4060-4

MUST NOT BE IMPAIRED The statement made by Prime Minister Nehru in the Lok Sabha on April 27 reveals the sharp deterioration that has taken place in the relations between India and China in recent weeks. This development has been hailed by imperialists and caused grave concern to the freedom-loving peoples of the whole of Asia.

T L this tragic pass are well-known and need no reiteration feels deeply Sri Nehru hurt by certain statements made in the Chinese Press and in the Congress. While he admits that there have been "lapses on our side" and regrets the "grave discourtesy" to a picture of M. Tse-tung side" and regrets the "grave discourtesy" to a picture of Mao Tse-tung by "a small group of irresponsible people in Bom-bay", the whole tenor of his statement makes it clear that he holds that it is the "other side" that is primarily responsible for the present situation.

SAAL - Per.

Undeniable Facts

٩.

difficult to agree Tt is with this conclusion. No matter what cne thinks of some of the statements and speeches made by some people in China, cer-tain facts cannot be denied. It was not the Chinese who set the was not the Chinese who set the ball rolling. It was in the Indian Parliament that rabid attacks were made on China by some members. China was called an aggressor, trying to suppress a small country. Moreover, Pandit Nehru himself openly doubted the authenticity of the letters the authenticity of the letters written by the Dalai Lama, vir-tually charging the Chinese Government with deception. Chinese ,

It would have been less than human for the Chinese to swallow this without a counter-reply. If Indians feel counter-reply. If Indians feel hurt at the charge of expan-sionism levelled at a few among them, should not the Chinese feel hurt when their Government is attacked as an aggressor and charged by the Prime Minister of India with describin? deception?

Of course, we do want free-dom of speech and should not tifle free expression of thought. But then we need not complain if people in other countries if people in other countries give similar free expression to what they think. The obvious remedy is to carry on contro-versies within the framework of friendly relations, of relations between friendly countries, so that bitterness of expression is betwee avoided.

Immediate Task

There is a category of persons in India who, to satisfy their blind anti-Communist hatred, would not mind impairing Sino-Indian relations. But the over-whelming mass of our people want these relations to be fri-endly and, therefore the immawant these relations to be imme-endly and, therefore, the imme-diate task before people is to call a halt to the spate of harsh words, invectives and charges words, invectives that are being uttered.

Now that the Tibetan episode has brought us to a dangerous precipice, it is proper for us to review and reserver. review and reassess our aims in Tibet: What is it that we want in relation to Tibet? Confusion

HE events that have led to is created because, though official statements strictly talk of autonomy, even some members of the ruling party talk of all kinds of things, including aid to a small country struggling for independence. The statement issued on behalf of the Dalai Lama is itself atrocious in this respect. It was highly impro-per that an official of the India Government distributed it. What does the statement say?

"There has always been a strong desire for independence on the part of the Tibetan peo-Throughout history this ple. has been asserted on numerous occasions—sometimes the Chi-nese Government imposed their suzerainty on Tibet and at other times Tibet has functioned as an independent country... In 1951, under pressure of the Chinese Government a seventeen-point agreement was made between China and Tibet. In that agreement, the suzerainty of China was accepted as there was no alternative left to the Tibetans." Is this the position of the

Government of India? We have yet to learn that the Government of India thinks that the 1951 agreement was not genuine but made at the point of bayonet. Since this is not the position of India, since India considers the agreement valid, it was grievously wrong on the part of any official to circulate the statement. That statement is more or less a virtual repu-diation of the Sino-Tibetan agreement and a claim of agreement independence from China. One cannot permit anybody to draw on India's support to snatch Tibet from China under the plea of auto-

nomu. If our stand is that Tibet is a part of China, then our Govern-ment cannot lend even indirect support to a demand for inde-Some ndence and secession. pendence and secession. Some interested people in India wish to perform a sleight of hand and equate autonomy with inde-pendence. Such an attitude will be an unwarranted interference in Ching's intermal offerirs. It is in China's internal affairs. It is plain that the Dalai Lama can-not be permitted to use Indian e permitted to use Indian soil to preach disintegration of Chinese territory. The sooner the thing is made clear to him the better.

