

U. F. Collapse in Kerala

V. B. Karnik

ONE more U.F. Ministry has collapsed, one that was considered to be strong and stable. It has fallen as a result of internal quarrels; and the quarrels were over not programmes and policies but over charges of corruption levelled by one and all Ministers against each other. Even the Chief Minister, Mr. E.M.S. Namboodiripad was not free from a charge of corruption. Of course, if differences had not developed earlier, these charges would not have been made against each other; at least they would not have been made public. It is only when politicians fall out that the people come to know about the corruption and mismanagement prevailing in public affairs.

Though corruption provided the last straw which broke the camel's back, the main reason of the split in the U.F. was the domineering attitude of the CPM and its efforts to increase its own strength and destroy the strength of its allies through the use of governmental machinery. As a result of those efforts, the other partners of the U.F., including the CPI, found their position threatened, and naturally they were in revolt. But that is the usual communist tactic. Communists form a united front only with the object of augmenting their own strength and influence at the expense of those of their temporary allies. To them, allies are always temporary to be swallowed as and when circumstances permit. That has been the experience of the allies of Communists all over the world and at all times. It is a pity that each political party or organisation insists on making its own experience instead of learning from the experience of others.

The CPM is following the same tactic in Bengal. In that State as well, it is utilising the governmental machinery, more particularly the Police portfolio that it controls, to drive away all its so-called allies from all fields of public life. According to the statements of many of its allies, the latest to join the company being the Bangla Congress, it has not stopped short of making use of murder, assault, arson and other acts of violence in its campaign of vilification and destruction. It may not be too long before the victims of the campaign decide that they had had enough of this

fraternisation and break away from the U.F. which is more a disunited front than a united front.

The tragedy of the situation, however, is that democrats are not able to take advantage of the crisis that has developed in Kerala and may develop in Bengal. They cannot claim any credit for bringing it about nor, as things stand, can they hope to derive much benefit out of it. In both States they are weak as well as divided. But the debacle of the U.F. should give them the courage of going again to the people and securing their support to democratic plans and policies. With all its loud talk and tall promises, the U.F. was not able to bring about any social changes nor was it even able to provide a clean and efficient administration. This miserable failure of the U.F. and its parties gives a splendid opportunity to democrats to wean the people away from the politics of frustration, internal quarrels and violence. The mid-term elections which may follow the imposition of the President's rule in Kerala, will show how far they were successful in utilising the opportunity that came their way.

Communists may be contemptuous of Democracy; they may even plan to destroy it. But let them remember that it is Democracy alone which gives them the chance of contesting elections and of, on winning them, becoming the ruling party, in spite of all their anti-democratic professions and activities. The allies of Communists have greater reason to be grateful to Democracy. But for the institutions and conventions of Democracy, the Communists would have destroyed them at the first manifestation of opposition or dissent. It is Democracy which enabled them to build up their opposition and to out-vote the CPM. This course would not have been possible if, as intended by the CPM, it had succeeded in establishing a communist regime.

Mr. Namboodiripad and his colleagues have on the adoption of an adverse resolution quietly resigned and vacated their offices. But that should not give rise to any misconceptions. They did not take to flight in the streets because they found themselves weak and outnumbered. Besides, they do not, it appears, desire to throw off their democratic garb so soon. They have plans to contest the mid-term elections when they take place and they cherish the hope that after the elections they will return to the Assembly in greater number. They do not want that prospect to be marred by unlawful and violent activities.

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Behind The Rabat Fiasco

Aziz Madni

AMONG the burning questions before the winter session of Parliament, the Rabat conference is sure to ignite a lively display of verbal pyrotechnics. After all that Mrs. Gandhi's government did first to gate-crash into what was predominantly an Islamic summit and then, after its delegation was cut dead, to play down the humiliation it suffered, one cannot expect leaders of the opposition parties and Mrs. Gandhi's opponents inside the Congress party itself not to exploit this god-sent opportunity to get even with her in so far as they can for the crippling defeats she has inflicted upon them in the last two or three months. In the event, the issue is sure to be presented by the opposition in lurid colours. For its part, the Government is expected to be on the defensive and to strike a pose of injured innocence. It would, therefore, be worthwhile to recapitulate a few facts that have emerged clearly from press reports and public debates.

The first of these is that India had craved for the invitation it belatedly received. Why did it have to stoop so low as to beg for it? "Two factors are said to have decided the policy-makers in the South Block to seek an invitation to the meeting", reports a weekly magazine knowledgeably. "One was an appeal from President Nasser to join it and so give a boost to the 'progressive' Arab forces against the conservative group headed by King Faisal of Saudi Arabia. The other was to prevent Pakistan from having the field to itself and gaining ground diplomatically among the Arabs". Apart from the fact that President Nasser's description as a 'progressive' is the case of the one-eyed being the king among the blind, our Government's anxiety not to leave the field clear for Pakistan is only an extension of the policy both India and Pakistan have unfortunately been pursuing of reacting to each other all the time even at the cost of their best national interests.

Then again, in the choice of a Muslim Minister as the leader of the Indian delegation, who otherwise had nothing whatever to do with the Ministry of External Affairs, the same consideration appears to have weighed heavily. But there was more to it than just that. Mr. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed was also thereby sought to be rewarded for his contribution in mobilising Muslim MPs' votes in favour of President Giri at the behest of Mrs. Gandhi. For his part, Mr. Ahmed saw in it his opportunity of a life-time to become an international figure overnight, as it were. What politician worth his salt would be saintly enough to resist a temptation like that? One cannot, therefore, help feeling rather sorry for the man in his subsequent plight.

