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WHO IS OUT OF TUNE WITH NATIONAL SENTIMENT ?

Editorial

Sri Nehru's Press Conference last Sunday, dealing mainly with the Tibetan crisis, came as a strange anti-climax to his sober and balanced speech in Parliament on April 2 when he almost chided those who had created a frenzied atmosphere on Tibet a day earlier.

The improper and unbalanced attack on the Communist Party was based on half quotations and newspaper summarisations, on allegations which had no basis in fact. The next day, the Prime Minister restored the balance.

REGARDING the Communist Party statement he stated: "...the whole background of the statement is one with which I do not agree. But, nevertheless, it is not clear to me how this matter can be raised by way of any adjournment motion." Regarding Kalimpong and the statement he said that it did not appear to challenge the bona fides of what he had stated but threw a hint that "what I might have said whether through misinformation or otherwise, might not be correct."

One could, therefore, see how utterly lacking in reality and balance were the charges and attacks delivered against the Party in the course of the parliamentary discussion.

It was, therefore, all the more surprising that Sri Nehru should have indulged in sweeping statements and charges about the Communist Party in his Press Conference only a couple of days later. Was it mere anger and emotional stir-

We Communists Or Those Who Howl Over Tibet And Attack Our Foreign Policy

ring at Tibetan developments or was it the pressure of his colleagues who felt that they had been let down after their attempts to queer the pitch in Parliament?

His main charge was that the Communist Party of India had uprooted itself from national sentiment. Referring to the parliamentary debate, he said, "And we saw there that marked distinction of the people who however they differed among themselves, had that common bond of strong national tradition and sentiment, call it nationalism for brief, while the Commun-

ist Party had no kinship with that sentiment." Anybody who goes through the parliamentary proceedings will see that the speeches delivered had very little to do with common national sentiment.

Acharya Kripalani who believes that Panch Shila was born in sin—he thinks that Tibet was betrayed into Chinese hands by us when we accepted that Tibet was part of China—the communal parties, the Masanis and Asoka Mehtas who hardly raise their voice of protest against the U.S. designs in Pakistan and who

have always combined to oppose the Prime Minister's foreign policy—these are all supposed to share a common sentiment while the Communist Party, which has in general lent support to Nehru's foreign policy, which staunchly advocates Panch Shila and warns against imperialist intrigues is supposed to have uprooted itself just because it does not obediently toe the twists and turns of the official line.

Nehru should know that using the Communist Party as a whipping boy has not helped any progressive cause anywhere. On the contrary it serves to introduce cold war policies which Sri Nehru does not want and tries to avoid.

The Tibetan issue, the official and Congress reactions to it, and the way they have been exploited by reactionary circles in this country raise important issues before Sri Nehru. Angry words and wild charges will only queer the pitch to the advantage of those who seek to introduce cold war in India.

In Delhi, the Congress holds a joint meeting with Masani, with Asoka Mehta and Kripalani of the PSP and with the Jan Sangh in which Kripalani says, "If we fail to recognise the national character of the revolt and do not unhesitatingly declare it so, because of our friendship with China, we will not only be falling in our duty, etc.... When the independent existence of a small peaceful and unoffending nation is threatened by a big and power-intoxicated nation, without raising our voice in protest, people cannot give credit to our pious wishes, etc."

And ex-Congress President Dhebar, writing in the AICC Economic Review, says, "The impression, therefore, that is created on the mind of an average citizen in India is that a world Power has once again failed to behave justly and fairly with its weaker neighbour...."

And Smt. Vijayalaxmi Pandit is reported to have talked

in London about foreign domination of Tibet.

