

think the Dalai Lama a helpless

prisoner, still others may won-der if the Dalai himself is fence-

sitting, keeping an alibi for a safe return. If so, Peking will play the game with him; for

Peking has recognised as the administration in Tibet a Com-mittee of which Dalai Lama is

Chairman, and of which the Panchen Lama is only Acting

This is an article by the noted American journalist and author, written in Peking on March 30. In places it has had to be condensed for reasons of space.

RAG TO DE CONGENSEA JOY TEASONS OF SPACE. PEKING'S SUPPRESSION OF THE ARMED REBELLION OF TIBETAN SERF-OWNERS IS CHARACTERISTICALLY MET AROUND THE WORLD. BRITAIN SITS THE FENCE BY SAYING "WE HAVE LONG RECOGNISED CHINESE SOVEREIGNTY... ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT TIEET HAS AUTONOMY" WHICH NEATLY PERMITS ANY WHICH NEATLY PERMITS ANY FUTURE ACTION LONDON MAY CHOOSE.

C HRISTIAN HERTER, U.S. Acting Secretary of State, sticks his neck out in the usual State Department insistence that the attempt of Tibet's most reactionary serf-owners to per-petuate serfdom's worst abuses is "the indomitable serie" "the indomitable spirit of m"—an idea at which anyone in Asia laughs, and that Pek-ing's belated restoration of order in Lhasa is "barbarous foreign intervention.....

The Reverend Shirob Jailtsov. the Reverend Shirob Jahlsov, seventy-six-year-old. Chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Asso-clation, a Tibetan who studied theology in Lhasa thirty-two years and should know the ropes, is as explicit as Herter but on the other side. He ha made a formal statement which "fully endorses" Peking's ac-"fully endorses" Peking's ac-tions, "as a Tibetan and a Bud-dhist", and declares that "the reactionary clique of serf-own-ers, shamefully turned against the interests... of the Tibetan people... against Buddhism and against law." He adds, optiand against law." He adds, opti-mistically that the rebellion and its failure "opens a new page in the history of Tibet." Jailtsov, meantime, resides in Peking,

TTRRN \mathbf{k}

Tibet before the world.

Chief of these, as I write, is the fate of the Dalai Lama. He is, at the moment, in the hands is, at the moment, in the hands of the rebels, who presumably mean to take him abroad as a Government-in-Exile. Peking, however, claims to have had three letters from the Dalai in his own hand-writing, stating that he is "under duress" in the "reactionaries" hands of and that he is doing his best to calm things and may seek refuge with "the People's Liberation Army".

Some will call these letters a Peking invention, others will Chairman, pending the Dalai's 'return".

(Saving that he is the first Dalai Lama for generations who managed to live past the age of managed to hve past the age of eighteen, the others having pre-sumably been eased from the world by the palace guard of regents who thus kept rule in the names of successive Dalais, getting rid of each before they reached the age of actual power, Anna Louise Strong continues:) The present Dalai survived

because he signed up with Peking before he reached ma-turity at eighteen years. This is only one detail that should

The editorial said. "If the

collapsed on one side of Tibet and British rule on the other. China's "sovereignty" in Tibet -meaning the right of protector and general overlord without local administration - had not been challenged for centuries except briefly by Britain's "spe-cial interests."

make Americans think reali-

and

stically about Tibet and "living gods". The present Chinese Govern-

ment seeks ends with minimum friction. Their take-over of Tibet in 1951 was very politely done. Washington did not ap-preciate it, for Washington was

set to rush into the vaccum created when Chiang Kai-shek

Nonetheless, the People's Liberation Army stopped in Chamdo, a border area with a lot of Tibetans which had been mapped as China proper decades earlier, scared a Tibetan border garrison into run-ning away to report to

has brothers in Formosa and the USA.

Lhasa, and then waited until

Lama both went to Peking, to make a treaty. These two "La-mas" are two incarnations of

Buddha, supposedly equal, "fa-ther and son" and always acting

as one... Suppositions are not always realities, in politics or theology. The Dalai waited

theology. The Dalai waited longer than the Panchen: he

and Panche

the Dalai Lama

By treaty, in 1951, the Dalai and Panchen Lamas got auto-nomy for Tibet plus seats for both of them in the Chinese National Assembly in Peking, plus the return of some territory with Tibetan population which the Chinese empire took away a century earlier. The bargain was not bad. Nor was it bad for China. For while Tibet will long be an economic burden, it holds the sources of China's great great rivers. Chinese read the papers and know all about the poisons made in America and Britain which can kill all the world with a few ounces. They will not leave their water supply in the hands of nations like that.

Foreign Correspondents went to Lhasa in 1953 with the first auto road built by China. They brought report of a serfdom which combined utmost earthly brutality with theocratic control of souls. Peasants and herdsmen might be ordered by any "noble" to drop their own harvest and go at their own expense and carrying their own food on a long trek as body-scrunts and bearers. The "justice" court" in Lhasa displayed in-struments, of torture on its walls, and used them on witnesses the judge disapproved People might yearn for People might yearn for land reform or freedom from torture, but not if a word from a lama could doom them to

Playing Ball With Serfs

Chinese of my acquaintance de with the Reverend hirob. They think Peking Ado. Shirob. played ball long enough with the serf-owners, gave them eight years of rope which they used only to hang them selves and that now the time may have come to play ball with the serfs....

Americans will take side in Americans will take side in accordance with past allegi-ances and nothing they think of do is likely much to affect. The rebellion iself is ended if Lhasa, with authority restored to a Tibetan Preparatory Com-mittee, of which the Vice-Chair-man Pancher Lama is to act as Chairman units and unless the The partner that is the constraint of the constr



T HERE is a news-sheet called the Chinese Jour-nal of India, published from Calcutta. It is the mouth-piece of some Koumintang Chinese who stay in Cal-cutta's China Town.

This paper wrote an edi-This paper wrote an en-torial on April 6 under the caption, "Beware India-Communist China won't give up its attempts to mobilise India in its camp" The editorial warned India that the Soviet Union and China had their agents in Tibet and were trying to smuggle them into India and Nepal.

Chinese Communists suc-ceed in stabilising their domination in Tibet, it will domination in Tibet, it will mean a grave danger for India--nobody can deny this fact." If activities aga-inst the Communist Gov-ernment in Tibet had not continued, the editorial observed, "India could not remain as peaceful as it is today."

Further, "whether India's past policy of friendship with China was wrong or not, India Government can no longer continue this policy. There is no reason

to cling to this policy unless India is willing to act ac-cording to the dictates of China or to succumb to its threats.... The Chinese occupation of Tibet must be completely liquidated in the interests of India's security."

The paper's editorial was an undisguised attempt to create ill-feelings against China in our country, de-manding even a change in our foreign policy. It passes one's comprehension how such hate-mongering sheets are allowed to come out and preach these things. 00000000000000

THE DEFENCE DEBATE

Editoria

TAKING SHELTER under the plea of protecting our defence secrets from the enemy, the powers-that-be do everything possible to

make the Parliamentary debate on defence an unrealistic and formal affair, and even a farce. The chosen represen-tatives of the people are not allowed to "pry" into the mysteries of the Defence Department; their legitimate cri-ticism and queries are treated with scant respect and by ticism and queries are treated with scant respect and by-passed in the name of secrecy; every criticism is regarded as likely to sap the morale of the fighting forces; every request for democratic reform, for giving a fair deal to our soldiers and jawans is treated as undermining military dis-cipline and every request to give up the traditions of the imperialist days and forge a new patriotic army, in which the relations between men and officers will be based on mutual respect and common love for our motherland and people is considered as discuptive. people is considered as disruptive.

Last week the Defence Minister, Sri Krishna Menon, did his best to make the debate unreal, formal and even meaningless by evading every important question raised. While none can deny that a certain amount of secrecy is absolutely essential in matters of defence, to treat Parlia-ment in the cavalier fashion in which it has been treated all these years is to make a farce of Parliamentary democracy. If the people's representatives cannot hold a secret session to discuss the most vital matters concerning the -the security and defence of the nation, if Parliament is only to sanction crores of rupees for schemes drawn up by military officers and is not entitled to know much about those schemes nor investigate deeply whether the whether the money is properly spent, what remains of the sovereignty and authority of the people and Parliament? What guarantee is there then that we are adequately armed and defended?

As matters stand that is how parliamentary democracy is further only under the Congress—with people's represen-tatives of having the power even to assure themselves that the country is well-defended. They have to accept on faith the promises of the Defence Minister and the Chiefs of

Sri Krishna Menon kept to this tradition and practi-cally screened the Chief of the Army Staff when he made an unauthorised public statement regarding the tenure of men in the armed forces which would have meant a major reorganisation and abolition of the system of reserves. The Chief of the Army Staff had gone beyond his powers and was guilty of enunciating a new policy, which he had no business to do. In any democracy, the encroachment by an officer on the policy-making powers of the Government and Ministry would be considered a serious affair. But Sri Menon considered it permissible to express such an opinion. But then the Congress Government identifies democracy and its own prestige with blind defence of the omissions and misdeeds of officialdom-civil and military.

Everyone would have congratulated the Defence Minister for a reduction of Rs. 24 crores in Defence expenditure had it not been for the fact that the flames of imperialist conspiracy have started enveloping our borders. After the U.S.-Pak Pact and the feverish arming of Pakistan, after the proven use of American arms by Pakistan in border clashes, one thought that it would be necessary to pay more attention to defence and a bigger outlay on defence equipment. But Sri Menon has chosen this time to scale our expenditure on arms and that, too, on aircrafts when the United States is sending the latest type of bombers to Pakistan. Everyone would be really happy if it were true that we are so well equipped with aircraft that notwith-standing the U.S.-Pak Pact, we could go slow with our air defence. No one wants to enter into an armaments race but the point is-are we at least sufficiently equipped to warrant a reduction in our defence expenditure

Sri Menon evaded the point and indulged in prevari-cation and lame excuses. His plea that the reductoin is in a large measure due to higher technical skill in ordnance a large measure due to inglier technical skill in ordinate factories and services is only partly true. For the simple fact is that the reduction is largely in purchases of aircraft and spares abroad, items on which there is very little ground for saving through higher skill in indigenous pro-

NEW AGE

duction. His subsequent arguments, however, are such that they tend to create some suspicion about the reduction. He says that the reduction has been made possible by a greater realisation of the interests of the country as a whole-an innocent phrase but it may be meaningful conwhole—an innocent phrase but it may be meaningful con-sidering that the saving is on items which were to be im-ported from abroad, and which required foreign exchange; it is fair to conclude that the defence expenditure has been cut to accommodate other demands on foreign exchange.

It is not amiss to recall that the World Bank Mission It is not amiss to recall that the World Bank Mission which visited India last year had "recommended" that "As part of any realistic programme for dealing with the ba-lance of payments crisis, it is necessary that all imports of capital goods and *defence equipments* for which firm orders have not yet been placed and which are not covered by specific credits should be closely re-examined. There might also be some scope for savings in the last two years of the place in forming expenditure on certain power Plan in foreign exchange expenditure on certain power projects... and defence."

Has defence expenditure been cut down to suit our creditors

The United States Government increases the armed ength of Pakistan, while the World Bank dominated by the USA demands of us that defence should be curtailed. The Defence Minister did not take the House or the people into confidence and did not advance any cogent reason why precisely in this year of the U.S.-Pak Pact defence expenditure has been curtailed.

On other questions, vital for the efficiency of our de-fence and the well-being of our forces, the Defence Mini-ster took an arrogant stand. Some members, among them Communist M.P.s, brought to the notice of the Minister the large number of supersessions that have taken place. According to the Defence Minister not less than 27 Briga-diers have been superseded: This of course is a serious question and it requires serious explanation. But the De-fence Minister justified every supersession and promised that there would be further supersessions to maintain effi-ciency. Now it will be readily admitted that considerations of strict efficiency and merit may lead to supersession in several cases; but there cannot be *en masse* supersessions. Is the Defence Minister convinced that these supersessions have nothing to do with nepotism and favouritism, with discrimination against those with progressive patritoic outlook? The supersessions are so many in number that they do require the earnest attention of all those who are interested in efficient defence and the purdah tactics of the Minister will do harm to the country.

Today we know that civil life under the present regime is full of graft and corruption. If the Defence Minister wants us to believe his department is full of angels, he is trying in vain.

And lastly on the question of amenities for our Jawans, the Minister took a callous attitude. He should not have pitted the allowances of officers against the demands of ranks. Everyone in this country would like to give our officers as much facilities as we can afford for they are engaged in the vital task of defence. But what about the ranks? They also are engaged in the same task of the ranks? They also are engaged in the same task and their amenities fall far short of what is required. While there amenines rail rar snort or what is required. While there will always be some difference between these two, it should not be excessive. It should not appear as if the ranks have the same status as they had under the foreign Government. The officers and the ranks are part of the same people and with all the difference in their status, this can never be formation. But the Minister scenes to be unsure of this forgotten. But the Minister seems to be unaware of this.

The Defence debate showed that a large number of M.P.s correctly understood the danger of the U.S.-Pak Pact and expressed concern about our security and defence. They made many serious, valuable and constructive suggestions to remove the weaknesses and forge our army into a patriotic force. It equally showed that conservative ideas prevented the Defence Minister from responding to the suggestions. The country will require something more patriotic and democratic from the Minister to be convinced that he is discharging his task to its satisfaction.

(April 15)

favour of Smt. Aruna as well as realising that any other arrangement would only bring about instability in the Corporation agreed to change its earlier stand (of non-support to Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali). They, too, lined up with other non-Congress groups in the Cor-poration and voted for Smt.

* FROM FACING PAGE

Delhi

Mayoral

Election

Aruna Asaf Ali. In view of the peculiar set-up in the Delhi Corpo-ration (where no party com-mands a majority) all the non-Congress groups have agreed to a formula of ro-tation of offices of Mayor and Deputy Mayor. All the non-Congress groups would like the Congress also to accept this formula so that the infant Corporation of Delhi is set on proper rails and all can work for the solution of the urgent civic problems which the people are facing. Be it said that this formula of rotation involves no alliance and no acceptance of any particular programme

The main idea is that while every party to the agreement is free to carry out its own programme, the annual elec-tions for the offices of Mayor and Deputy Mayor should not become an occasion for wrang-lings and mutual blekerings to the advantage of the bureaucracy.

Political circles still hope that the dominant local Congress leaders will draw necessary lesson from their defeat, give up their partisan outlook and work with other non-Congress groups to serve the interests of the common man.



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APRIL 19, 1959

INSIDE OUR NEWS & economy NOTES

NATIONAL SHIPPING

THE inauguration of the National Shipping Board by the Prime Minister last week has come not a day too soon. As it is, about 90 per cent of country's foreign trade is being carried in foreign ships. Besides, in a period like the present. when the prospects of industrialisation hinge more and more on the industrialisation development of overseas trade, it is only proper that the merchant fleet is accorded its deserved place in schemes of development.

While welcoming the Government's interest in the progress of shipping, however, it is necessary to remind it that in planning its schemes it will not be acting in a state of vacuum. On the contrary, it will have to contend with pow-erful forces. For long, strong merchant fleets have been pitted against each other in international waters. They are also everready to foil the efforts of any new country to develop its own shipping. Obviously, such a situa-

tion requires a high degree of steadfastness and fidelity to national interests. For, one false step and the for-eign interests will be ready to pounce upon any na-tional scheme to twist it to serve their own ends. Before planning its schemes, therefore, it is only proper that the Government asks that the Government asks itself whether it has not already faltered once too often in the course of framing its legislation on mer-chant shipping.