All this accounts clearly for our Government's eager-heaver goings-on before the Conference. To come to

the Conference itself, the most significant feature of it was President Yahya Khan's *volte face* on the second day of its proceedings. Only the day before he had listened patiently to the acting leader of the Indian delegation, Shri Gurubachan Singh's address. Ostensibly because, according to the Express News Service, he was assured by the sponsors of the Summit that India had given its "pledge to implement all the three resolutions that might be adopted". What could have happened then to make him suddenly go for the Indian delegation the way he did? It would appear that with the news of the ghastly carnage in Gujarat pouring into the Conference hall, he realised he could not sit with the Indian delegation without losing face with his own people back home. So he suddenly discovered that the invitation was to the Muslim community of India and not to its Government and that the Indian delegation, therefore, could at best have the status of observers.

Finally, it has been now conclusively demonstrated that once the chips are down between India and Pakistan, the Arab countries are bound to take sides with the latter. This is a lesson the Government of India will do well to take from the rebuff it has received at Rabat. This is not to suggest that India had better join hands with Israel against the Arab world. India's interest in the strategically vital West Asia are too precious to be jeopardised so. But it certainly does mean that our West Asian policy, if indeed the Ministry of External Affairs has such a policy, should be based on a more realistic assessment of our acceptability over there as a non-Muslim outsider.

In the light of the above facts, the Prime Minister and our Minister of External Affairs will be hard put to it to explain to Parliament why a government that swears by secularism should have foisted itself so importunately upon a purely Muslim Summit meet. For, as Shri Jayaprakash Narayan had commented "It was a stupid thing to do. India is neither a Hindu nor a Muslim country. It is a country of Indians. As such it had no place at a purely Muslim Summit at Rabat".

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1967 began a process of distintegration. It started with the Congress, but it has now extended and enveloped all parties and organisations. What happened in Kerala was a manifestation of that process. The anti-Congress United Fronts are breaking down one after the other. In so far as it frustrates the communist design to capture power by exploiting anti-Congress sentiments, all democrats will welcome the development. But they will have little cause for rejoicing unless they seize the opportunity and bring about a reintegration of democratic forces irrespective of party labels.

China-Twenty Years Of Communist Rule

Adam Adil

WHEN two decades ago Communists took over in China and Mao Tse-tung became the overlord of the mainland, with the exception of a few democrats, most people over the world welcomed the turn of events in that sub-continent. Compared to the corrupt regime which people around Chiang Kai-shek had established in China, the newly imposed communist totalitarianism appeared a blessing in disguise. But before long the real character of Chinese communist regime became apparent, and the world realised that what had emerged in China was totalitarianism of the most atrocious kind, and that it lacked all human elements. The hope which the communist victory in China had initially raised had fallen to the ground. Mao's regime was no better than the worst of Stalin's tyranny. The "Let hundred flowers bloom" era, which was made much of by Communists throughout the world—at that time all Communists including the Soviets were full of praise of China—proved to be a fraud on the world.

Today when China is celebrating twenty years of communist hegemony, it would be worthwhile to take stock of the achievements and failures of the communist regime in that country. It is true that Mao Tse-tung who made his appearance at the celebrations is not fatally ill as originally reported in Moscow press but on the contrary is in good health; yet it is obvious his stature in the eyes of the world is positively on the decline. Today Mao has no reliable friends in the world. The only friend China has in communist fraternity is Albania; but it is too insignificant to count for anything.

The first decade of communist rule in China was marked by its friendship with the Soviet Union which was, in fact, held as a model by the Chinese leaders. The first five year plan which China adopted in 1953 for its economic regeneration was based on Soviet type of planning; even the Chinese constitution, launched in 1954, was patterned after that of the Soviet Union. Soviet system of state administration and control was increasingly copied by Chinese leaders in 1954 in the reorganisation of their own system of government and communist party machinery. People's Liberation Army was sought to be modernised on the Soviet lines in 1955. The professional officers of armed forces of China donned Soviet type uniforms; agriculture was collectivised on Soviet model in 1955-56. During the first ten years of communist rule there was considerable fraternisation between Russians and Chinese and the leaders of both the countries called themselves "comrades-in-arms". Nikita Khrushchev, the Soviet Premier, then had made it a point to be present at the celebration of the first decade of communist rule. There were constant exchanges of military, political and cultural missions

between the two countries. There were thousands of Russian technicians and advisors in China and they had become a part of China's social and industrial life. They were greeted by the Chinese as "comrades" and in turn the Russians too reciprocated.

But since 1956 things began to change. Mao took a dislike for the Russians and denounced them as "Khrushchevist revisionists". All fraternisation between Russians and Chinese ceased; no longer they called one another as comrades. The Russian technicians and advisers left Chinese soil—for good. At first the change in Chinese attitude towards Russians was kept secret but soon it was made open.

At the end of twenty years of communist rule, China is economically much weaker than before and China's prestige abroad has suffered serious set-back. This is the conclusion one irresistibly comes to in spite of her bid to enter the big power club by exploding a 3-megaton nuclear device in atmosphere in early October.