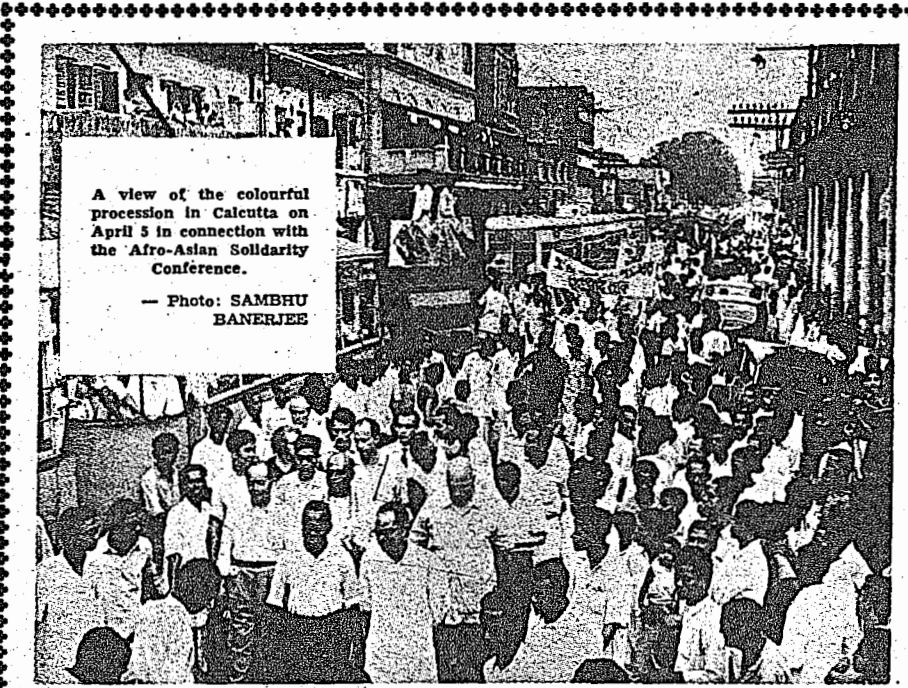
Have these utterances anything in common with our acceptance of Tibet as an autonomous part of China? Sri Nehru has repeatedly emphasised that he considers Tibet as an autonomous part of China, but if members of the ruling party themselves tend to forget it, things are likely to get confused and worse.

Besides, is it not necessary to take into consideration the social and economic system of Tibet and the clash of classes there? Sri Nehru knows that Tibet is no land of prayers alone. The social system of Tibet is based on serfdom which enjoins a low standard of living for the people. Whatever may be our emotional feeling due to our cultural ties with Tibet, we will be doing a disservice to the people of Tibet if we tend to support privilege—religious or cultural—against social advance.

And is it necessary in the name of the Buddha to support a system of serfdom? Is it not ridiculous to use the name of the Buddha who stood for revolutionary change, in support of economic serfdom? Tibet was under the control of Lamas and landlords for hundreds of years. And it has certainly not prospered. It has remained backward.

These are matters which are being overlooked today in the emotional heat of the moment. At the same time, Sri Nehru correctly emphasised "that for a variety of reasons, historical, sentimental, practical and of the present day, I have thought and I think that it is of great importance for India and China to be on friendly terms with each other, even though they might differ greatly in regard to their policies internally and that neither country has no business to interfere in another country because such interference does not produce any desirable results from the point of view of the persons who want to interfere unless the result accrued at is just, ill-will and anger, which is the essence of cold war."

The problem of Tibet has to be viewed in this background. The Government of People's China has not denied autonomy to Tibet. It should be the sincere desire of good people on both sides that a progressive Tibet resumes its career as an autonomous part of China.



A view of the colourful procession in Calcutta on April 5 in connection with the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference.

— Photo: SAMBHU BANERJEE

Long Live Afro-Asian Solidarity !

FOR REPORT OF THE ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE FOR AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY SEE PAGES 3, 8 AND 9.

NEW AGE

COMMUNIST PARTY WEEKLY

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RAJASTHAN CONGRESS LEADERS MEET IN CONVENTION

Factional Squabbles Prove Too Strong For Serious Discussions

● FROM RAMANAND AGARWAL

The three-day Convention of Presidents and Secretaries of the Mandal Congress Committees of Rajasthan, held in Alwar in the third week of March, though organised with great fanfare and attended by topmost leaders of the organisation like Pandit Nehru, Pandit Pant, Smt. Indira Gandhi, Sri U. N. Dhebar and Sri Sadiq Ali, could not be saved from concluding in a note of despair both for Congressmen and for the public.

THE Convention had been called to devise ways and means to implement the Nagpur resolution of the Congress and revitalise the organisation in the State. The conveners of the meeting had decided to make it different from the usual famashas and had chosen for discussion a number of subjects like land reforms, increased agricultural production and cooperation, decentralisation of power as recommended by the Balwantrao Mehta Committee and public cooperation in developmental works, the Third Five-Year Plan for Rajasthan and strengthening the Congress organisation in the State.

