuals who acknowledged his greatness before hundreds of Western art-lovers and connoisseurs, temporarily in uniform during World War II, arrived on the scene. So his folkish approach was not to guile foreigners as some idiotic critics would have us believe.

The selection has paintings which date from 1910 to the very last painting of Last Supper" he did in 1970. One goes through various phases and does not encounter development in the European sense, but growth and maturity. One sees the academically handled portraits he had to do for keeping body and soul together. Then there are certain copies he did as those of Rembrandt and Van Gogh self-portraits. There are outdoor scenes and landscapes done in gouache—a medium which he would perfect later and indigenically—where he tries to understand the impressionists in general and Van Gogh in particular. He was searching and trying to understand what light meant in painting and finally he came to a point where he rejected it. He seemed to have experimented in different styles before he chose and matured in one style. From his earliest period one saw two water colour studies. There is a lady (7) done in wash with a dash and a feeling and a bull done from the hind side (11) which has vigour.

He seemed to be fascinated with women and their graceful postures and is particularly attracted by the mother and child theme. Wherever he has tried to capture certain movements he seemed not to be in his elements, but whenever he has been able to freeze a movement, or to make it static, or study the immobile

part of a rhythm he has been very successful.

The painting part of his drawing is strictly two-dimensional even where he has studied women in terms of volume as a sculptor would do. The lines have vitality and grace and break up the monotony of the flatness of his colours which he was so prone to use. In the more mature period there were instances where he would vary deliberately his flat colours with the use of tonality and use gouache as one would use oil—using one colour on top of the other and letting the opaque colour peep from underneath the transparent one, a trick he taught himself during his oil-colour days. There were paintings that had affinity with Byzantine mosaic and Russian icons and even perhaps with stained glass—that is he identified with the Oriental part of Europe and was at home in its painterly values. As a Hindu he had no difficulty in understanding the life of Christ whom he makes into another avatar.

A Nikhil Biswas or a Rabin Mondal would demythologise the life of Christ and emphasise the passion of Christ to symbolise the suffering of people of India. Jamini Ray would try to understand the whole of Christ's life in terms of simple myths that the villagers of India would understand, not just the passion. It is in the Christ-theme where the age-old catholicity of the syncretic Hindu comes to the forefront. There is Mary with the child Jesus, done as the Queen of Heaven which has a folk flavour. There is the massacre of the children by Herod done in terms of folk puppets and several versions of the Flight to Egypt. In fact there are various versions of incidents from Christ's life where he tackled the problem of stylisation and utilisation of space in a variety of ways. To him the pictorial problem and the handling of theme were complementary. There are times when he failed and times he did not; finally this does not matter.

Jamini Ray has shown a rare awareness of the life around him and the myths the people believed. His farmers, women, birds, cats and animals all seem to be full of life in spite of their stylisation. There are brief periods

when a hardness and a lack of inspiration affect him but there are equally inspired moments. There are drawings done in a very imaginative way where his greatness manifests itself. Even in his later period when he had overburdened himself with limitations of his style he could be lucid and childlike.

Particularly one does not forget in a hurry his three small panel drawings (173A) and scenes from 'Naukabihaar' (173B) and a black-and-white drawing of a bull. 'Garud on Horse (180) has exquisite tonal variation of red. His 'Two Sentries' (170) and three 'Vaisnav women (193) are masterpieces of sustained artistry. Here the drawing, stylisation and application of colours synthesize to become a moving portrayal.

One remains amazed at the way he simplified and yet could be articulate. His colours, although limited in scope, are able to emanate poetry and warmth and his subjects, whether Krishna or a cat, Christ or santal woman vibrate with the vigour of their contours. In spite of his imitators and calendar-makers he has still the power to move us visually. It can be safely said that he is the greatest modern artist India has produced to date.

Letters

Death Sentence

For the first time in the history of the Naxalite movement in Kerala, three revolutionaries have been sentenced to death by a court. Comrades Viswaroopan, Gopinatha Kurukkal and Bhaskara Kurup will be killed by the ruling class for annihilating two notorious landlords and moneylenders in Kilimanoor, South Kerala, on November 14, 1970. Eight other revolutionaries, comrades Damodaran, Gangadharan, Appu, Rajendra Prasad Appu Kuttan, Surendran, Rajendran and Manikantan Nair have been sentenced to life imprisonment. Besides these, four other revolutionaries were sentenced to nine years r.i. for attempting to kill another man in Kilimanoor on the same day.

For Frontier contact

NAVODYA PUBLISHERS,

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Eluru Road,

Andhra Pradesh.

FEBRUARY 8, 1975

Thirty-three revolutionaries were accused, out of whom 18 were acquitted for lack of 'evidence'. Eight revolutionaries did not attempt to defend themselves. Earlier they had proclaimed their utter contempt for the proceedings and their lack of faith in bourgeois courts. Throughout the trial they disturbed the 'solemnity' of the court by shouting slogans. For the past four years they had been fighting a savage battle against oppression within the jails. Lathis and bullets could not put down their revolutionary fervour. Immediately after the sentence was read out, the revolutionaries rocked the court with slogans of the proletarian revolution.

