

# Frontier

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Editor: Samar Sen

**D**ESPITE their bitter hostility the countries of this subcontinent are apt to display on occasion an astonishing unity of purpose and direction. On the eve of Dr Kissinger's visit to this subcontinent last year, the three sovereign countries of what was previously British India sacked their Finance Ministers. Whether these sacrificial offerings satisfied the American god the governments in Islamabad, New Delhi, and Dacca alone know. A similar uniformity is again emerging in the three countries, though their rulers, as is usual with them, are vehemently denying it. As the biggest and the most powerful country of the region, India has taken the lead. One-party and one-leader democracy is well established in this country; age has made it almost respectable. Opposition parties are not banned; there is no necessity for it, for the youthful supporters of Mrs Gandhi's party and leadership have been authorised to resort to any means to put them in their places. A nod from the leadership and the job is done—quietly and without any dust-raising over the legality and the constitutionality of the suppression. If anyone dares to question such rough-and-ready tactics, he is at once dubbed a fascist, and dictatorship appears on the scene in the garb of a defender of democracy.

Last month, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman staged a constitutional coup to make himself President of Bangladesh. As Prime Minister he was almost as powerful in his country as is Mrs Gandhi in our own. There was one difference, however. The opposition parties in Bangladesh, whatever their numerical strength in Parliament, believed in a tit-for-tat policy; they tried to hit back wherever they could at the student and youth 'bahinis' of the ruling Awami League. The Indian tactic failed in Bangladesh—for once, and Mujib was forced to cast off the fig-leaf and authorise himself to act in any manner he likes without going through the democratic process. Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan was shocked when Prime Minister Mujib transformed himself into President of Bangladesh. Mr Bhutto said he would not do in Pakistan what Sheikh Mujibur Rahman had done to democracy in Bangladesh. True he has not made himself President; maybe because he was President once and knows that power is of the essence and it does not matter by what name he who wields it is called. The powers that he enjoys under the constitution framed under his stewardship and the extraordinary powers conferred on him by the Emergency add up to a frightening monstrosity. He has got the Emergency extended for an indefinite period by a National Assembly

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boycotted by the entire Opposition and armed himself with the power to arrest Assembly members when the House is in session.

The Sheikh of Bangladesh has got the power to ban all political parties in his country save one which will naturally be his own. He has not used the power yet. Mr Bhutto has not done it either. But he has banned the National Awami Party and arrested some 300 of its leaders, including Mr Wali Khan, who was, in effect, the leader of the Opposition in Pakistan. The reason for the swoop is said to be the assassination of Mr Hayat Mohammad Khan Sherpao, Home Minister of NWFP and a trusted colleague of the Pakistan Prime Minister. Mr Sherpao has been described as the main instrument of Mr Bhutto's gold-and-guns policy in NWFP. The Pakistan Prime Minister is determined to put down once and for all "the politics of violence which has its tentacles abroad". Pakistan is not new to this politics; nor, for that matter, India and Bangladesh. The politics of violence in the countries of this subcontinent is often counter-violence. Mr Bhutto was not moved when several opposition leaders, including Khan Abdus Samad Khan Achakzai, were assassinated or when attempts on Mr Wali Khan's life were made. Violence is stalking NWFP and Baluchistan since the dissolution of the elected Ministries in the two provinces in February 1973. The death of a valued colleague has not made Mr Bhutto undo that wrong. On the other hand, he has seized upon the tragedy to further constrict civil liberty and decimate the Opposition. For all their differences and mutual suspicions and rivalries, the governments of Pakistan, India and Bangladesh are united in a common approach to parties of the Opposition. Their differences are superficial, while this unity is basic; and the hollering is designed to mislead others.

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Gauhati-3,  
Assam.

## A Hoax

The Prime Minister is reported to have told the MPs belonging to her party that the Union Industry Minister, Mr T. A. Pai's statement on having a "national sector" should not be construed as marking a shift in the Congress policy on this subject. She tried to give the impression that all that Mr Pai has done was to do a little bit of loud thinking and so should not be taken seriously. It would have been wonderful if others could have treated the matter with equal casualness. In the first place, Mr Pai never said that what he was saying was some sort of thinking aloud. Secondly, he sounded to be extremely cogent and very well prepared as to how much to say. Thirdly, even otherwise, there are indications that the ruling party has also now come to think more or less on Mr Pai's line. What he said amounted to a virtual reversal of the Government's policy on the public sector. He feels that 49 per cent of the share of public sector undertakings should be opened up for holding by big business in the country. This would put their affairs in order and help the nation to save on the substantial wastage of resources accounted for the white elephant that goes by the name of public sector units.

For some time it has been apparent that New Delhi has been trying to do something about the ailing public sector. The late Mr Mohan Kumaramangalam tried a number of gimmicks like inducting the top hats of private sector units into the administration and setting up leviathans like the Steel Authority of India Limited (SAIL). Mr Pai in turn also tried a few other things like decentralisation of administrative powers, workers' participation in management and so on. But none of these has really worked, in spite of all the claims made by Mr Pai that some of the heavy engineering and electrical units have turned the corner and are doing wonderfully well. The fact is that there has been an obvious crisis of confidence at the highest level. Also, it is being made increasingly clear that the Government is in league with the powerful vested interests who have been trying to

sabotage the public sector in one way or the other. There is thus more to Mr Pai's statement than meets the eye. It actually amounts to a kind of abashed surrender to the forces of capitalism, whose representative the Congress is. All the talk about socialism, which is supposed to be manifested in the public sector, has been just a hoax played on the people so far. And now the game has come to call it off. Mr Pai has unwittingly let the cat out of the bag. It will just not be possible to undo

## Congress And CPI

Before it made itself an awkward patrol of the Congress, the logic of leaders that democratic forces without the Congress should unite in some sense to some people in 1969. In spite of its initial scepticism, the CPI evidently came round to the same view when it supported bank nationalisation and Mr Giri as President. Later developments in West Bengal and elsewhere jolted the CPI(M) out of all its might it might have had about the Congress. Fools of the CPI however, could not be held back and they rushed in where others had feared to tread.

What is the present situation of the Congress, against the background of a snap election which now does not seem altogether certain? Just how much has the CPI achieved? What has happened since 1969? The so-called progressive forces in the Congress have got on their feet. Messrs Dhar and Bhanu are no longer in the Union Cabinet. Kumaramangalam and Mishra (a progressive, according to the CPI) are gone. Ganesh has been transferred; Rajgopal Reddy is so weak and ineffective that he cannot take a single decision on his own; Yadav has been pushed into the sidelines, into the Steel and Mines Ministry; Khadilkar and Malaviya are no longer the weights they used to be. Sharma is a joke. As for P. R. Narayana Murthy, well, space is valuable these days.

On the other hand, who are the who control the Congress now? Undoubtedly, Mr Jagjivan Ram, who has lasted Mishra; Mr Chandrasekhar,

## Sub-Regional Groups

M. S. P. writes:

Of late there has been a proliferation of sectional organisations in Assam. These are generally intended to be pressure groups to further the interests of a region or a part thereof. A Dakshin Kamrup Unnayan Samithi might conceivably be exactly what it says: and one need not feel too perturbed about these purely sub-regional groups even when they have explicitly political aims. But it is an altogether different matter with organisations with explicit sectional characteristics, and of late, each week seems to bring the news of yet another organisation, seeking to promote the interests of this or that group. In itself, an organisation proclaiming to promote the interests of this or that people, this or that region, is neither good nor bad. One can even argue that, in the kind of 'democracy' we have, such organisations perform at least a useful function as pressure groups. But when all objective evidence points to the fact that such organisations are in fact inspired and even patronised by the ruling class itself, then one needs to be sceptical about their claims that they are only interested in the welfare of their 'constituents'. One does not know how it is in other parts of the country, but in Assam at any rate, the sectional and regional organisations that have been mushrooming all over the place all seem to have derived their inspiration and patronage from the ruling party itself. A notable case has been the federation of Other Backward Classes, which was the brainchild of the present President of the Congress party, and through which, the ruling party has been able to hold on to power in Assam.