> FALSE STEP

One such false sten which comes to our mind is that of giving discretion to the Government to decide the oportion of participation eign and Indian cquity capital in an "Indian shipping concern. In the light of what we quote be-low from a Hsinhua despatch about how American shipping interests have been undermining the position of even such a stalwart as the U.K. the Govern ment would have perhaps done better if it had not armed itself with this dis-

cretionary power. Complaining about the unfavourable position in which British shipping has been lately placed as a re-sult of rivalry from the USA, the despatch says, President of the U.K. Chamber of Shipping, Ni-cholas Cayzer, said : "To bolster up her subsidised shipping, the United States has resorted to various discriminatory practices such as the 50-50 rule, whereby she insists on cargoes being . carried to the extent of 50

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in this beahlf. In respect of the U.S. at-titude the Statist magazine, described as being "close to neral European Regional Trade Organisation to con-sider the abolition of all the British business circles," was reported by the TASS discrimination in trade, maximum lowering or liquias saving that "many Amedation of customs barriers. rican firms are convinced that the creation of a comthe granting of loans and credits, mutual account and payments and other Euromon market of 165 million consumers—as large as that pean trade problems. of the United States-pool-ing all resources, eliminat-In respect of underdeveloped countries also the USSR has renewed its offer ing all impediments to trade within the group and (at the meeting of the U.N. establishing a perfect free-dom of movement for Economic and Social Coun-cil in Mexico City) "of low-interest goods, men and capital is interest credits for machinery and free Russian tech-nicians." Thus, in developed Europe as well as under-developed or undeveloped destined to achieve immense economic expansion by adoption of the American method of production. "There was so much logic to support this line of argument," the magazine Asia and Africa, the quest of the USSR is to reduce barriers in the way of close and mutually-beneficial economic cooperation betcontinued "that there was a growing fear that ် the ween different nations, while what the United States has been seeking is European economy might hecome American-controlled." To prove the point the magazine cited figures pub-lished by the U.S. Depart-ment of Commerce, accordto bless the restrictive practices of the western capitalist countries and to ing to which, in 1957 the amount of U.S. capital intake them under its "pro-tective" wings. Whose invested in industrial underterests it thereby really takings abroad reached a "protects" we leave it to our new record of 36.8 billion readers to judge. dollars. This showed an increase of 3.8 billion dol-lars over 1956. The yield on -ESSEN April 13. 1959





per cent in American

discriminations

Conferences.

other of

ships." This, however, is by no means a novel practice which the U.S. has applied in relation to the United Kingdom. Our country has been subject to even worse at the hands of foreign shipping conferences. And yet the Government has not considered it amiss to leave an other loophole in an im portant legislation to faci

litate the entrenchment of the very interests which rule the roost in these This is perhaps yet anthe ambivalence in which the governmental policies in our country abound. But here its cos might be heavier than elsewhere, for, no capitalist Power, and least of all the USA, will let go of any op-portunity to nip in the bud

loped country to build its fleet to handle its trade. SOVIET AID AND EUROPE

efforts of any underdeve-

the difference between the fraternal interest which the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries have been showing in our country's industrialisation, and the apathy or worse isation, with which the United States looks towards it, is now well-known to our peo-ple. It was perhaps not quite so well known so far —in relation to their res-pective countries—to the peoples in west European countries, now forming part of the European Common Market Scheme. Last week, however, provided two ins-tances which should have cleared even their doubts

ARUNA ASAF ALI'S **BE-ELECTION**

Popular Pressure Defeats Partisan Politics

* FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Srimati Aruna Asaf Ali's re-election as Mayor of decision to oppose Smt. Aruna Delhi for the year 1959-60 has been universally hailed Asaf Ali but the local bosses by the common neonle in Delhi, irrespective of politi-are reported to have told the by the common people in Delhi, irrespective of politi-cal views. In fact, it can be stated without fear of contradiction that her re-election was itself the result of popular desire and popular pressure.

S MT. Aruna Asaf Ali had the non-partisan manner in endeared herself to the which she conducted herself **D** endeared herself to the which she conducted people of Delhi during the last in this high office. one year as Mayor of Delhi by her selfless devotion to duty, by her tireless work in the service of the people and by

these investments in 1957. came to 3.7 billion dollars. 300 millions more than in 1956. "This clearly indicates." the magazine concluded "that the establishment in Europe of a com-mon market offers the United States still greater scope for widening overseas markets."

The European Common Market is a restrictive grouping, restrictive of even our products in its metropolitan as well as dependent territories. Hence there is no love lost bet-ween it and us. And yet, the way the U.S. seeks to exploit its formation for its own ends is something which we cannot condone Contrasting with this is the straightforward offer made by the Soviet Union in a memorandum, submitted to the Economic Commission for Europe, calling upon the latter to convene a conference of European Foreign Trade Ministers to discuss possibilities of developing trade among all European countries. The memorandum pro-

posed, among other things, the establishment of a Ge

NEW AGE

Easily accessible to the to hear a kind of hearing touch on the various pro-blems that the people of Delhi faced during the first year of the existence of the Corporation, whether it was the water famine or the floed or the food crisis or any other problem

In a Corporation where no single political party com-mands a majority, she helped mands a majority, she helpe to bring about a certain and unt of stability and to build up healthy democratic con

Outside among the people and inside the Corporation, strong opinion developed that she must be re-elected Mayor of Delhi for the next year also in the interest of the stability of the Corporation and in order to lay a firm foundation for the solution of the urgent civic problems of the capital city.

Congress Policy

Therefore, when on the eve of the election for the second term of the Corpora-tion, the Congress Party de cided not to support a non-Congress candidate for the office of the Mayor and in-sisted on having its own party Mayor (even though it is in a minority) it was deeply resented not only by other parties but by many of their own party men. Nine Congress Councillors (out of 34) openly revolted against this decision of the Congress Party and declar-ed their support for Smt. Aruna Asaf All. In addition, a majority of Congress M.P.s from Delbi conveyed to the High Command their dis-approval of the decision of the local Congress Party. Rank-and-file Cong were also opposed to the de-cision of their party.

Several mass organisations and a number of papers (in cluding Congress and Jan Sangh papers feditorially sup-ported Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali and criticised the decision of the Congress Party.

In spite of clearly adverse reactions inside and outside the Congress, the local Con-gress bosses persisted in their palpably wrong stand and stated that to have a Congress Mayor was a "politcal neces-sity" for them. Newspaper reports showed that important members of the Congress High Command advised the local Congress leaders against their

High Command: "You must choose between Aruna Asaf Ali and the local Congress leaders?

Inside the Jan Sangh which had last year opposed Smt. Aruna Asaf All's election for mayoralty) considerable Easily accessible to the support for Smt. Aruna Asaf common man she brought Ali had grown among the to bear a kind of healing rank-and-file Councillors-because of her good work during the last one year. The Jan Sangh daily Pratap wrote more than once supporting Arunaji's candidature but later the Jan Sangh also took the position of not supporting Arunaji. They had put up their own candidate to contest the offices of Mayor and Deputy Mayor.

Communist Stand

The Communists and the Progressive Group (consist-ing mainly of rural Councillors, mostly former Congressmen) and some other Independents in the Corpo-ration were united in the stand that in view of the fact that no single party commanded a majority in the Corporation, it was wrong for any party to in-sist on a party Mayor and that challed in the single that stability in the civic body could be brought about only if for another year at least Smt. Aruna Asaf Al was at the head of the Cor-

They tried to persuade the Congress and the Jan Sangh to change their stand and to elect Smt. Aruna Asaf All unanimously.

It is regrettable that the local Congress bosses, moved by purely partisan politics, refused to change their wrong stand and conducted a veritable campaign of vilification of Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali. To con fuse the issue, they unfurled the banner of anti-Communism and tried to present the issue as one of Communists versus the rest. Smt. Aruna Asaf Ali was charged with having promoted the cause of the Communists as Mayor of Delhi. However, this failed to convince many of their own Councillors as is seen from the revolt in their own ranks.

It goes to the credit of Smt. Aruna Asaf. Ali that she per-suaded the Congress Councillors who had revolted to go back to the Congress which they did.

Jan Sangh's Decision

Meanwhile, the Jan Sangh, seeing the popular reaction in

* SEE FACING PAGE

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IMPERIALISM AND TIBET

THERE is an old wise saying that when two good friends are having a dispute it is always good for them to stop a while and listen to what their common nemies think of the dispute and how they seek to ope-

rate. This is very true about Tibet. India and China are oth anti-colonialist. Indian nationalist opinion is exerci-sed over Tibet and the Indian Press controlled by reactionary monopolists is running a veritable anti-Chinese cam-paign. It will help to calm and lead to sober thoughts if our nationalist friends dispassionately studied how the U.S. statesmen and the Anglo-U. S. imperialist Press view the Tibetan affair. In a speech on April Chairman Fullbright, of of the Committee, hailed the armed rebellion of Tibetan reaction-IN BRITAIN aries as a "struggle for freedom," he slandered the Can-tral People's Government for putting it down as "brutal

suppression," he tried to reent Tibet as "an independent country," and he said that "the deepest feelings of

that "the deepest reemines of the U.S. are roused." Senator Clifford on April 7 in a letter to Herter, U.S. Acting Secretary of State, suggested "that one way in which the U.S. could demons-trate its sympathy for the people of Tibet, would be to suggested "that one way in which the U.S. could demons-trate its sympathy for the people of Tibet would be to invite the Dalai Lama to this

country." Senator Butler, on April 8 in his telegram to Herter, April 4 editorial states: "With suggested that, the Tibetan the ascane of the Dalai Lama rebels be invited to the U.S. to form "a Government in exile" so as to carry out their ctivities People's China under direct U.S. direc-

Former U. S. Ambassador to India, Cooper, has demanded that the Tibetan rebellion be discussed inside the U. N. under the "genocide" provision but he cleverly suggests that this should be done by an Asian nation not particl-pating in the Western allince.

Cooper and Bowles are the top U. S. "experts" on India and they warn that "the worst thing our 'Voice of America' and other propaganda organs could do would be to claim. these people (Tibetan rebels) as our allies." They want to cover up the U. S. links with the Tibetan rebels since they seek to concentrate upon In-dia to take the initiative and make India their propaganda

The New York Times, in its April 3 editorial, states: "Sen-timent against the Chinese ists is rising in India. The Prime Minister is, there-fore, obliged to walk the tight rope.... The actual presence of the Dalai Lama will, however, sharpen all these issues. He becomes a symbol for restatance to Communism. The Prime Minister is being forced Into stronger positions than he has hitherto taken as far as Red China is concerned.

"The escape of the Dalai Lama may have relatively little effect on the course of the revolt and its suppression in Tibet. It may, on the other hand, force a change in the general tenor of Indian po-licy."

change in India's foreign

PAGE FOUR

policy, break Indià-China friendship. The Wall Street Journal in

its April 7 editorial writes: "There are certain things in the world the U. S. just can't do ... In 1959 trying to do anything about Tibet would mean a big war with Red China; it would be unimaginable logistically... But Tibet is having a sharp galvanising effect on India and on the uncommitted nations of Southeast Asia as well." Tibet "al-ready gives the hint" that these countries may be made "to abandon their neutralism and seek the closest ties with the West." Again the Tibetan issue is

heing played upon to streng-then ties of the imperialist West with the uncommitted nations of Asia and especially India.

IN BRITAIN

Britain's ruling statesmen are more seasoned, they are keeping silent because influential Indian voices have to be made to speak up. But the Press of the British ruling class is not silent and gives

moral fibre of his host." This is what they want to happen to our Prime Minister. The Daily Telegraph in its

the escape of the Dalai Lama the Tibetan rebellion passes

beyond the point of no return. "The outside world, in short, can no longer expect to escape the necessity of having to take up position on the Tibetar issue. So far the West had been waiting for Mr. Nehru to give it lead by raising the question at the United Nations. That he has so far failed to do is in no way sur-prising. India shares a long frontier with China and also includes within its boundaries two tempting areas, Kashmir and Assam.

"The rape of Tibet clearly sown a formidable crop of doubts in Asia about the Chinese aims. The West, still woefully ignorant about the Asian climate of public opinion and notoriously un-skilled in tilling this particular soil, should not grab at the harvest until it is ripe. To rush in where Mr. Nehru fears to tread is a temptation but alas not an effective policy.

Keeping themselves be-hind and pushing Nehru into it. Such is their policy.

The Daily Mail splashed the story of its Correspondent Noel Barber dated Kalimpong, Noel Barber dated Kalmioug, April 4, entitled "Nehru, Dare He Keep Silent Now". "Pandit Nehru whose vacillating policy over Tibet has astonished not only the world but India it-self, now faces a serious poli-tical decision over Tibet's future

Budapest.... "I hope for his own sake

and for India's that he will come out fiatly on the side of Tibet. If he does not, he may find that he not only has to face the voices of an outraged Tibet is only the pretext, world which he appears to the main aim is to effect a ignore but even stronger ignore but even stronger once again reiterated India's outside the Congress but over voices of his own countrymen, full sympathy for the Alge- the best method possible. The April 15, 1959



bitterly disillusioned, and rian struggle but argued that which may be strong enough if India recognised the Alge-to topple him from his ivory rian Government she could

not play an effective role in helping the achievement of Algerian independence by act-ing the mediator with France. tower. The sort of Indians referred to are persons like D. F. Ka-raka, who headlined his own signed article in his Current as "Nehru is not carrying India with him on Tibet" and "His Glorious Sanskrit Word Panch Shila is transplanting itself into sordid appeasement." His concluding words are, "The feeling in the coun-try today is that India should ak and Nehru should speak for India over Tibet. If he is not able to give full expression to this popular feeling on Ti-bet, it would only be fair to the people if Mr. Nehru were to make way for someone who is perialist solidarity. less afraid."

The Current is the loudest organ of the U.S. Lobby in India and Morarji Desal's most admiring champion.

The tone and the accent differ but the common line of the Anglo-American camp is to make India take up the Tibetan issue, create appropri-ate public opinion through their links with the Indian monopoly Press, pressurise Pandit Nehru through the Press and the reactionary anti-Communist politicians who by themselves cannot deliver the goods.

They are so damned and isplated in Afro-Asian coun tries that they dare not take up the Tibetan issue themselves. It is a tribute to themselves. It is a tribute to India's world status when they seek to make India their cat's-paw. But we would be political babes if we fell into the trap. They exploit all the weaknesses in the Indian situation and operate their reactionary links within our country to Premier Abbas, appealing for moral and material help, said that clothes, medicines and rice would be welcome and enable the Algerians to continue the struggle. The Congress acted the host but paid no heed to the urgent request of the guest. If the Congress took the initiative India do their dirty job get India for them.

We all know SEATO and how, why and by whom Kash-mir has been raised and dis-cussed at its meetings. In the latest session of SEATO concluded on April 12, Tibet too was discussed by the same militarists and statesmen. the same way and for the same aims. This should be decisive for every section of patriotic Indian opinion.

RECOGNISE ALGERIA !

IGERIA's Prime Minister A LGERIA's Prime Minister has come and gone and every anti-imperialist heart in India will feel sad to recall that our Government failed to give him ' what he rightly

sought for his country and which it was our plain duty to do. He came as a guest of the Congress. He could not be a guest of the Indian Government for it does not formally nly the world but india it-elf, now faces a serious poli-ical decision over Tibet's ernment. The ruling party, however, sought to monopolise "In fact this is Mr. Nehru's him and keep him off the other anti-imperialist parties of the country and relegated his reception to second rank Congress leaders.

The main purpose of his dership. There is no difference visit was to seek Indian re-cognition of his Provisional the feudals and other reac-Government. Fandit Nehru tionary elements who stand once again reiterated India's outside the Congress but over



CONGRESS DEFEAT IN TAMILNAD

The Algerian Premier put The Algerian Premier put the Algerian case in a meeting of Congress M.P.s with un-answerable logic and great realism. H appreciated India's 'delicate position' but argued, "the stature that India has built for berself in the comity T HE biggest political event in Madras State after the last general elections has been the Statewide municipal elections recently held. The re-sults show a landslide against built for herself in the comity of nations is such that her recognition will be of immense the Congress in a State which like U. P. was supposed to be a stable Congress stronghold. value and give a new impetus In the 53 municipalities of to our liberation struggle." It the State where elections were held there were 1,381 is the argument on the need the and effectiveness of anti-im- were seats in all.

On the other hand he stated The Congress contested the largest number of seats, 1,045, but won only 583. The that non-recognition was en-couraging France to proclaim to the world that she was dealing only with "rebellious Congress Press and support-ers themselves consider this to be a debacle of the ruling elements." It is the argument of isolating and unmasking the imperialist enemy. party.

The elecorate did not yet trust any other Opposition party to replace the Congress. A decisive point was made by the Algerian Premier be-fore his departure when he pleaded that let India fix a This was revealed by the fact that the main part of the harvest of anti-Congress dis-content was garnered by the date for France to recog-nise Algerian independence and negotiate with his Gov-ernment and if the French independents who won 553 seats. fail to listen to India, ac-cord recognition to the Al-Among the organised parties gerian Government. It is the common duty of all In-

of the Opposition, the Com-munist Party's rise has been noteworthy. It contested 125 seats and won about 80.

The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam contested about 800 seats, won just about 103 seats. The Democratic Congress got 57 seats, mainly in the Southern Districts:

The PSP could get a bare three and the S. P. two throu-ghout the State.

Madras City has a hundredmember Corporation. The elections to it were also held and its results, too, are out. The Congress contested all the 100 seats but won only 37, losing its majority. The DMK contested 90 seats and got 45. with a prospect of lead Corporation administration. The Communist Party con-tested 17 and got two, the PSP two, S. P. one and Indepen-dents the rest. The overall picture that

emerges is as follows: A big break away from the Congress has taken place in Camilnad also

Where the Communist Party is strong, a democratic alternative emerges.