It is highly improper to sug-gest that there has been a breach of assurance by China on the issue of autonomy of Tibet. It must be remembered that there is no tripartite agreement between China, India and Tibet. There is an agreement between *China and Tibet* in which "the Tibetan people have the right of exercising national

regional autonomy under the unified leadership of the Cen-tral People's Government." The Preamble to the agreement states: "The Tibetan nationality is one of the nationalities with a long history within the boun-daries of China...."

VOL. VII. NO. 18

INDIA-GHINA FRIENDSHIP

JUL 20 197

Political Biag

The Government of India obviously recognises this bipar-tite agreement. The fact that



Tibet has autonomy under the leadership of the Central Gov-ernment, does not mean that a foreign Government can sit in judgement over the functioning of autonomy in Tibet. This is a basic mistake which none should make. And yet we seem to be in-dulging in a lot of gratuitous

advice as to whether a particular emergency should be met by political or military or other methods. How will our Government like it if a fore-ign Government advises us how to maintain law and order, when to use firearms, how to deal with the situation in Kashmir or the Naga Hills and how to meet the demand for linguistic States by per-suasion and not by killing people? It is evident that even official statements of the In-dian Government have tended to go beyond expression of human sympathy for those suffering, and have revealed a distinct political bias. There is one-sided acceptance of the rebel story; there is one-sided rejection of all that the Chinese said, including the au-thenticity of Dalai Lama's letters.

In the name of cultural ties, in the name of cultural ties, of human sympathy, of religion, there is a tendency to forget political frontiers and to act as if they were no longer there. Otherwise, what could one make of the following state-mant? ment?

"Though physical barriers were progressively removed, mental and emotional barriers increased. Apparently the at-tempt to cross these mental and emotional barriers were either

or did not succeed." not made The head of one Government is saying this of the internal policy of another friendly Government

SUNDAY, MAY 3, 1959.

COMMUNIST PARTY

This is nothing but a complete This is nothing but a complete exoneration of the reactionary rebels who have taken arms against the friendly Govern-ment. The onus is thrown on the Government of China, it is that Government's policy that is perpossible for everything. responsible for everything. Those who have taken arms against the Government, who have killed people and officials in the interests of seridom and reaction are evolution reaction are exonerated and up held as leading a national re volt. Private organisations and individuals are no doubt at liberty to express their opinions on world events. But no Government can hail a rebellion in a friendly country as a national revolt and escape the charge of intervention in internal matters.

Sympathies with Whom?

And with whom are we sym-pathising? We sympathise with Lamaism against land reform. We sympathise with supersti-tion, against science, with serfdom against Socialism - all in e name of national revolt and religion. Nasser attacks Com-munism in the name of Islam; we decry the march of Social-ism in Tibet in the name of Buddhism—we whose country has suffered so much due to wanton intrusion of religion into politics.

As the Prime Minister stated: "On the one hand, there was a dynamic rapidly moving society; on the other, a static unchanging society fearful of what might be done to it in the name what of reform. The distance between the two was great and there ap-peared to be hardly any meet-ing ground. Meanwhile, change me forms inevitably came in some forms inevitably came to Tibet. Communications de-veloped rapidly and the long isolation of Tibet was partly broken through."

And we are today sympa-thising with those who stand for static society, for serfdom, those who abhor change be-cause it hurts their vested interests. We blame those wheresis. We burne those who stand for dynamic change and seek to lead Tibet out of medieval darkness. This is indeed a sad commentary on our secularism, on our con-cern for a Socialistic pattern of society. Our sympathy only encourages those who want to resist social change in Tibet. who seek to exercise a veto on Tibet's progress and who have taken arms to defend ancient privilege.

WEEKLY

25 nP.

Reactionary Cause

This is the first time in recent ears that our leading organisations have espoused a reac-tionary cause. It is sad to re-flect that those who sponsored the noble Kotnis mission to China should waste their sym-pathy on reaction in Tibet.