Charges And Counter-Charges

Notes had also been prepared on these topics to form the basis of discussions and the overall impression that had been created was that for once some serious discussions would take place among Congressmen. What actually happened was something entirely different.

The Congress leaders of the State were so obsessed with the factional struggles they have been waging that the Convention met in an atmosphere of mutual distrust and fears, and preoccupied as they were with flinging charges and counter-charges, they gave the go-by to all serious discussions.

The conveners of the four groups into which the Convention had been divided submitted their reports—but these reports contained more the ideas of the conveners themselves than the result of any discussion by the delegates in the groups.

The report, for instance, of the group which discussed land reforms and related subjects expressed self-satisfaction at the pace of land reforms in the State and naturally made no mention of the large-scale eviction of sub-tenants that is going on or the fact that many good provisions of the law were not being implemented or that mala fide partitions and transfers were being made to evade ceilings.

Dissatisfaction Expressed

A few of the Congressmen themselves were dissatisfied with the report and one of them moved an amendment to

include mechanised farms in the category of lands to which ceiling would apply.

Another, a Harijan, was pessimistic about cooperative farming unless the social status of the Harijans was improved and they were raised to the level of others by making them owners of land. He opposed the proposal to vest surplus lands in the panchayats since they were dominated by the landlords. But the report was not put to vote and no decisions were, of course, taken on these amendments.

No Remedies Suggested

The report of the group on organisational matters created perhaps the biggest furore. The picture of the Congress organisation that emerged from the discussions did no credit to the leaders of the party in the State. The delegates belonging to the Vyas group charged the Sukhadia group with nepotism, corruption, malpractices in organisational elections, etc. One Congress leader charged certain Congressmen with heinous crimes including abduction, rape, illicit distilling, and so on.

The report made no attempt to find out the cause of these factional squabbles, nor did it suggest any remedies. Everybody knew that in the absence of this, the high-sounding programme put before the Convention was not meant to be seriously taken or implemented.

When it came to the Nagpur resolutions, sharp differences could again be seen among the Congressmen present. The landlord section was worried over the proposal for ceilings while the traders and money-lenders were concerned with the question of State trading in foodgrains and cooperatives.

Tactics Of Obstruction

But these elements seem to have changed their tactics. They did not go in for frontal opposition this time. Theirs was the tactics of putting forward procedural difficulties and other obstructions so that the resolutions may not be implemented at all.

One of the Ministers admitted that the Communist Party's criticism was correct that it was not possible to inspire the landless with the slogan of cooperatives unless land was distributed to them. A senior Congressman said that the landlords in the Congress were already talking of organising bogus cooperatives

RICE SANCTIONED FOR CONGRESS CONVENTION GOES INTO BLACKMARKET

THE Convention of Rajasthan Congress leaders was convened to revitalise the Congress organisation but the way some Congress leaders used this very same Convention to fill their pockets through a little bit of blackmarketing operations has perhaps exposed all their high-sounding talk more than anything else.

Here is the story. Arrangements had been made at Alwar to feed the delegates to the Convention and the rice requirement was estimated at 50 maunds. But the permit was given for 550 maunds of Basmati rice to be imported from U.P. by rail.

A bargain was struck with a firm and the permit was handed over to it. And the terms of the bargain? The firm would supply 50 maunds of rice to the Convention free and in return, it would be allowed to sell the remaining 500 maunds free of control.

The firm bought the rice in Agra at Rs. 30 per maund and was selling it in Alwar at Rs. 51, making about Rs.

10,000 on its share of 500 maunds.

But that is not the end of the story. The firm got the permit amended for transport by road instead of by rail on the excuse that wagons were not readily available.

The charge that is being openly made in Alwar is that the firm transported rice eight times on the basis of one permit, i.e., over 4,000 maunds, making a profit of about Rs. 80,000. Figures are being mentioned of how much was paid to whom for making it possible to use the same permit eight times.

It is also being said that even the 50 maunds were not used up by the Convention and that about 20 maunds from it were sold at Rs. 48 per maund in the market.