The most recent of these sectional groupings in Assam is the All Assam Muslim Parishad, formed recently at Gauhati, after a two-day convention. The delegates to the convention were overwhelmingly urban and petit bourgeois in character, and a majority of them were either government servants or businessmen and contractors. Even though the immigrant peasantry forms the largest single chunk of the Muslims of

Assam, there was scant representation of that section. The convention was also officially patronised, not merely in that it was inaugurated and addressed and participated in by present and past and hopeful Ministers, but the Government of Assam opened its stalls in the convention. After two days of deliberations, the convention adopted a constitution and elected an executive committee. The objectives of the organisation are unexceptionable, even if one has reservations about the alleged 'specifically Muslim' problem. But the organisation's innocent description of itself as 'non-political' seems at best disingenuous. One can only see in this yet another instance of a sectional organisation—inspired and abetted by the ruling party—part of the new strategy of the Congress to keep the faithful in line. With the Muslim masses astir all over the country, the assertion of a politically independent role by the Muslims has to reach Assam too, sooner or later. Earlier the Muslims always seemed to vote en bloc for the Congress party, or on rare occasions (as in 1967), vote en bloc against it; either way, they were a known category. But due to the sharpening contradictions within the Muslim society itself, this tendency has been weakening. In Assam, one of the surest 'bloc votes' the Congress could always depend upon was the so-called immigrant Muslim vote. But of late, the hold of the Muslim village leaders has shown signs of slackening. Also, with the emergence of a 'friendly' Bangladesh, the immigrant/infiltrator of yesterday, whose status so often depended on the mercy and goodwill of the village elder (who could, if he wanted, denounce anyone he did not like as a Pakistani infiltrator), has no need to be defensive about his status in Assam any more, and a greater variety of political choice is now open for him. The Congress sees a great threat to itself in the greater choice available to a once dependable ally, and is compelled to restrict the choice. It is imperative for the Congress to make the Muslim feel that he is still a member of a besieged community, whose welfare could be best 'protected' only by the Congress. So

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the need to organise the Muslims, and the Other Backward Classes, separately. But while the minorities could have been, once upon a time, browbeaten into believing that they would be lost but for the Congress, these tricks will not work any more. Later this month, the parliamentary by-election for the Barpeta seat (held by Mr Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed) is due, and it is not at all certain that the once faithful will once again trot out in droves and vote Congress. In a "Muslim majority" constituency, Biswa Goswami, the Socialist leader, is fighting as a candidate of the non-CPI opposition, and a victory for him would surely be a defeat for the communal policies of the Congress.

## All India Radio

If a tally is made—over a period of, say, a month—of the number of times AIR's newscasts lead off with the all too familiar phrase, "The Prime Minister has said...", it will be a substantial figure. And if to this were added the occasions when the same words occur in relation to other Ministers and to the President and members of the ruling party, the total would be quite staggering.

The national broadcasting organisation in India has been reduced to a mere record player churning out propaganda designed to promote the interests of the party in power. And since a news bulletin carried over the national hook-up commands an audience numbering, not a few thousands but many millions, the sweep and depth of this ceaseless activity is easy to imagine.

AIR, as now it is known to all, is totally under the control of the Government and the party in power. The present Prime Minister, when she first joined the Government as Information and Broadcasting Minister, set up a committee to examine the structure and functioning of AIR, but the committee's most important recommendation that broadcasting should be entrusted to an autonomous corporation was summarily rejected. What has been the actual

effect of the Government's total control over the radio and TV media, and in what ways and through which channels is this control exercised? AIR has three fundamental areas of operation—programmes, engineering and administration. Of these, the first, being the *raison d'être* of any broadcasting system, offers the biggest example of the impact of the ruling party's ideas and intentions on the way the broadcasts are planned and presented though the Government's interference in the other two areas is not altogether unknown. It is not that, in every case, a written directive is sent to the Director-General or his subordinates; obviously such a practice could prove embarrassing, even damaging, in certain situations. Very often, a discreet hint is thrown; or the AIR functionaries themselves take their cue from the Ministry's known attitude to a particular subject or development. The railway strike of last year provided a good example of this subtle suggestiveness. The entire news set-up in Broadcasting House and in the regions geared itself to the task of "breaking" the strike, by making it appear to listeners throughout the country that the strike had begun to peter out almost as soon as it had started. Since the countless far-flung and isolated batches of railwaymen had no immediate means of knowing the real state of affairs in different parts of the country, the effect of the broadcasts on their thinking and actions could be easily understood. Broadcasting organisations of other countries, like the BBC, do not normally lend their services to slavishly in the furtherance of such tactics. Another exercise in the art of make-believe was the arranging of a few discussions, featuring a few opposition leaders among the panelists. But none of these hardly served to bring the real issues into a clear focus. In fact, one of these broadcasts clearly showed that some of the words spoken by Shafi Qureshi, then Deputy Railway Minister, were taken out from the recording—obviously because they were unpalatable to the administration. The treatment meted out to Dr K. N. Raj, the eminent economist, is another case in point. His remarks, in the course of a discussion on the Government's handling of anti-social elements, offended the authorities

and were excised from the records without his consent or knowledge.

In fact, over-playing certain areas and under-playing certain others, totally ignoring certain happenings and developments—these are the traits of AIR. Its emphasis on empty verbiage of Ministers and members of the ruling party has made it an expensive luxury stock.

## Albanian Publications

History of the Party of Labor of Albania (21.25); The Party of Labor of Albania in Battle with Modern Revisionism (21.25); Some Questions of Socialist Construction in Albania (100.00); of the Struggle against Revisionism (8.50); Report on the 5th Five Year Plan (1971-75)—M. Shkedy (10.62); E. Hoxha—Speeches (11.90); Hoxha—Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA (8.50); The Govt. of the People's Republic of Albania will be guided by all its activity by the Marxist-Leninist general Line of the Party (1.70).

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For Frontier contact

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## A Downward Spiral for Thieu

HARI SHARMA

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...Kissinger gave Thieu a million dollar personal...  
...the Paris Agreements two...  
...This has been reveal...  
...Catholics in Saigon who...  
...calling for the overthrow of...  
...regime as the only way to...  
...the 1973 Agreements.