IN Punjab, Chief Minister Kairon is still refusing to keep his word with the Pun-jab kisans while the Congress High Command is trying to make peace with Master Tara Singh.

dian anti-imperialist parties to see that our Government

recognizes the Algerian Gov-

to seek the cooperation of all

patriotic paries and gather from our patriotic people clo-

thes, rice and medicines for

the Algerian freedom-fighters.

there would be wide response and India would fulfil its ele-

mentary duty towards a Ban-

dung brother.

THE STATES

INSIDE

ernment as soon as possible.

Dr. Mahatab has not suc-ceeded in his mission to get the Congress High Command agree to coalition with the Ganatantra Parishad. He has been advised to enrol the former princely rulers of Orissa into the Congress. It is some-thing like a Congress-Akali variant for Orissa. He has also been asked to consolidate the support of the separatist Jharkhand Party for his Minseparatist istry. He has been assured that the dissidents within the Congress Party will be instructed to work lovally under his lea-The main purpose of his dership. There is no difference visit was to seek Indian re-cognition of his Provisional the feudals and other reac-

-P. C. JOSHI

KERALA ACRARIAN RELATIONS BILL

Congress And PSP Leaders Champion Landlords⁹ Demands

All the members of the Select Committee on the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill have submitted minutes of dissent to the majority report—the two Muslim League members have written a joint note of dissent; the eight Congress members also have differed on vital points from the majority opinion; and finally, as be-fitting the Praja Socialist Party's ideology, the three members on the Committee belonging to that Party have written separate notes of dissent since obviously they could not agree among themselves (see last week's NEW AGE).

tenure.

to oblige

WEFHAT is the basic approach should not be considered as of the Opposition leaders tenancy and such cultivators to land reforms especially of should be included in the term the Congress members of the Select Committee and of the Praja Socialist leader, Sri Thanu Pillal, as revealed in their notes of dissent.

I. FIXITY OF TENURE FOR leader, Sri Thanu Pillai, want SHARECROPPERS

The Congress members say : "We wholeheartedly agree that Varom (sharecropping) should be treated as tenancy entitled to fixity of tenure and that Varamdars should be entitled, to acquire full ownership rights.... We are of opinion that Varamdars except those cultivating under public rell-gious or charitable institutions can be given fixity of tenur only in cases where they have cultivated the land for a continuous period of six

vears." Sri Thany Pillai is far more explicit : "There is no justifi-cation for giving Varamdars ...fixity of tenure. In the case of any tenant who has not already got fixity of tenure, continuous possession for a period as lessee should be made a condition for fixity

being given." The majority report has re commended that every tenant should have fixity of tenure. The term "tenant" is so de-fined as to embrace all who have paid or agreed to pay rent or other consideration for being allowed to possess and cultivate land owned by another

Such a comprehensive provision is necessary to really protect the right of the vast majority of tenants. For, a considerable section of the tenants are sharecroppers or have been converted into sharecroppers by the land-lords. A large number of the tenants have no records to prove that they are cultivating the land.

Neither Sri Thanu Pillai nor the Congress members are prepared to recognise this or even if they know it. they do not want to pro tect the many lakhs of cultivating tenants to evict whom the landlords will be given a helping hand if their suggestion is accepted.

The All-Kerala Landholders' Association had submitted memorandum to the members of the Legislative Assembly as just when the Select Commit-tee was finalising its report, in which it had demanded that temporary arrangements made for cultivating land like various forms of sharecropping

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tion.

Where the Communist Party is weak, reactionary separa-tist elements step in, exploiting the unpopularity of the Congress regime. The Independents go with the wind and cash on the limitations and weaknesses of the organised parties. The need to strengthen the

Communist Party as a unifier and organiser of the demo-cratic forces has been once again sharply underlined. The unpopular policies of the Congress and its partisan bureaucratic methods are producing a political vacuum. Who will fill the breach, the forces of progress or reaction? This is the clear-cut issue. The Madras Municipal elections have only highligted it. (April 15)



TRIVANDRUM.

of tenant and given fixity of

The Select Committee re-jected this demand of the landlords. But the Congress leaders and the Praja Socialist the landlords by conceding their demand!

II. CEILING AND COMPENSATION . The Landlords' Association

had further demanded that: (a) The present rates of

der the cover of paving compensation.

(h) Full compensation should be paid at the rate of the market value based on income. There should be no slab system.

(c) If the entire compensation amount cannot be paid in cash immediately, up to Rs. 25,000 should be paid in cash immediately. Half the balance amount must be paid in cash and the other half in egotiable bonds that can be redeemed at the end of five years carrying six per cent interest. The landlords should be allowed to retain the own-ership of the land till the full compensation is realised.

(d) The landlords should be given three years' time to dispose of the land in excess of the ceiling fixed as they pleased.

Now let us see what the **Opposition** leaders suggest in their notes of dissent: "Th purchase price should be paid cash and Government should see that necessary financial arrangements are made to secure that end. The compensation are miserably purchase price should be meagre and nominal. It is the full value fixed, particu-nothing but expropriation un- larly in the case of small

ORISSA LAND REFORM BILL

CPI Greetings To Kerala

COMRADE AJOY GHOSH, General Secretary, Communist Party of India, has sent the following trlegram greeting the Kerala State Committee of the Communist Party and the Communist-led Ministry:

"Greetings on Second Anniversary of the formation of Communist-led Ministry in Kerala. Our Ministers, Party leaders, and ranks have set a new example in defence of popular interests. Kerala masses have shown confidence in Party in lending further support to it.

"Our Ministry's solicitude for masses of workers, peasants, students and teachers impress all. Peasant and labour laws that are being passed, curbs on vested interests, and planters, curtailment of powers of bureaucracy and police, the proposed initiative to local panchayats, great upsurge for self-help and shramdan and scrupulous regard for protection of individual rights and liberty all have discomfited opponents and earned praise of all democrats in country.

"All these mean big victories for Indian democracy. All these show that even under limitations of the present Constitution, Government can serve people if there is the will to do it.

can serve people if there is the will to do it. "May our Party and Ministry pursue further along this path. May people of Kerala have fur-ther victories in the coming year. "May bonds between our glorious Party in

Kerala and people of Kerala be strengthened still. further."

amounts, say up to Rs. 25,000. sation fixed for the full rights I am of the view that owners surrendered seems to me to be should be given time, say six too low. Normally the full months, after the passing of market value should be paid.". the Bill, to dispose of their So says Sri Thanu Pillai. properties so that their own- "Compensation at markst crship may not exceed the ceiling...... The compen-

* SEE OVERLEAP

CEILING IS TOO HIGH, NO LAND TO THE LANDLESS

BHUBANESWAR, April 4

The long-awaited Orissa Land Reform Bill-introduced in the Sate Assembly this week -is being closely scrutinised by all political parties and they have already expressed their first reactions to this important measure. A special session of the Assembly is likely to be called in June to discuss the Bill.

acres. "Standard acre" has been defined as one acre of perennially-irrigated land or one-and-a-half acres of seasonally-irrigated land or two acres of rain-fed land or three acres of dry land. The Government has been given the discretion to vary by noti-fication the acreage of the

ceiling area in any locality. The Government is empow ered according to the provi-sions of the Bill to exempt certain classes of land like coffee and casuarina planta-tions, orchards, cattle-breeding and dairy farms, efficiently-managed farms consisting of a compact block on which heavy investments have been made or land held by cooperative farming societies and land held by a religious, chari-table or educational institu-

The disposal of the lands found in excess of the ceiling area has been left to the land-holder who will sell it away at

THE Bill provides for fixing a landless person or a person the ceiling at 33 standard possessing less than one res. "Standard acre" has standard acre occupy third and fourth place respectively. while the cooperative farming societies and a contiguous ryot who holds land less than the ceiling area are given higher priority

Right Of

Resumption

The right of resumption for personal cultivation up to the celling area has been granted to the landlords. After land-lords exercise their right of resumption within a prescribed time-limit, the tenants who are in cultivating posses-sion of the land since July 1954 may acquire the right of occupancy in the land on payment of compensation, according to the provisions of the Bill.

As regards the rate of compensation, the Bill provides that "by agreement between the landlord and the tenant which may include mutual which may include mutual apportionment of land" or where no agreement is arrived at, the rate shall be the value of 120 standard maunds of paddy per standard acre, or

three-fourths of the market value of the land, whichever is less. The compensation may of the market be paid in seven equal annual instalments.

The recorded sub-tenants and temporary lessees on lands under the Government in the vested estates who have in continuous cultivating possession of land since July 1954 may acquire occupancy right on payment of a reduced rate of compensation to the landlord and the Government respectively. For these cate-gories of tenants, the rate of compensation has been fixed at 50 per cent of the rates payable by sharecroppers without record-of-right, as pavable stated above.

In the Bill, sub-letting of land has been prohibited except to a cooperative farming society. Sub-letting of land, however, has been allowed for such categories as disabled persons, minors, members serving in the Armed Forces or religious, charitable or educational institutions.

The administrative machinery proposed in the Bill for the implementation of the Land Reform measures is the constitution of a Land Com-mission, consisting of three-official members and four nonofficials nominated by the

see to the implementation of land reforms. The Executive of the

Orissa Committee of the Communist Party, in a reso-lution, has criticised the Bill as it does not aim at giving land to the landless, and as a result of the fixing of the ceiling area as high as 33 standard acres, there will be no land for redistri-bution. The Communist Par-ty has appealed to all poli-tical parties to strive for a progressive Land Reform Bill

PSP-G.P.

Stand

The Praja Socialist Party and the Ganatantra Parishad are committed to a ceiling area of 15 standard acres since last May when they had jointly made a bid for an alternative Ministry in the State. The PSP State Execu-tive, which met here in the last week of March, has also in a resolution expressed itself in favour of cooperating with other Opposition parties for a progressive land reform mea-SHTER

Some prominent Congress Legislators in the State have also, it is learnt, expressed their dissatisfaction at some

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Cement Workers Meet The Challenge

Andhrà Cement Works (in Vijayawada in Andhra Pradesh) have gone on strike in protest against the proposed retrenchment of 350 workmen by the em-

ployers. It is amazing that the company complains of accumulation of stocks, and "surplus abour." N. Satyanarayan Reddy, President of the All-India Cement Workers' Federation has exposed this lie in a statement. Accumulation of stocks is a meaningless plea in the face of the fact that out of 19 lakh tons of cement required for the South only 13 lakh tons are being produced. The game is, therefore, clear. Central Cement Wage race the challenge.

THE workers of the Board is examining the que tion of interim relief and recording of evidence for this purpose was to commence on April 2, 1959.

That is what is behind the ACC offensive of slashing bonus and the Andhra Cement Works decision to re-trench workmen. All this is part of the cold war against the workers and the unions. The 'crisis' in the cemen industry is evident from the profit index that has shot up to 430.2 in 1956 when compared to 279.0 in 1953 33 = 100).

The cement bosses can deceive no one.

The workers in the cement unions are seeing through this game and are standing up to

BENEFIT ACT MATERNITY -Administration Needs Improvement

R STUDY of the working of the Maternity Benefit Act in the various States in our country during the year 1957 (Indian Labour Gazette, January, 1959) reveals that an alarmingly large number of employers do not submit the returns. And, therefore, no returns. And, therefore, no proper evaluation of the working of the Act is possible. Out of a total of 12,717 es-tablishments and 3,380 mines covered by the Act only 9,089 establishments and 2,14 mines have submitted the re-2 145 turns. The break-up is as Collows '

In Andhra Pradesh only 1,854 of the 2,039 establish-ments covered by the Act have submitted their returns: in Assam 183 out of 369; in Bihar all the 248; in Bombay 2,843 out of 4,148; in Kergla 175 out of 600; in Madhya Pradesh 448 out of 1719: in Madras 2.033 t of 2,208; in Mysore 140 out of total not available: in Orissa 105 out of 142; in Rajsthan 90 out of 184; in Uttar Pradesh all the 219; in West Bengal 751 out of 841; in the Bengal 751 out of 841; in the Drastic steps are called for coalmines 489 out of 843 and against those who do not even in other mines 1,655 out of submit returns and the re-

In Assam and Kerala the extends to plantations. And these appear to be the biggest defaulters in submitting returns. The number of complaints received of violations of the Act are also the highest in these States (Assam 129) and Kerala (187 out of the all-India total of 400). The plantations are the culprits in this respect, too.

The position is the worst in Madhya Pradesh and there are more than 1,500 establishments in Bombay that have not submitted returns. It is equally surprising that

the number of establishments red by the Act are so few as 219 in U.P.

How then can we attach any credence to the figure that out of 41 lakh employed women in concerns submitting returns, only 39,000 claimed any benefit?

The administration of the Maternity Benefit Act needs good deal of improvement. wired information

When the Regional Commit-

commendations of even these few meetings can well be

The Bombay Committee

demanded decentralisation of the Fund administration

Boards. This was rejected. The Madras Committee de-

manded among other things extension of the scheme to

the transport industry and plantation labour, raising the contribution to 81% per

cent, and provision of grant-ing loans to meet the work-

ers' share in the housing cooperatives under the Sub-

sidised Industrial Housing

Scheme. The Committee also

demanded translation of the

scheme into regional lan-

guages for mass education

on the scheme. It should be noted that all these demands have been rais-

and formation of

PROVIDENT FUND SCHEME -Review Of Working

imagined.

THE Central Board of Trustees, Employers' Provident Funds Scheme, has published tees themselves meet so scarcely, the fate of the rethe report of the working of the scheme in 1956-57. And the scheme in 1956-57. And subsequently the Consultative Committee of the Union Ministry of Labour and Employ-ment is also reported to have discussed some "Problems of Employers' Provident Fund

The Report reveals that there are thirteen regions of the Provident Fund administration and there are tripar-tite regional committees for every region. The regions are the same as the States except that Assam is under West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh is under Punjab.

But the Bombay Committee and the West Bengal Committee met only once each during the year 1956-57 and the Madras Committee met twice was adjourned twice for lack of quorum.

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LABOUR NOTES BY RAI BAHADUR GOUR, M.P. SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS

ed by the All-India Trade Rs. 1,711,006 could be recover-Union Congress and the trade union movement.

But the Government has since extended the scheme only to five classes of plantations. The transport industry is not yet covered by the

And now comes the decision to raise Provident Fund contributions to 81/3 per cent only in the case of workers if they so desired. This is just a mockery of the

workers' demand. The demand was that the contribution should be raised to 843 per cent in the case of both employers and employees without exception. But the employers' share is to continue at 64. per cent

This obviously cannot be ac-ceptable to the workers and the trade unions.

A study of the report reveals that from March 31, 1956, to the end of 1957 the number of concerns covered by the scheme rose from 1.667 to 5.525 and the number of contributor employers rose from 556,923 to 1,336,475 during the same period. During this period under re-

port, the scheme was modified regarding payment of employers' contributions to the outgoing employee. The outgoing employee is now able to receive in full the employers' contribution with interest thereon on attaining 15 years' membership: 85 per cent of it for membership of ten years 75 per cent where it is five years or more but less than ten years; 50 per cent where it is three years or more but less than five years; and 25 per cent for less than three

years membership. The income during 1956-57 was Rs. 34.49 lakhs when the expenditure during the same period was Rs. 20.44 lakhs.

Administrative Expenditure

The total amount of provident fund collectons in five years up to the end of 1.57 in all concerns covered, both exempted and non-exempted, was Rs. 101.9 crores and the total amount refunded to members during the same period was Rs. 5.57 But the expenditure on administration was Rs. 96.57 lakhs during the same period. And the expenditure on administration during the two years 1955-57 was Rs. 3954 lakhs.

market

payment.

full:

In spite of so much administrative expenditure, the report says that inspection has been very poor due to short-age of staff. Only 723 exempted and 3.221 unexer establishments could be unexempted pected. In addition to this, several in ant establishments have got to be inspected to see whether they could be brought under the purview of the scheme

The recovery proceedings also show a very poor record. During 1956-57, 156 cases of certificate proceedings were initiated to recover Rs. 5.647,-515 as provident fund contri-butions and Rs. 137,024 as adbutions and Rs. 137,024 as ad-ministrative charges due from and by demanding that land defaulting concerns. But only cught to yest in Panchayats lords

ed on the former and Rs. 39,834 on the latter count.

It is being increasingly seen that the employers are not remitting the provident fund contributions. There are cases of misappropriations, too.

And the punishment under the Act is very light and is not deterrent. Moreover the courts are letting off the defaulting employers with small fines. The Act, therefore, needs

amendment making punishment stronger and deterrent. The administration has to The be strengthened and tuned up to cope with the growing responsibility and expanding

There are cases when outgoing workers could not get their share of provident fund accumulations if the em-ployers had not remitted the amount.

And the provident fund administration is helpless in such cases.

