

frontier

No. 45

MARCH 8, 1975

PRICE: 50 PAISE

Other Pages

MENT	2
CONFRONTATION	3
VIEW WITH AMMAD TOAHA BERG	4
TE TO BUILD A RE PARTY"	7
OTHER CINEMA BATA BANDYOPADHYAY	8
THIRD TRIENNALE— DELHI SARKAR	11
ELLA A DRAMA CRITIC	12
AL DEVELOPMENT INDIA	13
ERS	14

Editor: Sahar Sen

Printed at MODERN INDIA PRESS,
101 STREET MULICK SQUARE,
CALCUTTA AND PUBLISHED WEEKLY
BY MODERN PUBLICATIONS (P) LTD.
REGD OFFICE FROM 61, MOIT LANE,
CALCUTTA-13
TELEPHONE: 243202

TO THE RICH, WITH LOVE

MR C. Subramaniam has done it. And far more daringly than his predecessor, Mr Y. B. Chavan, ever attempted to do. His budget has met cally point by point the demands of big business. He has agreed to virtually practically point by point the demands of big business. He has agreed to virtually clamouring for a long time. He has extended the facilities under tax holidays, raised the concessions under initial depreciation allowance and widened the span and coverage of the development rebate. He has withdrawn depreciation in respect of imported cars acquired after February 28, 1975 and at the same time has allowed full depreciation for indigenous cars, irrespective of their costs. A more novel gift for the makers of Indian cars is difficult to imagine. But, if we are not mistaken, it was Mr Subramaniam who had described the Ambassador cars as tin-boxes and Hindustan Motors as a junk-shop when he was serving a stint as the Minister for Industrial Development some years ago. Mr Subramaniam will make India safe for the capitalists.

It would be wrong to say however that the Finance Minister has not thought of the common man. He has, insofar as it is necessary to serve his purpose. The common man in India is perhaps the most docile creature on earth. Every year the budget keeps on adding to his burden. Still, when it comes to accepting more burden, he is full of grace. Mr Subramaniam has accordingly put another load of Rs 288 crores on his shoulder as the first instalment. More will come as the year progresses. Almost everything that the middle classes and the poor consume has been brought under additional taxation. And even those items which have been left uncovered by the tax net will also now be many times dearer, if only in sympathy. But the purchasing power of the fixed income group remains fixed, indeed is being reduced because of the price rise. Even the payment of dearness allowance has become an issue of intense study and imputed importance. The longer it is delayed, the better it is for the Government. Yes, a few sops have been thrown at the middle class like the increased income-tax rebate on account of provident fund deductions and life insurance premiums. But the few bucks that it may save from all this would be more than swept away by the burgeoning bill on other necessities. With the elections not very far off, Mr Subramaniam apparently has tamed his socialist fervour which, so has been our impression, boils in the heart of many of our distinguished leaders. He for one at least has not mistaken which side of the bread is buttered.

The Confrontation

A.P.M.

THIS year began with a convinced statement from the citadel of Indian entrepreneurship, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), that 'industry had already come under the "cloud of recessionary forces"'. There was a quick rebuttal from the Government side, by no less a person than the Prime Minister herself. The private sector's cries of anguish, simulated or genuine, have since then been smothered quickly by stout denials and increasingly rosy picturisations of the economy in the first two months of 1975. At times it looked as if private enterprisewallahs had finally succumbed to New Delhi's spirited defence of the generally messy manner in which Mrs Gandhi's Government has so far tackled the economic and financial problems.

Now, after the lull in the private sector's hesitant attempts to build up an informed public opinion critical of the administration of economic and allied issues, comes a sign of renewed activity. The Tata Engineering and Locomotive Co. Ltd. (TELCO) has started issuing a two-page questionnaire to various industrial units, containing queries on the recipients' production performances, market trends, approximate sales, etc. The choice of units which have already received the questionnaire is wide and therefore, significant; apparently, an attempt is being made to undertake as comprehensive a survey as feasible for a private organisation. The questionnaire intends to assess the actual state of affairs in the industrial sector of the economy as being experienced by the large, medium and small-scale units. It seems unlikely that the TELCO as an individual company would be interested in this sort of survey, for it is certainly wider in scope than a modest attempt at charting demand projections for one's products. One probability is that the Tatas, and stretching the inference further, the Swatantra Party, are interested in the outcome of the survey, possibly to be used as a tool against the

statistical bulldozer New Delhi is unleashing almost daily on a still largely sceptical citizenship.

The lingering debate on the existence of a recession in the Indian economy exposes yet again the peculiar relationship existing between the Government and business in this country. The latter criticises the former on policy matters only to an extent; as if an agreement on this far and no farther has to be honoured. Of course, the essentially gentlemanly approach both sides adopt owes its origin to the wider class relationship of the two. But, they fight mainly on ideological grounds at least to a point and this aspect makes such engagement all the more interesting. Indian business has a very valid reason to be eternally grateful to the Government because it is the latter which has made it possible for both industry and trade to operate in a virtually competition-less market. It has been long acknowledged that no capitalist country has ever provided the extent of protection that India has extended to her private sector. This situation has of course led to two developments now equally well known: the average rate of growth of profit in all these years has been enormous (this is something which even government statistics cannot, or do not, hide) and the constant absence of competition has rendered Indian trade and industry almost totally incapable of facing rivalry in world markets. After all, what has been India's achievement in export? For every bit of foreign exchange that an Indian exporter earns, scores of domestic buyers have to pay through their noses in order to subsidise the export which has actually been done at a loss. The export subsidy comes from the effectively covered home market and this is something that may not be uncomprehending even to a Youth Congressman.

All this comes out in the open whenever a confrontation develops between the Government and business in this country. Recently, government spokesmen have been uncommonly harsh in replying to the private sector's tales of woe. This might indicate a growing unwillingness to pamper a spoilt child to an extent made unnecessary by the

... an inveterate anti-com-
... Mr Jyoti Basu has not be-
... an ardent admirer of
... Chief Minister; the past has
... forgotten by either. Only a
... for political survival has
... together; they have rea-
... the long and rapid strides
... democratic" path that the
... taking, using its Congress and
... as stilts, may soon
... about a situation in
... will be no Congress (O)
... P(M) even to fight between
... It is the Congress party's
... of murder and mayhem as
... of policy that has led to
... impossible combination.
... tion parties should not be
... illusion that Mr Ray will
... demands voiced at the
... to concede will amount to
... There is not much time
... to plan his electioneering
... so that the Congress may
... safely ensconced in office.

... deep decline in the personal
... of the Prime Minister the
... to depend more heavily
... methods of 1972 to win
... What the opposition part-
... forward to is not a return
... norms of conduct on the
... Government but further
... of people's rights. The
... to be wrested from the
... reluctant government. Ob-
... cannot be done by passing

... Whether the opposition
... prepared to undertake a
... programme than mere
... and whether they will be able
... united when a mass move-
... to its inexorable course are
... nt.

... Frontier from

NEWS AGENCY,

... Punjab.

bounty already bestowed on it. But there is reason to suspect that this development is confined to fewer people than the Government of the day comprises.

Closest Affinity.