...has been a constant of...  
...in Vietnam. Another...  
...the Vietnamese peoples' de...  
...Washington's schemes to firmly...  
...a puppet regime in their

...the capture of the provincial...  
...of Phuoc Binh, 75 miles north...  
...by the Provisional Revolu...  
...Government of Vietnam (PRG).  
...the province of Phuoc Long, on...  
...border, rich in rubber

...and with a population of...  
...10,000 is now PRG territory.  
...Binh is the first provincial...  
...to be liberated since Quang Tri...  
...Unlike the several smaller...  
...bases captured by the PRG in...  
...months, where the Saigon forces...  
...did without putting up a serious

...Phuoc Binh was a scene of in...  
...The decisive military de...  
...attestified political opposition...  
...in Saigon itself. Leaders of...  
...Anti-Corruption movement...  
...are calling for Thieu's ouster.  
...regime to his defeat was to...  
...the days of "mourning" in...  
...closing down night clubs,

...and coffee houses.  
...the Phuoc Binh, fierce battles...  
...were raging simultaneously across...  
...from neighbouring Tay Ninh...  
...55 miles northwest of Saigon...  
...provinces in the agricultural...  
...Mekong Delta region south and...  
...of Saigon, and as far as 240...  
...northeast of Saigon where more...  
...million gallons of Thieu's mili...  
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...was knocked out on Janu...  
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in Cambodia. PRG spokesmen have said that the "present actions were only directed to remind the Americans that they had to end their interference in our affairs" and that it was impossible for the U.S. to win militarily.

Why all this fighting—two years after the signing of the Paris Agreement for which Kissinger was given the Nobel "Peace" prize?

The answer is simple. Neither Thieu, nor his American backers are willing to carry out the agreements they signed. The ink had hardly dried when Nixon announced the U.S. would recognise only the Thieu regime as the "sole legitimate government of South Vietnam". The Agreement recognised two equal parties, one being the PRG.

Thieu said he would not recognise the Agreement even as a piece of paper. He banned publication, distribution and discussions of the Accord. This needs to be contrasted with the attitude of the PRG and Hanoi. After spending a week in the PRG zone in 1974, New York Times correspondent, James Markham, wrote that: "One of the most striking things to a visitor is the exaltation of the (Paris) accords, which occupy a place in public proclamations and propaganda that sometimes seem to rival the stature of the revered last testament of Ho Chi Minh. Handwritten copies hang from the walls of village offices". Another U.S. correspondent found the Agreement was "used as a text to teach illiterate adults how to read".

The Paris Agreement was a major victory for the Vietnamese. It forced the U.S. to end its bombing (the most intense in world history), to end its blockade of ports and to withdraw hundreds of thousands of troops. It recognised the PRG and that Vietnam is one country. Thieu and his repressive regime were left intact in Saigon but the Agreement created political mechanisms for solutions to outstanding problems. The PRG supported the overwhelming desire for peace of the Viet-

namese people and were confident of their popular support.

Thieu and the Americans knew they were isolated and feared the democratic, political arena. So they have sabotaged the Agreements. That is why the 200,000 prisoners held in various Thieu jails and tiger cages were never released. In fact, more people were rounded up "Let those who continue to advocate a coalition government of three parts stand up and be counted. I am certain that the people and the army will not let them live for more than 5 minutes". Thieu threatened. (The coalition government is part of the Paris Agreement).

With the full support of Washington, Thieu continued military attacks on territory given to the PRG at Paris. A U.S. Senate report released in January 1974 commented: "...one year after the signing of the Paris agreement, there is little indication that our government objectives have substantially changed, although American troops and military advisers were withdrawn, a vast army of civilian contractors and advisers filled their slots, as one journalist phrased it, the U.S. did not so much withdraw the troops as it withdrew their uniforms... the fact remains that many thousands of Americans are still in South Vietnam doing essentially what they were doing before". The US retreated to former President Kennedy's strategy of "special warfare" that already had been defeated by the Vietnamese people.

Despite the severe cuts in military and financial aid imposed by the US Congress on the amount of aid to be given to Thieu, Kissinger has tried to get around Congress by backdoor budget manipulations. Large amounts of US funds as well as those from other countries have been funneled through

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the World Bank and its subsidiary International Development Association.

Until October 15, 1973 the PRG allowed the Thieu forces to "nibble", to invade PRG territory and over-extend themselves. For 9 months they waited, consolidated their forces and established conclusively for the Vietnamese that they were for peace, and Thieu and the Americans were for war.

On October 15, 1973 the PRG decided to resist further Saigon encroachments. On November 4 they moved to recapture those areas seized by Thieu since the Paris Agreements.

A U. S. correspondent described it this way in August 1974: "A Saigon unit"—often battalion size—will push into PRG territory and go in with everything perfectly quiet, no one contesting them, nothing happening. They get to the place where they're going, set up camp and start cooking dinner. At about six or seven at night, they get hit. I am told that there have been cases where a battalion goes in and three people come out".

No puppet army could continue to take this kind of a beating for long. Desertions and low morale, which were characteristic of the Saigon army during the pre-Paris days, became even more wide-spread.

The economic crisis in the Saigon-controlled areas also intensified. By October 74 more than a million people were without jobs in the Saigon zone. The Mayor of Da Nang reported 90,000 people unemployed in the city, with 20% of its population facing starvation.

The political effects of this growing crisis came to the open this Fall. In

Saigon Thieu's last support among the Catholic population crumbled. The "third force" which Thieu persistently tried both to ignore and suppress showed itself in massive demonstrations calling for his overthrow. Six new popular organizations were formed: The People's Movement Against Corruption, The People's Organization for the Implementation of the Paris Agreement, The Committee to Struggle for Freedom of the Press and Publication, The Force for National Reconciliation, The People's Front Against Famine and for National Salvation, The Committee to Defend Workers' Interests, representing the most diverse interests and political groupings, but all opposed to Thieu.

On October 8, 1974 the PRG also called for Thieu's ouster, lending support to growing political opposition and undercutting U.S. efforts to keep him in place. Scores of American officials including Deputy Defense Secretary William Clements, Henry Cabot Lodge, and such old CIA hands and luminaries as Gen. Edward G. Lansdale, James Delaney and of course the U.S. Ambassador to Saigon, Graham Martin, travelled back and forth between Washington and Saigon in great haste. Things were moving too fast and getting out of their control at a faster and faster rate. It was becoming clear that Thieu had to go. He no longer could provide Washington its foreign toe-hold. Another servant had to be found. The trick is to dump Thieu in such a way that the popular opposition would not be encouraged to work out a peaceful solution with the PRG. The trick hasn't been pulled off yet.

In his own interest, to look indispensable, Thieu hastened to intensify military action. In early December he ordered large-scale burning of PRG rice fields, ready for harvest, thus provoking military actions. But now he has bit off more than he can chew.

The current PRG military victories further erode support for the Thieu regime. Military, economic and political crises reinforce one another.

It is not a vicious circle. For Thieu and the U.S. it is a downward spiral.

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## প্রতিভা

বর্তমান সংখ্যা প্রকাশিত হ'ল

দুপুর—৩২ই।১, বাবুরাম বোধ রোড,

কোলকাতা-৪০

# Sikkim and India During British Raj

SOURMEN BANERJEE

mitted a report of great interest, full of information regarding that country. The most important subject which came immediately before Government was the question of the best route for the development of commercial transactions with Tibet from our territories. An opinion had been expressed that the line to be encouraged would be the route through Sikkim from Darjeeling, in connection with the Northern Bengal Railway (then being undertaken). While all attempts for the exploration of the routes into Tibet from the Bhutan, Duars and the Assam Valley had hitherto failed and a passage through the Nepalese districts to the West would have to be secured through foreign and semi-civilised territory, Sir J. Edgar's personal experience confirmed the assurance that a safe and practicable line of communication could be effected in almost a direct course to the Tibetan frontier passing through a country in friendly relations and willing to afford assistance. Sir R. Temple recommended that effect should be given to the provisions of the Treaty of 1861 with the Sikkim Raj which referred to the construction of a road through its territory". (ibid 650).