Evasion In Punjab

Then there are cases as in the Punjab. Existing fac-tories to whom the provident fund scheme is applicable are being split up and provident fund is sought to be avoided. The Act needs ur-gent amendment in this regard also. A factory when once it comes under the ed to get out of it on the ground of worker compli-ment falling below 50. In fact the Government pro-posed to amend the Act to bring down the strength of workmen to 20 in order to make the scheme applicable

cent to be paid and for sums

above that, fifty per cent of the market value.... The our-chase price payable, should be

twelve times the existing rent... We are difinitely of the opinion that instead of

providing for compulsory sur-

ender of all excess land to

Government, freedom may be

given to transfer such land

within one year after the Bill becomes law." - P. T. Chacko

and other Cognress members. Thus the Congress and PSP

leaders virtually accept the

demands of the landlords with regard to ceiling, rates

of compensation and mode of

The Congress members have made a show of sticking to the

Nagpur resolution by opposing distribution of excess land

surrendered by the landlords

various State Governments and employing Ministers. No decision is yet in sight.

Then there was the proposal to make the scheme applicable banking and trading establishments and such business premises. Even this is still under consideration.

the State Governments had been requested to make the necessary changes in the provident fund rules, etc., of public undertakings to make them uniform with the rest. So far not much progress is recorded in this respect. Sec-tion 16 (1) (a) of the Provident Fund Act was proposed Government or local author-ity-owned public undertakings under the purview of the Act. This proposal is still in the examination stage.

Trade Unions

Demand

Such is the state of the provident fund administra-tion and such are the Government policies in this regard. The trade union movement is demanding :

Application of Provident Fund Scheme to all in-dustrial' and business undertakings without exemptions:

G For raising the contribution to 81/3 per cen; for the employers also;

G For full payment of ac: 1mulations including em-ployers' contribution with in-terest without any condition terest without any condition of years of service and membership of the fund.

 For better and prompt administration, decentralto any establishment. This isation and effective action is under consideration of the against defaulter employers.

KERALA AGRARIAN RELATIONS BILL

FROM PAGE 5

and should be managed by cooperatives consisting of value has to be fixed on the following slab-scale : First, Rs. 25,000 of the cooperatives consisting landless labourers. et value to be paid in next Rs. 15,000-75 per

The hypocrisy mand is patent. of this do. They know very well that there will not be any land for such cooperative farming if their demand to allow one year's time to the landlords to dispose of the excess land is accepted.

Sri Thanu Pillai's denocra-tic Socialism also is of a spetic Socialism also is of a spe-cial brand. He wants the tenants to be compelled to purchase the land by paying the market value compensation suggested by him. If the tenants are not prepared to pur-chase the land the landlord should be allowed to resume it. If you want to reduce the purchase price to help the tenants, he has no objection. But "the difference between the compensation and the

purchase price, if any, shoul be met by the Governmen price, if any, should that is the people in genera and the landowners alone should penalised '! not be What concern for the land-

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Never before has there been a conference on international issues held in our country, having as broad and re-presentative a participation as the All-India Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity which has just concluded at Calcutta. Not only were individual leading personalities of the national political parties - the Congress, the Communist Party and the PSP - present in the Conference; but more than that, the principal mass organisations of trade unit youth and students, and women - irrespective of their affiliations, joined hands to make the Conjerence a success. HE significance of the parti- people to force the men in high

this.

cipation of the mass organifor the entire development in the future of the movement for peace and tional independence, cannot be overemphasised. AITUC, IN-TUC, HMS and UTUC leaders ntly appealed to the workers to support the Conference and unitedly conducted the trade mions sectional convention which was a part of the main Conference and similarly orga-nisations of youth, students and ited to hold their sectional conferences.

In the many preparatory conventions and meetings which were held all over Calcutta prior to the Conference, speakers raised the slogan: Let us put the stamp, the hallmark of Calcutta on this Conference. This stamp, this allmark was that of a united national mass movement of action—a movement in which the mass organisations of the people took a leading part—a movement of the same kind as had made the name of Cal-cutta shine in the annals of our freedom struggle and of our struggle for peace and against imperialism, in soli-

phant success precisely because the people of Calcutta put this nark, their seal on it. It was a

Calcutta-chap Conference. All delegates, including those who have participated in scores of conferences of one sort or the other over many years, were thrilled at the unique liveliness of the sessions, the unparalleled mass participation, the heat and the passion of discussions and at the same time the warmth of at the same time the wallhad of the unity achieved, the calm, strong, confident unanimity with which every single resolution was finally passed.

Men in high places often say: "All this talk about peace, in-dependence and solidarity is too far away from the lives of the Indian masses—they will never be interested—and consequently ver will the organi the masses really take a leading part in these me

Conference Of The Masses

These friends should have attended the Calcutta Conference and participated in its prepara-For the Calcutta Conference was in every way a conference of the masses. And the in high places would have earnt that their "theories" are wrong. The lakhs of workers and citizens who attended the various meetings called in connection with the Conference could see the danger of war and imperialism, to our country; they saw clearly and said so, that the fight against war and imperialism is one fight, that solidarity is necessary for the defence of our own independ-

It is the men in high places then selves who refuse to see that imperialism, though dying, still lives-and kicks viciously, brutally, ever seeking to break the unity of anti-imperialist forces. It is the task of the

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be to be of no a new unity began to be forged among the leaders of the Cen-tral organisations, of trade unions, of youth and students

Attempts At Disruption

It became clear that the little men had failed in their first effort. The Conference

and of wom

ency for India of the problems

kind.

to be discussed, precisely be-cause of the mass interest roused and the wide united roused and the wide united political representation which it commanded, the Conference itself the drew to tion of the imperialists and their most notorious well-wishers in Calcutta. The imperialists be-lieve in "divide and rule": what piqued them most was the fact that leading Congress munists, Leftists and the most advanced non-party personali ties were participating unitedly

in the Conference. And so the imperialists threw in a group of little men to cause confusion

and disruption, if they could. At first, before the Confer-ence preparations went forward with a bang - the attempt of these little men was to spread slanders against the Conference. But as these gentlemen fum-ed and fretted, Calcutta's masses were stirred into action with the U.S.-Pakistan Military Pact above all and also the daily reports from Nyasaland and other

parts of Africa acting as spurs. On March 8, the decision was taken by the Reception Committee to organise sectional conventions of workers, youth and students and won part of the Conference. Within a week, preparatory meetings arranged began leaders organisa tion wanted to be left outthey came and participated, and

places to open their eyes, and the Calcutta Conference did just When first it was decided that the Conference should be

held at Calcutta, there were many who said: "Calcutta is politically too sharply divided to ensure a really united Con-ference—hold the Conference where political divisions are cute." They, too, were wrong. The issues discussed at the All-India Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity were so burning and vital that once they were properly understood by the masses and the masses moved, they com-pelled all, despite their political and party differences, to unite for action. The result was the broadest participation

ever in a conference of this Precisely because of the ur-

was going to be a success as far as paritcipation was concerned. Jump on the moving train since you cannot halt it -try and sabotage it from within. And these till-now slanderers and opponents of the Conference quietly established themselves at this last stage as members of the Reception Committee and as delegates! The aim remained the same: divide the Conference by creating suspi among the main political and other trends supporting the Conference. The methods changed—from outside the Conference, the "scorpions' crept inside it.

Drafting Of Resolutions

The Conference organisers irrespective of political affilia-tions, were determined to preserve the unity of the Con ence. The organisational ma-chinery of the Conference was created to ensure united deci-sions on every minutest detail of the work being done. With of the work being done. With the arrival in Calcutta of Dr. Anup Jingh, M.P., Secretary of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, the drafting of

rent through the contradictions in the various resolutions sub-mitted by this small group. For one resolution praised instand President Nasser to the skies, while the very next one hailed Israel as the beacon of progress and Socialism and demanded its admission, to the Afro-Asian Solidarity movement.

Ominous was the absence in this set of resolutions of one word in regard to U.S. imperialism's role in Asia and Africa. How out of tune with Indian sentiments was this group was seen by the fact that even the U.S.-Pakistan Pact was missing from the group's set of resolutions.

The position was clear, On the one side were the Working Committee's resolutions—based on the peace policy of the Govnment of India, on the stand aken by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement, on Bandung and Panch Shila. On the other side were the resolutions of those who opposed this policy in every detail.

The outcome was obvious No other outcome is possible in an Indian conferen ce which is open to all as this Confernce inas with even the open slanderers of the Conference free to join as delegates (not

😑 🛞 by ROMESH CHANDRA

aviet tides

West Bengal Congress, Comnunist, PSP and Forward Bloc eaders addressed the inaugural session and the huge final rally at the Maidan — each of them stressing the need for support to the Afro-Asian Solidarity Movement, the necessity for national unity on the urgent questions of peace and independence.

Calcutta's masses had put their mark of unity on the Con-ference. They frustrated all efforts at creating disruption.

Great Prestige For Movement

The prestige of the movement rose as never before. Not only was the Conference opened with the excellent message from our Vice-President Dr. Radhakrishnan: 1 received four messages from heads of Governments - from Prime Ministers Khrushchon and Chou En-lai and Presi-dents Nasser and Kassem. Fifteen visitors came from distant lands to participate and express their solidarity. Ambassadors and diplomatic representatives attended from nearly every African and Asian country and several of them read papers at the various seminars.

political resolutions began.

attenn. Com

Dr. Anup Singh himself pre-pared the first drafts of all the pared the first drafts of all the resolutions, which were accep-ted almost in their entirety by the Working Committee of the Reception Committee which Reception Committee which was a body representative of the leaders of the main currents of opinion in the Conference.

Another series of resolutions was printed and distributed under the names of a dozen people—including some of the leaders of the PSP as well as a -including some of the few others. It was significant that among the sponsors of these resolutions were also those who had no real national political colour-but had earned themselves a name as participants in the MRA, "Cultural Freedom" and other such U.S.-sponsored institutions - the same people who had done their best to attack the Conference and disurpl its unity.

Taking advantage of the political point of view certain leaders of the PSP who openly oppose the Panch Shila and the peace policy of the Government of India (which was the basis of the Conference) — these gentle-men, hiding behind the PSP leaders, prepared a whole compendium of resolutions— which had no purpose other than to break the unity and solidarity of Afro-Asian con-

Sentiment For Unity

try sought to be created round the Tibet issue was expected to help create a rift between the disruptive purpose was appa-

NEW AGR

like a "closed" MRA or Cul-yural Freedom affair). Over paigns on the widest possible 600 delegates rallied to attend scale. Political Commissionand the mixed group never secured more than nine to ten votes for its amendments. More, so overwhelming was the sentiment for unity that all resolutions were adopted unanimously-both in the Po-litical Commission and later

in the Plenary Session.

Spirit Of Accommodation

In a Conference in which people of different political points of view participated, a certain measure of give-and-take is necessary. Every resolution cannot express the entire point of view of everyone. But what was remarkable was precisely this spirit of accommodation on

Tribute was paid by all dele-gates to the manner in which Smt. Rameshwari Nehru (the Conference President). Dr Anup Singh and Sri M. Govinda Reddy (Secretaries of the Indian Association), Dr. Triguna Sen and Dr. Pratap Chan-dra Chander (Chairman and help create a rift between the Communists and the Congress-men in the Conference. Other issues were chosen again with the nurpose in view. But the the deliberations through the

paigns on the widest possible scale.

First and foremost is the campaign on the U.S.-Pak Pact with the observance of May 16 as a day of Protest and holding of united conventions against the Pact. Together with that are im-

mediate campaigns on urgent issues:

For the ending of the cold war-with a halt to nuclear tests and the calling of a Sum-

mit Conference; Against military pacts and bases and the withdrawa of foreign troops:

For a nuclear-free zone in Asia and Africa;

. For the building up of the Bandung Spirit through a Second Bandung Conference;

Against imperialism and colonialism everywhere

colonialism everywhere in each part, and assistance to all national movements: Against racial discrimina-

tion: G For the seating of People's

Chipp in the U.N.:

For the reunification of Korea and Vietnam and the ending of U.S. interference in South Vietnam and the withof U.S. troops from drawal South Korea:

NON PAGE 11

PAGE SEVEN



the part of all.

The atmosphere in the coun

THE CRY OF TIBET'S AUTONOMY VIOLATED AND THE PROPAGANDA SLOGAN OF A NATIONAL REVOLT

The earlier pictures which Press reports painted of the happenings in Tibet are beginning to develop as facts-still very few-begin to trickle in. The pictures drawn for us were that of a national revolt—of a small nation rising to resist alien domi-nation and an attack on its religion and religious The Chinese were condemned outright -the case they went out of their way to present to us did not get even a proper examination

Tibet's Autonomy -Fully Respected

China guilty for tearing up the 1951 Agreement with the Local Government of Tibet and violating the auto-nomy it had pledged to Tibet.

show? Prime Minister Nehru is reported to have told the Congress Parliamentary Party last week, in an analysis of the recent developments in Tibet, that the Tibetan trouble started in the Khampa area (inner-Tibet) an area not covered by the autonomy agreement, when the Chinese ntroduced certain reforms. Presumably, the Prime Minis-ter said, those who opposed Chinese methods fled to Tibet and created anti-Chi-nese feelings which reached in due course Lhasa and led. demonstrations

The Shillong Staff Corres-ondent of the Hindustan pondent of Times (April 8) said the same thing when he wrote: "Re-ports trickling out of Tibet confirm Khampa resistance to the projected land reforms."

The trouble started in an area "not covered by the autonomy agreement," ac-cording to the Prime Minister himself. Does this not onfirm what the Chinese statement said on the events —that included in the "re-bellious elements" were those "who fled to Tibet from areas east of the Kingsha River in what was for merly Sikang Province, and are known as the Khampa people."

The 1951 Agreement

It is worthwhile examining. here the main clauses of the 1951 Agrement and the way they have been implem to see whether there is any round on which the Chinese authorities, can be charged with violating Tibet's

One has to keep the background in mind and the Agreement signed by the dele-gates of the Chinese Central Local Government of Tibet itself provides this background

The Tibetan nationality is one of the nationalities with a long history within the boundaries of China. But over the last 100 years or more, the imperialist forces penetrated into China and in consequ-ence, also penetrated into the Tibetan region and carried out all kinds of deceptions and provocations.

Like previous reactionary Covernments the Kuomintany ceactionary Government con tinued to carry out a policy of oppressing and sowing dissension among the nationalities, causing division and disunity among the Tibetan[•] people And the local Government of Tibet did not opp se the

WE were asked to hold perialist deception and provocations, and adopted an un-patriotic attitude towards the great motherland. Under such conditions, the Tibetan naomy it had pledged to Tibet. tionality and people were What, however, do the facts plunged into the depths of enslavement and sufferings.

> In 1949, the People's Republic of China was founded d the Central People's Government was announc ed. In accordance with the Common Programme adopt-ed by the Chinese People's Consultative Conference, the Central People's Govern-ment declared that all nationalities within the boun-daries of the People's Republic of China are equal and that they shall establish unity and mutual aid and oppose imperialism and their own public enemies so that the People's Republic of China will become a blg family of fraternity and cooperation, composed of all its nationalities.

Big Family Of Nationalities

Within the big family of all nationalities of the People's Republic of China national regional autonomy shall be exercised in areas where national minorities are concentrated and all national minorities shall have freedom to develop their spoken and written languages and to preserve or reform their customs habits and religious beliefs and the Central People's Government shall assist all national minorities to develop their political economic, cul-tural and educational construction work. All national minorities have fully enjoyed the right of national and have exercised national regional autonomy.

In order that the influences of aggressive imperialist forces in Tibet might be successfully ninated, the unification the territory and sovereignty of the People's Republic of China accomplished and naates of the Chinese Central tional defence safeguarded; in eople's Government and the order that the Tibetan nationality and people might be freed and return to the big family of the People's Repub-lic of China to enjoy the same rights of national equality as all other nationalities in the country and develop their political, economic, cultural and educational work, talks were conducted betwe tatives of the Central People's Government and delegates with full powers of the Local Government of Tibet as a result of which the May 23, 1951. Agreement was signed in Peking

> Clause I of the Agreement said : "The Tibetan people shall unite and drive out imperialist ageressive forces from Tibet. the Tibetan people shall return to the blg of Tibet should carry out refamily of the m

Those who talk of China and Tibet as a strong Power and a weak neighbour or of foreign domination of fibet will do well to remember this clause of the Agreement which bears the signature of the fully empowered delegates of the Tibetan Local Government.

They will do well also to remember that this position was recognised by India in the Agreement that was signed with China in Peking on April 29, 1954, "intended to promote trade and cultural intercourse between the Tibet region of China" and India.