The first quarter of 1975 perhaps witnessed the closest ideological affinity between Government and business in independent India. The paradox of a private sector making hay while the economy as a whole suffers has never been more apparent. True, 1974 has been a bad year for the industrial sector, but the trading sector has reaped a harvest of uncommon size. And when the close relationship, and often the identification of, between the two sectors is remembered, it may be appreciated that the loss or relatively less profits in one has been more than compensated by huge profits in the other. Almost all big business houses are involved in the sugar industry; it is common knowledge that the government policy pursued since 1973 in respect of this industry has enabled these houses to profit on a scale which is quite truthfully unprecedented. New Delhi has kept on reassuring the private sector paper industry, 80% of which is controlled by five houses, that it would not be taken over. One Central Ministry has till now successfully prevented another Ministry from initiating a retention price policy in respect of new cement units which the older units, all owned by large houses, oppose vehemently because it would disturb their profit making in relation to the new ones. Most foreign-owned large-profitability companies are branching out into high-profitability, low-risk fields through the excellent loophole of the obligation to comply with the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act. The Minister of State dealing with petroleum and pharmaceuticals had to make it very clear to whoever was interested that the Government was still far from committing a sacrilege like planning to take over the foreign drug companies. In short, the private sector has every reason to remain grateful to such an astonishingly understanding Government.

This essentially intimate relationship is sometimes overshadowed by temporary conflicts, like the one concerning recession. When these conflicts can also be developed into political materials, the private sector's tenacity to pursue them becomes noticeable. It is probably this that is happening in the case of the TELCO questionnaire.

Interview with Mohammad Toaha

LASSE BERG

L.B.: How would you describe the present situation in Bangladesh?

M.T.: There has been a gradual transformation in the attitude of the common people in respect of this Government. The Government headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman played all the tricks in the past and successfully hoodwinked the people in respect of their economic and various other problems. It is well known that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, while he agitated on the six-point programme, promised the people that he would feed them. Rice would be sold at Rs. 20 taka per maund and wheat at 10 taka. Now the people are experiencing quite different conditions. The Government is now totally isolated from the people. That is the whole position.

L.B.: So what should be done to change this situation?

M.T.: Personally I believe, and my associates also believe, in certain principles. Revolutionary change is a task of the people. It depends on the people and if they can be organised a successful revolutionary change can be effected. The precondition for that is the unity of the left and patriotic forces. This is what we generally think. A revolutionary change is inevitable, nobody can check it. The temper of the people is also changing on that line. There is still a vacuum in the leadership of the left movement, so to say. So unity of the left forces and other patriotic sections of the people can create conditions where-

in we can go ahead and expect a revolutionary change in our country.

L.B.: How should this come about?

M.T.: As I have already said, the revolution is the task of the masses. When millions of people will move forward you can expect a revolutionary change otherwise, no. It is not just a handful of people with a revolutionary determination and courage—that is enough. The main task of the masses is to forward the revolutionary struggle. It depends on leadership, but leadership must be connected with the masses, and the real force of the revolution is the fighting mass struggles, mass movements headed by a revolutionary party organised on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Mao thought can lead the country to our expected goal. That is what I think, there is no alternative.

L.B.: What do you think will be the role of various foreign countries in a revolutionary development in Bangladesh? Do you foresee any particular intervention in such a case?

M.T.: Perhaps this question has already been widely discussed in the text of the whole so-called struggle. We are of the clear opinion that the war of 1971 was completely arranged by interested imperialist powers in collaboration with their agents at the top of the Government. They will never welcome any revolutionary change in our country. We must make a statement (in which) we must mention observations in respect of the imperialist powers, particularly the USA, Soviet Russia and Britain. These three foreign powers are interested in any good of this country. Any change for the better for the country can be achieved only through a revolutionary change.

In the creation of Bangladesh the super-powers had their hand. It was internationally conspired. However doesn't mean that people want their right of self-determination. During this long period of 25 years

bounty already bestowed on it. But there is reason to suspect that this development is confined to fewer people than the Government of the day comprises.

Closest Affinity.

The first quarter of 1975 perhaps witnessed the closest ideological affinity between Government and business in independent India. The paradox of a private sector making hay while the economy as a whole suffers has never been more apparent. True, 1974 has been a bad year for the industrial sector, but the trading sector has reaped a harvest of uncommon size. And when the close relationship, and often the identification of, between the two sectors is remembered, it may be appreciated that the loss or relatively less profits in one has been more than compensated by huge profits in the other. Almost all big business houses are involved in the sugar industry; it is common knowledge that the government policy pursued since 1973 in respect of this industry has enabled these houses to profit on a scale which is quite truthfully unprecedented. New Delhi has kept on reassuring the private sector paper industry, 80% of which is controlled by five houses, that it would not be taken over. One Central Ministry has till now successfully prevented another Ministry from initiating a retention price policy in respect of new cement units which the older units, all owned by large houses, oppose vehemently because it would disturb their profit making in relation to the new ones. Most foreign-owned large-profitability companies are branching out into high-profitability, low-risk fields through the excellent loopholes of the obligation to comply with the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act. The Minister of State dealing with petroleum and pharmaceuticals had to make it very clear to whoever was interested that the Government was still far from committing a sacrilege like planning to take over the foreign drug companies. In short, the private sector has every reason to remain grateful to such an astonishingly understanding Government.

This essentially intimate relationship is sometimes overshadowed by temporary conflicts, like the one concerning recession. When these conflicts can also be developed into political materials, the private sector's tenacity to pursue them becomes noticeable. It is probably this that is happening in the case of the TELCO questionnaire.

Interview with Mohammad Toaha

LASSE BERG

L.B.: How would you describe the present situation in Bangladesh?

M.T.: There has been a gradual transformation in the attitude of the common people in respect of this Government. The Government headed by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman played all the tricks in the past and successfully hoodwinked the people in respect of their economic and various other problems. It is well known that Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, while he agitated on the six-point programme, promised the people that he would feed them. Rice would be sold at Rs. 20 taka per maund and wheat at 10 taka. Now the people are experiencing quite different conditions. The Government is now totally isolated from the people. That is the whole position.

L.B.: So what should be done to change this situation?

M.T.: Personally I believe, and my associates also believe, in certain principles. Revolutionary change is a task of the people. It depends on the people and if they can be organised a successful revolutionary change can be effected. The precondition for that is the unity of the left and patriotic forces. This is what we generally think. A revolutionary change is inevitable, nobody can check it. The temper of the people is also changing on that line. There is still a vacuum in the leadership of the left movement, so to say. So unity of the left forces and other patriotic sections of the people can create conditions where-

in we can go ahead and expect revolutionary change in our country.

L.B.: How should this come about?

M.T.: As I have already said, the revolution is the task of the people. When millions of people will rise up, you can expect a revolutionary change, otherwise, no. It is not just a handful of people with a mere determination and courage—enough. The main task of the revolution depends on leadership, but leadership must be connected with the masses. The real force of the revolution is the fighting mass struggles, mass movements headed by a revolutionary leadership based on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Mao thought can lead the revolution to our expected goal. That is, I think, there is no alternative.

L.B.: What do you think of the role of various foreign countries in a revolutionary development in Bangladesh? Do you foresee any foreign intervention in such a case?

M.T.: Perhaps this question has been widely discussed in the context of the whole so-called struggle. We are of the clear opinion that the war of 1971 was completely arranged by interested imperialist powers in collaboration with the powers in our country. The agents of imperialism at the top of the Government naturally they will never welcome any change in our country. We have a statement (in which) we have certain observations in respect of the imperialist powers, particularly the USA, Soviet Russia and Britain. These three foreign powers are interested in any good of the country. Any change for the better for the country can be achieved only through a revolutionary change.