Actually, China's economic decline began with the Great Leap Forward in 1958 when she attempted the reorganisation of Chinese society into small communes, for the purposes of carrying on specific economic tasks. Instead of serving the intended purpose the communes, which even separated husbands from wives and children from parents and introduced a sort of camp-life with common messes for all had disastrous effects on the Chinese society. With the result social life was profoundly shaken. Before it could recover from the disastrous effects of the commune-system, the Chinese society was overwhelmed by the great proletarian cultural revolution, in which young men and women in their teens, under the inspiration of Mao himself and under the garb of "Red Guards", sought to overthrow ancient values of Chinese civilisation and strike terror in the hearts of elders who still had some faith in the past. The great proletarian cultural revolution had nearly led to chaos and anarchy when it was halted on the orders of the Premier, Chou En-lai. China has yet to recover from the horrendous consequences of that revolution.

When in 1949, Communist hegemony was established in China, Mao and his colleagues had hoped that their victory would inspire revolutionary zeal throughout the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Not only has their hope been belied, but the very image of China in these continents is tarnished. When, a few years ago Premier Chou En-lai returned home after a tour of African countries and made a statement that those countries were on the verge of revolution the African leaders were put on guard and they seriously suspected Chinese intentions. The result was that whatever little influence China had in Africa was weeded out. Burundi, following an attempt at assassina-

tion of its President, broke off diplomatic relations. Kenya took up an anti-Chinese attitude; and Congo expressed its reservations about the external policies of China. Similarly in Asian countries, with the exception of Pakistan, Chinese influence is on the decline. Malaysia, Burma, Indonesia, Philippines and the countries on the periphery have deep suspicions about China. Her border disputes with India in 1962 and with Russia at present have helped to expose expansionist policies.

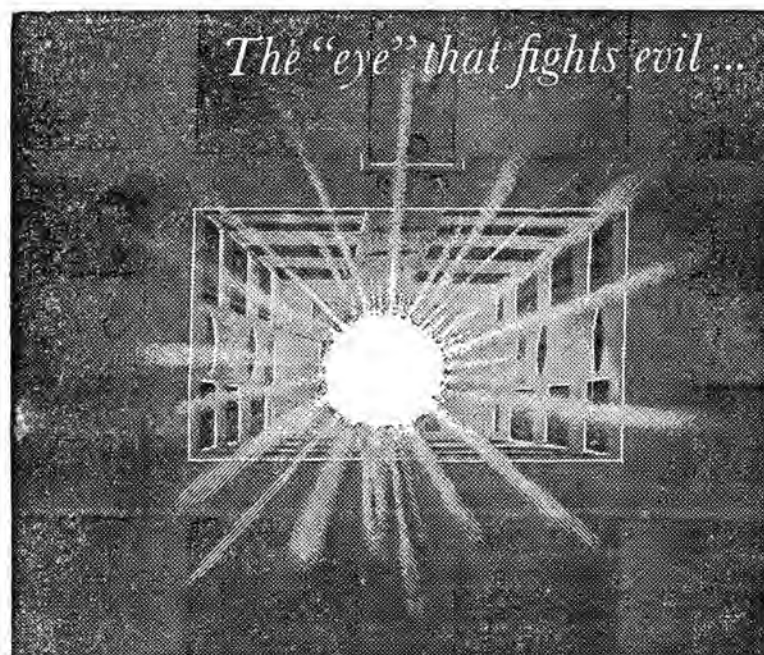
The People's Liberation Army which had taken the world by surprise in 1949, has lost much of its power and prestige. It is true, that China's armed forces of 2.5 million men is a potent force, which the democratic world cannot afford to ignore; but it has ceased to inspire revolutionary ideas anywhere in the world. It is primarily tied down with the task of garrisoning cities and farms after the tragic failure of the cultural revolution. As reports suggest the armed forces lack a true offensive capability and its small nuclear arsenal is still not in a deliverable position. Further, the great mass of foot soldiers, though well-trained in fighting techniques, are without overall technological support; hence, in an event of serious combat with a super power like Russia or the United States, it will be at serious disadvantage. The army has no heavy artillery larger than a 155 milli-meter howitzer, and the tank-force at its disposal is not as large as it is generally supposed. Again, in order to keep dubious friends like

Pakistan on its side, China is forced to part with a number of tanks, which renders its military strength still weaker. The air force has no modern bombers, and most of its fighters are old-MIG-19s. The navy too is not much of a threat, although it is euphemistically called "the guerrilla task force on the sea". The naval strength consists of only light petrol craft and a few submarines. According to China watchers, Chinese armed forces may put up impressive defensive warfare, but they can hardly show any large-scale offensive capability.

In addition to all this, the economy of China is seriously jeopardised. Industrial production has fallen by 15 per cent since 1967. Revolutionary disruption have resulted into social dislocations which have desperately affected the processes of production. For instance, recent rioting in Anshan, which normally produces 12 million tons of steel a year, is reported to have destroyed several blast furnaces. The agriculture which was disorganised as a result of the Great Leap Forward has not caught up. There is also constant recurrence of famine in various parts.

It will be thus clear that the progress communist China had made during the first decade of revolution is largely dissipated during the second. "There is a fantastic contrast between the first and second decades" observed Alexander Eckstein, Director of the University of Michigan's Centre for Chinese Studies: "The

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Remember, cancer is curable if detected early. WATCH FOR THESE DANGER SIGNALS: 1. Any sore that does not heal/ 2. A lump or thickening in the breast or elsewhere/ 3. Unusual bleeding or discharge/ 4. Any change in a wart or mole/ 5. Persistent indigestion or difficulty in swallowing/ 6. Persistent hoarseness or cough/ 7. Any change in normal bowel habits. If you notice any of these 7 Danger Signals—consult a doctor AT ONCE.

