

The Third General Election

by B. K. Desai

THE peaceful and orderly completion of the Third General Election in India, the largest democracy in the world, is certainly a stupendous political achievement which indicates the growing maturity of our parliamentary democracy. The achievement is all the more creditable considering the fact that this time the registered voters in the country — numbering more than 210 millions — were more numerous than the total population of any other country in the world except China and Russia. India has now completed the first decade of her parliamentary experiment which has been on the whole a success. To be sure, our parliamentary democracy owes its success largely to the continuous existence of the Congress as a ruling party at the Centre as well as in the States for the last ten years. This has ensured continuity of democratic institutions and processes and provided the much-needed stabilising force in our political life. This uninterrupted tenure of the Congress Party in office has, however, not been an unmixed blessing. It has impeded the growth of healthy democratic traditions and has encouraged the tendency in the ruling party to indentify itself with the Government and the State. With the vast resources and the unlimited power of patronage at its command, the Congress today has been able to entrench itself in power and no other party can hope to replace it in the near future. Thus the unassailable position of the Congress, which guarantees stability of our democratic institutions, deprives the voter of a real choice at the polls and obstructs the growth of a real democratic opposition which could provide an alternative to the ruling party.

Under the circumstances, the re-emergence of the Congress as the ruling party was more or less inevitable. It, therefore, does not necessarily imply that the people, in voting the Congress back to office, have voted for or against the political ideology of the Congress. The voter has only expressed his confidence in the Congress and its leader Mr. Nehru. In most cases, its victory has been the result more of superior organisation and resources than of public appreciation of its policies. The Congress has been returned with

absolute majorities in ten out of the twelve States in which elections were held for State Assemblies, while it has suffered reverses in Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Even in the former case, though the Congress has been able to retain its absolute majorities, its strength has declined in all the States except Maharashtra, Assam and West Bengal. Besides, in the State Assembly elections, one Chief Minister and more than thirty Ministers and Deputy Ministers have been defeated while in Punjab the Chief Minister has barely managed to scrape through with a microscopic and doubtful margin of 34 votes. All these results should serve as an eye-opener to the Congress' leaders and dispel any sense of complacency on their part. Besides, it should also be noted that this time there have been widespread complaints of malpractices, unabashed purchase of mass votes, and misuse of government machinery by the Congress Party and not all of these complaints could be dismissed as baseless by impartial observers.

The Congress strength has been reduced and opposition parties have consequently increased their strength in many States. In the case of Bihar, Punjab, Rajasthan and U.P., the total number of members in the Opposition groups is so large as to threaten even the stability of the State Ministries, unless the ruling party there remains united and disciplined. For example, in U.P., the Congress has the total strength of 248 in the Assembly; but only thirty-five of 248 of its members in a mood to rebel would now make all the difference between victory and defeat for the Government. And judging from the past record of the Congress members in the State, this possibility should cause serious doubts about the stability of the Congress Ministry there. This prospect should have a sobering effect on the Congress leadership and unless the Congress leaders put their house in order and tighten the discipline, the Party cannot hope to retain its hold for long in these States.

Thus, inspite of its victory, the Congress Party today faces the prospect of having unstable regimes at least in 5 of the 12 States in which the elections were held. Of course, the evils of group rivalries, internal dissensions and struggle for power have contributed to the decline of the Congress. But these evils have always been there and they have always plagued its organisational efficiency to a greater or less degree. What has really affected the Congress fortunes adversely this time is the widespread discontent against the Congress rule and the growing popular yearning for an effective opposition, if not an alternative, to the ruling party.

As a result, one significant feature of the General Election has been the emergence of significant opposition parties in State Assemblies. For the first time, there would be practically in each of the State Assemblies an opposition Party having the necessary strength to be recognised as the official opposition party. Thus the Swatantra Party would be the opposition party in Bihar, Orissa, Gujarat and Rajasthan; the Communist Party in Andhra, W. Bengal and Kerala, the Jan Sangh in U.P. and Madhya Pradesh, the Praja Socialist Party in Mysore, the D.M.K. in Madras and the Akali Dal in Punjab. Though the division of the Opposition in numerous groups is to be deprecated, there are signs of the ultimate emergence of a three-party system with the Congress on the one hand and the Swatantra-Jan Sangh coalition emerging as the democratic opposition on the other, while the Communists remaining in the picture as the party with a totalitarian creed and extra-territorial loyalty as its ideological sheet-anchor.

Among the opposition parties, the communists have more or less retained their strength without making any substantial headway in West Bengal and Andhra and made marginal gains in U.P., Rajasthan, Mysore, Bihar and the Punjab. The party has suffered grievous losses in Assam and Maharashtra and lost its strength in Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat and Madras. Thus, except in Andhra, W. Bengal and Kerala—their usual strongholds—the communists nowhere constitute a significant element in the Opposition. They have, however, managed to retain their position as the leading opposition party in Parliament. But, on the whole, as an all-India party, the communists have not made any significant progress anywhere. Even the party's success in West Bengal, Andhra and in some other states is largely due to its policy of alliances and adjustments with other parties.

The Swatantra Party and the Jan Sangh have, however, registered striking successes in many States. The Swatantra Party, which is hardly three year old, has made an impressive beginning by emerging as the leading opposition party in four States and securing a sizeable number of seats in U.P., Andhra and Mysore. The Party, however, owes its successes in the four States, where it has emerged as the chief opposition Party, more to the local influence of its candi-

dates, than to its policies and programme. In that sense, the Party's failure in Madras and Andhra, the State of its founder and the President respectively, is more significant and revealing than its successes elsewhere. It shows that the Party on its own has yet not been able to evoke popular response and it has yet to convince the masses of the validity of its case. However, on the all-India plain, the party has emerged as the second largest party in State Assemblies and the second biggest opposition party in the Lok Sabha. These successes have provided a popular base which, if the party is able to consolidate, should help it to carry its message to the masses in the next five years. For this, however, the Party will have to shed its dogmatic anti-State-action bias. It has a convincing case when it attacks the Statist excesses of the Congress Government that arise from the latter's doctrinaire attachment to out-moded socialist dogmas. But it must be remembered, at the same time, that in an underdeveloped country, the State has to play a leading role, both as an active participant as well as the regulator, in the country's economic development. No doubt, the excessive State intervention and regulation of the national economy by the Congress Government have given rise to what the Swatantraites call the Permit-Licence-Raj. But, then, it is also worth noting that even the Swatantra Party, if it comes to power, cannot entirely do away with the system of permits and licences. Even the Swatantra Party's Statement of Principles as well as its Manifesto implicitly admit this fact. The difference between the Congress and the Swatantra approaches is thus essentially one of emphasis and priorities and the realisation of this fact should enable the Swatantra leaders to project a favourable image of their party before the public.