Congress workers who have come to know of the story are very angry at the doings of some of the leaders and are said to have sent a representation to the Congress High Command asking for an enquiry.

with their kith and kin as members so as to evade ceilings and keep their farms intact.

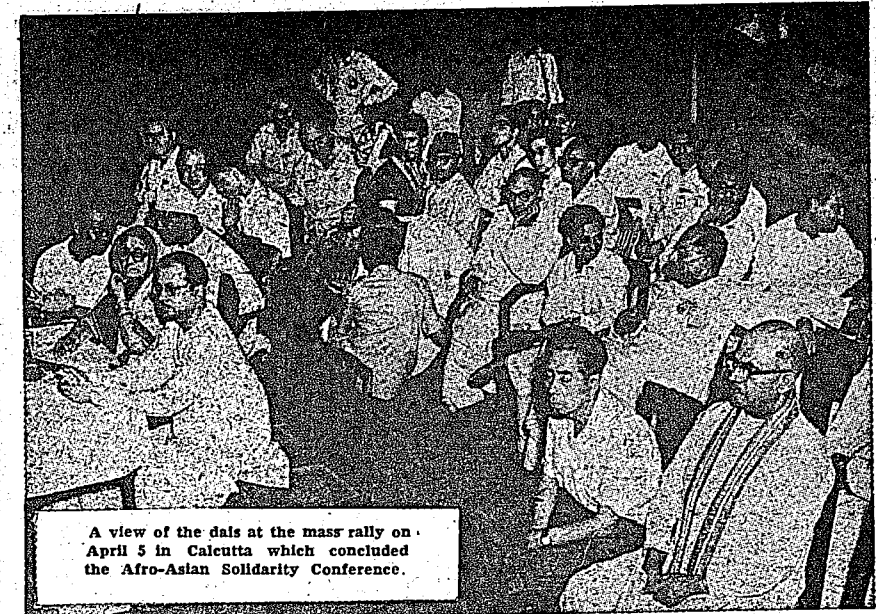
People Disappointed

If all these happenings inside the Convention demoralised those Congressmen who had hoped that the Congress would come out of it with a new look, what the State Congress leaders were doing outside demoralised the general public as well.

The local Congress leaders had collected about a lakh-and-a-quarter of rupees in the name of Pandit Nehru and all sorts of pressure had been brought to bear on the people to get their contributions. And this was in addition to the enormous sum that the State had to spend to make arrangements for the leaders of the Union Government.

For all this waste, when they in their thousands went to the public meeting, they did not hear one word from the leaders about their own demands, as to what would be done to improve their conditions.

The theme of all the speeches was almost the same—elucidation of the Nagpur resolutions. They talked



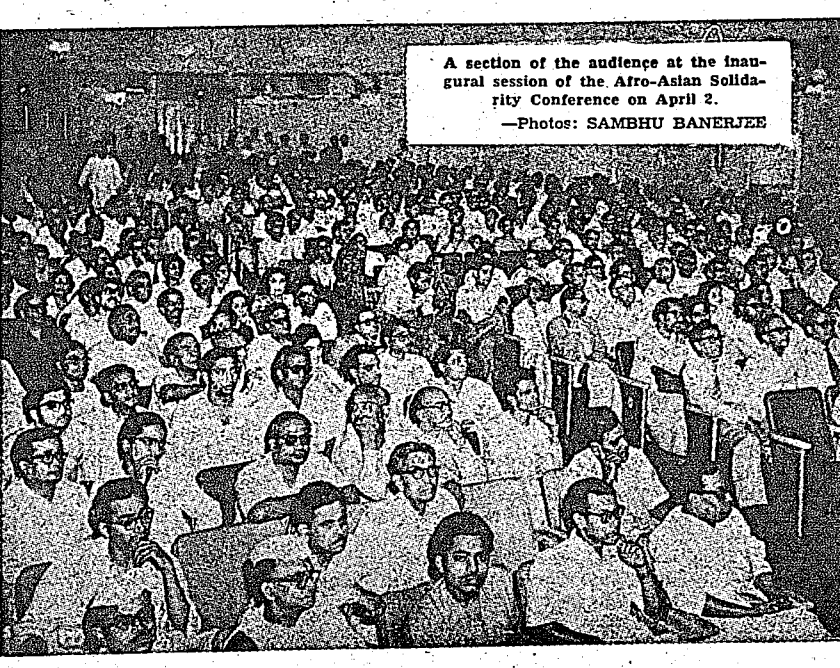
CALCUTTA RESOUNDS WITH AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY SLOGANS

★ ★ ★ FROM JVAJ BIKASH MOITRA ★ ★ ★

CALCUTTA, April 6 — CALCUTTA resounded with slogans as a mile-long procession paraded the streets of the city for two hours on the afternoon of April 5, the concluding day of the All-India Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity.