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Crisis In U. F. Ministries

"Atreya"

IT is no longer possible to cover up the severe tensions and conflicts that have manifested among the components of the United Front Governments in Kerala and West Bengal. The situation has reached such a state that the leader of the United Front, namely, the Communist Party of India (Marxists) has given up its aggressive postures and defensively tries to explain away the crisis it has helped to bring about by pointing to the dissensions within the Congress Party.

Dissensions and splits are not new or unexpected in so far as objective political analysts are concerned. The present crisis is tailor-made in the very composition of the Left United Front, consisting of diverse elements all joined together only in the denigration of the Congress and the so-called "right" parties. Unity and mileage from unity could only be obtained for such United Fronts so long as the target of their attack and anger remained strong and integrated, to be perceivable as the "bogey man" to frighten and delude the electorate. When the bogey man no longer existed, no longer remained as a threat, a free field was available to those who joined up against the bogey man and trouble was soon bound to come.

This is especially so when the combinations in the United Front consist of groups ideologically as diverse as the Congress Party and other non-left parties. Even within the leftist parties of the United Front, there are deep differences, and these left parties can thank the still prevailing climate of a pluralistic and open society in India that enables the weaker left parties to survive in the face of the two major Left parties, viz. the Communist Party of India (Right) and the Marxist Communist Party. Notwithstanding this, the present crisis has arisen over the attempt of the CPI (Marxists) to browbeat its partners in the United Front to toe its own line.

The fall of the first United Front Ministry in Kerala through dismissal, and similarly in West Bengal, provide enough material for all analysts to understand what are the real objectives of the United Front gimmick adopted by the Communists. Shorn of jargon it meant a strategy to deal with all political parties in the following way. If there are ten political groups to be ultimately liquidated, the strategy is to isolate the most powerful opponent by lining up into a united front with the remaining nine. This process is to continue until only one enemy remains, and by that time, the Communist Party would have fattened as a parasite on the nine groups it liquidated. These are standard tactics

quite frankly and openly advocated in all tactical textbooks of Communists. The tragedy is the total ignorance of these tactics of the Communists among the non-Communist Left and their falling an easy prey to them. The famous last words that can be inscribed on the epitaphs of numerous left parties that lie strewn and shattered as wreckages of united fronts with Communists will sound somewhat like this: "We could always contain them and neutralise their machinations"!

History is being repeated in Kerala with the difference that the wreckers are themselves split and wrecked. In 1960 in Kerala, it was the united Communist Party which was a parasite on other leftist parties. Today it is the Marxist Communist Party aggressively trying to isolate the Right Communists through "United Front from Below" tactics. There are, incidentally two types of United Front tactics, one is the United Front from *above*, and the other is United Front from *below*. The first is to work out an alliance with the leadership of the parties constituting the United Front on the basis of a "common minimum programme". The other is to by-pass the leaders of the other parties and aggressively approach the membership and rank-and-file of other parties to pressurise or expose their respective leadership.

In both the united fronts in West Bengal and Kerala, the Right Communist Party line is "United Front from Above", while the Marxist Communist line is "United Front from Below". The Right Communists have donned a mask of sweet reasonableness and accommodation with other parties in this contest of party lines and party strategies. The Marxist Communists feel that the second stage of the sharpening of the class struggle has come about in which many of the "reactionary left parties or revisionists" and their leadership could be by-passed by a direct approach to their rank-and-file.

With the reins of power in both Kerala and West Bengal in their hands, with Home portfolio under their firm control, with Police neutralised, the Marxist Communists have at last felt confident that they could now work out an open confrontation with the "Revisionist Communist Party". In Kerala the Right Communists are the main contenders to the Marxist Communists and therefore they are being singled out for attack and isolation. In West Bengal, it is the Bangla Congress and Ajoy Mukherjee, the Chief Minister, and there they will be singled out for a frontal assault. After the Right Communists are eased out in Kerala, and the Bangla Congress in West Bengal, the Marxist Com-

munists hope to either line up the other minileft parties with them as they have done in the case of Mr. Mathai Manjooran and his two-member party called the Kerala Socialist Party who are willing to be more loyal than the King himself, or isolate them. The Left Communist strategy is not a rash or impulsive one. It is a coldly calculated one, willing to face certain risks in the execution of the strategy as a part of the revolutionary experiment.

In Kerala, while the Left Communists have resorted to this policy in spite of the appearance of having "double standards" over the corruption issue, the Right Communists have operated their "united front from above" strategy of lining up the leadership of the Muslim League, I.S.P., and others in the front, but they have not been able to line up the R.S.P. with them. This was the type of confusion which precisely the Left Communists hope to bring about in the "enemy ranks". The charges of corruption against Mr. Wellington were brought about as a retaliation against the attack on Mr. Kunju. The Left Communists know that among the "consumption-starved" tribe known as Ministers, some mud of corruption can be made to stick on anyone. They are not therefore overly nervous or apprehensive that the corruption charges and campaigns based on them will damage them to any great extent. Just as the Prime Minister showed the way in how to ease out Ministers not to be depended upon to be total sycophants, the Marxist Communists demonstrated how they could get their opponents out in Kerala. The Namboodiripad Ministry has since resigned and the Left Communist will now go before the electorate uninhibitedly with more aggressive postures and a satellite united front for a fresh mandate. The Marxist Communists now calculate that in any fresh elections, they could make a bid for even greater support and perhaps command absolute majority. On this basis, they have invoked the present crisis as a challenge.