While the Swatantra is a liberal democratic party with a secular outlook, the Jan Sangh is a party of social reaction. It is nearest to the Swatantra in its economic policies and programme, but its socio-cultural outlook is based on the concept of the primacy of Hindu culture and religion. Its influence is confined to U.P., Madhya Pradesh, and other Hindi-speaking areas. But, because of its narrow outlook and limited appeal, the party cannot hope to emerge as a strong party on a national scale.

The Party which has fared worst in the election is the Praja Socialist Party which has declined in strength still further in all States, except Mysore and Madhya Pradesh. The election has once again emphasised the fact that since the Congress adopted the socialist creed, the PSP has lost its *raison d'être*. It has been left with no distinct ideology or programme and has found it difficult to convince the people of the superiority of its brand of socialism as against that of the Congress. The decline of the party had therefore been a foregone conclusion. The fact that the party has still managed to survive in the face of all the overwhelming odds is an eloquent testimony to the fine calibre and the sense of dedication of its workers.

The third General Election has thus produced a variegated pattern of political forces all over the

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North Bombay Election

by V. B. Karnik

ACHARYA Kripalani's contest against the Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, had attracted countrywide and worldwide attention. It was the contest of the General Election of 1962. The personalities involved in the contest were no doubt outstanding, but far more outstanding were the issues involved in it. It is those issues which lent it the unique importance that it came to assume in India and abroad.

The main issue in the contest was the direction of the country's progress: will the country advance towards a free and democratic society or towards a communist dictatorial regime? There were a number of other issues which revolved around the main issue: the attitude towards Chinese aggression, the competence of the Defence Minister, his ideological sympathies and his ways of behaviour, the communist strategy of infiltration into the Congress, the role and place of Gandhian values, the need of an opposition and similar other issues. A few irrelevant issues were deliberately brought in to confuse the voters and the people. No less a person than the Prime Minister resorted to that tactic. He sought to paint the contest as a struggle against socialism. It was obviously a gross misrepresentation. It was also painted as an attack upon him and upon the Congress. That was also a distortion of facts. But, it appears, anything is fair in elections, as in love and war.

The result of the election may appear to many as a clear and decisive decision of the people on the main issue. They may think that the die is cast and the country is now set on the road towards communism. Many keen democrats have already expressed the view that the thumping success that Mr. Menon received has immeasurably strengthened his position in the country and the Government and that nothing can now stop him from leading the country into the communist camp. It is possible that they are not altogether mistaken and it may happen that their dark prophecy may eventually come true. But, on the other hand, it will be difficult to deny that a sober analysis of the result does not disclose a picture of such certain ruin for freedom and democracy.

The alarm may be the result of undue optimism. There was a lot of undue optimism in the ranks of the supporters of Acharya Kripalani, more particularly in the last couple of weeks. They had received a large measure of public support. The people were enthusiastic about Acharya Kripalani. They were participating in their hundreds and thousands in meetings and demonstrations addressed by him and others. The press was favourable. A number of highly respected and eminent individuals like Shri Jayaprakash Narayan had expressed their solid support to the Acharya. There were a number of defections in

Congress ranks. Leaders of the Youth Congress like Shri Ramakrishna Bajaj were openly campaigning for their candidate. The campaign had assumed the character of a national movement. The rich and the poor, the Maharashtrians and Gujaratis and Uttar Bharatiyas, the Hindus, the Muslims, the Christians and the Parsis had all joined it. Naturally there was a mood of high optimism. Who could imagine at that time that there were in the stream a number of hidden rocks which would emerge at the opportune moment and hold back the mighty tide of popular support and enthusiasm?

The most powerful of the hidden rocks was the large number of slum dwellers who, living as they did in sub-human conditions, could not distinguish between the two candidates and would vote as their *dadas* or leaders told them. The preferences of the *dadas* or leaders are usually determined by payments made or favours promised. Acharya Kripalani was in no position to make payments or to show favours. A large majority of those votes therefore went to his opponent as can be clearly seen by an analysis of the voting figures from those localities. The North Bombay parliamentary constituency has a large percentage of such votes. They can easily cancel out the will and the preference of the other more intelligent and more enlightened but numerically smaller section of the population. The traditional loyalty to the Congress organisation and the charismatic appeal of the Prime Minister were amongst other factors which frustrated the hopes of the supporters of Acharya Kripalani. Another powerful factor was the alliance between the Menon wing of the Congress and the Communist Party. The Communist Party and all its adherents and fellow-travellers were wholeheartedly working for Mr. Menon and every single vote that they were able to gather for their Assembly candidates went to him as if he was their candidate. That explains why Mr. Menon received more votes than the combined total of the votes of the Assembly candidates of the Congress.

As a matter of fact there was from the beginning no solid basis for an optimistic outlook. A sober analysis of the relation of forces in the constituency would have disclosed that Acharya Kripalani was up against a mighty combination and that his hopes of success were very slender. But electioneering has no place for a sober analysis. The base from which the election campaign of Acharya Kripalani operated was very narrow. The three parties, the P.S.P., the Jan Sangh and the Swatantra, which supported his candidature, did not have a large influence in the city or the constituency. They were able to collect between them only about 70,000 votes. Four out of the six Assembly candidates who were set up along with

him lost their deposits. The hope of success lay only in a large-scale defection from the Congress ranks. It appeared at one time certain that such a defection would take place. It was expected that Congress-minded voters would give their Assembly vote to Congress candidates and their Parliamentary vote to Acharya Kripalani. There were good grounds to hope that such an intelligent choice would be exercised by them. The indifference of the Congress organisation to the Menon campaign and its wholesale take-over by the communists encouraged that hope. But in the end powerful Congress leaders like Shri Dhebar and Shri Chavan intervened and they brought about a change in the situation. The defection in the Congress ranks did not take place; and thereafter there was no doubt about the results; the unholy Congress-Communist combine was bound to win by an overwhelming majority.