With numberless festoons, posters and multi-coloured flags, with foreign guests, hundreds of delegates, the Trade Union Congress, Kisan Sabha, Juba Sangha, Students' Federation, National Federation of Women (West Bengal Branch), leaders and workers of different political parties, scores of unions and other organisations participating in it, the 5000-strong procession was a very colourful and imposing one.

It terminated at the Maidan where a huge rally of over 50,000 people was held under the presidency of Smt. Rameshwari Nehru. When the foreign guests were introduced to the audience, the Chinese and the Soviet representatives received thunderous ovation—"Hindi-Chini Bhai-Bhai" and "Hindi-Russi Bhai-Bhai" rent the air.



APRIL 12, 1959

PUNJAB GOVT. GOES BACK ON PLEDGES

Negotiate Settlement To Avoid Serious Trouble

—SAYS A. K. GOPALAN

Warning the Punjab Government of the consequences of its policy of going back on its public assurances, A. K. Gopalan, President of the All-India Kisan Sabha, has again appealed to the State Government to discuss with the Kisan Sabha a settlement of the betterment levy question. The Kisan Sabha President's statement reads:

IT is now more than two weeks since under my advice, the Punjab Kisan Sabha withdrew the anti-betterment levy movement, to create a helpful and cordial atmosphere for negotiations and settlement.

Wrong Calculations

I took the risk of advising withdrawal of the movement because responsible spokesmen from the official side made public statements that the Government was willing to concede the demands from the peasants, provided the mass movement was withdrawn. No less a person than Sri N. V. Gadgil, the Governor of Punjab, stated publicly that if the movement was withdrawn, the entire issue could be settled within a week's time round the table.

Governor's Assurance

I was personally assured by the Governor that efforts at settlement would follow once we withdrew the mass movement. Similar statements were made and assurances were given by others on the floor of the Legislative Assembly of Punjab also.

Thinking that the Punjab Government would observe normal rules of public conduct and would honour its assurances I took the initiative in calling off the mass movement, which had already seen more than fifteen thousand court arrest and jail. My only desire was to remove the last impediment in the way of a settlement in our border State. I thought the Government was standing on prestige and I was prepared to make this concession to it.

Little did I know that the Government of Punjab had no intentions of honouring its assurances. It is more than two weeks since the struggle was called off and the Government has done nothing so far to settle the dispute. It has not even shown the courtesy to call the Kisan Sabha representatives for discussions.

On the other hand, under the mistaken notion, that the movement has been disorganised, the Government is resorting to forcible collection of betterment levy, and has started arresting a large number of people in the villages. I have come to know that the police have been busy framing charges against Kisan Sabha workers under the most

hated sections of the Criminal Procedure Code and that false complaints are being made against Kisan Sabha organisers. In spite of assurances to release all satyagrahis and arrested persons the Government has kept a large number of them in jail.

To the kisans of Punjab I say: the Government is going back on its assurances. Once more we will require our unity in our ranks to force the Government to observe accepted codes of public conduct.

ANOTHER ANDHRA COMMUNIST SHOT AND KILLED

Victim Of Congress 'Non-Violence'

YET another Communist in Andhra has fallen victim to the "non-violence" of the Congress—Padda Pitchayya, a member of the Dachepalli Village Committee of the Communist Party in Guntur District. He was shot dead at point blank range on March 31 last.

Five local Congressmen are said to have gone to his house at nine in the morning that day and one of them shot him, with an unlicensed gun, it is said, while the others stood by.

In the village has been winning the elections to the Panchayat Board, Forest Panchayat, etc. Fresh elections to the local Panchayat are now in the offing and these Congressmen thought they could hope for a Congress victory only by physically exterminating the Communist leaders.