The same type of provocation has been resorted to in West Bengal. The target of their calculated attack first is the Bangla Congress which still represents a major break to the tempo of Left Communist movement. The Bangla Congress, the S.S.P., the R.S.P. and similar groups will be first taken care of in West Bengal. The Left Communists are confident, however, that notwithstanding all the anger publicly and formally manifested against the Left Communists by Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee and the Bangla Congress, there will be no showdown after the last experience which resulted in the dismissal of the earlier U.F. Ministry and Mr. Dharma Vira's Governor's Rule.

The Left Communists themselves will bring about and accentuate the division in the United Fronts both in West Bengal and Kerala quite consciously and calculatedly. In their perceivable imagery of the future in West Bengal, they envisage that all their united

front partners could be made to squirm in defensiveness of having supped with the devil with a short spoon!

Resignation of the Ministry or its dismissal by the Centre as a consequence of a series of disorders does not hold any terrors for the Marxist Communists in the light of the notorious proclamations made by their leaders that they hold the reins of Government in Kerala and West Bengal not to provide relief to people or to uphold the present "bourgeois Constitution", but to sharpen the sufferings and struggle so that the revolutionary possibilities could be expedited.

With a Prime Minister assiduously and with equal vigour eroding the democratic process and furiously contributing to the disintegration of her own party in vindictiveness, the Marxist Communists have no reasons to feel pessimistic concerning the crisis facing the United Fronts in West Bengal and Kerala. The contradictions faced in these two United Front Ministries, tragically enough, cannot be exposed before the common people effectively in terms of the lessons they hold because the democratic parties are so divided and fragmented.

The crisis in Kerala and West Bengal do not represent a strengthening of democracy.

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first decade was turbulent, but it was a useful turbulence—upheavals that were engineered and organised for a definite purpose, such as the collectivisation of farms. The turbulence of the second decade was of a more destructive type, accomplishing little and inhibiting progress".

Yet, whatever be the condition at the present moment, the fact that China is a nuclear power — though far behind in the nuclear chain—cannot be ignored. It constitutes a potential threat to most Asian countries. Further it has shown tremendous capacity in instigating overseas Chinese to sabotage local governments. Malaysia and Indonesia are typical examples in this respect.

It is, therefore, imperative that we in India are ever vigilant. China's friendship with Pakistan is obviously based on sinister motives, hence our caution must be doubly great. Further, there are parties in our midst which are openly sympathetic to China and regard Mao Tse-tung as a hero of Asian liberation. We must be cautious of these parties, for any day they may indulge in subversion and abet in China's expansionist designs.

National Commission On Labour

R. Muthuswamy

THE Report of the National Commission on Labour, headed by Mr. Justice Gajendragadkar, is a comprehensive one touching all aspects of labour affairs and industrial relations. In all the Commission has made 299 recommendations. This was the first Commission of its kind to be appointed in Independent India. The Commission was specifically directed to find out how far the existing legislative provisions served to implement the Directive Principles of State Policy in the Constitution and the national objectives of establishing a socialist society and achieving planned economic development. In view of this directive, the recommendations of the Commission are framed using the threefold test prescribed by this term of reference. As many of the existing practices in the industrial relations field were based on these principles, the Commission had inevitably to view these practices in the same light and could not radically depart from them.

The Commission has also set the goal as industrial harmony to achieve the above objectives. Industrial harmony, according to the Commission, is a positive concept and postulates the existence of understanding, co-operation and a sense of partnership between employers and employees.

Another factor which has influenced the Commission's recommendations is the Report of the Royal Commission in England under the Chairmanship of Lord Donovan. A comparison can be made of the various recommendations made by the National Commission with the recommendations of the Royal Commission, particularly with regard to the proposed Industrial Relations Commission and management practices. It is to the credit of the Commission that it has taken a definite stand with regard to many issues concerning labour affairs and industrial relations. In spite of the limitations discussed above and the composite nature of the Commission itself, the Commission has done a good job and its recommendations aim at around improvements both in the institutional and procedural areas.

The Commission has made two important recommendations, which should keep away mushroom unions coming into being and promoting the growth of quality unions. The first is that the minimum membership should be 10% (with a minimum of 7) of the total workforce or 100 whichever is lower and the minimum membership fee should be rupee one per month per member. The second recommendation is regarding the cancellation of the registration in the absence of satisfactory explanation for late submission of returns and withholding of material particulars in

the annual returns. The recommendation that Labour Courts can take cognizance of intra-union rivalry protects the rights of the member *vis-a-vis* his Union.

The Commission has expressed itself against formation of craft unions. It has on the other hand recommended that special committees of crafts or trades within an industrial union would be sufficient to look after the interests of the crafts or trades. Craft unions are natural organizations and are necessary in certain industries. In our tradition craft unions had not come about historically but in certain industries like Railways, Posts & Telegraphs, and Aircraft, at certain stages they had to come about as a practical necessity. Therefore to compel them now to merge with an overall industrial union would mean putting the clock back.