In spite of these vacillations of the Congress and the powerful propaganda of the Menon-campaigners, reinforced as it was by the active participation of a number of glamorous film stars, the non-party independent minded citizens who had followed the Kripalani campaign with keen interest stood firm and gave their votes to the Acharya. It was with their help that he was able to build up the impressive total of 1,52,187 votes, about 80,000 more than the votes polled by the Assembly candidates who supported him. This, indeed, is no mean achievement looking to the powerful forces ranged against him.

The defeat of Acharya Kripalani is to be viewed in the light of what happened in the rest of the State of Maharashtra. All over the State there was a swing in favour of the Congress. Having secured their demand of a unilingual Marathi State, Maharashtrians went back to the Congress as decisively as they had broken away from it in 1957. The Congress won in the State Assembly 214 out of 264 seats. In the election to Parliament it won almost all the seats. What happened in the State also happened in the City of Bombay. In Bombay the Congress won 21 out of 24 seats and in North Bombay it lost only one seat which went to the P. S. P. candidate, Shri Pinto who succeeded in retaining it. The four Parliamentary seats in the city also went to the Congress including that hotly-contested North Bombay seat which Mr. Menon succeeded in holding against Acharya Kripalani. What happened in North Bombay is thus in line with what happened in the rest of the State and need not cause undue alarm.

The victory of Mr. Menon need not be regarded as the victory of the Communists. No doubt they worked for his success, no doubt his political affiliations and sympathies are entirely with them; and yet even Mr. Menon cannot deny that he won only because he was a Congress candidate and only on the basis of the powerful support extended to him by the Prime Minister and, at his command, by other Congress leaders. The Congress leaders had to assure the people that he was not a communist before they could persuade them to give him their votes. In all the campaigning that they did for him they spoke in

unequivocal terms against Communism and more particularly against the Communist Party of India. It may be remembered moreover that the communists did not get a single seat in North Bombay and that one of their candidates lost his deposit. The difference between the votes secured by communist candidates and the successful Congress candidates was in every case very high.

The propaganda carried on by the Kripalani Election Campaign Committee has also left an indelible mark on the thinking of the people of Bombay and of the country as a whole. The people will not lightly forget the charges of crypto-communism made against Mr. Menon and the earnest and vigorous propaganda carried on against his policies and actions by Acharya Kripalani who had nothing to gain by the propaganda and who carried it on only out of a sense of duty. The people will watch Mr. Menon's actions and Mr. Menon will also have to watch his steps. Even the Prime Minister will not be able to shut his eyes to the fact that over a lakh and fifty thousand of the intelligent voters in North Bombay cast their votes against Mr. Menon in spite of all his pleadings on his behalf. And behind that mass of voters stands a solid mass of intelligent opinion in the country and also in the Congress. The Prime Minister has the reputation of being sensitive to public opinion. It is to be hoped that it will not fail him on this occasion.

It may not be correct therefore to adopt too alarmist a view of the success of Mr. Menon. At the same time there should be no complacency. The thumping success over a candidate of the stature of Acharya Kripalani will be utilised by Mr. Menon and his friends for strengthening their position in the government and the Congress. It may then pave the way for the destruction of democratic institutions and the onset of communist tyranny. Democratic forces must be therefore on their guard. If they are sufficiently alert and sufficiently mobilised they can avert the disaster. Defeat in one fight need not dishearten them. There are many more they will have to fight and win.

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The Resurgence Of The D.M.K.

by S. R. Mohan Das

THE Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam, (DMK—Dravidian Progressive Federation) has now emerged stronger than ever before in Tamilnad. It has obtained 50 seats in the Madras State Assembly, and 7 seats in the Indian Parliament. It polled 27.1% of the total polled votes as against the Congress Party's 46.1%.

Reactions to DMK's resurgence have been varied, and generally hostile. The most articulate and hostile comments have been from the ruling Congress Party leadership. Press comments outside Madras State usually display anxiety at DMK's growing strength.

Party-wise, the ruling Congress Party, with a strong conviction of its exclusiveness to represent Indian nationalism, has been sharpest in its hostility to the D.M.K., in which the Congress finds the "reactionary forces of separatism" to the extent of even dismemberment of the Indian Union. The Jan Sangh holds the same view about the D.M.K., but the Jan Sangh has additional reasons on cultural and religious levels to denounce the D.M.K. The communists utter mild criticism publicly merely to put ostensibly on record their image as a National and International party, all the time cocking their eyes and ears alert for any tactical gambits to derive gains through understandings and alliances they could manage with this "Sectarian-reactionary" group. The P.S.P. has displayed ambivalence of attitudes towards the D.M.K. The regional P.S.P. in Tamilnad takes a more friendly attitude with the D.M.K. The Swatantra Party is the only national party which looks upon the D.M.K. with something amounting to genuine friendliness and understanding.

What is the D.M.K.? What does it represent to become popular? Is it really such a threat to the Unity of India and national integrity as is being made out in various quarters? Does its popularity derive from its emphasis on "separatism" from the main national current of Indian politics? Are the political trends in India so integrated and nationalistic in their content, before which the D.M.K. alone, like the Muslim League, stands committed to an exactly opposite trend and must be combatted at all costs? Pandit Nehru has declared with passion that "we will even have war"—in the manner of Abraham Lincoln's stirring commitment to preserve the integrity of the Nation—to meet the threat posed by the D.M.K.'s resurgence.

The DMK is neither a new movement, nor such a sectarian force as its image outside Tamilnad represents it to be. The DMK was born as a force of protest and revolt in South India against certain then-existing situation on linguistic, social, cultural economic and the all-embracing political levels. It should be noted here that such a situation was not exclusive to Tamilnad and was prevalent all over India. In

Tamilnad, the protest took its own peculiar forms in what seemed to be an extremist, separatist content.