In the creation of Bangladesh the super-powers had their role. It was internationally conspired, however doesn't mean that we want their right of self-determination. During this long period of

and expect a... our country...
 ld this...
 already...
 task of the...
 ple will...
 revolutionary...
 not just a...
 with a revolu...
 courage—hat...
 n task of...
 ionary...
 but leader...
 he masses...
 ie revolution...
 les, mass...
 tionary...
 f Marxism-L...
 lead the...
 That is...
 lternative.

you think...
 ign countries...
 development...
 foresee any...
 a case? ...
 this question...
 discussed in...
 so-called...
 of the clear...
 l was cons...
 nterested...
 tion with...
 The agents...
 Government...
 welcome a...
 country. We...
 (hich) we...
 n respect of...
 st powers...
 viet Russia...
 n powers...
 ood of this...
 e better for...
 uly through...

of Bangladesh...
 had their...
 ly conspired...
 can that...
 of self-deter...
 period of 25...

democratic movement deve-
 and accordingly they formu-
 political line. The Marxist-
 of this country was in a
 in putting forward a real
 the question of the national
 of Pakistan. Pakistan was car-
 of two slabs of territory with
 ethnic nationalities. The birth
 did not lead to any solution
 national question. So the Marx-
 revolutionaries moved with
 they tried to study the will
 people. On that basis when it
 that this regionally separat-
 should have its full right of seces-
 Marxists-Leninists put for-
 programme before the people
 matter of fact, this scared the
 powers and their collaborating
 The national question definite-
 has been solved by the people
 scientific method, on the basis
 Marxist-Leninist principle of na-
 self-determination. Before the
 and particularly the
 could take concrete
 organising the people on this
 demand and also on general
 national issues, they were forestal-
 imperialist powers and their
 Mujib's six-point programme
 subsequent movement was no-
 the product of this conspiracy
 right of national self-deter-
 of the people of this wing as
 of the other parts of Pakis-
 The people wanted their democra-
 national self-determination,
 liberation from the clutches
 exploiters and their inter-

L.B.: 75% of the development bud-
 get in Bangladesh is at present financed
 by foreign aid. What is your opinion
 on the effect of foreign aid in Bangla-
 desh?

M.T.: You see, it has destroyed our
 whole economy, so to say. A nation can
 build itself up only by observing cer-
 tain principles. Number one: it must
 have the courage to stand on its own
 feet. Foreign assistance may be neces-
 sary but it is not the main thing, parti-
 cularly in a poor country like ours with
 70 million people. Here so much
 manpower is wasted. We can build up
 certain sectors of our economy only by
 labour-intensive methods. We be-
 lieve our country can be build
 up only by using our own re-
 sources first. Foreign assistance may be
 needed in the sphere of technical know-
 how etc.

L.B.: What form does repression take
 in this country?

M.T.: Perhaps foreigners do not
 know the types of repression that go on
 here. When the Awami Leaguers in
 1971 started their so-called liberation
 movement they consciously took certain
 measures just to curb the genuine free-
 dom fighters. A secret circular was issued
 by the central office of the Awami
 League that the leftists must be treated
 as enemies. So they organised repres-
 sion in the urban areas, with the hooligans
 and thieves in the villages; they called
 it volunteer corps. Since the beginning
 of the so-called liberation movement
 launched by the Awami League they
 started killing and repressing the left
 progressives. A secret circular, we are
 told, signed by the government in exile
 in India, said the leftists should be dis-
 armed and killed. The authenticity of
 this document cannot be denied because

we have seen it with our own eyes.

During those nine months of so-called
 liberation struggle they organised several
 armed bands in India. One is the Mujib
 Bahini which was trained by a Major Gen-
 eral of the Indian Army. They were orga-
 nised only to kill the genuine left forces.
 They entered Bangladesh after Decem-
 ber 16 and started killing the left pro-
 gressive forces. In certain districts even
 whole villages were surrounded by the
 Mujib Bahini people backed by the
 Indian Army and then they looted every-
 thing, they killed whomsoever they came
 across, a reign of terror was let loose
 throughout the area.

After this emigre Government was
 flown into the country and placed at the
 helm of affairs, they organised one after
 another several killer gangs. There is
 the Red Guards in Bengali, it is called the
 Lal Bahini; there is another, the Green
 Guards, Shabuj Bahini. In the villages
 these Green Guards are organised to
 repress the peasants. These volunteer
 corps have established concentration
 camps and torture chambers. They go
 out at night, catch hold of the people,
 take them to the torture chamber; killing
 is the final stage. Several torture cham-
 bers have been established throughout
 the country in different areas. Every-
 where Awami League MPs are the top
 bosses. You might have heard about the
 so-called Special Team, they have got
 police squads for killing and some of
 the important officers in the police de-
 partment having direct links with the
 Prime Minister, Home Minister etc get
 the directives and they go on with their
 plan. Mujib the other day decried secret
 killings, but who are the secret killers?
 They organise the secret killer gangs.
 Retaliatory measures are there no doubt;
 but these retaliations are not

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

done by the politically organised, conscious revolutionaries. Last year a police report came out in our press. Mujib says that 3000 Awami League people have been killed. But perhaps he didn't care to go through the news item published in his own newspaper. It was an interview with one of the top-ranking police officers of Dacca. The police officer said that "till this time, from our records we get over 15,000 killed". Unofficial records would say perhaps 20,000. That gentleman regretted that he could not take any steps against these killings because of intervention from influential political circles. So killing is a day-to-day affair organised by the ruling party at various levels. They let loose this Frankenstein's monster and at times they couldn't control it, so their own men were killed. Five MPs were killed, at least three were killed due to their own factional quarrels.

Mujib the other day in his speech on December 16 discovered two enemies only—not imperialism, not feudalism—smugglers are Awami Leaguers, every smugglers are the enemies of the people, we know. But who are the smugglers? Smugglers are Awami Leaguers, everywhere.

So repression and killing are the general political line of this regime. Another interesting thing about our recent economic crisis and the Government's way to fight it: the Government has ordered procurement of the surplus paddy of the big producers. What actually is taking place? Yesterday I received a report from one area. The local MP, who everywhere is the main person entrusted with the task of procuring surplus paddy, virtually snatched away everything that the poor and middle peo-

sants are producing. One jotedar, big landlord, owning several hundreds of acres of land gave only eight maunds of paddy to the government procurement body. That local MP has made several lakhs of takas.

L.B.: How would you compare the present situation with that during the rule of Yahya Khan in regard to repression?

M.T.: Qualitatively this repression is of a different kind from that of Yahya Khan. Yahya Khan's repression was the result of an illegal revolt against an established government. We fought against Yahya Khan's repression, in the face of foreign aggression we fought, we fought both ways, we fought Yahya Khan's army, we fought against Indian aggression also. Repression during the time of Yahya Khan was the product of certain people going against an established government. This is a different situation. Yahya Khan did not destroy the industries, Yahya Khan's army in the initial stage were killing no doubt, but after some time the killing was stopped. The main target of Yahya Khan's repression were the rebels. But now the type of repression going on in Bangladesh under the regime is not a repression against rebels, it is repression against the people, peace-loving people who want to survive as human beings, who want to make the country free from the clutches of imperialism. Our country is still controlled by social-imperialism and Indian expansionism. On every important official in the Bangladesh Army once told one of our friends that "you see the Marxist-Leninist party have been all through writing about this Rakkhi Bahini, we have been reading their papers and now I am convinced that it is 100% an Indian contingent". So this Rakkhi Bahini is being used for repressing the people. These hijackers are Awami Leaguers, the looters are Awami Leaguers, the repressors are Awami Leaguers. This is just an organised affair of a set of people who are out to loot the people in any way they can.