In view of the fact that the Commission is in favour of industrial unions, inevitably it aims at collective bargaining between a representative industrial union and the sectional employers' organization at industrial level. This necessitates strengthening of employers' organizations like the Indian Engineering Association, All India Jute Mills Association etc., so that they could play their role effectively as the bargaining agent on behalf of employers in the industry as a whole. Realising this, the Commission has recommended that "multiplicity of organisations within an industry is not conducive to collective bargaining. Wherever at present there is more than one organization dealing with an industry, they should be amalgamated into a single organisation and the first step in this direction would be the constitution of joint committees to deal with problems of the industry as a whole or to negotiate on behalf of the industry at that level." While this is understandable in the context of having collective bargaining at industrial level but, as argued earlier, if natural organizations like craft unions cannot be stopped from coming into being, bargaining cannot also be restricted to one level but will have to be at various levels and if necessary at multi-industrial levels too.

While recognizing the role of the State to regulate industrial relations to be consistent with its social and economic goals the Commission's recommendations aim at providing for contest of such decisions. As a first step, the Commission has recommended the creation of a National Industrial Relations Commission and Industrial Relations Commissions in the States. Therefore, when the Government feels that it has to interfere in industrial relations processes, particularly when a strike is on, it has to approach the appropriate I.R. Commission for a decision. The Commission has

also insisted on the State setting standards as an employer.

In the area of industrial relations, the most important recommendation is that union recognition should be made compulsory under a Central law for all undertakings employing 100 or more workers or where the capital invested is above a stipulated amount. It has also recommended that a recognized union should be statutorily given certain exclusive rights and facilities including the right of check-off. The minority unions should be given only the right of representing discharged or dismissed employees at a Labour Court. This necessitates promotion of collective bargaining to begin with at unit levels and later on at industrial levels. Another important recommendation made is to define unfair labour practices on the part of both employers and unions and incorporate them in the statute with suitable penalties for violations. These two important recommendations and the creation of the Industrial Relations Commissions as independent bodies will go a long way in acting as correctives for the various maladies affecting industrial relations. While giving various rights to representative unions, the Commission has also imposed certain obligations on such unions to have a strike ballot before going on strike and giving prescribed notice. The procedure suggested by the Commission as far as union demands are concerned, is that both the employer and the representative union must have direct negotiations on the demands and if the negotiations fail, then they could resort to voluntary arbitration under the auspices of the I.R. Commission. If they do not choose to take to voluntary arbitration, then they are free to take to direct action after following the prescribed procedures regarding notice. During the notice period, the I.R. Commission may offer its services to settle the dispute. It is also open to either parties to seek the intervention of the I.R. Commission during notice period and arrange for conciliation. However once the direct action starts, the Commission will not interfere till 30 days are over, after which it will necessarily intervene and arrange for adjudication.

Thus the recommendations aim at avoiding a conflict

by voluntary means but once the conflict starts, it has to pass through a reasonable period before the I.R. Commission intervenes. This should necessarily act as a deterrent against adventurist actions either on the part of the union or the employer. The power given to the Commission to sanction payment for strike period in certain circumstances should also act as deterrent to the employer using his veto power frivolously and forcing a union to resort to strike, irrespective of the fairness of its demands. Thus the recommendations cumulatively provide for a workable system of collective bargaining, without taking away the right of interference by state machinery and adjudication. Adjudication has been provided as a last resort and not as a weapon for the State to be used at all times. At the same time adjudication will be compulsorily resorted to in all cases under certain circumstances. In other words adjudication has not been allowed to take the place of collective bargaining but is kept only as a reserve machinery when needed.

The Commission has made worthwhile contribution in promoting both voluntary employers' and workers' organizations and providing worthwhile business for them. If the recommendations of the Commission in these areas are accepted, we would make significant progress in promoting healthy industrial relations.

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Next Phase Of 'Class Struggle'

Analyst

THE one major political event during this period (16th September to 15th October) that has dominated everything else and that threatens to assume still greater proportions is the resolution adopted by the Bangla Congress which is headed by the Chief Minister, Ajoy Mukherjee. The resolution expresses the feelings of a growing number of people all over the State very adequately. It was known for some time that the Bangla Congress leaders were getting concerned at the law and order situation which was deteriorating fast. But they did not seem to have the courage to come out openly even when the CPI and the CPM were clashing since the latter part of last month, or, at least, they were waiting for a suitable opportunity. There was thus some element of surprise when they not only adopted a resolution but also released it to the press without first showing it to their U.F. partners. It is still not clearly known why the Bangla Congress leaders did so when they were so cautious all through in their dealing with the CPM.

Two events seem to be significant in this respect. One was the CPI-CPM conflict in the State simultaneously with what was taking place in Kerala. There seemed to be no chance of immediate reconciliation between the two Communist Parties, and both of them were stepping up their political attacks on each other.

The other incident was Ajoy Mukherjee's meeting with Mrs. Indira Gandhi at Delhi unescorted by the inevitable Jyoti Basu followed by dinner with Mr. Ghosh, M.P., a senior leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party at the Centre, who was known to be closely connected with the Nanda Mission of 1967, and the sudden departure of Siddhartha Shankar Ray, the Congress leader, to Delhi. Rumour got widespread that Ajoybabu discussed plans with the Prime Minister regarding the future of U.F. Ministry—this time personally, so that the bitter 1967 experience was not repeated. Although the Bangla Congress leaders and later Ajoybabu contradicted these rumours, the suspicion persisted.

But the fact remains that such a strong resolution was adopted and broadcast only after the Delhi meeting. Although no party's name was mentioned in the resolution, it was obvious that it was directed against the CPM, as a subsequent resolution confirmed.