The real origin of the D.M.K. could be traced in the emergence of the Justice Party in the early 30's as an anti-Brahmin revolt. With the intensification of the National movement, the Brahmins figured prominently in the leadership of the National movement. This was also not an exclusive phenomenon for Tamilnad. But resentment against Brahmin leadership was submerged by the more powerful urge for freedom that gripped the people universally.

When once freedom was achieved, the old issues that were temporarily submerged came to the surface in new forms. In Tamilnad, the Justice Party's method of petition-mongering and hanging on to the coat-tails of the British was found inadequate, though the rationale of the Justice Party's protests were as valid as ever in the minds of the aggrieved. The protest thus developed new aggressive forms to make a dent in the popularity of the Congress soon after freedom. The Dravida Kazhagam (DK—Dravidian Federation) was founded by the octogenarian Ramaswamy Naicker, with an aggressive emotional appeal to racial and linguistic exclusivism of the "Dravidians" and the "oldest and richest language in the World"—viz. Tamil. The new movement had also another foundation in its bitter anti-Brahmin and anti-Hindu content which could be directed against the then very popular Congress. The anti-Hindu content of the DK was to logically supplement the Dravidian Racialist concepts, to prove that the domination of the Southern Dravidians by the Northern Aryans was through the Hindu religion of which Brahmins were the standard-bearers.

The D.K. had attracted numerous intellectuals in its fold. Very soon they found that the DK leader was too much of a demagogue to suit their intellect and this group of intellectuals broke away from the DK to form the DMK with Mr. Annathurai as the leader.

The DMK attempted to provide an ideological rationale and backbone to its aspirations in place of the mere racial fulminations of the DK. It refined much of the crudeness in Mr. Ramaswamy Naicker's techniques. Under the intelligent leadership of Mr. Annathurai, the DMK built up formidable literary and cultural fronts. It succeeded in building up a powerful base in the thriving film industry in Tamilnad. It built up a competent drama team, set of newspapers etc. The DMK thus built up a strong financial base, cadre of leadership at all levels and a powerful propaganda machine that could match the Congress Party. Though it did not do so well in 1957, in 1962 it emerged as a strong force to contend with.

The DMK's linguistic exhortations are not exclusive perversions. Its anti-north stand is also not very much

different from the sentiments one sees in Bengal, Assam, Kerala and such other states in relation to the rest of India. The DMK's anti-north bias is an extreme form of regionalist manifestation when it pitches its aims of separatism forward. The DMK's anti-religious stand need not be self-righteously censured by the Congress because Congress secularism is largely anti-religious in its content.

The only aspect of D.M.K.'s image that causes disturbance in the minds of its critics is its appeal for an independent and autonomous Dravidian State. But the D.M.K. itself knows that it derived its popularity not on this urge, but on its competence for effective protest against the Congress. The D.M.K. has resorted to this extreme exhortation more as a dramatic demagoguery than as a realistic goal to be achieved. In fact the D.M.K. developed further factions which quit the D.M.K. and accused the DMK of considerably watering down, in fact, its earlier demand for an Independent Dravidian State. In other words, the separatist content in the DMK appeal is not the kernel of the DMK ideology and yet this one aspect of its demand alone has received all-India projection and caused natural reactions of hostility, borne out of the terrifying experience of the partitioning of India done by the Muslim League campaign. But will the DMK's separatist appeal take the same forms and directions as that of former Muslim League. Even the Congress leaders of Tamilnad do not think so.

Another interesting development is the fact that the parent organization which gave birth to the DMK viz. the DK has become more or less a front of the Congress Party after the Congress purged itself of the Brahmin content in its top leadership and stole the anti-Brahmin thunder of the DK. This has resulted in the amazing phenomenon of the Brahmins and other high-caste interests finding in the DMK an important alternative political force with which deals to safeguard Brahmin community interests could be made. This is because in fact the DMK has an intellectual leadership with which reasoning and changes could be possible as against the crude demagoguery of the DK or the monolith of the Congress Party. Thus we see an interesting situation in which the DK which was the foundation for anti-Brahmin, Racial and linguistic protests stands allied with the Congress Party on the one hand, and its errant offspring the DMK representing a more liberal and less extremist force as far as the Brahmin and high caste interests are concerned. This is one of the reasons why the Swatantra Party has displayed greater friendship and understanding towards the DMK.

The anti-Brahmin sentiments, linguistic nationalism, and regional urges have been universally-manifested urges all over India. In their basic contents, the DMK tendencies are in no way different or worse. To forget this important aspect and react to the DMK with unnaturally excessive hostility would result in remedies worse than the disease itself.

(THIRD GENERAL ELECTION — *Cont'd from page 2*)

country. It is difficult to discern any distinct or definite outline in this contradictory and partly confusing shift of electoral opinion in various States. The emergence of the D.M.K. in Madras, the Akali Dal in the Punjab and the All-Party Hill Tribes Leaders Conference in Assam as the chief opposition parties indicate the growing strength of regional separatist tendencies that have thrived mainly on the popular discontent against the Congress rule. The communists have managed to retain their strongholds in Andhra, West Bengal and Kerala, a factor which should be seriously taken note of by democratic parties. On the other hand, though the Communists have not perceptibly increased their numerical strength, they have increased their influence through the process of infiltration into the ruling party. It should be noted that quite a large number of Congress candidates were able to win election this time mainly because of the support they received from the communists. With the decline of the Congress hereafter, the communist support is going more and more to make the difference between defeat and victory at the polls for the Congress. This prospect should cause serious concern to all those Congressmen who still are able to see the distinction between Socialism and Communism and are not swayed by the slogan-mongering of their "progressive leftist" colleagues.