L.B.: How would you assess the relations between different foreign powers in Bangladesh like the U.S., the Soviet Union, India? Which do you see as the main enemy?

M.T.: At this stage the main enemy is social imperialism and its expansionism. You know in this part of South East Asia India has a unique position. The Indian bourgeoisie is a very cunning and shrewd bourgeoisie and it has been all the time collaborating with imperialism, collaborating with imperialism, the super-powers in this part of the world. I think it advantageous to utilize the big bourgeoisie and the Government collaborated with the two super-powers in various fields. India had economic development in the private sector—the help of American money and in the public sector with Soviet credits. India has that peculiar advantage of bargaining strength of gaining from both camps. Because the Indian bourgeoisie has been all through collaborating with imperialism in this region any freedom movement, any people's movement or struggle will be repressed by the super-powers through India. India is their base here.

L.B.: Do you see the revolutionary process in Bangladesh as a very long term affair? When will Bangladesh be governed by a revolutionary government?

M.T.: Since the revolution in our country it has been the general feature of revolutionary struggle everywhere. The revolutionary struggle can achieve victory just by a stroke. It has to be a protracted war of liberation. I do not visualise a quick end of it. And we are making our people conscious along this line.

L.B.: How many political prisoners do you think there are in Bangladesh?

M.T.: It would be approximately 10,000.

For Frontier contact

People's Book House

Cowasji Patel Street,

Meher House,

Fort, Bombay

For Frontier contact

BANI PRAKASH,

Panbazar,

Gauhati-1,

Assam.

...ute to Build A Single Party"

The CPI (ML) and the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist Party have been seriously striving for bringing about unification and consolidation in the ranks of the communist revolutionaries under the banner of a single Marxist-Leninist party ever since 1972. Their efforts took a concrete shape when together they issued a joint appeal.

After prolonged and thorough discussions the representatives of the CPI (ML) and the APRCP have reached agreement on the following major points of programme, tactics and party building.

Ours is a semi-colonial, semi-feudal country in which several imperialist powers contend, the principal being the Soviet social-imperialism and U.S. imperialism.

The Indian Revolution in the present stage is anti-imperialist... It is New Democratic Revolution in nature.

The four major enemies of the Indian people are (i) Soviet social imperialism, (ii) U.S. imperialism, (iii) feudalism and (iv) comprador-bureaucratic capitalism.

Alliance of the four classes i.e., the working class, peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, has to be forged for leading the new democratic revolution. The working class is the leader of this united front and the worker-peasant alliance is the core of the united front. The working class absolutely relies on the landless and poor peasants, firmly unites with the middle peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, seeks to win the rich peasants and the national bourgeoisie and directs the main edge of its attack against imperialism, feudalism and comprador-bureaucratic capitalism.

The working class is conscious that the rich peasantry and the national bourgeoisie are vacillating and wavering allies of the new democratic revolution.

There are four basic contradictions in the present Indian society. They are:

(1) Contradiction between feudalism and the broad masses of the people.

(ii) Contradiction between social-imperialism and imperialism on the one hand and the nation on the other.

(iii) Contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, and

(iv) Inter-imperialist (including social-imperialism) contradictions and the inner contradictions in the ruling classes which are led by big landlords and big bourgeoisie.

Out of all these basic contradictions, the principal contradiction at the present phase is the one between feudalism and the broad masses of the people.

The axis of the new democratic revolution is the agrarian revolution.

The programme of new democratic revolution recognises the right of nations to self-determination.

The socialist revolution can be achieved only after completing the new democratic revolution.

Party and the Tactical Line

The working class wants the party to rely on the peasants, establish base areas in the countryside in protected armed struggle and use the countryside to encircle and finally capture the cities.

The working class and the people must forge three magic weapons without which victory in revolution is impossible—a Marxist-Leninist party, a people's army and a revolutionary united front. It is the party that commands the army and it is the party that leads the united front.

All the struggles of the people against economic, political, cultural and military policies of the reactionary State are revolutionary struggles and the revolutionaries must initiate, conduct and lead these struggles. The broad masses of the people can be organised for revolution only through complementing the armed struggle by mass struggle. It is reformism to confine struggles of the people to economic and partial demands only and it is adventurism to ignore or boycott the mass struggles of the people on economic and partial demands on the pretext of conducting political struggles. Marxist-Leninists strive to forge a united front of all democratic classes from the very beginning of their activities and they strive to develop the united front in course of sharp class struggles of the people against their oppressors.

Marxist-Leninists must resolutely op-

pose parliamentary cretinism and individual terrorism as they obstruct the development of people's war and isolate them from the people.

Marxist-Leninists must take the countryside as the centre of gravity while not abandoning work in the towns and cities.

While working in the countryside for building the base areas and the people's army, they must give top priority to concentrating on the mountainous and forest regions and the river valleys in a planned manner. The people in the plain areas and adjacent to such zones should also be organised.

While working in the countryside and the urban areas efforts must begin to build the people's army. The party must command the gun and the gun must never command the party. The experience of the Chinese Communist Party, other fraternal parties and also our own experience teach us that a people's army is built in course of politically arousing the broad masses of the people, in course of mobilising them for realisation of their economic and political demands, in course of fierce class battles against their exploiters and by drawing the countless militants from the working class, the peasantry and the urban intelligentsia. Our experience teaches further that attempt to build a people's army by killing indiscriminately landlords and other exploiters in a conspiratorial manner, through a campaign of annihilation of class "enemies" alienates the fighters from politics, people and party and causes disaster. It is only a terrorist band that we get and not a people's army out of the theory and practice of individual terrorism. The party must integrate with the landless and poor peasants and firmly unite with the middle peasants, it must politically arouse broad masses of the peasantry on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought; it must arm peasant masses and disarm the landlords it must form village defence corps and armed guerilla squads from among the peasantry. It must form revolutionary peasant committees and develop them as organs of people's rule. It must lead the pea-

sant masses to seize landlord's land and other properties for distribution among the peasants as it is the key issue of the agrarian revolution, and it must punish the despotic landlords, usurers, local bullies and corrupt officials. And in course of carrying out the above-mentioned tasks it must recruit and train innumerable militants born out of class struggles and make them good soldiers and commanders of the people's army and lead them to attack and smash the armed forces of the enemy following the strategy and the tactics of people's war formulated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

The working class which leads the new democratic revolution, while fighting class battles on economic and political issues, on national and international issues will act as the inspirer and unifier of other revolutionary classes by launching solidarity mass actions in support of their struggle, specially the struggles of the peasantry.

Special attention will be given to organising the working class employed in the strategic industries.

They must utilise the contradictions in the camp of their enemies, at a given time and unite all the forces that can be united and develop revolutionary struggles of the people in the country while retaining their independence and initiative.

Party Building

The Marxist-Leninists must unite in a single party that takes Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as its theoretical guide and adhere to proletarian internationalism.

The party is to be built by giving top priority to work in the countryside while giving proper importance to work in the towns and cities also.