There is another unique feature of the resolution. It is that of launching Gandhian satyagraha if the state of lawlessness is not resolved. That is to say there is an operative part to the resolution. Thus we find that the Bangla Congress which is a major party in the

U.F. Government and whose leader is the Chief Minister, will organise a movement to ensure the rule of law. Will this be a movement of breaking the law? No indication has been given as to the nature of the contemplated satyagraha. May be, it will be directed against the police and civic administration for their inaction or partisan attitude in favour of some political parties. In that case, it will be a confrontation with the Deputy Chief Minister, Jyoti Basu and his party.

The Forward Bloc, the CPI and the Gurkha League and a few others have supported the Bangla Congress resolution regarding law and order situation, but they have not significantly enough stated their position regarding the satyagraha. The CPM has, of course, challenged the whole resolution and contradicted the figures of murders, etc. provided by the Bangla Congress. Jyoti Basu has stated: "The law and order situation is quite satisfactory compared to what is happening elsewhere in India. Life in West Bengal is normal and there is nothing to worry about at the moment."

It appears that the immediate objective of the Bangla Congress, the CPI and the Forward Bloc as well as the SUC is to take away the Home Ministry from the CPM. If this limited objective succeeds then the U.F. Ministry can go as before for some more time. But it is very doubtful if this will happen. The CPM will in that case have to make a major concession when it is clear to them that their present increased strength and influence are mainly due to this particular Ministry. None of the U.F. parties are keen for the dissolution of the Ministry, for the Presidential Rule is then inevitable. I, therefore, suspect that after some more political struggle an attempt at a compromise will be made. The CPM's monopolistic hold on the Home Ministry may be curbed by setting up a Cabinet Sub-Committee to supervise the functioning of the Ministry. Such a proposal was made some time earlier; at that time Jyoti Basu had reacted sharply against it. But immediately after the Durga Puja Holidays are over, the real political struggle would start and the nerves of the parties will be strained to the breaking point before negotiations begin.

Meanwhile the harvesting season is approaching and by the last week of October the clashes feared to take place between the cultivators on forcibly occupied lands and their actual owners and their men who were cultivating them earlier would begin. These clashes are bound to be serious and extensive and we should be expecting largescale murders and attacks. Armed

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Reflections Of A Dying Dictator

Elbridge Durbrow

Mr. Elbridge Durbrow is a retired career foreign service officer who was U.S. Ambassador to Vietnam from 1957 until 1960. He has also served in such diverse posts as Moscow (twice), Rome, Singapore, and as alternate permanent U.S. representative to NATO. The following is a condensed version of an article that he wrote for "Washington Report". Prefacing the article he wrote: "Let's look at the record, as it was seen by Ho Chi Minh in Hanoi, and speculate on what might have been his final reflections on the myriad of American press clippings, TV clips he must have received via Moscow and his reports from the Paris talks. Without going too far back and hitting only some of the record's highlights, let's put ourselves in Ho's shoes and try to speculate on his final thoughts and reflections."

ON balance, compared to 1966 and 1967 things are now going very well for us here in Hanoi. So far I have not had to make any concessions unless it is that we have been holding so-called talks in Paris since May 1968. But was this a concession? We are still carrying out our policy of talking, while fighting, and not negotiating.

By agreeing to the expanded talks in November 1968 we finally forced the United States and Puppet Thieu to give tacit recognition to my branch organization, the Viet Cong and NLF. Now, with hardly a whimper from the other side they have given tacit official recognition to the transformation of my branch organization into the Provisional Revolutionary Government. This will be very helpful in gaining one of the toughest points essential to my eventual takeover in the South—a coalition government led solely by us.

No, I have made no real concessions. I haven't even admitted there is a single North Vietnamese soldier in the South, so there can be no question about agreeing to a mutual withdrawal. I managed secretly, nevertheless, actually to build up by tens of thousands the number of my regulars in the South before the Tet offensive in early 1968. While I didn't succeed in attaining all my goals in that effort and I lost tens of thousands of killed and wounded, I scared the day-lights out of millions of Americans and further broke their will to see the war through. I also forced my tough opponent President Johnson to halt bombing about three-fourths of our country and to announce his retirement.

I am counting on American impatience, frustration, and naivete to force them eventually to agree to most of our demands. In the circumstances now, time is on our side, so I'll continue to sit tight. On thinking this through I guess the Americans are just "Paper Tigers". But why? It puzzles me. Let's try to analyze it.

Let's start with the dark days of 1966 and particularly 1967 when the bombing in and around Hanoi and Haiphong was seriously sealing off our movement of supplies. At the same time in 1967 the enemy was attacking our main forces on the borders and finding and destroying many of our base camps and supply depots. Yes, we were hurting pretty badly.

I became a bit more encouraged when my clipping service in early 1967 sent me more and more reports in the U.S. press about the various members of Congress, officials, columnists and others who were raising their voices to stop the war. And it became clear that the agents of both Moscow and Peking, I couldn't care which, were working very successfully from within, to stir up violent anti-war demonstrations by such organizations as SDS, the Progressive Labour Party, the Black Panthers, etc.

I was very favourably impressed by the defeatist, negative attitude taken by most of the American mass media, particularly the TV. It is always encouraging to note the exaggerated emphasis given by the American TV to the anti-war demonstrations organized by small minorities, as well as the undue emphasis given by the TV to the "dire straits" of such besieged garrisons as the "American Dien Bien Phu" Khe Sanh, which was relieved after sustaining comparatively few casualties. One remembers the grim pictures but forgets the relief.