The names of five Congressmen, Narasimham, Achireddi, Anjayya, Kotayya and Gopayya are being mentioned in this connection. Two of them have surrendered to the police while the others are said to be absconding.

TIBET

★★

All of a sudden trouble started in Tibet in the second week of March. Western imperialists, particularly U.S. imperialists, were already concentrating the full fire of their propaganda against Tibet. After trouble started in Tibet, they staked their everything on it. They intensified their propaganda through journals, radio and other means so much so that even some of the sensible and independent journalists of our country fell victims to it. Some of them even raised the banner of hatred of China and through it, against Communism.

NOBODY bothered to get at the truth. On the contrary, they started misinterpreting and distorting China's most cordial and fraternal relationship with Tibet for the last eight years. So far as the PSP is concerned, one has only to mention the word Communism to make it lose its balance. There is no dearth in its leadership of people who support the United States.

Some parading their knowledge of history went to the extent of claiming that Tibet had never been in China. Is the claim correct?

A Bit Of History

From the history of Tibet we learn that from the 10th century onwards up to 1911 whenever China was united as a country, Tibet accepted its suzerainty. The rule of the Dalai Lama started round about 1640 when Shahjehan ruled over India. From then on to the time of the emergence of the Republic of China, the Chinese representative in Tibet supervised the administration in Tibet.

You have only to read the travel diaries of Nain Singh written about 1862. Again and again you will find reference to the presence of Chinese armies and Chinese officers, not only on the Tibetan border but also in the capital of Tibet.

During his first journey when the Tibetan Commander-in-Chief refused permission to Nain Singh to proceed through Kerod in Nepal, he appealed to the Chinese Commander-in-Chief. And after he also refused permission he followed another route. However, let us not go so far back into the past.

Only read the travelogues of the Japanese traveller Kabagoochi. There also you will find constant references to the presence of Chinese armies in Tibet.

Taking advantage of the chaos that prevailed in China during the last days of the Manchu rule, the British intensified their efforts to push into Tibet and finally sent their armies into Tibet in 1905 under the command of Young-husband.

Their Doings In 1948-49

But this meant provoking Russia to war; hence both the countries accepted China's supremacy over Tibet. From 1911 to 1949, when civil war raged in China, the British and other imperialists tried to disrupt the old relations that existed between China and Tibet.

This is what history tells us:

Resistance of landlords frightened at the prospect of abolition of serfdom is being called a "national revolt"

In 1948-49, the feudal lords of Tibet did all in their power to see that Tibet did not go under the rule of Communist China. They sent their representatives to the United States and Britain. Both the imperialist countries wanted to help them, but such help could be rendered only if the Government of India agreed to such a thing. The U.S. could pour crores of dollars. But dollars alone could not fight the People's Liberation Army.

Two or three important personages among those who have today risen in rebellion against China wanted to elicit some

they were killed, they would not mind it.

Ultimately, the Tibetan chiefs entered into an agreement with China. China granted them autonomy and the then Government of Tibet accepted to remain a part of China.

After the liberation of China, the Chinese Communists allowed full rights even to the enterprises of the millionaires. Five years after, in 1954, the capitalists themselves—and more than them their sons and daughters—raised the slogan that these enterprises be handed over to the Government. In 1954 this deal was willingly carried out by

tion he gave to me was that these people were starving and hence it was nothing surprising if they took food in such a stealthy manner.

The Chinese leaders did not launch an all-out attack on these land relations because they did not want to offer any opportunity to the feudal lords to fan the fire of hatred against the Communists. More than one-third of Tibetan land belongs to the monasteries and the Mahants; the rest belongs to the feudal families. Most of the Mahants too are the sons of feudal lords.

Even though preservation of these rights in fact went against the interests of the

for the task of building the prosperous Tibet of tomorrow. Till today China has given no opportunity to the Tibetan feudal lords for complaint. But when the peasants throughout China organised themselves into communes with not only full rights of developing and managing agriculture and industry, but also with complete equality among themselves—it was but natural that its repercussions would be felt in Tibet.

The feudal lords and MAHANTS became panicky and felt that the day was not far off when they too would be faced with the same situation. They calculated that

the millionaires and all enterprises became either State enterprises or jointly-run enterprises.

In Tibet the Chinese Government pursued a still more liberal policy. Probably it would have not been faced with the present situation had it not been so liberal.