Notes exchanged between the Indian and Chinese dele gates at the time of the Agreement provided for lapsing of certain rights and pries previously exercised in t by the Government of vileges previously exercised in Tibet by the Government of India as a result either of custom or of agreement with of Tibet do not want any the previous Government of

Reorganisation Of Army

Other clauses of the China-Tibet agreement put on record that Tibet had the right to national regional autonomy within the Chinese Republic and that the Central authorities would not alter the political system or the status of the Grand Lamas. Freedom of religion was guaranteed and there was to be no interference with the income of the monasteries

Clause 8 of the Agreement tipulated : "Tibetan troops shall be reorganised step by step into the People's Libcration Army and become a part of the national defence forces of the People's Re-public of China."

It is eight years since this Agreement was signed. The Tibetan Army has not be reorganised till today. N only have the Chinese Central authorities not taken a single step towards this, they have told the Tibetan Local Government that the army will not be reorganised till 1962.

Surely this is not violation f the 1951 Agreement, surely this cannot be considered an infringement on 'Tibet's autonomy. Which country will tolerate such a situation where a national minor-ity is allowed to have its own army and despite a specific understanding that will be integarted into the central forces does not do it because the local reactionaries are not yet in a mood to allow any change? Yet this is what the Chinese Central authorities have done-they have not only fully respected the autonomy of Tibet, they have conc far beyond the letter of the Agreement to respect the wishes of the leaders of the Tibetan Local Gover reactionaries though they

Reforms Postponed

Take another clause of the Agreement—Clause 11, which savs: "In matters related to various reforms in Tibet, there will be no compulsion on the part of the Central authorities. The Local Government accord. and

the People's Republic of when the people raise de- Local Government and not one come under the general heading part of Asia and Africa, mands for reform, they shall move has been made to which be settled by means of consul- they had not agreed, not a "Whatever the situation of tween the old and the new." be settled by means of consul-tation with the leading per-sonnel of Tibet."

The Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Rcgion was established as carly as April 1956. Yet, owing to obstruction by the upper strata of Tibetan society, the preparatory work for the autonomous region has made very little progress.

Land reforms have been mplemented in China, landlordism has been liquidated. Chinese peasants have organ-ised themselves into People's Communes, there is a new life pulsating in the countryside of China. But in Tibet serfdom exists, the majority of the population are still semi-slaves -800.000 are agricultural and pastoral series of the approxi-mately total one million Tibe-tans in Tibet. The serf-owners thing has been done which a minority people could have considered as oppression by a majority nationality. Where then is the cause for a national revolt?

What They Feared

The Tibetan Local Government knew that the Chinese Central authorities had not gone against their wishes so far. But they had their fears for the future, when the Tibetan people, under the impact of China's great leap forward and the influof serfdom and is getting modern education, would demand reforms in Tibet would end the privi-

"Whatever the situation of his land, the peasant must go to do ula when needed. Some of the services are set by custom, in other cases the peasant sim-ply goes when called upon. The hest-hated form of ula is the supplying of transport animals and men to look after them to anyone bearing a Government order entitling him to free transport. While doing this work, the persant must provide his own foud and animal feed and suffer whatever loss may occur, including the death of his animals, without recom-pense. If the route is too bad for animals to go, an ula order requires that porters must be supplied instead.

ence of the new generation "Tibetan economy is mainly which has broken the fetters agricultural and pastoral, the system of iand tenure is mainly feudal. Peasants who want to go on a journey or get married or change in any way their re-

must have assembled in the Holy Capital for the New Year pilgrimage.... And then the rumour must have gone round that the Gvalwa Rimnoche (Dalai Lama) was being forci-bly taken to China. "One can understand how agitated the crowds....must have felt.... It is quite under-standable that they must have demonstrated.... And a few Khampas and the Mimang party people must have been to bring out their arms

A MASK THAT IS WEARING THIN

hange in the present set-up, they do not want even a wee bit of their privileges to be ched.

Though the 1951 Agreement lays down that the Local Government should carry out reforms in accord-ance with the wishes of the people the Chinese Central authorities have not rushed the Local Government to implement reforms. They waited patiently for five years and then in 1956, gave another six years to the Tibetan Local Government. The assurance was given that for the period of the

Second Five-Year Plan, till 1962, no reform would be carried out. Surely this is not violation of the 1951 Agrement or in-fringement of Tibet's autoomy! If anything, the Chinese have only been extrascrupulously honouring not only the Agreement but the wishes of the upper-strata of Tibetan society though this meant that Tibet could not progress and the people in one part of China continued to live in backward conditions while the rest of it was leap

National **Revolt** ?

ing forward.

We are told that it is a national revolt in Tibet. We are not new to national re-volts; we won our freedom that way. But if now our big landlords organise to resist land reforms and we are told it is a national revolt, we will say—tell it to the marines. Equally in Tibet, whose is the revolt?

of Tibet's autonomy, every step that the Chinese Central been with the co

leges they enjoy in present-day Tibetan society.

And they do enjoy privileges unknown in the rest of the world privileges which can be possible only in the type of antique social system that exists in Tibet. It is a system which has been precisely de-fined in religious terms : "The rich man in his castle, the poor man at his gate, God made them high and lowly and ordered their estate."

A British journalist not so long ago described this system in the following words :

"Most people think of Tibet as a pastoral region, but the biggest social group is the land peasantry. They with the herdsmen who come next in number, form the basis of Tibetan society and they are all serfs, tied to the land herds. One high monk said to me: 'unless there were serfs. how could life continue? We cannot live without serfs.'

"It is not easy to gain an understanding of the Tibetan land system. There is a general pattern, but it is not uniform. Each monastery is a law unto itself within the general framework. It is a State within a State, with its own police, law and punishment. This is largely true of the estates, of the great nobles. The mona-steries, noblity and Local Governments of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, own practi-cally all the land.

Forced Labour

"The peasants do not work for wages. For the right to cultivate the land of their say—tell it to the marines. Equally in Tibet, whose is the revolt? There has been no violation the land bears. They must also do other specified work with-out pay, such as getting fuel fuel authorities have taken has and water. repairing or buildent of the ing houses. All these services China, Tibet, like every other

lationsbips with their overand lead the fight." (The lords must get permission. Khampas again!) These are general conditions within which the actual condiconditions It is not difficult to see whose revolt it is then—a within which the actual condi-tions of peasants vary from estate to estate." (Alan Winnington: Tibet, the Record of a Journey)

This journalist commented: "A serf would be as horrified at the notion of sitting down at the same table and discusthem. sing with his lord or with a monk as an English peasant would have been 1,000 years

This is where the privileg-ed sections of Tibet want to keep Tibetan society—a thousand years ago-when the making very rapid warld is advance sending man into space and creating planets.

Collapsing System

at the

ago.

feature atricle in the Times of India (March 29) gave an idea of these privileged sec-tions: "The social set-up in Tibet had become decadent be-fore the Chinese came, The The feudal theocracy had no strength left to introduce reforms and to regenerate itself. In the years 1945-50, the intrigues of the Regent, the rebellion of the monks of Sera and Drepung monasteries and the revolts in Central and Eastern Tibet were symptoms of a col-lapsing system. Tibet needed new life which the religious dership had failed to provide.'

This was the writing on the wall for Tibetan reaction. As the British newspaper. Rey-nolds News wrote: "It is inconceivable in these days that ideas of reforms and progress should not be spreading-even in Tibet-and clashing as they always do, with the interests of the men in possession. with or without

revolt organised by a few who appealed to the back-ward religious sentiments of the people saying the Dalai Lama was in danger, and brought out the arms the had collected and distributed

Now. look at this nortrait of an emigre leader given by the Kalimpong Correspondent of the Statesman (April 2): "Yamphel Pangda Tshang til recently head of the Commerce and Industries Department of the Preparatory Com-mittee for Tibet at Lhasa, has arrived in Gangtok seeking asylum in India. Yamphel Pan-gda Tshang, the eldest of the three famous and fabulously rich Pangda Tshang brothers of Kham, is the first noble Ti-

betan to cross the frontier after the recent uprising in Tibet.' It is these Pangda Tshangs

who made their abortive attempt and are now runnin away. It will be a mistak to think that these fabulous ly rich elements and the people of Tibet are the same or that a revolt organised by them is a national rebellion

Independent Tibet ___Whose Slogan

The Indian Press reported of "Provisional Government set up by Tibetan rebels (which) has as its aim and object the establishment of a sovereign independent Tibet." Here in our own country, when we hear of

This was what Tibet's privileged sections wanted to avoid and they have been plotting and planning for some time. As the feature article in the Times of India, quoted earlier, said, "The time of revolt in Lhasa must have been chosen with deliberation. Hun-dreds of thousands of devout

= O by RAHDASS

Independent Hyderabad, Inde-pendent Kashmir and Inde-pendent Nagaland, we do not have to seek far for the hand behind these slogans, we are very acutely aware of the im-periolity intringe against our perialist intrigues against our ountry.

That it is no different in the case of Tibet becomes obvious if we look back to the recent history of that region.

Tibet As A Base

After the war, Britain which was keeping Tibet under its in-fluence had sent a letter to the Chinese Government restating Tibet was part of China-a fact which Britain had been denying for some time previously. The great Powers, in-cluding the USA, confirmed this. This was at a time when India was still under direct British control and the United States controlled China through Chiang Kai-shek.

This situation did not last long. Indian Independence came in 1947—ending British rule over India. Two later came China's ration—Chiang Kai-shek years libe-and his American patrons were wn out.

The situation was radically altered and the British and U.S. imperialists who had just after the war restated that Tibet was part of China changed their tune The United States began preparing to recognise Tibet as a sovereion State and everything was ign State and everything was ready to move a Tibetan ap-plication for membership of the United Nations. The war in Korea had begun, the American Seventh Fleet was in Taiwan giving protection to Chiang, the U.S. imperia-bits area honing to take aver lists mere hoping to take over Vietnam from French con trol and in this scheme of things they wanted to keep control over Tibet so that it may be used as a continental base for the invasion of China.

The imperialist inspiration then and now behind the inde-pendent Tibet slogan is obvious. And that also explains the rebels in Tibet came to have such modern weapons which they used in their shortlived revolt.

Arms From Where ?

The Chiang Kai-shek head-quarters in Taipeh has taken nride in announcing air-dropping of arms for the Tibetan rebels. We all know that Chiang Kai-shek exists by the e of the U.S. imperialists and it is not difficult to know what the source is of the arms

he is airdropping. The Times of India News Service despatch from Gangtok on April 8 gave an interesting story about the rebels and their arms. The despatch said: "Stocks they (the Khampas) accumulated in the past three (For three years at least had they been plotting this revolt).

More informative is the Correspondent's meeting with a Tibetan. The Correspondent had gone with a foreign photographer in search of chang, a at They stopped "a plant-fronted house, looking

dark and empty." But when, they went through "the dark front room, a door opened into a beautiful room laid thick with Tibetan carpets. The visitors at once knew that the house was a resting place for rich Tibetan traders."

At one table "sat a seemingly prosperous Tibetan trader and a dark, bespectacled, rather well-dressed person of dubious nationality." He was a Nepali, "a trader from Lhasa. He was born and grew up in Lhasa.

"What kind of help can your people offer Tibetans," he asked the Correspondent. "Tibetans do not need your money. Is there anything anything else you can think of?" he ask ed him and in the same breath put another question, "Where is your foreign friend from?"

The newspaperman told him the photographer's nationality. "You know there is a war goin on in Tibet," he said, "and that things more important than food and clothes, are badly eeded to keep it going?".

Taking his hint, the Correspondent was about to say something when he stopped him. "It is dangerous talking this here." he said. "Let us meet somewhere else."

He was going to Kalimpong and the Tibetan promised to meet him there. He was at the aupointed place, looking as stern and suspicious as on the previous day. "You are a newsparerman. Can you suggest some place we can obtain arms for Tibet?" He put the question obtain arms straight. "We do not care about the quantity, we will fight with whatever we get," he added.

In India, the Correspondent told him, it would be difficult. Had they tried Pakistan, he asked The Tibetan said they did not have contacts there but would cultivate some. But how could they bring arms from Pakistan to Tibet when Indian territory was in between, the Correspondent asked.

He said they were mappnig out the routes. Nobody would be able to detect. From his talk he gathered one of the routes would pass through the jungies of Yatung to East Pakistan with a few miles of Indian territory thrown in between.

He wanted the Correspondent to do some scouting for him in Delhi. He perhaps had the foreign photographer in mind, concludes the Correspondent.

This is the portrait of an active rebel. A rebellion organised with arms from Ching Kai-shek by people who hope to collect more arms from Pakistan and through Western photographers and transport clandestinely them through India cannot be a national revolt, it can only be a revolt of a few against the nation. And this is what has happened in Tibet. If any further lication were necessary on has only to see the unc cd joy expressed by the im-perialist Press at the happenings in Tibet.

Whose Cause Do They Serve?

What cause are they serving into an anti-Chinese frenzy with the cry of Tibetan autonoer and the propaganda slogan of a national re-volt. They are not serving the cause of the Tibetan people who need progress urgently to catch up with the rest of the world nor are they serving the cause of peace and security in this region which rests on India-China friendship-ther can be no peace or security for India and Asia if an "Independent" Tibet takes shape in which these reactionaries back-ed by the imperialists rule the roost.

Espionage Slander

In trying to whip up feelings, against our friendly neighbour, they even charged the Chinese with espionage in our country when they raised the question of Peking announcing before New Delhi the arrival of the Dalai Lama in Indi

The Hindustan Times editorially commented: "Since our Government is known not to have passed any information, we must give serious thought to the possibility that there exists in our sensitive border areas an espionage network rather more extensive than we hould have believed possible. It is obvious that if there, is such a network it cannot con-ceivably function with easily identified agents of Chinese nationality. The line of investi-gation will be a clearly marked one." (April 4)

An adjournment motion was sought to be moved in Parlia-ment on the subject and Home Minister Pant prevaricated, Instead of refuting the charge of Chinese espionage, Pandit Pant said he could not be expected to pry into how the Chinese to pry into how the Chinese Government or any other Gov-ernment had got their information. "Countries have their owr systems of espionage," he said, and there are aeroplanes flying about everywhere to see what is happening within their own borders or near their bor-ders. It is difficult for anyone to say how any country gets information about any

Unfair To China

The Times of India next day carried an interview with a Tibetan official who had fied his country. According to this despatch. "The Chinese then despatch, "The Chinese then used spotter planes and sent them on the trail of the fleeing Dalai Lama... The Chinese closely followed the Dalai Laina's movements.... If would be unfair to say that the news of his crossing over to India leaked out in this country and was conveyed to China.

But who cares about being unfair or not if the Chinese can be damned.

These are some of the facts about the recent happenings in Tibet—facts which need dis-passionate examination. Once such an examination is made. we will see the real face of the Masanis and Asoka Mehtas who talk about the rape of Tibet, who want to back a handful of Tibefan vested interests to keep their privileges in an antiquated social system and who, more than anything else, are out to disrupt Our friendly relations with China, and mair then—those who try to work with China, and whose main up the emotions of our people. task seems to be to take us step into an anti-Chinese frenzy by step into the embrace of the immeripiets. by step into the embrace of the imperialists.

April 13, 1959

PROBLEMS OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION

constitute themselves into a peace-loving and indepen-dent national State. This right is based on the international concept of national self-determination which is generally recognised today and which is also stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations.

The compelling consequention of a people is their right to live according to their will unified, sovereign State, in a unified, solvers and fol-if this State respects and fol-lows the basic principles of international law, the principle of non-interference and consistence with other peoples and States

The Anti-Hitler Coalition as well as the Potsdam Agree-ment has guaranteed the right to national self-determination and thus the right to an independent, democratic and peace-loving unified State to the German people.

The right to self-determination, apart from all this, mean that the victorious clearly means that the reali-sation of this right cannot but Great Powers which signed the

T HE Third Regular Ses-

sion of the National Assembly of the People's

Republic of Bulgaria con-cluded in Sofia on March 14.

The session heard and ap-

The session heard and approved the report of Todor Zhivkov, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party,

on speeding up the develop-ment of the national econo-

my, improving the material and cultural condition of the

people and reorganising the State administration and eco-

in connection with this report.

Bills on the State Economic Plan and the Budget for 1959

were also adopted. Changes in the Council of Ministers were

was elected to prepare a draft

for amending the Constitu-

A major part of the discus-

a major part of the about slons centred round the report of Todor Zhivkov. The general

approval of the proposals in the report shows that they

for future activities and the

readiness to accomplish this

The report envisages that

a clear programme

onfirmed and a comm

T HE German people have the inalienable right to constitute themselves into many since long to shift the responsibility for the realisaresponsibility for the realisa-tion of this right of the Ger-man people to the victorious Powers of World War II, are diametrically opposed to the national right of self-deter-mination of the German peo-ple. The duty imposed on other peoples and States ac-cording to international law only consists in respecting the right of self-determination of every nation. every nation

Therefore, the Soviet draft of a peace treaty with Ger-many not only expressly affirms the right of the German people to their democratic and peaceful re-unification, but also particularly appreciates and re-cognises the efforts of the peace-loving forces of the German people themselves to overcome and remove all aggressive 'and militarist lencies in Germany.