How did a State which was referred to by a high ranking official of the then British Government in 1873-74 as 'a country in friendly relations', become a part of India under the British Raj? Mr H. H. Risley's introduction to the official Gazetteer of Sikkim 1894, quoted in the same book runs as follows: "The Chinese Government, moved partly by our diplomatic remonstrances and partly by fear lest we should treat the Lingtu demonstration as a pretext for entering Tibet in force, would compel the Lasha authorities to adjust their relations with Sikkim on a basis involving the recognition of our predominance in that state.

"Our expectations were signally disappointed. Not only did the Tibetans

hold their ground at Lingtu with characteristic Mongolian obstinacy but their refusal to receive letters or to enter into negotiations with us soon began to produce an alarming effect in Sikkim. When called upon to visit Darjeeling in June 1887 for the purpose of conferring with the Lieutenant-Governor concerning the affairs of his State, (with a view to inducing him to modify his relation with Tibet and to return to his previous friendly policy towards this Government), the Raja of Sikkim, after exhausting the standard Oriental excuses, replied in so many words that he and his people in 1886 signed a treaty declaring that Sikkim was subject only to China and Tibet. He was, therefore, unable to come to Darjeeling without the express permission of the Tibetan Government". (ibid, p. 844-845).

These circumstances let the then British rulers to the conclusion which has been stated in the same book as follows: "Things clearly had gone so far that unless we bestirred ourselves in a speedy and effective fashion, Sikkim would either become once for all a province of Tibet or if we were not prepared to acquiesce in that solution of the difficulty, would have to be regularly conquered by us" (emphasis mine) (ibid 845).

It is now clear that to safeguard their imperial interests of trade and commerce, the British Government, on the plea of resisting Chinese influence in Sikkim, had conquered Sikkim, as a weak China, a weak Nepal and a weaker Sikkim were not in a position to face the mighty imperialist power. Subsequent studies of the history of the British conquest of India will lead us to the conclusion that the British administrative control was extended up to Burma and Ceylon in the same process. The agreement of 1890 was imposed upon a weak China and a weaker Sikkim by the powerful British.

These facts expose how Sikkim was made a part of India under the British Raj. If this principle is accepted, there is no doubt that Burma and Ceylon also were parts of India under the British Raj.

Olaf Caroe, the last British head of the Political Department in India has stated that Sikkim was a part of India under the British Raj. According to the 1890 agreement between the representatives of China and the British Government in India, Sikkim came into the legal and moral domain of such agreements and treaties made through a British eye, the same before the conclusion of the agreement and what prompted the successors of Sir Olaf Caroe to make such an agreement on its frontier with China and Sikkim so that "a State situated between Bhutan and India became part of India under British Raj".

Coming to the particular question of Sikkim, let us see what was the policy of the imperial rulers towards small States on the frontiers. Following lines from the authentic Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governor will help us to understand this. "The punitive measures which have been adopted from time to time against the hill tribes beyond the frontier have failed to be sufficiently effective. The policy of controlling them from within was determined upon". (p. 906 emphasis mine). Further references in the book will lead one to conclude that the case of Sikkim also, when the policy of controlling it from without was adopted by the imperial

the small State Sikkim, the same policy was adopted. "There has been no occasion to mention Sikkim affairs since the time of Sir R. Temple and J. Edgar in the country". Please note the words "the country". Also the following lines from the same book will be helpful in determining the position of Sikkim: "On his tour in Sikkim in the cold months of 1873-74 Sir J. Edgar sub-

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About Sir Olaf, with whom we started, this is what Mr Karunakar Gupta writes in his *The Hidden History of The Sino-Indian Frontier*, [Minerva Associates (Publications) Pvt. Limited, Calcutta, 1974, Price Rs. 30]:

"A study of the career of Sir Olaf Caroe would show that this formidable scholar, who had served as the Foreign Secretary of India under the British Raj during 1939-1945, was a vehement critic of Nehru's policy of non-alignment tinged with anti-colonialism, and tried to bolster up Pakistan as against India by pleading in favour of military aid to Pakistan with high level State Department officials in the U.S.A. in 1951. While serving in New Delhi, he arranged in 1938 the publication of a spurious version of Aitchison's *Treaties* relating to Tibet, suppressing the original edition. His purpose was to falsely assert that the abortive tripartite Simla Conference of 1913-1914 was a partial success and it fixed the Northeastern frontier of India along the Himalayan crest line, i.e. the MacMahon line by a bilateral Anglo-Tibetan declaration while the Sino-Tibetan boundary line could not be settled due to Chinese intransigence... it was an irony of history that when the India-China border dispute became an open issue since September 1959, the Government of India sought the help of Sir Olaf Caroe to argue its case for the MacMahon Line... Sir Olaf Caroe paid a visit to India in the fall of 1963, on the invitation of the Government of India for the ostensible purpose of advising them on the problem of Tibetan refugees settled in India. Reportedly, it was on his advice that the Government of India absorbed a large number of Tibetan exiles in manning the frontier posts along the whole stretch of the Himalayan frontiers after giving them necessary military training. This has been an act of gross diplomatic blunder on the part of India, which has been reciprocated by China giving support to the irredentist minority leaders of Kashmir, Nagaland, Mizoram etc...."

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## Madhya Pradesh

### After Jabalpur

N. K. SINGH

THE stunning defeat of the Congress-CPI alliance at the hands of a 'people's candidate' in the Jabalpur Lok Sabha by-election has shattered the confidence of the ruling party in Madhya Pradesh, coming as it did, in the wake of its debacle in the Govindpura Assembly constituency some time ago. Jabalpur was considered a traditional stronghold of the party. The late Seth Govind Das represented the constituency for the last half-a-century. In the 1971 mid-term poll he retained the seat by a margin of about 90,000 votes. The by-election was caused by his death. The Congress ticket was given to a grandson of the late Seth, Ravimohan, obviously to cash in on the 'family appeal'.

The 'people's candidate', Sharad Yadav, was jointly supported by the Jan Sangh, Socialist Party, BLD, Congress (O), CPM and Sarvodaya workers — unlike Govindpura where the BLD had put up a separate candidate. The 26-year-old Yadav, a student leader till recently a dark horse in State politics, polled 1,73,029 as against 85,667 secured by Ravimohan. His landslide victory by 87,362 votes was, to borrow the Chief Minister's phrase, 'unexpected'.

The Congress nominee trailed behind his rival in all the eight Assembly constituencies comprising the Jabalpur Lok Sabha constituency — all of which had, significantly returned Congressmen, including two members of the present Ministry, in the last Assembly elections. Though the generally anti-Congress trend in Jabalpur was known few thought that the ruling party would suffer such an ignominious defeat, and that too at the hands of a comparatively young candidate.

In fact, Yadav was virtually pitchforked into the electoral battle primarily because no opposition party wanted to 'waste' its resources on the by-election. They were guided by two considerations — the massive funds at the disposal of the ruling party and the mounting spec-

ulation about a snap poll to the Lok Sabha. Though all the non-congress opposition parties, particularly the Jan Sangh and the Socialist Party — Sharad belongs to the latter — campaigned vigorously for Yadav, they obviously did not expect this startling victory.

The Congress debacle may have serious repercussions on the party's organisational set-up in the State. Even the formation of an ad hoc PCC is said to be very much on the cards. The Chief, Mr N. K. Sharma, has already offered to quit the post along with some of the controversial office-bearers.