If there is any shift in the electoral opinion evident in the results of the election, it is definitely a shift to the "Right". The success of the Swatantra and the Jan Sangh only underlines this fact. This shift is, in a way, a result of the popular reaction to the growing Statist policies of the Congress that have neither improved the lot of the common man nor have they convinced him of the effectiveness of the Congress Socialism as a remedy to all his ills. They have only helped the Congress to establish its stranglehold over the government machinery as well as the business community. This has, in turn, enabled the Congress to perpetuate itself in power by placing at its disposal tremendous resources and power of patronage that no other party can hope to match. It is, therefore, puerile to interpret the electoral success of the Congress as the victory of socialism or as the popular verdict in favour of any particular ideology or programme. The electoral shift to the Right and the overall decline in the Congress strength certainly do not warrant such an interpretation. The only conclusion that can be reasonably drawn from the results of the Third General Election is that the people have expressed their faith in democratic processes and that they have voted the Congress back to office as in India the Congress is still the national party that guarantees stability of our parliamentary institutions. The attempt to draw doctrinaire conclusions from the electoral results would certainly be misleading. The ruling party has especially to guard itself against this temptation as already it appears to stand at the cross-roads and any hasty move, inspired by doctrinaire consideration, is likely to precipitate a crisis inside the organisation.

The Elephant, The Mahout And Raja

by M. A. Venkata Rao

THE stake of the Communist Party of India in Mr. Krishna Menon's candidature for Parliament from North Bombay constituency was revealed by its official journal *The New Age* of Delhi in its statement that the elephant needs a mahout. The meaning is clear: the Congress elephant needs the communist mahout. The Party envisages the role of Mr. Krishna Menon within Congress and its Government as that of the mahout goading them in the direction of Moscow.

The overwhelming success of Mr. Menon defeating the Gandhian Acharya Kripalani, (thanks largely to Mr. Nehru's forceful advocacy and total commitment to his protegee in the campaign,) marks another significant milestone in the growth of communist influence in the country. It bespeaks the success of the communists in their tactics of infiltration into the ruling party.

After the failure of the communist experiment at government in Kerala, there has been a recession in the reliance of the communists on democratic processes to bring ultimate success. They seem to be waiting for the "pear" to become sufficiently ripe on the Northern borders in Ladakh and NEFA with further inroads of the Chinese "liberation" forces. Their *Yenan* is getting ready and they are preparing for its forthcoming action by softening the border populations inside the Indian frontiers.

Meanwhile the "Suslov line" seems to be the stepping up of infiltration into Congress and forging a Coalition Government of "National Unity". This objective will be facilitated by the presence of Mr. Krishna Menon within the Central Government as the trusted Defence Minister of Mr. Nehru. Mr. Menon is becoming more than the Minister of a single portfolio. He is the official mouth-piece of the Prime Minister in all international conferences in and out of the UNO. He is developing a stature next only to Mr. Nehru which will facilitate his smooth succession to his leader when the time comes. No one else will have the stature to equal or to surpass him in the adherence and loyalty of Congress leaders and rank and file.

Mr. Krishna Menon has everything in his favour to develop shortly into the role of *mahout* guiding the Congress *elephant* — to use the Communist Party journal's figure of speech.

It is only a knowledge of the "scientific" way laid down by Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism and — Khrushchevism and adopted to the letter by the communist parties in East European States between 1945 and 1948 that can afford the background pattern to enable us in this country to grasp imaginatively the full sinister potentialities of the situation. The return of the Congress party to power in the February

elections with its two-thirds majority intact (that places the Constitution at the mercy of Mr. Nehru) and the enhanced prestige of Mr. Menon clear the decks for a further decisive leap into socialism-communism in internal policies. We may also expect a more confident leaning towards the Soviet bloc, partly in the futile and dangerous hope of using Russian support as a protective shield against Chinese aggression.

The first move on the part of the CPI's open conspiracy that can be reasonably anticipated would be towards the formation of a government of "national unity". The fact that the present government returned by a large majority in the third general election is already a government of the fullest national unity is beside the point. For the communists have their own language. They will recognise a government of national unity only if it contains representatives of their party in it.

Why should Mr. Nehru and Congress agree to such a suggestion? Normally, there is no reason why they should. But communists have their own plans for creating situations in which such a solution will seem the only way out of a difficult crisis. We can expect a "tactic of crisis-making" to be adopted by the CPI.

The Front organisations in the several fields of labour, student life, landless peasants, tenants, the unemployed and so on will develop agitations, whipped up into intensity through provoking clashes and police firings. High prices and demands for wage rises will also furnish excuses for demonstrations. Explosive powder kegs can be found easily. Only the match-stick is wanting which the CPI will provide.

Also, pressure from communist Powers and communist international organisations like the Afro-Asian Conferences combined with the offer of the olive branch from China may induce the Prime Minister, as in the case of his Goa militancy, to admit regular Communist Party members into his cabinet. This possibility of the Chinese offer has occurred to some shrewd observers of the Indian scene. Rumours of Chou En-lai-Nehru meeting are also in the air.

Another fertile source of trouble making in India is the age-old Hindu-Muslim antagonism. The Prime Minister is ever ready to flare up against communalism. He has also gone on record several times that in his considered view, communalism is more dangerous to the country than communism.

The CPI will be on the look out for Hindu-Muslim clashes so as to seize the opportunity to fan them into great conflagrations needing unprecedented measures such as Congress-Communist coalition to quench finally!

(Continued on page 10)

Sino-Soviet Rift Deepens

(Contributed)

LATE these winter nights, the offices in the Hsin Hua Kung (New China Palace, the office of Chairman Liu Shao-chi of the People's Central Government) and the Huai Jen Tang (Hall of Benevolence, the site of the State Council) are brightly lit. Top-ranking ideologues are busily studying Mr. Nikita Khrushchev's words and deeds. They seek to find a clear dividing line between Mao's Marxism-Leninism and Khrushchev's "Revisionism." Economic planners bury their heads in economic data to revise China's plans for 1962 when Soviet aid will be completely stopped.

It is no longer top secret in Peking that the conflict between the Chinese Communists and the Soviet Communists has reached the point of no return. Although Peking and Moscow have both been discreet in avoiding open attacks on each other since Mr. Chou En-lai walked out of the CPSU's 22nd Congress in Moscow last October, an undercurrent of tension has prevailed in the capitals of the two major Powers of the Communist bloc. Red China's staunch support of Albania is an indirect reply to Soviet attacks on that country's Communists for their Stalinist crimes—the "cult of personality and dogmatism."