Responsibility Of **Big Powers**

This does not, however, mean that the victorious Powers of World War II, the

BULGARIA: BIG ADVANCE IN INDUSTRY

AND AGRICULTURE PLANNED

Potsdam Agreement, have no obligations as far as the res-toration of a unified, peaceloving, democratic German

State is concerned. The general principles of international law and parti-cularly the principles of the Anti-Hitler Coalition unequivocally imply their obligations first, to respect the national self-determination of the German people and the principle of non-interference in its affairs and secondly, to act-

arrans and secondary, to de-ively promote and support-according to the obligations of Yalta and Potsdam-the re-integration of a uniform, sovereign, peace-loving Ger-man State as an equal partner in the community of nations. This in turn necessarily implies their obligation not to permit any revival of German imperialism and militarism and, moreover, to actively fight against any such pheno

menon. These duties of the vic-These duties of the vic-torious Powers also result from the obligation of each State according to interna-tional law to contribute to the safeguarding of peace and the prevention of inter-national terreion national tension. The main hindrance to the

reunification of Germany at present is the fact that the

[Condensed from an article by PROF. HERBERT KROGER, President of the German Academy for Political and Juridical Sciences, Deputy of the People's Chamber of the German Democratic Republic.]

Federal Republic follows a militarist line which in turn means a growing acute threat The non-imp tation of the principles of the Potsdam Agreement in the West of Germany, the revival of German militarism and imperialism which has plun-ged Germany and the whole world into a terrible catas-trophe twice already, the powhich is mainly responilcy which is mainly respon-sible for the present abnormal situation in Germany, as well as the growing fascisation of social life in West Germany act as obstruction to German reunification.

The stipulations of the Soviet draft of a peace treaty soviet draft of a peace actor with Germany are based on creating an independent and peace-loving Germany as an important factor for the safeguarding of peace in Europe by the concrete application of these principles to the present situation.

Peaceful Policy

Thus the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany, according to the Soviet draft, would necessarily mean the banning of aggressive militarism, prevention of atomic rearmament and

guarantee of a peaceful po-licy in West Germany. In this connection, it is of special importance that the Federal Republic should be freed from obligations under the Paris Treaties which practically restrict her sover as also prevent Germany's re-unification.

unification. As is generally known, ac-cording to these obligations, all questions concerning the solution of the German prosolution of the German pro-blem are reserved to the Western Powers. Further, these obligations aim at keep-ing a reunified Germany in NATO.

Removal of these obligations would mean the lifting of res-trictions on the sovereignty of the Federal Republic it would necessarily imply that the ruling circles in Bonn are fully responsible for their at-titude as far as the German question, the reunification of Germany, is concerned. Then, they would no longer be able to hide behind such obligato hide behind such obliga-tions and deny their own res-

ponsibility. The Soviet draft peace The Soviet draft peace treaty takes into consideration the reality of the two German States with different social orders. The draft peace treaty paves the way for negotia-tions between the two German

The signing of such a peace treaty would - mean a first joint step by both the German States. Even while they exist as two separate States such a treaty would link them together obliging them to adopt a uniform policy as far as the present crucial international question, the safeguarding of peace, is concerned. This in turn would necessarily result in negotiations and an under-standing between the two German States. This would initiate a development which may finally lead to a confede-ration of the two German States.

In this connection, it is of in this connection, it is of great importance that the Soviet draft of a peace treaty provides agreements which effectively remove the special dangers from West Berlin as a centre of cold war. Thereby factor which most seriously aggravates the relations between East and West and which now blocks any approach between the two German States, would be removed as well.

An Important Step

Thus the Soviet draft of a peace treaty with Ger-many is based on the right and the duty of the German people to take the reunifica-tion of Germany into their own hands and to solve this problem themselves.

treaty according to the pat-tern of the Soviet draft meets the responsibility and obliga-tions of the victorious Powers according to the patto support the German people in their striving for a demo-cratic and peaceful reunifica-

on the basis of the Soviet draft would mean an import-ant step on the way towards the reunification of Germany

APRIL 19, 1959

DEFENCE DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT REFLECTS

The U.S.-Pak Military Pact in particular and U. S. and Western policies in general constitute today a serious threat to India's security. Notwithstanding references to Tibet, this was the realization reflected most sharply in the debate in the Lok Sabha on the demand for grants for the Defence Ministry. e shooting down of the Indian Air Force Canberra that immediately followed the defence debate provided another confirmation of the fears expressed in it. Following are some extracts from members' speeches showing the depth of feeling on this question.

SRI Joachim Alva (Con- Indian Ocean. Foreign sub-gress) said: Last year I marines may ply in the In-emphasised the aspect of the dian Ocean sooner than we emphasised the aspect of the defence and the security of the Indian Ocean. I would like to reiterate the same point this time because the forces around our country are hostile-some of them.

"Last time I mentioned that the American Navy had en-tered the Indian Ocean. It had tered the Indian Ocean. It had no business to enter the In-dian Ocean. However feeble our voice may be, we have to protest against it. Just as the Monroe Doctrine has (been proclaimed) in the Atlantic Ocean, the people inhabiting the Indian Ocean region have the right that their voice shall be heard and a foreign navy shall not come into the Indian Ocean however weak and eneebled our own navies may

....We want to maintain peaceful conditions round the

be.

them and they could success-fully plant the flag in the In-dian Ocean; and thereafter we have no plan.

and what not ...

there are any plans in the archives of the Defence Min-istry. But this House has a right to be conc the Indian Ocean. We do not want to be taken unawares one fine morning to find that the American Navy has already penetrated in

***** **Bulgaria: Reorganisation**: Of Administration

ልቀራቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀቀ

Affairs, Ministry of National Decence, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Trade, Ministry of Transport and Communica-tion, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Agriculture and Forests, Ministry of Education and Cul-ture and the following Com-mittees to the Council of

economic management of the country, in which the old administrative division was changed and new administrative economic divisions called regions numbering 30 have been set up, has en-hanced the role of the people's councils (municipali-ties). Now industry, agricul-

ture, construction and cultural affairs have all been placed under their manage-ment.

During the session. Chaira report ments in the socio-economic

man of the Presidium of the National Assembly Dimiter Ganey delivered which stressed the need for amending the Constitution of the People's Republic of Bul-garia. He said that the counmittees to the Ministers: on Industry and Technical Progress, on Cons-truction and Architecture, on Labour and Prices, and a Commission on State Control. In this phase a number In this phase a number ism. In this phase a number of articles of the constitution no more reflect the achievelife of the State, they relate to past phases and need to be amended. The National Assembly elected a 34-member Commission which is to pre-pare the draft amendments to the Constitution.

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a number of capitalist coun-tries in relation to industry. Bright prospects have also opened up for agriculture. The opened up for agriculture. The total volume of output in agriculture in 1962 is expec-ted to reach about 40 to 45 milliard leva, and in 1965, 60 milliard leva. All this will make it possible to solve the question of agricultural raw material supply for industry. material supply for industry, to obtain abundant agriculcultural products and increase considerably the resources for

Improving nomic management. The session adopted a Bill Conditions

export.

Along with this, a number of measures for further im-provement of the material and cultural conditions of the people have been suggested in the ple have been suggested in the report, main among them being: increase in salaries of the low-wage group of work-ers with a view to raising the lowest salary from 400 leva to coo leva and aredually un-600 leva and gradually up grading the rest, extension of the network of public canteens and kitchens, gradual reduction of the prices of food and tion of the prices of food and improvement of its quality, changing over to a shorter working day or a five-day week with two days of rest. On the basis of the new tasks and the pace of develop-ment defined, the State Eco-nomic Plan for 1959 has been the volume of industrial production in 1962 will in-crease twofold. In 1965, the volume of industrial produc-tion will so up by about

nomic Plan for 1959 has been worked out and adopted by the National Assembly. It is a reflection of the nationwic sult of this pace of develop- popular movement for com-ment, Bulgaria will surpass pleting the Third Five-Year

Plan (1958-62) ahead of sche-dule. The total volume of in-dustrial production in this year is envisaged to rise by dustrial production in this year is envisaged to rise by 27.8 per cent in comparison with 1958. The total output in agriculture will be 73.9 per cent more than the output expected in 1958. The volume of retail trade will go up by 23.2 per cent.

The National Assembly also The National Assembly also examined the draft budget for 1959, which completely con-forms to the requirements of the speeded-up development of the national economy. Considerable funds have been earmarked for further fast development of the metallurgy, machine-building and che-mical industries, the light and food industries and agriculture. Along with this, considerable funds have been set aside in the budget for housing construction, communal services of the population, health, art and culture, education and science and social insurance.

It is to be noted that in spite of the rise of revenues by 36 per cent and that of expenditure by 36.2 per cent in comparison with 1958, contributions from the peo-ple have been reduced. The basic portion of the nues-and this is a special feature of the budgets in the Socialist countries—is ob-tained from the economic enterprises. This year it ac-counts for 90.3 per cent of the total revenue as against 89 per cent last year.

the development of coopera-tive farms, State farms and machine and tractor stations. Three times more funds in comparison with 1954 have been allotted for the improvement of plant-growing

alone Only 6.3 per cent of the Univ 6.3 per cent of the entire budget expenditure has been earmarked for defence purposes; 2.3 per cent of the budget expenditure has been earmarked for the maintenance of administration.

ance of administration. The territorial principle of administration has been esta-blished with the Act on Speed-ing up the Development of the National Economy, Improving the Material and Cultural Condition of the People and Reorganising the State Admi-nistration and Economic management, and at the same time unnecessary branches and intermediary departme have been abolished like the Ministry of Heavy Industry, the Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of Food In-dustries, the Ministry of Electrification and Irrigation, the Ministry of Construction and Building Materials, the Ministry of Communal Economy, the Ministry of Town Planning and Roadways as well as the Committee for Physical

main are: Ministry of Foreign

. .

Culture and Sport. The Ministries that now re-

tion.

Undoubtedly, a peace treaty The: Ministry of Foreign as a peace-loving and demo-

Simultaneously a peace

tion will go up by about three to four times in com-parison with 1962. As a re-

PAGE TEN

programme.

may expect and we are still grappling with the problems of construction of submarines

"After the British left there was complete vacuum. The British as the other sea-dogs, —all of them are sea-dogs, the. Spanish, Portuguese, French and what not—joined

"We do not know whether erned abou security and defence of

CONCERN OVER U.S.-PAK PACT Threat To India Underlined

corner ostensibly for a holi-day at Singapore but we do not know the inward purpose. Certainly we do not want to plant our flag all over the world. We are living in peace and we want to live in peace with the na-tions in Asia and the world. But the West is intent on putting up one nation aga-inst the other in the East so that we may be weak....

"..... The Canberras.... are now spreading trouble in the sub-continent of India and Pakistan. We bought Canberras and an improved or bad edition of the Canberras (B-57 jet bombers) has been sold by Americans to Pakistan. Americans give one thing by one hand and give something else by the backdoor and no amount of plain-speaking has been able to halt this policy. It is reported that the Vice-President (Dr. Radhakrish-nan) was told by Mr. Dulles that the bombers have been passed over to Pakistan!

Protection Of Indian Ocean

... The Indian Ocean loust be protected....It should be protected for ourselves and our direct neighbours lik Burma on this side and Cey like lon. Africa has a vast coastline from Somaliland down to the Cape of Good Hope; it is 4,000 miles. The British have entrenched themselves in Aden and have taken good Aden and have taken good care in the Cape of Good Hope of their imperial possessions. But we are not taking care of our ordinary security.'

Srl Raghunath Singh dealt with the Pakistan Foreign Minister's recent argument that India's armed forces were three times the size of that country's. He showed that of its own annual revenues of Rs. 140 crores Pakistan was spending Rs. 80 crores in de-fence and over and above this 25 crore dollars (i.e. about 120 crores rupees) worth of military equipment was being given by the U.S. to Pakistan in 1959 alone. Together this in 1959 alone. Together this came to Rs. 200 crores for de-fence which was 142 per cent of Pakistan's total budget.

Sri Raghunath Singh referred to the policy of ringing the world with military and air bases that the U.S. is following with its 123 bases all over the world. He also referred to the British bases in Aden. Kenya, Mal-dives and Singapore and said these were directed against India.

Sri Bhakta Darshan (also Congress) dwelt on the recent U. S.-Pak bilateral military Pact and said this had made the problem of our national defence more serious than defence more serious than ever before.

Sri Nausher Bharucha (PSP) said: "A sense of ur-gency undoubtedly attaches to defence because while we may rest assured that the people of Pakistan may not

NEW AGE

desire war with India, one can cause of the constant regular With a military dictatorship United States of America to a war may be triggered off accidentally or it is conceivable that one may evolve from mere border incidents."

Sri M. R. Krishna (Congress) said: if there was a country in the world which would like to rely on spiritual and moral force it was India. "But unfortunately if- our country also had to think about defence and strengthen the military forces, I feel, it is not because of the constant firings of the Pakistan forces, nor because of the threats that are coming from the other side, but it is mainly be-

Pakistan:

"When we hear the statesmen of America assuring this country that the weapons and armaments supplied to Pakistan will not be used against this country we are not con-vinced by them, and I still do not believe when the Government assures the people and tries to create confidence in tries to create confidence in them by saying that all the weapons and ammunitions which have been found in the border firings were not those which have been supplied under the Military Pact between America and Pakistar

Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference INTERTATION FROM PAGE 7 ARAKATATATATATATA

For building up a Colonial ferent sections of the population Solidarity Fund to help the have been accepted. people of all the still dependent ountries fighting for freedom;

G For economic development and exchanges:

 For cultural contacts ---bove all preparations for the Tagore Centenary.

Organisationally — An All-India Council for Afro-Asian Solidarity has been elected and it is proposed to establish strong solidarity committees pledged to work for peace and independence in all States.

Proposals for the setting up of bureaus or committees of dif-

A great widening of the movement, a tremendous ex-pansion of its activities is on the agenda. All the fraternal delegates from other lands who came to the Conference were impressed by its two essential characteristics: its unity and its mass participation

The movement must concentrate on retaining and building on these two characteristics. That is the way to still further es, to greater and greater strength in the coming period. (April 13, 1959)



PAGE ELEVEN



On September 19, a Provisional Government of Free Algeria was proclaimed with Mr. Ferhat Abbas as Prime Minister. It was the high watermark of a long period of bitter struggle which the Algerians had carried out against French colonialism. Ever since 1830, when the French Government set its foot on the soil of Algeria, the anti-French struggle had continued under Abdel Kader and other leaders.

HE political struggle which Algerians wanted to conduct constitutionally gra-dually transformed itself into resistance, as the armed French set oùt on the path of ruthlessly suppressing the nationalist movement. The Algerian people found they could not win their demand by peaceful means in face of the war of extermination launched by the French and they re-

sorted to armed struggle. Their demand was for comnlete independence which the French Government opposed on two grounds : first, a legal fiction, and secondly the arm-ed force which the French deployed in Algeria.

WHILE the Egyptian

W ruling circles led by President Nasser are run-ning down the Iraqi Re-

public, the Egyptian Com

of the Communist move-ment, has expressed soli-

darity with Iraq and effec-

tively answered President Nasser's allegations against

Presented below are some

extracts from the declara-tion of the Egyption Com-munist Party. The Party which is illegal in Egypt

made this declaration on

The repression against

declared by the Govern-

ment not only to cover up

their mistakes on the home front, but also to cover up

al democratic Republic of Iraq. This is an important question which requires vigilance and firm action on the part of all honest

In the beginning Presi-

dent Nasser took an hon-

millions of Arab pe when he declared his

ourable stand admired by

darity with Iraq against

any imperialist aggression. It is to be regretted that he

did not pursue this policy. Influenced by two factors,

The first is the attitude

of U.S. imperialism, which tries to play off the United

Arab Republic against the new Republic of Iraq. Its

imperialist aggression

attitude towards Iraq

their attacks on the natio

al democratic Republic

patriots in Egypt.

Arab Communists is

of the Commu

the Communists.

January 9 last :

munist Party in the best

internationalist traditions

Algeria was a part of Metro-politan France. It is ridiculous to claim that a territory which has never had any cultural, This brings us to the second This brings us to the second argument of the French Gov-ernment, that, they control ethnic, or social ties with a foreign State could be a part of that State.