However, the high command may not disturb the Chief Minister, Mr P. V. S. Sethi, at this stage — at least till the next session of the State Assembly opens in April — despite his offer to resign and an all-out demand for his ouster. While all the opposition parties, except the CPI, have urged his resignation on "moral grounds" — the blow at Jabalpur was the fifth in a row of crushing electoral defeats in about a year — the Congress dissidents say that the present "factional" leadership of the party has failed to live up to its role.

That Mr Sethi has owned it as a personal defeat and at the same time offered to quit office if the high command held him "responsible for the electoral defeats" is being interpreted here as a mere gimmick. If it is really a personal defeat how come that he is not "responsible" for it.

#### Passing The Buck

The fact is that Mr Sethi is trying to blame it on others. For example, he has discovered now, all of a sudden, that corrupt practices indulged in by the Yadav and their high-handedness alienated a large section of the rural masses from the ruling party. According to him, the officials had "deliberately" interpreted the various progressive measures of the Government — such as the Ceiling Act and the newly-enforced development Act — in such a way that the farmers had either voted against Congress or refrained from voting. The tashildars had for instance, asked the cultivators to fill in the land records — which remains unimplemented for practical purposes — forms through those cultivators who have land in

together with his family members. Top administrative officials of the district and contingents of subordinates danced attendance on him all the time. Several other Ministers and VIPs camping in the constituency were no less ostentatious.

The Chief Minister used a helicopter, with its prohibitive operational cost, to address meetings at places within a few miles of each other in a relatively small constituency (the scores of helipads constructed for this purpose are said to have cost Rs. 25 lakhs). Sethi's helicopter tripe—which attracted hostile slogans and at places stone-throwing and consequential lathi-charge—must have cost the party quite a few thousands of votes.

On top of all this, there was the anti-Congress wave.

By now the Congress has lost five of the eight by-elections since Mr Sethi came to power. Its strength has been reduced in the various local bodies elections too. Out of the 90 corporation whose results have been declared so far, it has lost 57 to various opposition parties. Two more by-elections to the Vidhan Sabha are due so on. The high command is naturally worried.

#### Tailpiece

According to a newspaper report Sethi said that the Jabalpur election result should not be taken as a localised phenomenon. "It is a pointer", he said.

## The Full Circle

VIJAY JAYAVEERA

IT was the coming of the full circle and though the 'thirties are a far cry from the 'seventies' there were no problems of recognition; no problems of rapport. Meanwhile much has changed. The man has undergone many transmutations and the party has descended from virulence to decadence. Therefore the coming together, too, was easy. It was like father recognising son, or was brother recognising brother?

Thus it came to pass that Mr Jayaprakash Narayan, ex-Marxist, ex-revolutionary, in Lenin's lexicon a repegade, was welcomed by a guard of honour of the CPM HQ in the city of Bombay, to explain the meaning and content of his 'total revolution' to their members and activists. Knowing well the difficulty in trying to sell J.P. to the rank and file, the party leadership had hit upon the stratagem of making J.P. sell himself. The medium is the message, and he came dressed in khadi, wearing a knowing smile, the perfect picture of a middle-class Indian playing at revolution.

Admission to the meeting was restricted to party members and activists. Passes were issued through the mass organisations and local branches of the party which, having chosen parliamentary cretinism as its abiding quality has no alternative but to join the general scramble for power that passes off as politics in

this country.

The tragi-comedy of neo-revisionism is that it can neither go the whole hog by tying itself to the chariot wheels of capital like revisionism, nor can it stand up and fight against the attacks of the ruling class like a revolutionary party. Caught between the desire to run and the desire to surrender, it chooses to engage itself in shadow-boxing. In the process, 'mass-movements', 'broad united fronts', and much other terms are bandied about; in the process, seats are weighed, combines are made; in the process politics degenerates into politicking, and the country slowly but surely inches its way into a conflict between imperialism and social-imperialism. But for a party which refuses to recognise the danger of social-imperialism and understands the present conflict as a fight for 'electoral reforms' and 'clean administration' such issues do not rise. They think and act in terms of electoral battles and electoral reforms, not realising that today the contradictions within the ruling class have become acute vis-a-vis its alignment with the two imperisms. In such a situation a revolutionary party cannot keep away from the masses; and the masses have undoubtedly rallied behind Mr Narayan.

But there is a fundamental difference between revolutionary participation and

to the prescribed limit were required returns. This led to considerable discontent among the illiterate people who had to seek the assistance of agents in filling the 15-page form. They often pay large sums, in some cases as high as Rs. 200 to Rs. 400, for the service.

Mr Sethi may have "discovered" the common and high-handedness of his only at Jabalpur, but it is an open secret that the entire implementation machinery of the government has been at the beck and call of the rich and poor farmers are made to

fact, there is an apprehension that the official machinery for Jabalpur debacle, the Chief Minister wants to kill two birds with the same stone to clear himself of responsibility for defeat; and scrapping of various agricultural taxes to oblige the kulak

is already talk in the air about growing some "irksome" farm taxes "alienated the rural voters". At the meeting of the party's coordinating committee, it was suggested that a tax like agricultural immovable property tax (which is yet to be enforced to various loopholes left deliberate in the Act) and rural development should be scrapped, and land revenue doubled. It is to be noted that while the taxes affect only the richer section, the increase in land revenue would affect the small farmers. Whose game is Mr Sethi playing? Mr Sethi might have had hard for his candidate. But it is a fact that it was his extravagance which alienated the voters more than anything else. For instance, at an election meeting he addressed in a semi-urban area, his entourage consisted of 71 Government vehicles.

Senior Minister on election tour occupies an entire spit in the Circuit House

Frontier contact

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revisionist participation. A revolutionary party seeks to attain the commanding heights in any mass movement. It constantly criticises—unites—criticises and thereby raises the revolutionary consciousness of the masses. The keynote in such participation is the hegemony of the party of the proletariat. On the other hand, the revisionist parties never attempt to impose their hegemony. They talk about common programmes; but what is common to them and the reactionaries is the electoral system. Therefore all mass movements degenerate into attempts at propping up the shaky parliamentary system by reforming it. Thus with one stroke, mass discontent is diverted into safe channels; it turns to apathy. And this is precisely what the revisionist parties aim at. They project the whole issue as a choice between Mrs Gandhi and Mr Narayan. The choice between the two is not a choice between Tweedledum and Tweedledee; it is a choice between the devil and the deep sea.

Having made their choice the CPM leadership invited him over to convince their rank and file about the 'revolutionary' necessity of the choice. The party was represented by the red flags, S. T. Kolhatkar, the State secretary, a sprinkling of cadres, curious crowds who were induced in to fill up the thin audience, and the volunteers who formed the guard of honour. After the State Secretary's welcome speech, Mr Narayan spoke for about 20 minutes. Predictably he raked up old mebories. The days of the CSP, the time when Kolhatkar took the name Kulkarni, and the party was underground. The rapport achieved, JP went on to convince the rank and file that he was as revolutionary as they. On the role of the working class in his 'total revolution', he said that they should fight the corruption in their factories; contribute towards the struggle in Bihar; take out morchas... and after that, what? And what about the Jan Sangh? Oh! yes, Jan Sangh. Well, to put it simply, it has changed. After all parties do change, don't they? And then Mr Narayan pointed out how the CPM itself has changed its attitude to him. With that parting shot the show was declared over. Questions were overruled in advance. Re-

visionism fears the ranks.