China's worship of Mao Tse-tung and her uncompromisingly tough line toward imperialism are, in the eyes of the Soviets, Stalinist Communism. Although Peking and Moscow generally refrain from calling each other names, Soviet tirade against Albania is tantamount to criticizing the Chinese Communists, while Chinese support to Albania is also a counter-offensive directed towards the Khrushchevites.

A Communist-front paper in Hong Kong signalled Peking's forthcoming break with the Khrushchevites by calling the Soviet Premier "much more stupid than (the Nationalist Chief) Chiang Kai-shek." The paper said in an editorial: "Chiang Kai-shek knows how to misuse the name of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Republic of China, to attain his personal goal; while Khrushchev does not even know how to misuse the name of Stalin to promote his own theses".

Peking's insistence upon her own tough line was, in fact, known to Mr. Khrushchev personally at the Moscow conference the year before last. In a closed-door session of the 81-nation Communist and Workers' Parties Conference in December, 1960 in Moscow, Teng Hsiao-ping, Secretary-General of the Chinese Communist Party, coolly answered a Russian accusation of "trying to start a separatist faction" by saying: "China has a perfect right to form a separate faction." He cited the history of the Communist movement, saying that Lenin, when he was preparing to split the Social Democratic Party into Bolsheviks and Mensheviks, had himself established a precedent by

forming what was at first a minority faction in order to win a majority in the end.

China is now following the line that Teng Hsiao-ping flatly laid down in Moscow. On Communist China's side are Albania and several Asian Communist parties. They are likely to form a "Stalinist Menshevik group" in the present Communist International movement as champions of "pure Marxism-Leninism." With the Chinese Communists taking the lead, the Communists of Albania, North Vietnam, North Korea, Indonesia, Japan, Algeria and Malaya will probably follow.

The Chinese Communists implied last December that the history of the Communist camp has always been a history of a continuous struggle. They used an old Chinese saying: "The world's trend has always been separation (of countries) after long unity; and unity after long separation." Such was the matter-of-fact description of the present Sino-Soviet rift.

There were several important private conferences held in Peking after the 22nd Congress of CPSU. One report said that an enlarged Politburo meeting attended by most of the first secretaries of provincial party branches, was held early in November after Mr. Chou En-lai's abrupt return from Moscow, with Chairman Mao Tse-tung himself presiding.

Theoreticians and propagandists of the Central and Provincial Governments met separately. They were briefed on relations between China and the Soviet Union in order to deal with the topic properly.

In the view of the Chinese Communists Mr. Khrushchev represents the interests of a high-salaried group which includes new bureaucrats and technicians. This "new class" is not interested in worldwide struggle and "imagines" it possible to negotiate worldwide "peaceful co-existence" with the imperialists.

People in Peking talk about Soviet "infiltration and subversion" in Tirana. Chinese ruling circles cannot forget their bitter experiences in the past, when the Soviets several times tried to gain absolute control of the Chinese Communist Party. The most serious effort was the revolt of Kao Kang and Jao Shu-shih—and their attempted coup in 1953.

"The anti-Chinese, anti-Communist and anti-people surge, lately visible, may yet develop into a more frantic direction," warned the People's Daily, the Official organ of the Chinese Communist Party, in its New Year message. The word "anti-Chinese" is interpreted by experts as an indication of Chinese fear of Moscow's exercising even more drastic sanctions against China. But Peking confidently proclaimed in the same editorial: "Historical experience has taught us....the people can stand against and are sure to hit back any kind of anti-revolutionary subversive current."

Cuba's Unions Come Full Circle

by E. P. Whittemore

THE Cuban labour movement has come full circle. The Confederation of Cuban Workers (CTC), established 23 years ago under a coalition agreement between Fulgencio Batista and the Communist party, is again completely controlled by the men who worked with the dictator. Although the evolution of this development has been obscured by Fidel Castro's dramatic admission of long-time Marxist-Leninist convictions, and by the recent attempts of the Organization of American States to censure and isolate his regime, Cuban trade unions virtually surrendered their autonomy at the CTC's 11th Congress last November.

Lázaro Peña, now known as the "Founder of the CTC"—he founded it with Batista's assistance—emerged from behind the scenes, took charge of the Congress proceedings and was elected Secretary General. No mention was made of David Salvador, former head of the 26th of July Movement's Labour Section and the CTC, who has been held by Castro for the past 15 months in Havana's La Cabana fortress.

The careers of these two men present an interesting contrast: Peña first rose to prominence in 1939, shortly after the communists agreed to support Batista in exchange for legalization of the party and control of the labour movement. With Batista's aid, the communists took charge of the first Congress of the CTC and made Peña, an experienced party worker, its Secretary General.

Backed by the communists, Batista was elected President the following year. Peña, whose praise for the dictator—"messenger of prosperity"—became one of the coalition's slogans, was elected to the Chamber of Deputies. He was returned to the Chamber in 1944, but by then Batista was out of power and, as a result, the communists were losing control of the CTC. Within a few years, Peña was dismissed as Secretary General and then disappeared from public view.

In 1953, Peña left the country. For the next six years he divided his time between a villa in Mexico and trips to Europe to attend communist meetings. He did not return to Cuba until late January 1959, three weeks after the Revolution overthrew Batista.

Paralleling Peña's descent was the rise of Salvador, a radical labour leader who was one of the first *Fidelistas*. Unlike Fidel and Raul Castro, Salvador came from a working-class family. In 1939, at the age of 16, he went to work in an American-owned sugar mill, quickly became a labour organizer and joined the Youth Section of the Communist Party.

In 1946, Salvador was elected Councilman from Ciego de Avila, his native town, on the communist ticket. He never took office, however. In an emotional radio speech, he accused the communists of betraying

the workers, broke with the party and resigned from municipal office. Subsequently, the communists tried unsuccessfully to assassinate him.

In 1952, shortly after Batista regained power through a coup, Salvador went underground. For the first two years of Batista's second regime, he was a member of the "Triple A," the only clandestine organization then operating against the dictator. On July 26, 1953, when Castro made his armed attack on the Moncada Barracks, Salvador established contact with the *Fidelistas*, and when Fidel formed the 26th of July Movement in Mexico two years later, he was one of a small group who launched it in Cuba.