Before the French invasion Algeria was a separate State. d force which the French I had an altogether different social, cultural, religious, eth-nological, political and econo-

mic background. The relations between these two countries prior to the invasion were those of two sovereign inde-pendent States. To say that Algeria became

nart of Metropolitan France after the French conquest, because the French Government decreed it. amounts to giving recognition to a unilateral act. The Algerian people never consented to this union on the contrary there was constant opposition to it. Such a unilateral decision cannot binding except through 'force' and as we know, it is

through force that the

ventional arms including jet totals 200,000 men and women.

planes and tanks in Aigeria. Another figure which should interest world opiwhich nion is that the total population of Algeria is only 9,000,000. For every ten Algerians, male and female, old and young, there is al-most one French soldier. Thus the whole territory is turned into an armed camp. Yet, the French Government propagates through its pub-licity organs that the peo-ple of Algeria welcome them

as their masters. Do they think that under these con-ditions world opinion will

The faith of the Algerian people in this army can be seen in the fact that in an underdeveloped country which under ruthless military rule, they are able to supply and equip such a large force. The tenacity of these soldiers can be well perceived from the fact that the well-equipped French army with its modern arms is unable to dislodge them.

This army has wrested from the French control over half of the territory of Algeria. The of the territory of Algeria. The liberated territory is under will

Case For The Free Government's Recognition

the cooked-up elections and plebiscites in Algéria of show. It is against these heavy

odds that the Algerian nation Algeria. As is evident from the started its war on November 1, 1954. Then they were only figures supplied by the French Government to the world Press there are at present 700,000 trained armed forces handful of men armed with hunting guns. Today, the Army of National Liberation equipped with the latest con-

believe in their victories in the control of the new Govthe cooked-up elections and ernment. All the forms of plebiscites in Algeria of Government are maintained which they make such a and all civil, political and economic amenities of a civilised Government, which were denied under the French control, have been granted to the inhabitants who now pay their taxes to the new Government. In this it was only fit that the Algerians should reaffirm their inalienable right to freedom and proclaim their independence. This is what has been done with the formation of the Free Algerian Government

Until today fifteen countries have recognised the new Algerian Government. Recognition of the new Algerian Government is the cnimination and fulfilment of the principles laid down by the consensus of the Afro-Asian world which were fought for in the United Nations. It is the affirmation of the principle that every people have the right to be free. It is the affirmation of the principles of human rights and of self-determination whose aim is that men would no longer remain slaves.

Now Algeria has declared its freedom. India can help Al-geria in consolidating its hardwon national achievements and rights of independence by helping it to acquire inter-national status as a free mem-ber of the community of nations



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to the villages to present the

Congress case, Sardar Kairon has been talking in this language since the withdrawal of the movement and his police machinery fins been simultaneously mov-ing in the villages—all in an attempt to demoralise the peasantry. Sardar Kairon's calculation seems to have been that the withdrawal of the agitation must have broken the ranks of the united mass movement and this was the best time to coerce the peasants to make the collections.

All Pledges WinInted

The Punjab Government did not honour one of its pledges. It did not call the Kisan Sabha for negotlations on the

betterment levy. It did not release all the satyagrahis over 500 are still kept in fall. Not even all the warrants have been withdrawn. It has not stopped the at-

tachment of property, nor has property attached so far been returned to the owners.

turned to the owners. Instead of taking a res-ponsive attitude to the good-will gesture of the Kisan Sabha, it is using coercise methods to collect the levy. methods to collect the levy. This is harvest time in Punjab when the peasants generally do not have any ready cash. No revenue col-lection is made at this time in the State, but the Gov-ernment insists on collect-ing the betterment levy just this time.

Hundreds of policemen are ing despatched to the villages and when the peasants express their inability to pay, their property is being forcibly and Kisan Sabha leaders are again being arrested.

Communists and Kisan Sabha workers are being in-volved in cases—this is typi-cal of the harassment that is going on in Akalpur, for ins-tance, where a murder took place recently, all the satyagrahis from the village were called for questioning though they had only just come out

out without any fear of the a 100000000000000000000000000 consequences." Appeal

movement are standing t and fighting back the ne attack.

Mass Rallies

The rallies which are being held to receive released satyagrahis and explain the with-drawal of the movement have revealed that the peasants stand united and all the propaganda and repression have not been able to break their ranks. In Jullundur District, for

friends to contribute liberally to help the Punjab peasant in this hour of trial by audiences from 1,000 to 10,000 strong. Contributions can b

In Narur village, where five persons including a woman had been killed by police bullets, where the police had organised a de-inonstration against M.P.s with neovie from outside.

PAGE TWELVE

has changed.

new policy is based on re-cognition of Arab national-ism and that only Nasser can save the Arab East from 'Communist domination

The second is Nasser's traditional and persistent fear of any movement by the popular masses and their determination to enjoy political and trade union freedom. Nasser regards the growth of demo-cratic liberty in Iraq as an unnatural phenomenon, which must be a result of Communist 'plotting.'

DICTATORIAL METHOD

From the first moment Abdul Nasser tried to im-pose on Iraq an undemo-cratic method of unity with the UAR. The plan was to impose on the Iraqi people the same dictatorial method as that imposed on the Arab people of Syria. As a price for unity with Egypt they wanted to dissolve all the narties that unite the Iraqi people.

The Iraqi people, proud of their struggle for indepen-dence, democracy and Arab unity, refused to abandon the programme of the Front of National Unity and re-sented the attempt to take away their democratic gains under the slogans of merg-ing with the United Arab Republic. Here the Nasser vernment lost its senses. It forgot in its fear of the people's democratic move-ment that the greatest tes from our

from the Nasser Governmain and deadly enemy, American imperialism, and its agent Zionism. The Nasser Government

SOLIDARITY WITH IRAQ

Illegal Equption Communist Party

Refutes Nasser's Allegations

forgot that the forces of American imperialism are American imperialism are now active in Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, hoping to bring down the Government of Abdul Kareem Kassim, and to smash the Iraqi Revolu-It let loose former Farou-

kist newspapers to slander Kassim, to call him "Kremlin's Nuri" and accuse him of surrendering to the im-perialists. They forgot that Communist bogy propaganda always comes from Baghdad Pact broadsheets.

If the President has forgotten, the Arab people remember and will never forget those days. They remember how the imperialists attacked Abdul Nasser and presented his fight for independence as a process of subjugation to socalled Communist penetra-tion. In order to understand this dangerous road which Abdul Nasser is treading we must compare his attitude to the imperialist coup in Sudan with his attitude to the national democratic Government of Iraq.

President Nasser praises the patriotism of the rulers of Sudan who have dissolved the patriotic and pop lar parties, dissolved t trade unions, arrested Labour leaders, dissolved even youth organisations, and imposed on the Sudanese people all types of repres-sion. Such an anti-people Government gets suppo

NEW AGE

the attacks on Arab Com-munists. If this is allowed

actively That is why the attack

on the Communists must movement.

The Iraqi Government, which enjoys the love and which enjoys the love and support of the people and which is proving every day its solidarity with its sister,

ment.

the United Arab Republic, which has united its de-fences wth ours, united its school curricula with ours, and increased its cultural. trade and economic ties with us, such a national democratic Government is subjected to attacks from the broadcasts of the United Arab Republic, and its Press in order to isolate Iraq from the rest of the Arab world.

RVD THIS ATTACK

This is what lies behind

to go on it can only divide the Arab liberation movement. The war on Commun-ism in the United Arab Republic is in itself a continuation of the Press campaign against the Iraqi Republic. The attack on the Communists prevents the democratic and patriotic forces from concentrating on work against the American conspiracies which nlanned and aimed at the Revolution in

be ended. This is an essen-tial condition for the advance of the Arab liberation

Irag.

APRIL 19. 1959



ernment did in Punjab are in violation of the law of the land and even provisions of our Consti-tution. The kisans of Punjab have decided to seek redress against these from the courts But they need money to fight these cases. A. K. Gopalan, President All-India Kisar

Sabha, has appealed to Kisan Sabha Units and

A. K. Gopalan, M.P., President, A.I.K.S., 2, Windsor Place, NEW DELHI.

sent to:

APRIL 19, 1959



of jails and could not have known anything about the

crime.

Some

satvagrahis from Aitiana and Sherpur have been rearrested and maximum pressure is being brought on the villagers to give evidence against them. The police are in a desperate hurry to prove some cases at least—this, they think, is one way of covering up the brutal repression they themselves had committed

earlier. All-India Kisan Sabha Pre-sident A. K. Gopalan visited the Punjab again recently and in every village he went to men and women told him innumerable instances of this police harassment.

In village Aitiana, for ins-tance, where police firing kill-ed two women during the movement the nearly orthog movement, the people gathermovement, the people gather-ed when Gopalan arrived. Everybody was at first reluc-tant to speak up, but a young woman gathered courage and began and once she began everybody else spoke. The young woman pointed

The young woman pointed out to the CID men in the crowd and that explained their reluctance to begin speaking. She said that polleemen at night used to scale the walls of houses from which the menfolk were away—in jall. They used to enter the rooms and molest the women. She burst into tears as she was narrating the story—so hor-rible has been the behaviour

of Kairon's police. When Comrade Gopalan began to console them say-ing the Kisan Sabha would do everything to bring out the truth, these women who had suffered almost every-thing under Kairon's regime We are not all afraid. We will be with you and we will lay our lives down if necessarv to bring the whole truth

This is the mood of the peasantry and Sardar Kairon thinks their morale is cracked and he can demoralise them and coerce them to pay the levy. It is the same in every village—the people who so gloriously fought during the up

instance, sixteen rallies we held with very short notice a week's time from March 27 o April 2. They were attended

10,000 people came to the rally, which was addressed by Comrades A. K. Gopalan, B. T. Banadive, Harkishen Singh Surjeet and others. The rally decided to erect a memorial to the martyrs and Rs. 1,500 was collected on the spot and the foundation stone for the memorial was laid.

Provocation Fails

In Sherpur village, there was a big police mobilisation to terrorise the people and prevent them from attending the meeting. Sherpur is the village which the police had besieged during the movement and they had then prevented Communist leaders, including the General Secretary of the Party, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh, from entering it. The day the meeting was to

be held here the police had spread the report that the local people did not want the Communists to hold a meeting

and a clash was imminent. When Comrade Gopalan and others arrived at the vil-lage they found that police pickets had been posted at all approaches to the village and they were stopping the men and women who were coming in groups to attend the meet ing.

About a hundred vards from the conference shamiana were a hundred policemen with their officers, rifles and teargas shells ready. Another hundred yards away were three truck-loads of policemen with the Additional Magistrate, Deputy Commissioner and other top officials of the District.

All this police mobilisation did not frighten the people. Jathas—big and small— holding the Red Flag aloft were arriving bringing men and women from neighobur. ing villages. When the jat-has and women from Aitiana village arrived, the whole andience cheered these heroes of the anti-better-ment levy straggle. The President of the meeting, a Congressman, stood up and received them.

Provocation was attempted. A dozen persons were armed by the police and sent into the meeting to start a scuffle to enable them to intervene. But when they tried to pull down the shamiana, the entire audience as one drove them away—the police were not given a pretext to inter-

Gifts To Communist Party

Comrade A. K. Gopalan was presented with a bed-sheet by the people of the village, they sent through him some presents for Com-rade Renu Chakravarty who was in their midst when the police had converted the village into an armed camp, and a beautiful handwoven carpet was presented to the Communist Party. And these people, the police said, did not want the Communists to

NEW AGE

This is the peasantry of Punjab—firm and united. No amount of repression—looting, lathi-charges, tear-gassing, firing-has succeeed in dividfiring—has succeeed in divid ing them or breaking them.

The Executive of the Punjab State Council of the Com-munist Party and the Work-Working Committee of the State Kisan Sabha have met and taken stock of the situation. They have declared that they have created the necessary atmosphere for a settlement of the betterment levy issue, and if the situation in any way worsens now, it will be solely the responsibility of the Punjab Government.

Concede These Demands

Instead of indulging in the type of political double-deal-ing that he does, Sardar Kai-ron will do well to consider

hold a meeting in the vil- the following demands of the lage.

Till the final decision about betterment levy is reached, advance collection should be stopped;

All the satyagrahis should be released, all cases and warrants withdrawn;

The policy of implicating kisan and Communist workers in cases must be stopped;

There should not be any more attachment of property and all fines and property attached so far should be refunded;

O Police provocation in villages should be ended; the police should be with-drawn from Aitiana, Sherpur and other villages;

A judicial enquiry should instituted into the firings;

Representatives of the Kisan Sabha should be called by the Government to discuss the demands of the peasants.



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Parliamentary Delegation From German Democratic **Republic** Visits India

The all-parties Parliamentary delegation from the German Democratic Republic headed by Johannes Dieckmann, President of the People's Chamber left Delhi on April 15 after a busy fivelav programme.

Besides visiting our Parliament and calling on the Vice-President, the Prime Minister, the Defence Minister and others, they were entertained by the Indian Parliamentary Affairs Association and given a recep-

Dr. Dieckmann emphasised the German people's desire for national reunification and said that German militarism which had twice plunged the world in global wars was the greatest menace which had again rais-ed its head in West Germany.

Deputy Speaker of the welcoming the suggestion. Lok Sabha, S. Hukum Singh felt it would provide oppor-said German unification was primarily a matter for see things for themselves.

tion on behalf of Delhi citizens. Addressing the citizens Dr Dieckmann emphasised desired to see a demilitar ised Germany unified in peace.

> Dr. Dieckmann extended an invitation to an all-parties Indian Parliamentary Delegation to visit the German Democratic Repub-lic. Sardar Hukum Singh

PICTURE ABOVE : Delegation on arrival at Palam showing Dr. Dieckmann and Herr Hermann Matern, Vice-President of the G.D.R. Volkskammer.

BELOW : Mayor Aruna Asaf Ali speaking at the Citizens' Reception at Constitution House.



THE TIBET REBELLION

* FROM FRONT PAGE

a thousand incarnations as a worm or louse.

Peking knew that reform in Tibet would take time. In April 1956, Peking set up a "Prepara-tory Committee for Tibetan Au-tonomy" with the Dalai as Chairman and the Panchen as Chairman and the Panchen as Vice-Chairman, and agreed to let serfdom remain untouched for six years while Tibetans tried to reform it. A number of Tibetan upper class folks wanted reform, but the hard-boiled reactionary seri-owners kept a four to two control of the previous Local Government—it was called the "kasha" and had six members, the "kalons" — and sabotaged the work of the "Pre-paratory Committees." Even the chairmanship of the Dalai Lama, who was supposed to set up the new autonomous consti-tution, got nothing done.

Peking waited, with what some thought excessive patience ... Three years went by, no new Government appeared, but banditry increased, especially against Chinese settlers in areas near China. Peking referred complaints to the Tibetan Goyernment, which did nothing to control the bandits, but much to liar to Tibet; it occurs in Ame-rican/cities. Peking still waited, referred disorder to Tibet until the "Kaloons" were until the "Kaloons" were saying widely that Peking is saying widely that i time to powerless: now is the time to get rid of the Chinese for good and establish seridom ever....

Rebellion Lannched

They launched their rebellion on March 10. The Dalai Lama was expected that evening to attend a performance put on by the People's Liberation Army: he himself had fixed the date a month before.... The local month before.... The local term for the Data Lama how "Kaloons" spread the rumour under duress with reactionary that the Chinese amry would rebels" from whom the Panchen detain the Data: with this ru-hopes he may soon be able to mour they surgounded his palace with demonstrating Panchen Lama accepts the res-crowds and kept him indoors ponsibility for organising an au-mith their orm quarde. This with their own guards.... This continued until the 19th, during which time the Dalai Lama exchanged letters three times with IBright General Tan of the Central Government Army, saying each time that he was "under duress" bu his best His last letter on 17th said he might soon seek the army for safety. He was next reported "abducted" from Lhasa.

Peking's Order

Kaloons ordered armed forces of the theocracy over men's of Tibetans to surround and at- souls, thinks that reform will be tack the garrison of the People's easy. But everyone recognis tack the garrison of the People's easy. But everyone recognises Liberation Army and the Cen- that Peking waited until repeat-tral Government offices. They ed banditry and collusion with attacked through the night, and foreigners, including air-drops the Chinese defended them- of arms from Chiang Kai-shek, the Chinese defended them- of arms from Chiang Kai-shek, selves but made no attack. At put the serf-owners in the 10 a.m. on the 20th, the People's wrong in the sight of the people, Liberation Army, having mean- and that the people have the time received their orders, final word. Meantime the olive counterattacked, and cleaned branch is out for the Dalai up the attackers within slightly Lama, if he can—and will more than two days.

Peking waited several more days... probably for fuller reports and perhaps for news of the Dalai Lama, before taking any political action. Then an order issued by the State Council dissolved the Government of the six Kaloons, one of whom was al-ready in India while three were somewhere in the wilds. and recognised in its place the "Preparatory Committee for Tibetan Autonomous Government" with the Dalai Lama still as Chairman, but, pending his absence, the Vice-Chairman Panchen Lama as Acting Chairman. Orders went to the People's Liberation Army to clean up banditry anywhere in Tibet, while protecting the people, respecting their religious institutions, and setting up, local adminis-trations in consultation with the Preparatory Committee, under chairmanship of Panchen Erdeni.