The party must master various forms of struggle and organisation and style of work. It must strive to combine the legal with illegal, open with secret, mass organisation with armed organisation and mass struggle with armed struggle.

The party must adhere to mass line i.e., it must pursue the style "From the masses to the masses" in all its activities. It must combat tailism and com-

(Continued on page 14)

The Other Cinema

SOUGATA BANDYOPADHYAY

THE pleasure principle adopted in capitalist cine or supposed cinema does not exist in the 'other cinema'. The cinema of the revolution as Octavio Getino and Fernando Solanas in *Towards A Third Cinema* say in the same time one of destruction and construction, destruction of the reality that neo-colonialism has created and construction of a throbbing reality which recaptures truth in its expressions. The restitution of to their real place and meaning is eminently subversive fact both in neo-colonial situation and in the sunner societies. "In the form of ing ambiguity or pseudo-objectivity newspapers, literature etc, and the tive freedom of the people's imaginations to provide their own information cease to exist, giving way to manipulation, when it is a question of vision and radio. The events of 1968 in France are quite explicit on point".

Details of different aspects of other cinema are difficult to say but impact has significance for the World cinema. Though a cinema compared to bourgeois cinema, it is ing momentum and strength from reel, a U.S. film group, the Cinema of the Italian student movement, films made by the *Elvis General*, Cinema Francois, and those of the and Japanese student movements, continuation and deepening of the of a Joris Iven or a Chris Marker. Many film-makers, particularly from American countries, want to discard conventional form of making possible films. Speculation is not different praxis. On the other hand speculation and praxis can be synthesised. It is not only an art form; it is an act meant for the metamorphosis of consciousness of the audience who participates in the action. The student raised barricades on the Avenida Julio in Montivideo after the

FRONTIER

cinema. The so-called political films avoid real subjectivity.

A protest film should be compelling, disturbing and bitter and the dialectical elements of the film will not portray, interpret, symbolise or allegorise but enquire. A protest film being a mode of investigation, is made with the 'unity of content and form, the unity of revolutionary political content and the highest possible perfection of artistic forms'. Content cannot be sacrificed in the name of form—elevation is also important in the branch of art. So a protest film is an instrument of investigation of the world and amidst the backdrop of class-struggle illusions in the realist cinema serve the purpose of contradictions, like Jean Luc Godard's films. Films of suffering should be spectacular and didactic and should not deal only with horrid sentimentality which evaporates like the spirit of camphor. It should not deal only with effect but with the cause of sufferings, of the cry. Personal exercise with forms (like the personal essays of Chris Marker) can be called author's cinema. A protest film (some call it earnest cinema or cinema engage) "should distract its spectators from realities, but unless a revolution is desired, (which means nothing less than coinciding with and embodying collective fantasies) it will never take place. A revolutionary cinema which has to operate at different levels—fantasy, ideology, science and articulation of these levels, which involve different modes of discourse and different positions of the subject, is a complicated matter.

It is not easy to categorise different types of films falling within the purview of Other Cinema. However, an attempt is being made.

A. Films dealing with liberation movements and anti-imperialist struggle: Some films based on documentary/reportage style: e.g.

1. Pontecarvo: 'Battle of Algiers', 'Quemada'.
2. Joris Evans—(a) 'The Spanish Earth'
(b) 'The Four Hundred Million'
(c) 'The Seventeenth Parallel: The Treating Sky'
3. Nagisha Oshima: 'Dear Summer

Sister'.

4. Jean Luc Godard: 1. 'Louin de Vietnam'.

2. Till Victory.

Here, except in Godard's films, communication is simple and direct and the director goes straight to the problems of the affected country.

B. Films dealing with local political issues: Some issues require immediate attention—

1. Nagisha Oshima: 'Night and Fog over Japan' (film dealing with the fight between President Americans and Japanese students).
2. Noriaki Tsuchimoto: 'Minamata' (deals with the pollution affecting a minority community in Japan).

These films are instruments of political agitation and the director dialectically unites impersonal observation and personal participation. In these film it is not believed that the masses are 'mute'.

C. Anti-establishment films bordering on reformism which never question the cause but merely portray events and never speak of different modes of representation.

D. Films dealing with political subjects and the film maker raises issues that exploitation in neo-colonialist societies is the root of all trouble e.g. George Sanjines (1) 'Ukamau'; (2) 'Blood of Condor'; (3) 'Knight of St Juan'. Here the camera acts as a rifle and through this medium the director explains the objective conditions in consonance with subjective reality and film makers like Amerto Rieso ('The Cry of the People') and Remundo Glaucher ('Mexico—the Foreign Revolution') directly call for active participation in resistance struggle. Anti-imperialist struggle in different countries of the Third World is the order of the day and the importance of such films needs no elaborate recounting. The Other Cinema i.e. third cinema, in the opinion of Octovio Getina and Fernando Solanas, "is the cinema that recognises in that struggle the most gigan-

tic cultural, scientific and artistic manifestation of our time, the great possibility of constructing a liberated personality with each people as the starting point,—in a word, the decolonisation of culture”.

Ousmane Sembene, maker of 'Mandabi', himself a protagonist of Marxism-Leninism, speaks of a cinema at the same time spectacular and didactic. What he wants is a series of militant African films to promote the cause of truly indigenous African cinema, one that can serve as a political tool in Africa's struggle to free itself from colonialism and neo-colonialism.

The best example of this category of films is 'La Hora de Los Hornos' (The Hour of the Furnaces) made in 1966 by Solanas and Octavio Getina, of Argentina. It can be called a period piece of political film showing in three parts a series of political events, the history, origin in other words or the 'chronicle of Peronism', 'chronicle of the resistance' and the act of inciting violence for liberation. The film has been shown in factories and the audiences have been harassed by the police. Hence underground screening was arranged at different places. In the words of Salanas and Getino 'Beyond its specific qualities, the film is intended as a provocative element, and an act towards liberation. The special feature of the film is that before the screening texts are distributed, reproducing General San Martin's order of 1819 exhorting the people to fight for liberation. Revolutionary marches are heard. In the intervals, a speaker will guide. A slogan underlines the nature of the situation. "Every spectator is a coward or a traitor"!

The film directly exhorts the audience not to be a passive onlooker but to act towards liberation. The conditions as

described in the first part of the film are engendered by imperialist oppression and dependence: the violence acting against the people is daily very well camouflaged and has no need to manifest itself in explicit forms. Its consequences are hunger, illiteracy, alienation, the destruction of authentic national values.

E. Protest films made in allegorical or surrealist forms e.g. 'Themrock' is another kind of anti-establishment film made in surrealist style. Here the form dominates over content. Hence it is not easy for the audiences to understand the gossamer substances of the surrealist presentation. Some of these films which can be called a 'progressive wing of the establishment cinema' or anti-conventional cinema, are not made to help make revolution, but they are intended to make profit or serve personal gratification. Here leftism is a kind of product which can be marketed easily—where no Marxist film maker is yet in existence. These films are generally financed and prized by semi-government or government institutions and the bias of the authorities towards this kind of pseudo-political film is not shrouded in mystery. John Mathews comments: "What of Solanas' personal achievement? Obviously he is in danger of being swallowed by the patronage of Western intellectuals—as happened to his unfortunate predecessor, Glauber Rocha. La Hora de Los Hornos was treated in Paris with all the tenderness given to a specious orchid in a hothouse. It was displayed for the gratification of the discriminating in a chic Parisian film studio”.