And should Sino-Indian fri-endship be endangered for this engsnp be endangered for this cause which does not help India or the world? A little bit of reflection should convince everybody that many of the actions and statements here have gone beyond expression of sympathy and have partaken of a partisan nature. Our Government would not like armed re-bels to be politically sympathised with and propagated for in other countries.

Imperialists and many others are trying to fish in the troubled waters of Tibet and spoil the relations between the two coun-tries. Their game must not succeed. .

Responding to Prime Minister Responding to Frime Minister Nehru's statement in the Lok Sabha, China's Premier Chou En-lai in his report to the Peo-ple's Congress said on April 18: "Prime Minsiter Nehru of our great friendly neighbour India issued successive statements on issued successive statements on non-interference in China's innon-interference in China's in-ternal affairs and in favour of continued consolidation of fri-endly Sino-Indian relations. We welcome these statements. There is a friendship of over two thousand years between China and India, which are moreover the initiators of the Five-Principles of Peaceful Coexistence. There is no reason why either of our two countries should let our mutual friendship and the principles in foreign relations adhe-red to by our two countries jointly be shaken on account of a handful of Tibetan rebels."

Speaking to the Lok Sabha, Nehru said: "It would be a tra-gedy if the two great countries of Asia, India and China, which or Asia, inclu and China, which have been peaceful neighbours for ages past, should develop-feelings of hostility against each other. We, for our part, will follow this policy; let me hope that China also will do likewise

* .SEE PAGE 13

Contraction of the



CALCUTTA, April 27

another British firm

has been

peated appeal to "set things right in the educational

The one-day direct action, which will be followed by mass rallies of teachers in

Calcutta and mofussil areas

in the afternoon of the same day, is being organised by the Education Movement Coordi-

nation Committee (EMCC),

composed of the representa-tives of four mass organisa-tions of teachers—the All-

sphere in this State."

+ FROM JNAN BIKASH MOITRA

The Indian Steel Works Construction Company The Indian Steel Works Construction Company (ISCON), a consortium of 13 British firms, which is putting up the one-million ton steel plant in the pub-lic sector at Durgapur in this State, is now making desperate efforts to cover up the serious defects in construction which were exposed in NEW AGE (Morat 22) (March 22). Why should we put faith in

tion Co which

I HAD pointed out in that I HAD pointed out in that will show a pointed out in that report that some bored the ISCON's assurances when piles on which all heavy stru-thurss of the plant are dectures of the plant are de-signed to be founded, were tested under loads in the tested under loads in the melting shops and other sec-tions some time ago. But the piles just failed and caved in at half the designed loads.

I had further said that as a result of this bad workman-ship the cost estimates for the plant would go up further. The ISCON has now come

out with a Press statement, the sole purpose of which is to hoodwink the public. The ions defects in construction, which have jeopardis-ed the safety and the whole future of the plant, are sought to be passed off as a and a routine affair.

Admission Of Defects

The statement does admit that some defective piles were discovered in the melting shop in February last. But then, it tries to minimise the extent and the seriousness of the defects. The ISCON would have us believe that the contractors are the most compe-tent judges of their own work. The company further claims that all necessary remedial measures to correct the faulty workmanship have already been taken in hand.

technical consultants with the job of checking up whether the plant is being built to specification, is now trying to wriggle out of the mess by trotting out the plea that such strong foundations are

not at all necessary? Significantly enough, the technical consultants, whose job it was to issue the "re-joinder" instead of the ISCON,

have discreetly remained silent till now. And the ISCON, too, in its statement has par-ried the main questions: Why was the design made for so appointed many piles and for so much

depth? Are the piles being sunk in accordance with the provisions regarding "drawings" in section 5, page 5, the "general conditions "general conditions of contract"?

I repeat again that the ISCON is deliberately try-ing to hide the ugly facts brought to light by New Age. If an enquiry committee of official and non-official experts are appointed by the Government to make a thorough probe into the Dur-gapur affair, it will reveal many more skeletons in the cupboard.