Panchen's Declaration

The Panchen Lama telegra-phed acceptance on March 29 to Premier Chou En-lai for transmission also to Chairman Mao Tse-tung. He supported the proclamation from Peking "personally and on behalf of the broad masses of people in Tibet, ecclesiastical and secular." Hestated that the "upper starta reactionary clique" acting thro-ugh the "former Local Government" of the six Kaloons, had at all times intrigued against at all times intrigued against national unity, at all times op-posed democratic reforms, had committed crimes "impermis-sible in State law," and were already meeting with "firm op-position" from the masses of people and the patriots. He "hailed" the victory of the People's Liberation Army and ended with "sympathy and con-cern" for the Dalai Lama "now under duress with reactionary tonomous Tibet.

So the situation stands as E report. Meantime, letters pour into the Peking Press from Tibetans living in China, espe-cially from students in the col-leges and schools. Most of them. exult that the showdown has come with the serf-owners, and foresee a bright future for a "democratic Tibet." Nobody On the night of March 19, the the social structure and the hold return.

APRIL 19, 1959

SEATD-SATAN'S UMBRELLA

G UARDED by troops and principal NATO and Baghdad Pact countries. the strictest security measures ever in New Zealand, the SEATO Council's fifth annual session was held in Wellington. The session was preceded by three days' "talk" (April 2 to 4) behind closed doors, of the military advisers from the eight member countries of SEA-TO "on the best means of strengthening the SEATO 'umbrella'."

what transpired behind closerd doors at Wellington? How is this 'umbrella' sought to be opened and where else is it to be spread further?

Details apart, there are more than sufficient indica-tions about the plots that were hatched at this SEATO meet

The Council session was pre-ceded by the U. S. announcement about the despatch of an amphibious "task force" to the Western Pacific and by the tour of SEATO's Secretary General Pote Sarasin of the

British Justice ?

TF the British colonialists boast of being the most experienced hands in pro-blems of colonial dominaion, no one would perhap hallenge them. But whe they begin to boast about their scruples before the law, then the trouble be-

Tomo Kenvatta released last week after completing his term, was convicted and sent to jail in 1952. He was sent to prison on the testimony on oath of Rawson Macharia, the key witness in the trial for the mperialists.

imperialists. However, years passed And in 1958, Macharia testified again on oath—in a sworn affidavit—that he had lied at the trial. The British "sense of justice" was provoked, and Macha-ria was tried for swearing on a false testimony. His guilt was established and the Magistrate who found him guilty had the follow-ing to say about him : "A thoroughly wicked, unscru-pulous individual—a mam-monistic mythist...he admits he would do anything save possibly killing, for

Kenyatta was convicted nainly on Macharia's evimainly on Machana's the dence. And Machana's is convicted for giving false evidence. But the British Colonial Office will not reopen Kenyatta's case. One should admire the "sense of justice" of the British cololaliefe

More damning is the fact that came out in the Ma charia trial—that the Bri tish had made a number o tish had made a humber of promises to him to give false evidence against Ken-yatta. They did not fulfil the promises and he ex-posed the whole trial. And that puts the cap on im-perialist justice.

APRIL 19, 1959

lowed by a meeting at Baguio of U. S. diplomatic envoys in the Asian and Pacific regions with the U. S. Under-Secre-tary of State, Dillon, and De-puty Assistant Secretary, Parns_both coming fresh from the session. Dillon is also sche-duled to visit Australia and Indonesia, while Parsons is scheduled to cover Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam.

Asia

pore.

tions?

And, completing the pic-ture is the final.communique of the session as well as the statements of the partici-pants. They show that this session was an imporant link in a series of imperialist— above all U. S.—intensified aggression and subversive activities directed against Asian countries, under the 'umbrella' of SEATO.

The session considered the establishment of nuclear and ocket weapon bases in Southeast Asia. It was no other per-son than the Commander-in-Chief of the British Royal Air Force in the Far East, Bandon who had disclosed soon on his arrival in Wellington on March 31 that there was the possibility of setting up an Air Force missile base in Singa-

And in the background of the largest military exercises ever to be held in peace time, this session of the SEATO Council discussed plans for setting up so-called mobile SEATO forces, christened by the participants as "fire-brl-gades."

Which "fire" are these brigades supposed to extnguish?

Can there still be any doubt left that the flames of cold-war tension are being fanned through SEATO's machina-

Conference sources had disclosed that the aggressive force "which would possibly be drawn from the British, Australian and New Zealand forces in Malaya would be ready to operate under the blueprints prepared in advance to deal with possible local insurgency in a country."

And the meeting had considered Laos, bordered by "Communist China and Communist North Vietnam" as the "greatest danger spot" and the main hot-war area".

What else can these considerations mean except spear-heading imperialism's, particularly U. S., aggressive de-signs towards Indo-China?

The fact is that of late the U.S. has intensified its feverish activities to tear up completely the Geneva Agreements, and operating through Thailand—which is a SEATO member—and thr-ough South Vietnam—which is under U. S. military conestablish its hold over entire Indo-China. And SEATO

Through the SEATO bloc. the U.S. directed several subversive plots and repeated military provocations against Cambodia. It carried out large-scale military infiltra-tion into Laos and eventually instigated the Royal Laotian Government to denounce the Geneva Agreement. The U.S. has sent as many as 60 mili-tary missions led by highranking military officers of SEATO member countries to South Vietnam, between 1956 and 1958; there are as many 2,000 U.S. advisers and Directed Against military personnel, including U. S. Air Force units stationed

> The plans discussed at this SEATO session hence are aimed at further intensifying the danger to peace in Indo-China.

Imperialism's greed, how-ever, knows no bounds. The SEATO military advisers are reported to have also discuss the alleged "military threat" confronting the other Asian countries such as Indo nesià and Burma.

Aggressive Aims

From whom, in fact, does the threat come? Who does not know that the Indonesian rebels who intended to overthrow the lawful Indone Government had SEATO's assistance? It was the U.S. Army Chief of Staff, Maxwell Taylor, who had insinuate that the Indonesian situation was inevitable; it was the Director of the International Cooperation Administration in Indonesia, James Baird, who had talked about "filling" the Indonesian "vacuum"; it was the Australian Military Advi-ser to SEATO, Vice-Admiral Roy Dowling, who had said that the Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia, might take part in SEATO. And, it was SEATO warships that intruded into Indonesian waters, while SEATO dignitaries were discussing "the milithreat" to Indonesia. tary. These facts were revealed by Sudisman, member of the National Defence Committee of the Indonesian Parliament,

INTERNATIONAL EVE

This SEATO council Session has, therefore, confirm-ed once again that through SEATO the U.S. aggressive circles pursue the aim of dragging a vast zone of Asia into the imperialist aggres-sive plans, the aim of con-trolling independent coun-tries in Southeast Asia, the aim of encircling People's China with hostile bases, while exerting at the same time pressure on other countries like India and Indo-

New Zealand's Prime Minister, Mr. Nash, while stating the purpose of SEATO, in his opening speech, had said that the purpose of SEATO was Pact cold-shouldered their much more than organising Philippines. Pakistani and for mutual defence against all forms of aggression. And un-der this garb—be it "potential aggressors", or "human im-

serves as the main tool of and announced from Djakarta peratives"—a recurring theme U. S. aggression. on April 7. in the speeches of the Minisin the speeches of the Minis-ters of the eight membercountries of SEATO was in fact how best to turn SEATO into the gendarme of Asia, into the instrument which would serve at the same time the purposes of the cold and the suppression of the national liberation movements of the Asian peoples.

> The crass aggressive nature of this military organisation stands so exposed that from this Council session, Press reports said: "Differences betveen Asian and Western members of SEATO on aid were threatening the harmony of the 5th Annual Coun-cil meeting." The U.S., British cil meeting." The U.S., British and French "partners" of the Philippines, Pakistani and Thailand "partners" when it came to economic aid.

> > -RAZA ALI

ALGERIANS HATE U.S. IMPERIALISM

-Admits "New York Times" Report

A the Algerian army men and people hated the U.S. imperialists because they helped the French aggressors to slaughter the Alge-rians, according to a New York report.

In a recent despatch from Algeria, C. Sulzberger wrote that the Algerians harbour considerable rancour for the United States. An Algerian National Liberation Army Major, named Azzedine, told him: "My people say we would have had peace long ago if Ame-rica did not aid France. You claim this help is for the NATO and for Europe. I only know your bullets." The Algerian Major, a former factory worker, told

NEW YORK TIMES Sulzberger that "I have six reporter admitted that unremoved bullets in me— Algerian army men all American-made."

A Sergeant of the Alge rian Liberation Army said to Sulzberger: "Almost a million of us, principally civilians, have We have paid a great price for our liberty. But we thirst for human dignity and freedom. Nothing, absolutely nothing, can defeat us."

The American reporter The American reporter wrote that "one way or an-other, the future of Algeria must lie with this genra-tion of battle-hardened partisans," because "they represent the emotional aspirations of all North Africa." He admitted that "history is with these people.'

WFTU EXECUTIVE MEETS

The 19th 'Session of the Executive Committee of the World Federation of Trade Unions concluded its five-day debates here today.

The session adopted a number of documents including a resolution on the tasks of trade unions in the struggle for peace, a statement on the German question, an appeal to all the working people of Germany, a resolution on expanding the working people's struggle for their economic and social demands, a statement protesting against the repres-sive measures against trade unions in the Sudan, an ap-peal to the working people and trade unions of Cuba and

NEW AGE

WARSAW, April 6 a statement on Cyprus.

The Executive Committee elected Ibrahim Zakaria of the Sudan to the WFTU Secretariat, on a proposal by Louis Saillant, WFTU's Secretary-General, for the inclusion of a representative of the African trade unions on the Secretariat.

Ma Chun-ku of China, a WFTU Secretary, presented a proposal by the Secretariat that the next session of the General Council of the WFTU be held in Peking in April 1960 and the 20th session of the Executive Committee at the end of 1959. The proposal was approved.

In his concluding spech,

Agestino Novella, of the WFTU, urged all 'trade union organisations affiliated to the WFTU to make every effort to carry out most rapid ly the resolutions adopted at

WFTU Secretary Marcel Bras winding up the debates on the tasks of the Federation for peace and on the development of the struggle of the working people for their eco-nomic and social demands, stressed the need of expanding propaganda in every pos-sible way and suggested that a conference be held in Prague shortly to discuss the question

A mass meeting was held here this evening in honour of the sesison of the WFTU Exe-cutive Committee.

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Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon's latest pastime is to call the Communists "political thugs." Addressing a meeting in a Jullundur village on April 9, the Pun-jab Chief Minister, according to the Tribune; "em-phatically denied that he had entered into negotiations with Communists at the time of the withdrawel of the phatically defined that he had entered into negotiation with Communists at the time of the withdrawal of the anti-betterment levy agitation or had given any as-surance to them. He said there could be no talks with 'political thugs'." Three days later, in Phagwara, he said that "the Communists had once again proved they could not be trusted."

L ET us see these claims of Sardar Kairon against the events of the third week of March, on the eve of the withdrawal of the anti-betterment levy movement.

What They Said Then

• The Governor of Punjab, Sri N. V. Gadgil, deliver-ing the Convocation Address of the DAV College in Amritsar on March 15, said, Amritsar on March 15, said, "If the Communists really wanted to discuss matters it could be done within a week's time" (Hindustan Times, time" (Hindustan Times, March 16). He "appealed to the Communists for the im-mediate withdrawal of their agitation against the better-ment levy. If you really want ment levy. It you reary want to discuss the issue, you must withdraw the agitation and create the necessary atmos-phere'." (Tribune, March 16).

phere'." (Tribune, March 16).
The same day, commenting on A. K. Gopalan's Press Conference in New Delhi, "A spokesman of the Punjab Government said that if the Communists suspended their agitation against the betterment levy, we will be willing to discuss their demands with them?" (Hindustan Times, March 16)
Winding up the debate on

Winding up the debate on the law and order grant in 8 the Punjab Vidhan Sabha, "Mr. Kairon, Chief Minister today (March 16) hinted at the possibility of adjustments

in the betterment levy 'to make it easy of payment and to bring it to the minimum. Tell us any new point and we will consider it'" (Hindustan Times, March 17). The States-man reported this in the man reported this in the words: "The Chief Minister,

the Punjab Kisan Sabha to withdraw the movement, "The, Chief Minister, Sardar Pratap Singh, welcomed Sardar Chhi-na's call to the Kisan Sabha for withdrawal of the agita-tion... He said the Govern-ment had already reduced the amount of the levy from Es 100 crores to Es. 33 crores Rs. 100 crores to Rs. 33 crores and held out an assurance that efforts would be made to reduce it further. Sardar Kairon said the Government would take into consideration the constructive suggestions made by some sections of the House for relaxing the irksome effects of the levy." (Tribune, March 20)

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What does all this add up

leaders through mediators permits the Communists to claim that the withdrawal of mediators the agitation was not wholly, unconditional. They will also claim credit for compelling the Government earlier to reduce the levy from Rs. 50 cro-res to Rs. 30 crores and now for obtaining some sort of an assurance from the authori-ties that a further reduction in the quantum of the levy and easier terms of payment are not ruled out."

duly

When these are the facts, for Sardar Kairon to say that there were no assurances before the movement was with-drawn is sheer political dis-honesty and when he says day the movement was called off, 500 satyagrahis had arriv-ed in Chandigarh from the districts to offer satyagraha in the Capital, that hundreds. of Satyagrahis did offer sat-yagraha on that day in Fero-zepur, Bhatinda, Sangrur, etc. Not the signs of a movement fizzling out.

Perhaps Sardar Kairon has forgotten that he himself had said at one stage in the Assembly on March 16 that the Government was fighting like a hunted animal with its back to the wall. Perhaps Sardar Kairon did not read the reports of his own police department that the move-ment could have continued indefinitely.

Perhaps Congress leaders were not going to the villages but were sitting in Chandigarh because the climate in the Capital was good and not as the Times of India News Service said :

"One index of the manner "One index of the manner in which the Congress has lost ground is the fact that very few Congressmen have cared to visit their constitu-encies—in some cases even their homes—to put the ruling party's viewpoint before the party's viewpoint before the populace. Neither do I remem-ber seeing anywhere in the villages the large posters shown to me in Chandigarh, explaining in broad terms the Government's stand on the

"What is the explanation? Is it that the Government has forgotten about them or is it that it cannot find people who will dare to carry and display them where they are needed."

This was written just about the time the move-ment was called off. The movement could obviously not have been fizzling out if Congressmen dared not go

* SEE PAGE 13

OF VIOLATION OF ALL ASSURANCES

Pratap Singh Kairon, gave a firm pledge in the State As-sembly this evening that he would do everything in his power to reduce the betterment levy."

The Times of India repor-6 ted on March 18: "The Punjab Government is inclined to discuss details regarding the method and form of col-lection of the betterment levy. This renewed offer on lection of the Government was made by the Irrigation Min-ister, Mr. Gyan Singh Rare-wala, while replying to the debate on demands for the Irrigation Department in the Vidhan Sabha today."

And, finally, when Communist MLA Sardar Achar
Singh Chhina announced in the Vidhan Sabha that in response to the appeal of the Speaker, the Legislature Communist=Party would advise

to? ONE, that the Government would speedily start negotiations on the question of the betterment levy if of the betterment levy if the Kisan Sabha created the proper atmosphere by withdrawing the movement; TWO, that the amount of betterment levy which had been reduced from Rs. 100 been reduced from KS. 100 crores to Rs. 33 crores would be cut down still further; THREE, the mode of pay-ment would be made easier by further spreading-over the instalments; and FOUR; the Government would con-sider any new suggestion. For Sardar Kairon's infor

For Sardar Kairon's infor-mation, just to show that this was not the understanding of the Communists alone, this is what the Times of India wrota editorially on March 24: "That the agitation was ended only after informal 'talks' between the Govern-ment and the Kisan Sabha

that the Communists cannot be trusted, he needs to be told that the boot is on the other leg.

Movement Was Still Strong

That does not end Mr. Kairon's political chicanery. He knows very well that it was on the basis of these assurances, precisely to create the neces-sary atmosphere which the Punjab Government was demanding to save its own face, that the Punjab Kisan Sabha, on the advice of the All-India Kisan Sabha, withdrew the misan sabha, withdrew the movement. But Sardar Kairon says that the movement was fizzing out and that was why the Kisan Sabha called off the outforter. agitation.

Perhaps Sardar Kairon needs reminding that on the