By 1957 Salvador was head of the Movement's Labour Section. In April of the following year, he directed a large part of the general strike which was intended to strengthen urban resistance against Batista. The strike failed, partly because the communists, with whom Salvador refused to collaborate, opposed it and persuaded many unions not to join. In October 1958, while preparing to leave for a labour congress in the Sierra Maestra, Salvador was arrested by Batista's police. He was imprisoned and tortured.

Salvador was released from prison soon after the Revolution triumphed on January 1, 1959, and was immediately named Secretary General of the CTC. At the Confederation's 10th Congress in November of that year, the first to be held after Batista's overthrow, he was the acknowledged leader of 3,000 delegates from the 26th of July Movement. The remaining 265 delegates were known as "melons" (green outside, red inside); they were responsive to Raul Castro. Also present, advising Raul, was Lázaro Peña.

Just before the Congress Fidel sacked his Socialist Minister of Labour, Manuel Fernández, who had been under attack by the communists. He replaced him with former Defence Minister Augusto Martínez, a man with no experience in labour affairs, who was a close associate of Raul's. At the Congress itself, both Castros personally intervened in favour of the "melons" and against the men who had fought with them to oust Batista. The issue was whether to include three communists among the 13 nominees for the CTC's new Executive Board.

First, Fidel took Salvador aside and demanded a "unity" slate for the "good of the Revolution." Salvador had fought seven years in the underground and passionately believed in his leader; he acquiesced. For him, it was the beginning of the end.

Next, Fidel made his plea for "unity" directly to the Congress. When the Executive Board was finally chosen, it included three "melons" and three 26th of July leaders—equal representation for the small communist minority. In effect, however, since Fidel sup-

Freedom First

ported the communists thereafter, the 26 of July leaders were defeated.

Indeed, in the four days it lasted the 10th Congress effectively silenced the labour wing of the 26th of July Movement. For the first time since the Batista-communist coalition, the CTC was open to control by a small communist minority. A systematic liquidation of the 26th of July labour leaders was now possible.

Immediately following the Congress the purge began. By March 1960, the elected leaders of 20 labour federations had been removed and replaced by communists. That month, too, Salvador resigned as Secretary General in protest. But his resignation has never been accepted, apparently because of his outstanding Revolutionary credentials and great national prominence. Since March 1960, there has been complete official silence about Salvador.

In June Salvador went underground once more. He formed the Revolutionary Movement of the 30th of November, which took its name from the first of Fidel's betrayals: the day in 1956 when Castro failed to land in Cuba as he had promised. Finally in November 1960, a little more than two years after he had been arrested by Batista, Salvador was arrested by Castro. He has still not been charged or tried.

From the time Salvador resigned in March 1960 until its 11th Congress in November, the CTC's official spokesman was Jesús Soto, a "melon" who was one of Salvador's deputies. But in fact Peña ran the Confederation during the eight-month period. And it was Peña who initiated some important changes in Cuban labour both before and during the 11th Congress.

In August 1961, trade unions were legally abolished and replaced by union "sections" controlled by the Ministry of Labour. Under a new Union Organization Law, all workers were ordered to join a union "section." Article III of the law states: "All workers have the right to assemble... in order to effect all kinds of Revolutionary propaganda... without detriment to production or to the general administration of the Government."

At the 11th Congress, the two main speakers were Martíez, the Minister of Labour, and Peña, who was still without an elected office. Martíez began by ridiculing the previous Congress and the "lackeys of Yankee imperialism" who had taken part in it. "You don't see here," he reminded the delegates, "the impudent ones who shouted '26! 26!' to wreck the unity of the working class. You don't see here those who shouted in the halls: 'melons! melons!' They are not here, but the 'melons' are indeed with you.... And we will keep on being 'melons'—as green as was, is and will be the uniform of the rebel army... as red as the international workers' movement."

Martínez recommended that the word *Confederación* in the CTC's name be changed to *Central*, since labour federations no longer existed. The delegates agreed. They also accepted Peña's suggestion that Cuban workers voluntarily give up benefits accumulated during four decades of union activity: profit-

sharing, year-end bonuses, nine days of sick leave, and no more than an eight-hour day.

Peña then proposed that the workers should not receive interest or bonds for the 4 per cent of their salaries they give to the Government for industrialization. In fact, he thought the total amount the Government withholds from salaries—17 per cent for civil servants and 12 per cent for all others—should no longer be considered part of wages at all. To allow the Government to take the money in a lump sum would simplify "bookkeeping." The delegates agreed.

Finally, the Congress elected new CTC officers. Two years before, an equal number of "melons" and 26th of July leaders had been chosen; this time there was almost an equal number of "melons" and old-time communists, Peña the most prominent among them.

Thus, those who collaborated with the old dictator are back in power with the new dictator. Those who fought the old dictator are either dead, in prison or in exile—except, of course, for those who became "melons."

(THE ELEPHANT, MAHOUT & RAJA — Cont'd from page 7)

would be a godsend to the communist advocates of a coalition of national unity. They can take full advantage of any chauvinist flare-up and demonstrations by excited crowds calling for stern action against Pakistan.

Occasions like these would serve the purpose of making the ruling party and its leadership "lose their nerve" and accept the suggestion proffered in apparent good faith.

Once such a coalition is formed, the further course of events can be easily anticipated. The story of how minority communist party representatives in East European Governments in Hungary and Czechoslovakia seized total power will enable us to realise the course that such a coalition government will follow to convert "people's democracy" into full proletarian democracy.

The election manifesto of the CPI will indicate the directions in which the mahout will seek to drive the Indian elephant. Collectivisation of farming through the transition stage of cooperative farming, monopoly state trading in food grains, the addition of further items to the scope of State Trading, the nationalisation of banks and of plantations, foreign and Indian-owned, and so on are some of the directions that take the country towards Moscow.

Public opinion needs to be warned of these live possibilities so as to thwart the open conspirators from fulfilling their sinister designs in the coming crucial period. Public opinion is the Raja and if roused, will dismiss the Mahout and prevent him from usurping its sovereignty.