In this age of peoples' war revisionism seeks to distort reality. Having got rid of its revolutionary ideology it tries to pass off as a 'gentleman'. Thus the right CP begins its party congress with the anthem of the Indian ruling class, and the CPM invites a rank outsider, to address its members and activists. This

is a new development in the degeneration of revisionism, and as such it is a series of 'firsts' about which the bourgeois press is crowning. Indian communism which began in the bosom of bourgeois nationalism, matured in a love-hate relationship; and today we are only witnessing the return of the prodigal son. It is the coming of the full circle.

## The Dange Letters: Some Fresh Material

DWIJENDRA NANDI

ARE the "Dange Letters"—the discovery and publication of which created a great commotion in communist circles in particular in 1964—forged or genuine? The controversy is not yet over. Fresh material now available may throw some light which may help to resolve the controversy. But before the issue is once again discussed in the light of some documents relating to the Court proceedings of the Kanpur Bolshevist Conspiracy Case and the Meerut Conspiracy Case now available for consultation in the National Archives, let us recall what these "Dange Letters" are.

A bunch of four letters, purported to have been written by Shri S. A. Dange in 1924, first an accused and later convicted in the Kanpur Conspiracy Case and in jail, was found in Government of India Home Department's files (the first three in file No 421-Poll. of 1924 and the fourth in file No. 278-Poll. of 1925) as available in the National Archives. The first one in this bunch is dated 24th May 1924 and signed by 'Shripad Amrit Dange', the second one dated 7th July 1924 is jointly signed by 'Shripad Amrit Dange' and 'Nalini Bhusan Das Gupta', the third one dated 28th July is signed by 'Shripad Amrit Dange' and the fourth one dated 16th November 1924 is signed by 'Shripad Amrit Dange'. The first two are addressed to the District Magistrate, Cawnpore, while the other two to His Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council. In the letter of the 28th July 1924, the signa-

tory Shripad Amrit Dange said:

"I might also refer to another incident. Exactly one year back, the Deputy Commissioner of Police, of Bombay Mr Stewart was having a conversation with me, in his office, regarding my relations with M. N. Roy and an anticipated visit to me of certain persons from abroad. During the course of the conversation the Honourable officer let drop a hint, in the following words, the import of which I failed to catch at the moment. Mr. Stewart said, 'you are in an exceptionally influential position in a certain circle here and abroad. Government would be glad if this position were of some use to them'. I think I still hold that position. Rather it has been enhanced by the prosecution. If Your Excellency is pleased to think that I should use that position for the good of the country, I should be glad to do so if I am given the opportunity by Your Excellency granting my prayer for release".

In 1964, Shri Dange at the Annual meeting of the National Council of the Communist Party of India (CPI) announced that those letters were "forged" and "never wrote such letters" and pointing out "crucial discrepancies" in the letters said (vide Shri Dange's Report to the National Council as published in the CPI Weekly New Age dated 24th March 1964):

"The first thing to note is that I am supposed to be signing my own name

be spellings. My name Shripad signed with 'D' in letters from jail and it is signed with 'T' in letters written from Sitapur Jail". The spelling mistake in your name is easily made, if you are signing your name. It is specially difficult, although possible, if the change in the name leads to a complete change in the name itself. The change from 'd' to 't' changes my name completely, in pronunciation and in meaning".

From the reply to a question which was asked by the Minister of State in the Ministry of Finance Shri B. R. Bhagat gave an answer in Lok Sabha on June 4, 1964 it became known that Shripad Amrit Dange of 9 Kahinoor Road of Bombay was the same person as Shri S. Amrit Dange under that name held Rs 30,000 worth of shares in M/s Raisina Publications (P) Ltd (owners of the Delhi newspaper 'Patriot'). In pronunciation and spelling 'Shripad Amrit Dange' is certainly different from 'S. AMRAT'.

Apart from this, the CPI leadership also has been divided on whether the letters were genuine or forged. This is evident from the resolution which the Congress of the CPI, held in Bombay in December 1964, adopted rejecting the 'alleged Dange Letters'.

The resolution was published in the position paper, dated 3 January 1965. As a matter of fact the congress endorsed the resolution earlier passed by the National Council in this regard. In this connection that discussed the findings of the seven-member committee which the National Council appointed in April that the goal was to "make a more extensive examination of all relevant and available material to do so and documents, including the circumstances as to how these letters were prepared and then distributed to the outside world and by whom". According to the resolution "the Committee's report was unanimous". There was a majority report signed by "Comrades S. V. G. Adhikari, C. Rajeshwar Rao, and persons like Menon and Hiren Mukherji" and a minority report signed by "Comrades Shupesh Gupta and Sohan Singh". The resolution says:

The signatories of the majority report have come to the conclusion that after examination of the alleged letters

of Dange shows that there are sufficient grounds to doubt the genuineness of the objectionable letters of Dange and Nalini. We have also to take into consideration the fact that Comrade Dange categorically denies having written these letters. Taking these things together, we can say that only on the basis of appearance, content, style, etc. of the letters, their genuineness cannot be established; on the other hand, it is to be questioned."

"They state furthermore, that: 'On the basis of these factors and even more, on the basis of known facts of Dange's long, sometimes provocative and always prominent public career, and on the basis of the evidence before us, we come to the conclusion that the letters are not likely to be genuine. We therefore accept Dange's denial that he has not written them'."

Regarding the minority report the resolution says: "The minority report, however, says that: 'After thus carefully considering all the relevant materials and subject to the limitations from which the present enquiry has suffered, we have come to the conclusion that it does not stand proved that any of the four 'Dange Letters' is forged.'"

#### Fresh Evidence

With this in background let us examine the fresh material now available. In the Court Records of the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case we find recorded statements made separately by the four accused which carry their respective signatures on each or alternate page of their respective statements. That apart, some applications made by the accused to the Court are also there. One such application with the Court's order on the reverse thereof itself is quoted here. The application and the Court order ran as follows:

"In the Court of the Jt. Magistrate, Cawnpore.  
Sir,

I, Shripad Amrit Dange, under-trial, (Sec. 121A) before you, request you to furnish me or allow me, through my private secretary, Mr V. H. Joshi, to have a copy or copies made of such of the exhibits, put in by the prosecution, as

I may select and may have bearing on my case.

I am,  
19th March 1924 Sir,  
Your Obedt. Servant,  
S. A. Dange"

"Learned Counsel for the Prosecution undertakes to provide copies of any documents filed which the accused may wish. If the accused fails to receive any such copies he may apply again to me.

W. Christie  
S. A. Dange 19/3/24"

The signatory S. A. Dange writes his name as 'Shripad Amrit Dange' here.

Jt. Magistrate Christie's order was obviously shown to Shri S. A. Dange in jail as is evident from Shri Dange's signature below the order. In jail, accused and convicts are normally shown such order papers and their signatures are obtained on those papers to signify that those papers have been shown to them.

It can be seen from the photostat reprints that Shri Dange's signatures are not the same in these two cases where he signed. The two signatures differ. But similar differences and variations are also noticeable in Shri Dange's signatures that are found at the bottom of the pages of his statement recorded by Jt. Magistrate Christie and countersigned by Shri S. A. Dange. Due to lack of space it is not possible to reprint the photostat of that statement as recorded by the Court. Further, the long statement (over five hundred foolscap pages) that Shri Dange made in the Meerut Conspiracy Case and recorded by the Court is also now available where one can see Shri Dange's signatures at the bottom of alternate pages with 'D' in 'Dange' frequently differing. Are all these Court documents also 'forged' If not, then the conclusion is inescapable that sometimes Shri Dange used to write and/or sign his name as 'Shripad Amrit Dange' also, as he himself wrote, "I, Shripad Amrit Dange" in his letter of March 19, 1924 to the Cawnpore Jt. Magistrate. In the context of all this documentary evidence the conclusion seems to be inevitable that the "Dange Letters" were written by Shri Dange himself.