No Land Reforms

Land reforms were carried out throughout China by 1951. The land now belonged to the tillers. Landlordism was completely abolished. However, the question of

common people, the Chinese Communists thought that the feudal lords would utilise even very simple efforts at reforms to rouse the people against them and this would lead to unnecessary bloodshed. Hence they concentrated all their efforts on building roadways, spreading education and surveying of natural resources.

More than three thousand miles of roads were built in Tibet and that too through such mountain ranges and barren lands that one is simply amazed at their engineering achievements. Very soon a thirteen to fourteen hundred mile long railway line is to be

if the new generation truly got educated, they would never get an opportunity of curbing new ideas and thoughts with the force of arms. And hence they rushed into their abortive attempt.

They counted without their host. Howsoever the imperialists and their lackeys wave their wooden swords, the interests of the Tibetan people are bound to triumph; the last vestiges of feudalism are bound to be wiped off the face of Tibet.

And it is this that is being called as a revolt of the Tibetan people! We here in India have abolished zamindari. And the resistance of the landlords frightened with the prospect of abolition of landlordism in Tibet is being called a national revolt!

Let us for a moment look at this revolt of the feudals from an Indian standpoint. Relations between China and India are 2,000 years old. Our two countries have never crossed swords against each other.

Today the most cordial and sweet relations exist between the People's Republic of China and free India. Persons belonging to any party or of political opinion can go to China and feel for themselves that the Chinese consider the Indian people as their own fifth and kin. They treat them as if they are part of their own blood.

Quixotic Attempts

Our northern border from Laddakh to Assam touches the Chinese mainland. Only the borders of Bhutan and Nepal separate the two countries. In matters pertaining to external affairs, Bhutan is in Indian hands. Nepal even when independent can guard its northern border only with the help of India. Hence, our northern border extending over thousands of miles is linked with the People's Republic of China.

Quite a few of our leaders, victims of their own foolishness, are making quixotic attempts to see that India takes to the path of active opposition to China and

* SEE PAGE 14



by Rahul Sankrityayana

The author who needs no introduction to NEW AGE readers as one of the topmost of our Hindi scholars, has written here on the Tibetan events with the special understanding of Tibet and its people which he has come to acquire through numerous visits to that region of China beginning from 1929. Rahulji not only knows the Tibetan language very well, he has written a book in Tibetan and another book on Tibetan grammar.

information from me even at that time. All that I told them was that it was sheer madness even to think of standing up against the People's Liberation Army; that the ties between China and Tibet were very old and the People's Republic of China would only re-establish those relations.

I told them that they had only two alternatives: before the People's Liberation Army crossed the Tibetan borders, come over to Kalimpong with all the money they could manage to get from Tibet and settle down there; or if they loved Tibet, to stay on—the Chinese Communists would make full use of their talents and service.

The younger brother of a Minister and the General himself told me a few days later that they would stay on in Tibet. If the Chinese utilised their services, they would willingly offer them; and if

land reforms was not even raised in Tibet. Land relations here were not even feudal; serfdom prevailed. The landlord was the unchallenged master of land as also of the tiller. Except for the right to kill, the owner of land had all powers over the semi-slave peasant. And even if he killed him, he could easily free himself from the clutches of law.

For years the sons and daughters of the peasants dragged the heavy burden of life in drudgery in feudal houses. Starving and thirsty, their backs ached under the lashes of their inhuman landlords.

One day I was invited to lunch in the house of a big feudal lord. My Tibetan Bhikku friend, Dharm Sangh Dharm Vardhan told me that the person who was bringing the dishes to us from the kitchen gulped a part of the food on the way. The explana-

tion connecting the northern part with Lhasa.

Schools for children have been opened in almost all the villages of Tibet. Institutions of higher secondary education have also been opened in certain towns and cities. While no typeset books of Tibetan alphabets were available for children some time ago, today beautifully printed text-books are available for all school children.

Arrangements have been made for imparting higher education to more talented students in Peking, Langchow and other cities. In the Minorities Institute of Peking, 1200 and in Langchow more than one thousand Tibetan boys and girls are receiving higher education. I have personally visited both these institutions of higher education. There is real passion for education among these students and they are preparing themselves