The 165-page judgment treats these revolutionaries as common murderers, as expected. At the time of the annihilation campaign all the parties including the CPM rushed to give a clean chit to the landlords who were annihilated. Yet in the march of history who remembers the Weimar soldiers who murdered Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht? Who remembers the judge who sentenced comrades Madayil Appu, Pedora Narayanan Nair and others—the martyrs of Kaiyoor? Thus many years hence the toiling masses of this country will only remember the slogans that rocked the court in Trivandrum on January 24, 1975; they will only remember Comrades Viswaroopan, Gopinatha Kurukkal and Bhaskara Kurup.

K. Vijayan
Kerala

Attack On Weeklies

We are shocked, though not surprised, to know of the organised raid on **Darpan** and **Frontier** conducted by hooligans in the pay of that very ruling party which is branding its political opponents as "fascists".

A protest is the least thing every democratic-minded man should do. And we do protest—with the feeling that the days of such verbal protests are fast becoming numbered.

Editors, **Prastuti Parba**
Calcutta

Some writers, journalists and intellectuals of Bhopal have issued the following statement to the Press: We strongly condemn the cowardly attack on the offices of **Darpan** and **Frontier**, the well-known leftist weeklies of Calcutta. This is an attack on the freedom of the Press and the freedom of expression, guaranteed by our Constitution.

We demand from the West Bengal Government that the culprits—whoever they may be—be brought to book immediately and dealt with according to the law of the land.

Such attacks on the Press, we note with regret, have become a common feature now-a-days.

Anil Kumar; Balmukund Bharati;
Dinkar Shukla; Dushmant Kumar;
Govind Temer; L. S. Hordonia;
N. K. Singh; N. Rajan; Ram-
prakash Tripathi, Rajesh Joshi;
Sushil Trivedi; Sarad Joshi; Suraj
Potdar Venugopal; V. T. Joshi;
Vidyasagar; Yashwant Argaroy

Bhopal

Who Cares About India?

Did anyone notice the absence of any mention of India in the communique issued after President Ford and CPSU General Secretary Brezhnev's meetings in Vladivostok November 24-25? The important parts of the world, one would gather from the communique, are Central Europe, West Asia and Cyprus. Either the two super-powers have already reached agreement delimiting spheres of influence in the sub-continent or there is an astounding obliviousness to problems of this important area. But then detente—as practised by the USA and USSR—is merely a programme to deal with problems which could threaten their individual or collective well-being. Other matters, India included, are shunted aside.

And why not. From the Soviet vantage point, India is behaving nicely for very little. It appears as though India will be the last country in the world to seek a serious normalisation of relations with China, a step which otherwise would give her needed flexibility in foreign policy. We groan under the strain of food, kerosene, and fertiliser shortages, but placidly accept the

empty results of Mr D. P. Dhar's recent mission to Moscow (at the same time, the USSR was cancelling debts by tens of millions owed her by South Yemen and Somali). We accept a man as Soviet Trade Commissioner in Calcutta who has already been expelled from the UK for spying. Lately it is learned misunderstanding by Indian engineers will leave the costly Calcutta underground tube project far short of funds. For some reason, it had been thought that the USSR was committed to seeing the project through.

As for the Americans, the "new page" turned at the time of the Kissinger visit gives them some leverage in New Delhi. They presumably are happy, or happier, and at any rate more or less conceded a dominant role in India to the USSR. Oil is in their mind. To the extent that the Indo-American Joint Economic Commission can function to permit the American multi-national corporations a role in India, American capability for meddling will increase. Besides, there is always the Shah of Iran to be the American stalking horse. Although now claiming to represent emerging Asia and its interest, the Shah's reputation as an American surrogate is too firmly a matter of record to be denied.

This then is the lesson for Indian policymakers. Today merely left out of communiques, tomorrow Indians interests may be altogether submerged beneath the overriding bilateral concerns of the USSR and USA unless she opens the door to China.

A correspondent
Burdwan

'Socialism'

It is unbelievable but true that Mr Majumdar believes 'that only after Naxalbari' the Indian reaction 'has started singing socialism'. This he wrote in his article in the (Autumn Number) and again in his letter of defence (Jan 18). he supports this more stubbornly. One has to believe then that Mr Majumdar does not know anything about the Nehru brand and the undivided Congress-brand of 'socialism'. This brand of 'socialism' earned mouthful praise from the neo-revisionists and the like.

Tarun Sengupta
Calcutta

FEBRUARY 8, 1975

Operation: Expansion

The Ananda Bazar Group bridges a long awaited communication gap in Calcutta and Eastern India...

with a morning business daily, an
evening daily, plus a Sunday special

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What has been meteoric in its success is that the Group has never lost sight of its obligations to the readers. Nor its farsightedness, anticipating readers' requirements in good time... Recall 'Desh', for instance. When it first appeared, there was no such publication in that category. Or to quote another contrasting example of recent times, the Anandalok Film fortnightly—the only Bengali film magazine of its kind today.

Operation : Expansion 3 big ways

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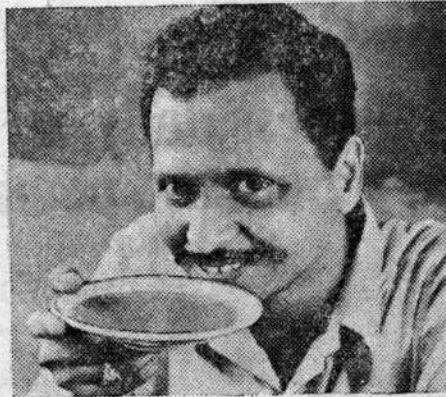
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