## Of Games And Gamesters

GYAN KAPUR

**T**HE volatile Mr Z. A. Bhutto would certainly dislike to be told so, but the facts unfortunately show that a good deal of his time and energy must be spent in watching the Indian scene. The Indian citizen has watched with lack of interest if not downright apathy the progress of negotiations between Mrs Gandhi or her nominees and the former fire-eating Sheikh Abdullah, now showing the signs of being hungry for power. Not so Mr Bhutto. The fate of Kashmir, according to him, can only be decided by the will of the people and apparently Mr Bhutto knows this better than anyone else.

Mr Bhutto, of course, does not like the will of the people when it does not agree with his own version of it. Otherwise Sheikh Mujib would have been the Prime Minister of Pakistan and there would not be any Bangladesh. But that is now almost forgotten history, for the Sheikh himself is treading the same path.

So far Mr Bhutto had been original in his pronouncements. But age and the facts of life must be catching up with him as with anyone else. He has been careful not to upset any of the on-going trade arrangements with India. At the same time, his numerous admirers have been sadly disappointed. There is no threat of even a ten-hour war what to speak of a thousand years.

All Mr Bhutto could threaten India with was a hartal. This is not very original and moreover, something which he should have shunned like the plague. For India is the birthplace and natural habitat of this harmless, non-violent animal to whom all people in the land pay respect, irrespective of caste and creed. There is nothing new even in Government sponsored hartals. We had had them before over here.

Or has Mr Bhutto become wise to the secret weapon of India and Indians? After all, he may ask himself: If one native of Rajkot could use it, why not another. A war, even a short one, leaves many problems. After the hartal, if it

comes, the Pakistan Government and the business community could get back to the task of exporting cotton to India and importing something in return. And in spite of appropriate noises, the Indian Government would not mind too much. That would keep everyone happy.

Education is the new opium of the people, as none of the dialectical pundits said. It has been coming a long time now in India though few have sensed the danger. Originally it was the British who tried to make us addicts as they did with opium in China. The motivation in both cases was mercenary: but at least in India it was indirect and aimed at getting a cheap supply of pen-pushers. They were not much interested in selling education to the natives and making a quick penny out of it.

A pathetic dependence and faith in education, by which everyone understand academic education, has developed in all sections of the people and the governments. State as well as Central, actively encourage them in this. All sorts of miraculous results are expected of education as from religious rites of old. That experience shows otherwise makes no one any wiser. Instead of welcoming the day when they can finish with school and college, students would like nothing better than to go on forever.

This is the only explanation of the endless demands for postponement of examinations. The latest of these to be put off again has been the B. Ed. of Calcutta University, originally scheduled for June 1974. Professional examinations the world over are held on due dates and those who cannot appear are always free to appear at the next one, usually six months afterwards. Why can't our University do the same? If it is a question of the fees already paid, can't the fees be carried over to the student's account for the next session? It would be a small price to pay for getting rid of the confusion and chaos all round in education.

The elite who rule the country are getting tired of an educational system in which their sons have to go along with the wishes of the masses at the university stage. They are thinking seriously

of having their own, separate system of education which is independent of the university. Already the technical institutes have nothing to do with the universities and lose nothing in the bargain. In fact, the IITs enjoy greater respect than a degree from any of the universities. Now, this trend seems likely to spread farther, with autonomous colleges coming up with the blessings of the University Grants Commission. For the jobs that count, it will be the college that matters and not a degree from any university churning out graduates by the thousands.

### Letters

#### "The Murder of Mahalanobis"

This has reference to the article "The Murder of Mahalanobis" (February 1, 1975). The topic of the International Symposium recently held in the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta, was Recent Trends of Research in Statistics. The symposium was organised in memory of the late Professor Prafulla Chandra Mahalanobis by the Indian Statistical Institute jointly with the International Association for Statistics in Physical Science and the International Association of Survey Statisticians. Besides 105 participants from India 104 delegates from 17 other countries presented 174 papers on statistics and its applications in various disciplines like Anthropology, Biology, Economics and Planning, Geology, Linguistics, Physics, Psychology etc. There were panel discussions on Planning, Survey, Methodology and Teaching of Statistics. Some sessions were dedicated to the memory of the late National Professor S. N. Bose and others to the memory of the late Academician Yu. V. Linnik of the USSR, both of whom were closely associated with the Institute. Honorary D.Sc. degrees were conferred upon Professor R. C. Bose of the University of Colorado, USA, Academician N. V. Keldysh, President of the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Professor Jerry Neyman of the University of California, U.S.A.

# Operation Expansion

## The Ananda Bazar Group bridges a long-felt communication gap in Calcutta and Eastern India...

### With a morning business daily, an evening daily, and a Sunday special

For over half a century now, the Ananda Bazar Group of publications has become an inseparable part of life in Calcutta and Eastern India. Reporting news and views in proper socio-economic perspective, building in the process a reputation, tradition and popularity yet unmatched.

What has led to its success is that the Group has never lost sight of its obligations to its readers. And it has always been able to anticipate readers' requirements in good time... Recall 'Desh', for instance. When it first appeared, there was no such publication of its kind. Or to cite another example of recent times, the 'Anandalok' film fortnightly—the only such Bengali film magazine today.

### Operation Expansion 3 big ways

Fulfilling the long-felt need for a business paper in Eastern India, the Ananda Bazar Group will shortly publish a compact business, economic and financial daily in English, the Business Standard: this will be available 'the first thing in the morning', from Mondays to Saturdays, with the latest news of the business world. More significantly, the news, as is the tradition of this Group, will be uninfluenced by anything but objectivity, ensuring unbiased and totally independent coverage.

The second big venture is the new Hindusthan Standard, an English evening daily. The advantage: news of the day delivered to you 'fresh' by the end of the day—Mondays to Saturdays.

And yet another, the special Sunday weekly news magazine, SUNDAY, along with the popular Sunday colour magazine.

*That's your Ananda Bazar Group today. Always with the news,  
building success upon success upon success.*

## ...adding another chapter to its glorious history

The Ananda Bazar Group of Publications

It was a truly international symposium consistent in theme with the Mahalanobis philosophy of statistics as a key technology.

J. Roy  
Programme Director  
International Symposium on Recent  
Trends of Research in Statistics  
Calcutta

We have gone through with interest Anamik Basab's account of "The Murder of Mahalanobis" (February 1, 1975). He deserves our compliments for having written a bold and perceptive article on the state of affairs prevailing in the Indian Statistical Institute today.

Several incidents, major as well as minor, are taking place within the Institute, which do discredit to it. For instance, we hear that during the last International Symposium at Baranagar contingents of police force with lethal weapons were put on duty inside the campus of the Institute. This reflects the mistrust of the present administration towards its own employees and students.