As regards the cost esti-mates the ISCON claims that the remedial measures "althe remedial measures "al-ready put in hand" will in no way affect the cost to the In-dia Government. But the reality is that the

piles as originally designed (but not sunk properly) and already paid for by the Gov-ernment have undoubtedly resulted in higher costs. But, now that the ISCON's ineffi-ciency has been detected, it may be that it will make some adjustments in future pay-ments and "regularise" these higher costs.

I now learn on reliable authority that afte posure in NEW AGE the Special Police Establishment the India Government has been instructed to investigate into the matter.

What is, however, urgently needed is that the investigation must be pursued vigor-ously to the end.

Slander Campaign Against China

PSP LEADERS in West Bengal have refused to learn the lessons of the severe mauling some of them received at the All-India Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity, held in Calcutta only three weeks

Frustrated in its desperate Frustrated in its desperate attempt to get the Conference condemn People's China on the issue of Tibet, the PSP leadership has been trying ever since to whip up public sentiment against China. Its Bengali daily, the Lok Sevak, has been spitting venom day after day. It has even made the "sensational discovery" that serious differences have arisen in Communist ranks on the question of Tibet.

At the PSP's initiative mainly, a meeting of "repre-sentative citizens" of Calcutta was held on April 18. It de cided to convene a conference on May 16 and 17 to "ascertain on May to and 17 to "ascertain facts about the recent hap-penings in Tibet and to arou-se public awareness in the matter, so that a correct stand may be adopted."

Different speakers at the meeting vied with one another in slandering China. They expressed their "grave conessed their "grave con-" over the danger to India's security "if a military Power like China becomes en-trenched in Tibet on India's. border."

To make arrangements for proposed conference, a mittee was also formed with the eminent historian Dr. Ramesh Mazumdar as Chairman and Prof. Samar Guha as Convener-Secretary.

One of the most diehard anti-Communists in the PSP anti-Communists in the PSP ranks Sri Guha has been trying of late to elbow his way into the party leader-ship and also to thrust him-self into the limelight. But his activities in Pakistan sell into the limelight, But his activities in Pakistan only a few years ago are too well-known here; naturally, none takes him seriously.

TRAVESTY

What has, however, come as a surprise to large sections of people is Dr. Ramesh Mazur-dar's association with the dar's association hate campaign against China. nate campaign against china. They are at a loss to under-stand why one who had kept aloof from "politics" all his life, should have suddenly chosen to dabble in it—and that too, on this particular issue.

Listening to him at the meeting of April 18, over which he presided, one had the feeling that he had ceased the feeling that he had ceased be a historian-what he said about Tibet's centuries old relations with China wa with China was not history, but the grossest travesty of truth.

But many people still hope that Dr. Mazumdar will see through the PSP's game and dissociate himself from the sordid affair.

Barring the Yugantar, the o-called nationalist dailies f Calcutta, too, have been carrying a slander campaign against China. They have poured out tons of filth all these weeks.

MAY 3, 1959

Prime Minister Nehru' rvations at his Press Conference at Mussoorie on April 24 and, particularly, his advice to Congressmen there have had little sobering effect on the PSP leadership and the "nationalist" dailies here. In its editorial on April 26 the Lok Sevak raved against the Panchen Lama for his speech in the Chinese Parlia-

nent. The Lok Sevak further dug up the Hungarian and the Yugoslav issues and also the internal unrest in the TIAR to make a venomou attack against China.

The Amrita Bazar Patrika, owned by Sri Tushar Kanti Ghose, however, has beaten even the Lok Sevak. Pandit Nehru had said a

his Press Conference that he would welcome Panchen Lama or any Chinese emissary or or any Chinese emissary of the Chinese Ambassador in Delhi to come to India to meet the Dalai Lama—obvi-ously with the object of dis-cussing the Tibetan question.