F. Films on Marxism and other political subjects and achieving a form that question the mode of representation. From the standpoint of representation—Jean Luc Godard's 'Vent d'Est', 'British Sounds' and 'Pravda' are quite different from Glauber Rocha's 'Black God'—'White Devil', 'Land in a Trance'. While Rocha believes in spontaneity, mysticism and anguish of the individual, Godard's approach in making political films is quite different. He wants to approach the audience politically, Godard scrupulously avoids rush of emotions. Film makers from Latin Ame-

rica, particularly Glauber Rocha insist on different modes of distribution, production and exhibition of militant political films. On the other hand Godard is struggling hard in the matter of perfection of form and content. The maker of 'La Chinoise', 'Wind from the East' firmly proclaims that the camera is a theoretical rifle and the rifle is a practical camera. From his 'Week End' he has switched over to counter-cinema whose values are diametrically opposite to the bourgeois cinema. Godard was right to break with Hollywood cinema and to set up his counter-cinema and, for the time being, working alone, he is the most important director working today. Nevertheless, there are people who think that there are confusions in his strategy, which blunt its edge even tend to nullify it: his confusion over the series of terms, fiction/mystification / ideology / lies / deception / illusion/representation etc.

The movement for the Other Cinema or counter-cinema must be vigorously launched through production and distribution of militant films in different centres. The people in the Third World are living in conditions of acute struggle against a hellish life, there is no democracy and freedom for the millions. The possibility for the continuity of a revolutionary cinema rests upon the strengthening of rigorously underground base structures.

For Frontier contact

APOLLO BOOK HOUSE,

K. B. Road,

Jorhat-2,

Assam.

For Frontier contact

CURRENT BOOK DEPOT,

The Mall,

Kanpur.

The Third Triennale—New Delhi

SANDIP SARKAR

The Third Triennale at New Delhi was declared open on February 21 and would continue up to March 21 at the Lalit Kala Galleries, Rabindra Bhavan and the Bahalpur House annexe in a very near. The critics and artists were called a day earlier. There was a feeling of unreality in the whole scene—the foreign artists, commissioners, dignitaries, the press, critics, exhibitors, the TV people and their counterparts. Delhi is haunted by a sense of unreality, insulated against the world and one almost had the feeling that one was inside a capsule floating away toward some planet. Old Delhi had its riots and curfew but not a single person reached this isolated shore. They seemed oblivious of India. They spoke many languages but there was no sense of the tower of babel. Altogether, twenty-two countries participated, an international jury consisting of Robert Rauschenberg (USA), Walter Zani (Italy) and V. R. Ambedkar (India) awarded a gold medal each with cash to P. Luminkangas (Finland), J. L. (France), Kozo Mio (Japan), G. (Switzerland), F. R. (Germany), D. (Holland) and Shanti Dave (India). I would agree with the jury who perhaps it would be wiser to award the awards... and institute prizes and funds to provide knowledge of new achievements all over the world. Personally, I think it would be better to abolish the Triennale altogether and canalise the money to needy and talented artists, in various centres across the country. For after all the arty crowd in Delhi is very small and to give a responsive toy worth Rs 8 or 10 is beside the point.

Whispers and rumours were in the air. Those who had been rejected were hanging round in the AIFACS galleries. When talking to them one could feel they would forgive the selectors if their work was exhibited next time. One could see the protesters of the last triennale won over by diplomacy, and

the wall space given to artists living in Delhi compared to other Indian cities was just amazing and members of the triennale committee thought it was better to keep the Gir lions happy than be worried by the Royal Bengal Tigers of the Sunderbans or the mysterious sea monsters of the Arabian Sea. A Madvi Parekh was given more space than Bijon Chaudhury and Rabin Mandol together. Only posterity will judge how ridiculous they were. This is one example and one could tell many many more.

One could feel that in Delhi the artists were favoured outcasts supported by black money and upper-middle-class Westernised people and the Delhi artists were happy to know that they were producers of goods for the luxury market. The gallery owners and critics ganged up to build an image of one artist and to demolish that of another. The Dhoomi Mal Gallery handed out invitation cards at the triennale to honour Shanti Dave and it was clearly stated that it 'invites you for drinks'. There are intelligent critics in Delhi like Jaya Appaswamy, Mr Krishnan of *The Statesman* and the delightful Mr Keshav Mallick but there was one who went about like a self-important cock in his shorts and add to this Rabindra Bhavan and the National Gallery of Modern Art and you have a complete picture. Some are good politicians and have vested interests, others play the game of diplomacy and still others are like prostitutes. Those who have sensitive souls like Keshav Mallick suffer. In fact I saw the violent reactions of two or three commissioners and as we had the same reaction we could communicate. One began to question such myths as the sacredness of the artist's personality. The meaning of art could cross national frontiers but some art could be meaningful in a certain cultural context but meaningless in a cross-cultural situation. Much was applied technological methods rather than works of art, they were produced for mass entertainment and like and furniture designing one could see the built-in

obsolescence. Much of this so-called art was dehumanised and smelt of decay and incoherence, but about five per cent of the work one felt that it was the real thing.

Today, because of the shrinking of the world and the network of mass media, it is quite easy for an artist to reach a very large public and conversely he is liable to be bullied by international trends. Secondly, as the standards of judgment are loose, a charlatan may quite easily pass off as an artist, and conspiracy of the dealer-critic-publicity junta might create confusion. Gujral sells at a higher price than Jamini Ray, therefore Gujral is a better artist than Jamini Ray — one might get away with such silly syllogisms. On the other hand, one could also learn humility at this triennale. A bad artist does not become a best seller intentionally. A good artist cannot become a best seller by intentionally choosing to do certain things that he thinks the public likes. Because his insincerity will be evident immediately. Shanti Dave attracts people who have money but no soul because he is sincere and works hard to be convincing. His award-winning 'Shankar Dhai' (300x17 cm) has a lot of flourish but appears like a longwinded speech. It is as saccharine like and antiseptic as Delhi city. One thinks that Mr Ambedkar, the Indian juror, failed to do his duty by allowing the foreign jury to give this one a prize. Perhaps he had a hand in it too!

International Sanction

The artists, in a technological society, is trying to say he is free and can do as he chooses. This is partly because he feels insecure as a fringe element; and the capitalist with his Gargantuan stomach can gobble up all protest art including 'Guernica'. This is the measure of the artist's insecurity and he is made to feel through subtle pressure that he is at the mercy of forces that are larger than him. Moreover, there is the pressure of becoming backdated and the shadow of technology, which forces the artists to use ever newer industrial techniques, but the net result as far as aesthetics goes is very little. A lot of it

is exercise in styles rather than language.

Let us take certain examples. The Australian artist, Ewa Pachucka, sculpts figures with string and crochet hook but her exact copying of the human figure has something very vulgar. On the other hand we remember the Australian exhibition in Calcutta a few years ago where one could feel man and nature and the nudity of both. Michael Taylor is sensitive but nearer to American action painting than anything else. Surprisingly this is the first time I have been bowled over by American art. Louise Nevelson was an assistant to the Mexican painter Diego Rivera. She has a very personal idiom and uses boxed assemblage to form a sort of wooden screen for a wall. A single uniform colour is used—black this time—and wooden shapes which are not shapes in isolation but in relation to each other. Her acquaint and college graphics work on smooth abstract shapes in juxtaposition, and this wordless poetry has something that affects the inside. By comparison Satish Gujral's sculpture looks sham, because the social reality that made Nevelson's work possible is not there in Gujral's case. Hence the hollowness in spite of the mature technique. Yet, it is interesting to note that they were both trained by Mexican artists.