C. B. Singh, P. C. L. Rao, J. B. Chetty  
Calcutta

### Release The Accused

The Government of West Bengal has set up a Tribunal, namely the Fifth Tribunal, for the trial of a good number of 'Naxalites', against whom there are charges of waging war against the State and attempting to overthrow the present Government by violent means. Among the accused are leaders like Kanu Sanyal, Nageswar Rao, Jangal Santal, Sourin Bose, Prof. Nisith Bhattacharya, Azizul

For Frontier contact  
NAVODYA PUBLISHERS,  
Vijayawada-2,  
Eluru Road,  
Andhra Pradesh.

Haque, Ashim Chatterjee and Santosh Rana.

Though many of us do not support the changed or unchanged political views of the prisoners, we believe that they had staked their lives for the sake of liberation of man from poverty and hunger. We consider their idealism, honesty and sincerity as treasures of our society. In fact many of the government spokesmen have referred to the honesty, sincerity and sacrifice of these people.

Therefore, we demand that the accused in the Fifth Tribunal and all political prisoners be forthwith released and we appeal to artists, writers, scientists, lawyers, journalists, teachers and all conscientious people of the country irrespective of their party or creed to organise a united movement in support of this demand.

We have also taken note with deep anxiety that during the last few years many undertrial Naxalite youths were brutally murdered in jails. Hundreds of young boys and girls are failing to establish themselves in normal life even after their release from prisons owing to the ceaseless hunt of the official and non-official preservers of law and order of the country. Harassment, intimidation and assault are compounding poverty and joblessness.

The signatories whose number is over 100 include:

Manabendra Bandyopadhyaya (Professor), Pranabendra Dasgupta (Prof.), Suddhasil Basu (Prof.), Shila Lahiri Choudhury (Professor), Keya Chakraborty (Actress), Bishnu Dey (Poet), Sobha Sen (Actress), Subodh Basu (Journalist), Subir Roy Choudhury (Professor), Kitty Dutta (Head of the Dept. of English, Jadavpur University), Gaitri Guha Roy (Professor), \*Sunil Ganguli (Poet, Author), Amal Dutta (Lawyer), Jasodhara Bagchi (Professor), Amiya Deb (Professor), Amarprasad Chakraborty (President, Legal Aid Committee), Bhanu Bandyopadhyaya (Actor), Soumitra Chattopadhyaya (Actor), Sakti Chattopadhyaya (Poet), Utpal Dutt (Dramatist), Bhakti Bhusan Mandal (Lawyer), Jivanlal Bandhopadhyaya (Editor, *Satyajug*), Nirenrdanath Chakraborty (Poet), Gourkishore Ghosh (Journalist), Nilima Das (Actress),

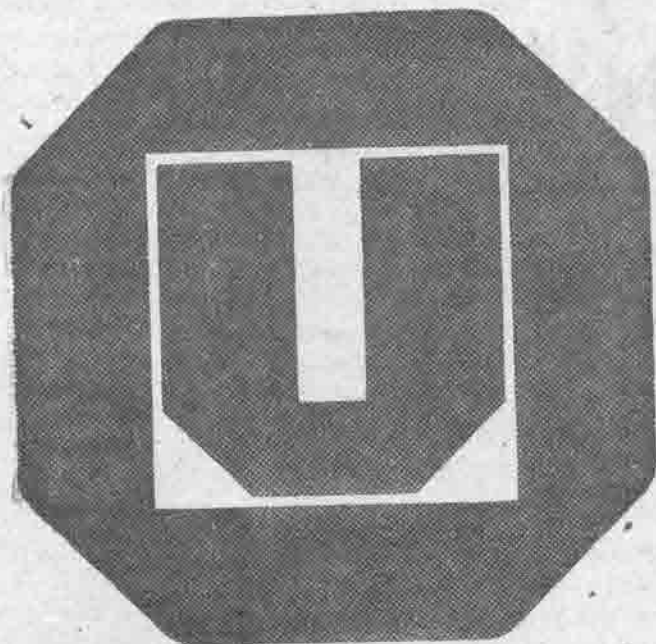
Maitrayee Devi (Author), Ajtesh Chatterjee (Dramatist), Mahendra Chakraborty (Journalist), Dr Amalendu Chatterjee (C.S.S.S.), Ashok Sen (Economist), Santosh Kumar Ghosh (Journalist), Amitava Chaudhury (Journalist), Mr. Sen (Film Director), Subhas Mukherjee (Poet), Partha Chatterjee (C.S.S.S.), Amit Bhaduri (Economist), Panna Dasgupta (Editor, *Compass*), Viteendrananda Mukherjee (Journalist), Satyendra Ray (Film Director), Dilip Chakraborty (Senator, Calcutta University), Dr Ranjan Dey (Director, C.S.S.S.), Navesh Chatterjee (Jadavpur University), Sudhi Pradhan (Dramatist), Dakshinaranjan Basu (Journalist), Dr Amiya Kr. Bose (Cardiologist), Boudhayan Chatterjee (Economist), Purnendu Patri (Film Director), K. Bhattacharya (President, A.P.D.R.), Satyesh Chakraborty (Director, Centre for the Study of Urban Management), Suchitra Mitra (Artist), Dipendu Chakraborty (Professor).

A large number of professors from various Indian universities have issued a statement saying that they are distressed to note that many Naxalite prisoners are being kept in jails. They are disheartened to note the conditions in which they are kept there without trial. They appeal to the government to immediately declare Naxalite prisoners political prisoners to bring them to fair and speedy trial to stop coercion and oppression against intellectuals of the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Writers Association; to initiate a judicial enquiry into allegations of torture; and to commute death sentences on two Naxalite convicts, Bhoomiah and Kista Gowd.

For Frontier contact  
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Panbazar,  
Gauhati-1,  
Assam.

FEBRUARY, 22, 1975

# THIS IS UCOBANK TODAY: Helping people to help themselves—profitably



In keeping with our national aims and aspirations, UCOBANK has crossed over from being a traditional bank to a bank with firm social commitments.

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Here, we tell you some new dimensions of UCOBANK.

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helping to put million hands to work.



"Half-a-million job cell" has been set up at UCOBANK's headquarters to help you analyze feasibility and project studies, capital goods purchase etc.

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UCOC-394

# WBSEB: Switching on a brighter tomorrow

64-3906



WBSEB supplies power to North and South Bengal for agriculture, industry, railways, domestic and commercial consumptions. In addition it caters to Calcutta's requirements. Both in 1973 and 1974 the Board had to operate all the four units of its Bandel Plant for more than half the year, to help Calcutta in its months of crisis. Also the new Plant at Santaldih has been making available power to DVC for transmission to Calcutta. In North Bengal Jaldhaka continues to be a major source of stable power.

**PROJECTS :** Both Bandel and Santaldih are 'on expansion'. The 2nd Santaldih unit will shortly be transmitting power through the new 220 KV direct line to Calcutta while another giant plant comprising three 200 MW units is in the making at Kolaghat. The hydel projects at Jaldhaka and Kurseong are also 'on expansion'.

**RURAL ELECTRIFICATION :** Power has now reached nearly 10,000 villages in the State. This incidentally means about 7,000 villages have been electrified in just over thirty months.



**FINANCE :** The Board is doing all it can to raise resources. Recently there has been an upward revision of tariff to cover higher rates of fuel, freight and other items. Smooth flow of funds from financial institutions will ensure timely completion of projects for the targeted increase in generation of power by more than 1000 MW by the end of 5th Plan.



TCP/WBSEB174

**GEARED TO THE NEED FOR MORE POWER**

**WEST BENGAL STATE ELECTRICITY BOARD**



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