But, in its editorial on April 26, the Patrika twisted Pandit Nehru's suggestion and brazenfacedly said that the Prime Minister had "challenged the Panchen Lama or any high Chinese dignitary or the Chinese Ambassador in Delhi to meet the Dalai Lama to find out for himself whether the ruler in exile was a free man or not"!!!

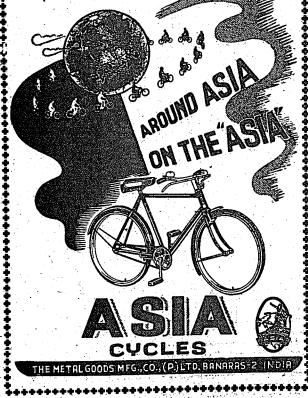
Then it went on to pat th Chinese Government on the back by declaring that it "can hardly expect complete restoration of normalcy in Tiber without the Dalai Lama's cooperation."

The Chinese were also taken to task for carrying on what the paper was pleased to call "anti-Indian propaganda".

Commenting on the Prime Minister's appeal to the peo-ple of India to exercise wis-dom and restraint in saying sts have already submitted a memorandum to Sri Chari, Deputy Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry post-External Affairs Ministry post-ed in Bombay for Goa Affairs. dom and restraint in style anything on the Tibetan issue, the editorial observed, "This eminently reasonable appeal applies to Chinese spokesmen The memorandum clearly states that Goans have every right 'to manage' affairs and only their after the well." withdrawal' of the Portugues will the Goan people decide their future political and ad-Thoroughly put out of coun-tenance by Pandit Nehru's statement that the letters ministrative set-up according to the wishes of the people. statement that the letters written by the Dalai Lama to the Chinese authorities in Lhasa were genuine, the Pat-rika still tried to assert very bravely that "it would be However it is learnt that patriotic priests like Rev. H.O. Mascarenhas, Rev. Conseicao Rodrigues, Rev. Albert de Mendonza and others have bravely that "it would be wrong to take those letters efused to march into this

literally in view of the un-certainties of the political situation in which he (Dala situation in which he (Dalai Lama) found himself at the time.

Truly, anti - Communism dies hardl



PAGE TWO

A BOUT 70,000 primary State Primary Education Board with one-third of its Even the suggestion of the All-Bengal Teachers' Associa-tion for a committee, consist-Bengal 'Teachers' Association, West Bengal Primary Tea-chers' Association, West Ben-gal Municipal Primary Tea-chers' Association and West A and 30,000 secondary school teachers in West members as elected represen-tatives of primary school teachers. Similarly, the consing of the Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University. Director Calcutta University, Director of Public Instruction, and Administrator, Boards of Se-Bengal will resort to a token cease-work and fast Bengal Refugee Primary Teatitution of a Secondary Eduon April 30 in protest agacation Board with adequate inst the Government's re-fusal to respond to their rement's reof secondary condary Education. to con the pay-scales of teachers has

TEACHERS PLAN DIRECT ACTION

Demand : Clean Up Mess In Education

It was pointed out by the leaders of the EMCC at a Press Conference in Calcutta on April 23, that bureau-cratic control over primary and secondary education had proved disastrous to the cause of education in West Bengal.

The absence of planning and the lack of an integrated policy on the part of the Gov-ernment have resulted in utter chaos in the field of education. There is no coordi-nation, whatscover between nation whatsoever between the three stages of education the three stages of education —primary, secondary and higher—and they have been pursuing their own courses independent of one another. Lack of proper syllabuses and suitable textbooks for the suitable textbooks for the higher-secondary and pre-university stages have added to the prevailing chaos.

Sorry State Of Affairs

Little wonder that basic education in the primary stage has totally failed. The position of primary education is no better. Even now, less than 20 per cent of children receive free primary education in the urban areas. The repatterning of secondary education has made confusion worse confounded, and the halfhearted attempt at reforming collegiate and university edu-cation is sure to end in flasco.