Apart from America, possibly Japan had the most interesting things on view. The selectors were careful to show how the artists of the present time view human beings. On the whole the Japanese seem to be very restrained and the tension of modern life is camouflaged. J. Watanabe shows human beings as having inflated agos which make them act as monsters. Surrealist in content but expressionistic in approach, he has very dry humour. T. Oshima is surrealist too but there is an intensity in his aristocratic poetry where trees assume human character and a girl flies a butterfly instead of kite, but the imagery is literary rather than pictorial. Kozo Mio pursues photo-realism to the extreme point and uses a spraygun and acrylic and the effect almost collides with photography. The face of a woman is viewed from front and side and this is juxtaposed with butterfly, or it is view-

ed upside down from the forehead to the chin and a piece of folded cloth is arranged in a manner so that it seems to be flying out of the canvas. Technique-wise he is brilliant but the first impact seems to wear off. It shows us a technological society at its zenith when creativity becomes routine and soulless in the process.

F. Boyd and L. Evans' technique is near to that of Kozo Mio, but the British pair seem to be influenced more by photography than the Japanese are; as there is no stylisation involved but only selection, one wonders whether these two artists' joint venture could be called painting. However, 'Story' creates a mood with a sandy sea-shore taking up a lot of space in the foreground and a distant sea with almost invisible bathers and a beautiful sky. On the foreground one sees a man coming out of a pale white car. There is subtle drama but is it painting? Howard Hodgkin is more of a real painter than these other two (recently H. H. had a one-man show of serigraphs at the Academy of Fine Arts). Hodgkin's point of departure is Ferdinand Leger in some ways but he is capable of walking out on his own. He reduces everything to the bare essentials and communicates with suggestions and his almost monastic austerity has power.

The Federal Republic of Germany has also photo-realism and spray-gun pictures which had one dominant colour—white—and reminded one of asylums and hospitals. G. Richter, Krieg or Willikens take us for a walk with photographic optical illusion but cannot move us. France showed us a revival of surrealism with another name. Of the three artists we see none seems to have a French name and only J. J. Brown was born in France but he has a peculiar non-French name. This section has some quite powerful works but pictorially speaking one experiences nothing new. Atila and H. Weiss have intensity of vision but they hardly break new ground.

If this exhibition is any indicator, then one could say without any hesitation that probably industrial technique, surrealism and fantasy dominate the art of man today.

(To be continued)

Ramleela

BY A DRAMA CRITIC

ADVERTISING rates being what they are, it is not possible for every theatre group to seek publicity through the medium of newspapers. As a result a number of excellent plays are left out in the cold and often run to half-empty houses. This was the fate of the play *Ramleela* staged by Amra, a theatre unit from Uttarpara, at the Academy of Fine Arts on February 22. Written by Dipak Sen and directed by Alokesh Bandopadhyay, the play went into action effortlessly and did not allow our interest to slacken for a single unguarded moment. A jatra party led by a lecherous ex-tout is scouting around for female talent when a rich zamindar who happens to be on the spot, suggests that the local prostitute, Belarini, should be given the role of Sita in the play. *Ramleela* as modern audiences lapse into sex and she would help to make even show a commercial success. The prostitute, however, is not willing to vulgarise her life any further and resists the idea that she, as Sita, should lead an appeal to her role and give the audience the sort of titillation it looks for. The local zamindar and the leader of the jatra exert constant pressure on the girl. One day villagers flock from distant areas to see the jatra, the jatra players rebel against the roles imposed on them and begin to speak of the harsh realities of their own broken, impoverished lives, which rouses the passive rustic audience as no *Ramleela* could ever hope to do. While all this goes on, the urban intellectuals arrive on the scene and explain to the aggrieved players and villagers that from now on they must portray their ordinary crisis-ridden lives in plays and jatras and not through the perfunctory and mechanical motions of typical jatra players depicting scenes from the ancient epics. All this has an electrifying impact on the zamindar with his fond dreams of a sex-charged jatra and vast hungry audiences stands condemned and utterly dejected before the public.

MARCH 8, 1971

play was very intelligently devised and aimed a powerful crusade against the kind of vulgar, obscene and effete which has now taken Calcutta by storm and is now, quite the rage in some circles of the middle and upper-middle class circles. It is also a plea for making common people more conscious of their needs and of what needs amputation in our corrupt society. Lately, there have been many plays with a similar message but unfortunately most of them are either peddled slogans and became political tracts without any artistic effect or downright poster dramas. We have the ingredients of a masterpiece in the message which is so well put across is well integrated with the structure of the play itself, so that we do not feel that we are being got at. The actors enjoyed their roles tremendously and gave a very scintillating performance. One would like to single out in particular Bela, Kedar, Kshitu and Dibakar as the two urban characters, lacked conviction and a self-consciously dead-earnest sort of performance. Bela's having to give away the nature of her profession to anyone she meets was a little ridiculous and could, perhaps, be cut out. The lighting and stage sets need comment. There was abundant outbursts of humour in the right places and boldness of speech and clarity of thought the playwright is to be congratulated.

Frontier contact :

BANKURA NEWSPAPER

AGENCY,

Calcutta,

AD & Dist. Bankura.

MARCH 8, 1975

Book Review

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA: PROGRAMMES AND PROBLEMS

By Kailash Chandra

Rama Krishna & Sons, New Delhi

Price not stated.

ONCE a protege of the Government of India, both as an administrator and as a social worker, but now ditched by it, Mr Chandra has not just made a virtue of necessity in getting his own back on the Government. He is right in pointing out that its performance in the field of social welfare leaves much to be desired. Planning in India had an auspicious beginning, but in the subsequent period a curious twist in the planners' attitude played the deuce with the spirit of participation of the people. Thwarted and unfulfilled expectations left the people estranged. Resistance to Government has only exposed itself. It is 24 years now since it resorted to five year plans. But in spite of that the country has gone to the dogs, and now when the fifth plan is virtually a non-starter and the country observes a plan-holiday, the timeliness of the book is unquestionable.

The Government has fallen back on one first principle after another. "Community Development" has been supplanted by "Minimum Needs", and the rulers of India have wished these noble ideas to work miracles. But if wishes were horses, beggars would ride. Implementation of these projects or their operational part has been largely neglected. The planners, social scientists, and social workers in India look askance at one another and any concerted effort towards progress remains a far cry.

For Mr Chandra the virus of decline lies in extreme politicisation, and he thinks depoliticisation is the panacea for all social evils. He makes a distinction between participation and commitment (as if there is anything intrinsically bad in commitment of any kind). The book is full of other naivetes. Mr Chandra thinks the only cure of the economic malaise is greater reliance on voluntary endeavour, that mysterious maid-of-all-work, and he calls for a

greater leverage for voluntary organisations in this respect. He would have clipped the wings of bureaucracy. He makes a point of crying down every Government enterprise and of flattering all voluntary endeavour to the skies. He has discarded GNP and per capita income as yardsticks of progress, but his attitude to the National Programme for Minimum Needs is just this side of idolatry. However, left alone to indicate his preferences as to the Minimum Needs Programme and such voluntary efforts as Youth Against Famine, Mr Chandra can make only a Hobson's choice. For, his allergy to an ameliorative service programme organised by the Government is endemic to Indian intellectuals. Criticism of any social welfare programme is an intellectual commonplace in India and Mr Chandra is so much of a prey to this tendency that he cannot see that both the "National Programme for Minimum Needs" and "Youth Against Famine" remained pious wishes, and while extolling one, one could not safely cry the other down.