Without Comment

NOVELIST ARRESTED CHARGE OF SENDING MSS. TO WEST

A Soviet writer and sculptor, Mr. Mikhail Naritza, has been arrested for sending the manuscript of his novel "*Unfinished Song*" to be published in the West, the novel's publishers stated at a Press conference here yesterday.

Mr. Naritza, a teacher at the Leningrad Art School, was also stated to have sent a copy of his manuscript to the Soviet Premier, Mr. Khrushchev, with a letter asking him either to authorise its publication in the Soviet Union or to allow the author and his family to leave the country.

The novel was eventually published, under the pseudonym of "M. Narymov" in the Frankfurt Russian-language Literary Review *Grany*.

The publishers of *Grany* said here to-day that Mr. Naritza had first tried unsuccessfully to entrust his manuscript to a French tourist in Leningrad. He then managed to give it to a West German tourist who passed it on to Dr. Klaus Mehnert, Editor of the West German periodical *Ost-Europa* (Eastern Europe).

Only after he knew his novel had reached the West did Mr. Naritza write to Mr. Khrushchev. Following that action he was arrested last October 13, the publishers said.

—Hindu, March 18

POLISH JOURNALIST KILLS HIMSELF

Henryk Holland, a prominent Polish journalist, ended his life on December 21 by jumping from the window of his seventh-floor apartment while security police were searching his rooms. He had been arrested two days before on charges that have not been made public, and was brought back to his apartment by the police while they undertook the search. News of his suicide spread quickly through Warsaw, where for several weeks there had been reports of new restrictions on newspapermen by the authorities. Holland's former wife Irena Rybczynska and her present husband Stanislaw Brodzki, editor of the illustrated magazine *Swiat*, were also arrested but subsequently released.

Both Holland and Brodzki had been known as proponents of the "liberal" line among Polish communists, and in 1956 had been strong supporters of Gomulka. By 1957, however, there were indications that both men were becoming disillusioned by Gomulka's retreat from his position of October 1956. Holland had been a party member before the war, had fought with units of the Polish Army attached to the Red Army and had won many important military decorations. During the Stalinist years he wrote often for *Tribuna Ludu*, the main party newspaper,

Right, Left & Communism

The right-wing is always a threat, the greatest of threats. It means going back to feudalism. It indicates ignorance, decay and stagnation that cause the death of a nation.

—Prime Minister Nehru in a press conference,
Times of India, March 22.

As the Right parties achieve organisational solidarity and begin to look more and more like the agents of international reaction, the Congress will be left with no choice but to shift steadily to the Left. If it refuses to do so because of the pressure of vested interests within its own body, it will have to become what Shri Masani wants it to be, a host body on which Swatantra can batten.

—Link (pro-Communist) Magazine,
March 4.

It is not enough to admit the meance of the Right, even the purblind dare not deny it now. What the country awaits from the Prime Minister of the country and the national leader of the eminence of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru are not only indignant words against the Right but a concrete and constructive plan of action to rally all the healthy forces of the nation for a united national campaign against the Right.

The State spokesmen in our party have already made constructive offers for the fight against the Right. Our national leadership will positively respond to every constructive national initiative by the Prime Minister against the Rightist menace.

—P. C. Joshi, *New Age*, Communist Party
Weekly, March 11.

but later he published pro-Gomulka articles in *Express Wieczorny*. In 1957 he became one of the editors of the popular daily *Zycie Warszawy*; in 1959, having transferred his interests to sociological research, he was a member of the Polish delegation to the International Congress of Sociologists in Stresa, Italy. His marriage to Irena Rybczynska ended in divorce in 1960.

Stanislaw Brodzki, also arrested, is known to his colleagues as the most widely traveled Polish journalist. An ardent follower of the liberal trends which appeared in 1956, he was chairman of the Union of Polish Journalists for two years immediately following the October upheaval. Since 1957 he has worked as a writer and as deputy editor-in-chief of the illustrated weekly paper *Swiat* which resembles more the Western than the Soviet brand of journalism. Brodzki's travels have included visits to Southeast Asia, Switzerland, Romania, the Soviet Union, East and West Germany and the U.S. Last year he was invited to Hamburg as a guest of the weekly newspaper *Stern*.

—East Europe, February 1962

With Many Voices

"The deep
Moans round with many voices. Come, my friends,
'Tis not too late to seek a newer world."
—Tennyson.

The Prime Minister places full confidence in me and I feel that I do not need to make a confession of my political faith, I do not need to carry a card of patriotism in my sleeves.

—V. K. Krishna Menon, *Indian Express*, March 5.

Nothing seems to be moving in Delhi... today not a blade of grass can be grown unless it is decided in New Delhi.

—G. D. Birla, *Hindustan Times*, March 4.

The Praja Socialists, for more than one reason, have been Congressmen if only in red Gandhi caps.

—Thought, March 17.

That a Chief Minister has to accept a situation wherein he felt and admitted that one or two Maharajas can turn the tables on the ruling party seems a pathetic state of affairs to a firm believer in democracy and socialism like myself... you cannot have had administration and get away with it in a democracy.

—Maharaja Karni Singh of Bikaner,
Swarajya, March 24.

The sense of patriotism is disappearing from the country and people care less and less for social and moral values.

—Mahavir Tyagi, Congress M.P., *Swarajya* March 24

Did the Communists work for (Krishna) Menon? They worked as much as any other democrat... Communist leaders in North Bombay worked on their own, and in course of their election work they called upon the voters to support Krishna Menon.

—New Age, CPI Weekly, March 11.

Although neutrality includes refraining from military alliances and keeping out of war, it does not mean that Austria has to divide her conscience between democracy and dictatorship.

—Dr. Alfons Gorbach, Austrian Chancellor in a Television broadcast, on February 15.

I think private enterprise is good for India and any suppression of private enterprise would be very bad.

—Prime Minister Nehru, *Hindustan Times*,
March 25.

With a friend like Khrushchev in the U.S.S.R., the west needs no enemy.

—Prof. Sidney Hook, *Time Magazine*, March 9.

Mixed economy is unmixed evil.

—B. C. Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa,
Times of India, March 10.

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