I decided, therefore, that the time had come to really shock the wavering Americans with an all-out military effort that I hoped would topple Thieu's puppet administration, shock the Americans almost to death, and force them to accept my terms. As I was reflecting earlier, I didn't attain all my goals with my Tet or Spring Offensives in 1968, but I did really rock large segments of American public opinion. Johnson's position was so badly shaken by my bold tactics that he called the partial bombing halt on March 31, 1968. That's when things began to look up.

As I have already recalled, by making no concessions in Paris and demanding a full bombing halt before any substantive negotiations could take place, Johnson finally, just before the U.S. elections, called off all bombing in exchange for the easily broken oral promises I made. The enemy also agreed to give tacit recognition to the NLF. All I conceded was to let the Thieu Puppets sit in on the expanded talks.

I am becoming more and more convinced that because of the defeatist attitude of the bipartisan Dove coalition, all we have to do is keep up our efforts to increase casualties, refuse to negotiate on any pro-

posals be they President Nixon's in his May 14th speech, his later suggestions at Midway, or his endorsement of Thieu's suggestions that the NLF participate in the free election process. The Doves and others should know from the days of Yalta on, no Communist government has ever accepted to submit its future to any sort of effectively supervised elections by any kind of a neutral international group.

What are the basic reasons why the picture changed so markedly in our favour from 1967 to date? Let's count them.

First, our tactics paid off: demanding that the bombing be halted prior to any serious negotiations. When we got the halt we didn't negotiate, just upped our demands—complete withdrawal of all "foreign" troops from Vietnam and topple the Thieu government, etc. Many Doves call Thieu, who was duly elected in a free election, a "dictator".

Secondly, the Tet and May offensives of 1968 shook American public opinion much more than we had hoped.

Thirdly, the Americans are so impatient; easily frustrated, by such minor things as the weeks of wrangling we insisted on, about the shape of the Paris conference tables; so naive, for the most part, in foreign dealings that they refuse to believe how we Communists operate and don't believe our announced goals no matter how many times we spell them out.

(Continued from page 9)

groups of parties and jotedars have been getting ready for this phase of the "class struggle" for some time. The CPM Ministers have clearly directed that those who have tilled the land are entitled to harvest and take away the crop. Thus the police and the administration have been given clear directions by Jyoti Basu and H. Konar, while Ajoy Mukherjee has said that the crop should be shared equally.

Thus, the situation is in a more advanced stage in terms of "revolution" than that in Kerala. There the issue is corruption of individual Ministers; in West Bengal it is the breakdown of law and order and the evolution of parallel authorities and militant armed groups building up semi-liberated pockets, where the authority of the State is diminishing day by day.

Is it not significant that the CPM is using the "three magic weapons" of Mao Tse-tung — the revolutionary party, armed struggle and the united front? On October 10, the Chinese Revolution Anniversary Day, one of the Naxalite leaders reminded the audience in Calcutta about these three magic weapons and criticised Jyoti Basu severely. But it is the CPM which is using the weapons far more intelligently and effectively than the Naxalites.

October 21, 1969.



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With Many Voices

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

The ubiquitous holy cows, meekly chewing their cud have caused more deaths than cancer.

—K. R. Sunder Rajan, *New Statesman*, October 3.

Mahatma Gandhi is truly dead. His spirit was extinguished in India today, 100 years after he was born and two decades after he was assassinated.

—Peter Hazelhurst, *The Times*, October 3.

His party's support to bank nationalisation or to Giri in the Presidential election was the support of the rope to the man to be hanged.

—Promode Das Gupta, CPI(M) leader, *Statesman*, October 13.

Having inherited from Lenin a totalitarian Communist regime, he (Stalin) became its ideal embodiment, the most complete personification of power without democracy, built on the suppression of millions of human lives.

—Svetlana Alliluyeva, in her new book *Only One Year*.

I feel that the leaders of India now are interested only in power and money. They have no interest in the people.

—Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan quoted by Dom Moraes, *The Indian Express*, October 15.

The Prime Minister must quickly unburden herself of the almost unseemly company she has been keeping.

—*The Indian Monitor*, October 18.

Gandhism is dead in India in spite of Vinoba and Jayaprakash.

—Prem Bhasin, *Janata*, October 5.

Smt. Indira Gandhi's mind has a dictator's bent.

—C. Rajagopalachari, *Swarajya*, October 18.

Often the public sector has been used as a sinecure for political rejects and hangers-on.

—Inder Malhotra, *The Statesman*, October 20.

If one bright day the "People's Prime Minister" turns us into a "People's Democracy", only we shall be to blame.

—*March of the Nation*, October 25.

There is a deep conspiracy to destroy democracy and decent life in this country.

—Tarakeshwari Sinha, *The Current*, October 25.

The nation-wide U.S. agitation this week demanding withdrawal forthwith from the Viet Nam war is just cowardice masquerading as moral indignation.

—*Opinion*, October 21.

The CPI is embarked on a downward journey which has no end.

—Jyoti Basu, Bengal CPI(M) leader, *Statesman*, October 26.

Bank nationalisation is actually an attempt to step up the development of bureaucratic capitalism and at the same time to deceive and benumb the people.

—*Hsinhua*, Chinese News Agency, October 25.

People are no longer interested in whether one group of barons rules or another.

—Pran Chopra, *The Citizen*, October 25.

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