Mr Chandra's prescription of a Social Sector of Private Enterprises is non-descript. Economically speaking it is a half-way house between laissez faire and mixed economy. Politically speaking it gets us nowhere. It is neither individualism nor collectivism. It is at best a jumble.

The book abounds in quaint ideas. The Gandhian scheme of basic education was abandoned by Indian politicians though they paid lip service to it. But the Chinese system, Mr Chandra assumes, was inspired by it, and the credit for its giving expected result goes to Gandhi.

The book is a watered down version of India's economic and social ills, and though Mr Chandra has uttered few home truths, that could not very well be palatable to the Government, the end product is muddled.

Amartya Mukhopadhyay

Unity

(Continued from p. 8)

mandism in its style of working.

The party must adhere to the principles of democratic centralism in its functioning. It must strictly adhere to the four disciplines: individual is subordinate to the unit; lower committees are subordinate to the higher committees, minority is subordinate to the majority and all the party members are subordinate to the Central Committee. The party must not permit establishment of personal regimes. It must function on the basis of the "committee system" and the "method of leadership" laid down by Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Factions are incompatible with the party.

In view of the common understanding between the two parties on all the major points of programme, tactics and party building, we have decided to unite into a single party i.e. Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist).

We believe, this approach will be welcomed by all the communist revolutionaries in our country, and they too will come forward to unite in the CPI (ML) without further delay.

Satyanarain Singh
General Secretary CPI (ML)
Paila Vasudeva Rao
CPI (ML)

P. Ramanarsiah
Secretary Andhra Pradesh
Revolutionary Communist Party
Chandra Pulla Reddy
Leader, Member, APRCP

For Frontier contact

C. P. CHOWDHURY,

The English Book Shop,

33, Sector 22,

Chandigarh

Letters

Murder of Mahalanobis

It is highly regrettable that you should have published an article with the above title in your columns. Within any organisation there are petty squabbles between different sections of employees. The article reflects the squabble interests of some sections of the professional workers of the Indian Statistical Institute. Many of the views expressed in the article about the conditions within that organisation before and after the death of Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, whether the organisation was holding aloft some academic ideals all these days and whether they were sacrificed all at one stroke by a recent symposium held in the organisation—described by the cheap sensational title "Murder of Mahalanobis"—are matters on which there will be differences of opinion among those who belong to the organisation or who know about its affairs. But many a reader like myself regard *Frontier* as a political journal, a journal that looks at social, economic and political problems of the country from the viewpoint of the interests of the masses. The internal squabbles of the Indian Statistical Institute are in no way of any interest to the masses of the country or even to what is called the educated public. It has interest only for a tiny section of that privileged group of professional people who, one and all, earn a good living at the cost of the masses as employees of the white elephants which are the research institutions in this country. So why should *Frontier* go out of its way to give prominence to such opinions?

Ashok Rudra
New Delhi

Trouble in Delhi

The Indira Government's trigger-happy policemen and the anti-socials in their anxiety to grab power everywhere took a toll of at least nine lives of the minorities in the Jama Masjid area. In the Home Consultative Committee meet I hammered the issue and the Government had no reply to put

forward.

The anger of the people at the government's conduct was to intensify that a Minister, Janab S. N. Khan, had to run away and hide in a latrine, where he was locked up from outside to give people the impression that there was nobody inside.

That Sunday while people were running in search of shelter, the police were after their blood in the Jama Masjid and teargas was used and the police fired indiscriminately and the situation lasted at least two hours. It was alleged that the police even climbed on the roof-tops and fired, resulting in a few on-the-spot deaths. There were cases when the police broke into residential houses, harassed and molested women in the Galji Garia area. Many were seriously injured and some of them are in hospital. In many areas Muslim shops were burnt by policemen and there were even cases where people were burnt to death. The police did not allow extinguishing of fire in these shops. This happened right under the nose of the Government at Delhi.

It is stated that the Sahi Imam of Jama Masjid, Syed Abdulla Bukhari, who inherited the Imamship, was severe on the ruling Congress and condemned the Indira Government which wanted to take away his Imamship. The Wakf Board is controlled by government-nominated members. Being a religious body it should be really independent. There were serious allegations all over the country that Congressmen, MPs and Ministers like Janab S. N. Khan, Janab T. Hossain etc. have turned the Wakf Board into an arena of political manoeuvres. There were numerous cases of misappropriation and malpractices.

The Imam stated at a public meeting that S. N. Khan, Minister, had threatened him saying that he would shoot him and the Imam accepted the challenge.

Our minority brethren should know the real character of Mrs Gandhi and her government. The time has come when they have to fight within the mainstream of the country and root out for good the exploitation, repression and misery of all of us.

Jyotirmay Basu, MP
Calcutta

FRONTIER

61, MOTT LANE, CALCUTTA-13

Subscription Rates

INLAND

One Year: Rs. 22.00 Six Months Rs. 11.00
Three Years: Rs. 60.00 Five Years: Rs. 100.00

By Surface Mail

All countries: 6 dollars

Foreign AIR MAIL Rates (One Year)

America: 18.50 dollars

Europe: 15.00 dollars

The Netherlands: 18.50 dollars

Asia: 13.00 dollars

Please supply FRONTIER for

Six Months/One Year/Three Years/Five Years

I am sending Rs.

by cheque/money order*

Name.....

Address.....

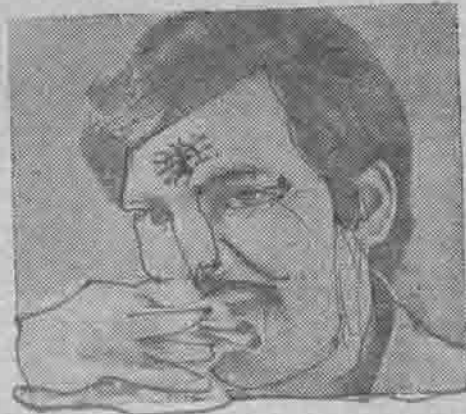
Signature

* Cheques should be drawn in favour of Frontier.

e at the
to intern
Khan, had
a latrine
om outside
that these
were run
the police
Jama, Mos
d the police
the situation
t was alleg
mbled on to
g in a few
e were caus
to residential
ested women
Many were
of these are
near Muslim
icemen and
here people
ne police u
fire in these
ght under the
at Delhi
ahi Imam of
ulla Bukhari
ip, was even
ed condemned
which wanted
ip. The Wali
overnment
g a religious
y independent
ations all over
essmen. MP
o S. N. Khan
ave turned the
ena of politics
cases of mi
ractices.
public meeting
ter, had threat
ould shoot him
d the challenge
n should know
Mrs Gandhi) and
time has come
within the main
and root out for
repression and
tirmay Basu, MP
Calcutta

P.N. MAN

**Everything—yes, everything—
costs so much more today**



**except
your peace of mind.**

**Life insurance
worth Rs. 2,500/- for 30 years
still costs you as little as
just one paan a day*
(say, 25p).**



* assuming you are 30 now.



**Still
Peace of mind is within your reach with
LIFE INSURANCE.**

FRATIDMA 2018-INT-12