The EMCC has repeatedly drawn the attention of the drawn the attention of the Government to this sorry state of affairs. It has been pressing for the repeal of the antediluvian Urban Primary Education Act of 1919 and the Rural Primary Education Act of 1930 and for a comprehen-sive legislation to set up a living wage to the teacher.

representation of secondary school teachers has been demanded

Demand For Coordination

With a view to integrate the different stages of educa-tion the EMCC has been urg-ing upon the Government to set up a coordination committee consisting of the repre-sentatives of the Primary and Secondary Education Boards and of the Calcutta University. This is in line with the recommendations of the De Commission, set up some years ago by the West Bengal Govern-

But the Government has turned a deaf ear to all these suggestions

chers, too, are deplorable

Primary teachers have no pay-scales. Without any prospect of even a single increment in their career, they end at where they begin—Rs. 52.50 Rs. 62.50 and Rs. 67.50 pr month ac-cording to their categories.

A graduate teacher in a secondary school is still on a pay-scale ranging from Rs. 70 to Rs. 100 per month. The EMCC has been pressing for a minimum salary of Rs. 100 and for a pay-structure recom-mended by the All-India Fe-deration of Educational Associations and approved in July 1955 by Sri Humayun Kabir, then Secretary to the Central Ministry of Education. The Centre has agreed to share 50 per cent of any additional cost of this account, but the

primary teachers and perma-nency of service for special cadre teachers; --Grant of aid to all re-cognised but unaided secon-dary schools and same pay-scales for teachers in all such schools; -A modest pay-scale for clerks and librarians and a Government dearness allow-ance of Rs. 35 per month to all teachers, clerks and libra-rians and of Rs. ten to the subordinate staff.

turned down

Other demands put forward by the EMCC are:

—Uniformity in pay-scales of primary teachers in urban

-No arbitrary transfers of

The conditions of the tea- Congress Disruption Sri Harendra Nath Mazumdar, President of one of the primary teachers' associations in the State which receives in the state which receives its instructions from the Con-gress bosses, did not respond to the EMCC's appeal to fight unitedly for the legitimate demands of the teachers. On the contrary, he put up the show of a mock-fight by an-

nouncing a Protest Day on April 21. But, as was expected. he suddenly withdrew the call on the pretext that the Government had conceded certain "henefits" to the primary teachers. The reality, how-ever, is that these benefits were announced by the State Education Minister in the course of the budget debate in the Legislative Council on February 16.

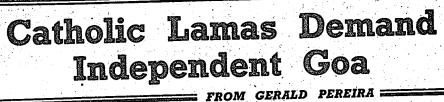
The primary teachers have through this game.

MAY 3. 1959



The Hindustan Standard even went to the length of patronisingly advising China that it must understand that it could not very well ask India to "relinquish its interests" in Tibet just be-cause India "respected" China's sovereignty ove

The Yugantar alone, in it editorials written by Sri Vive-kananda Mukherjee, has till now consistently and fear-lessly supported China's act-ion in Tibet.



the serf-owners' revolt in Fibet, has emboldened the Catholic 'lamas' in Goan Goa and Bombay to openly come out with their pet slogan of a sovereign State

of Goa. The grand lama who gets credit for the idea is His Holi-ness the Papal Knight Sr. ness the Papal Knight Sr. Aloysius Soares. Till recently he was the President of the Goa Liberation Council in Bombay. He was forced to re-sign his presidentship by the

person who has just come public. from Goa for 'medical treat- One ment' here, is supposed to be the leader of the fake opposition against the Salazar re-gime in Goa. In fact, he has always been cooperating with the fascists.

SECRET MEETING

In a secret meeting held here, sponsored by the grand lama and the grand sheikh, the 'lamas', 'sheikhs' and some the lamas, shekins and some Catholic priests who attend-ed it are reliably learnt to have come to the conclusion that the Portuguese will not be able to stick to their posibe able to stick to their posl-tion in Goa for long in view of the rapid growth of the re-surgent Afro-Asian nationa-lism. After serious delibera-tions, they rejected the idea of 'autonomy within the Por-tuguese Commonwealth' as impracticable—of course Goa's integration with 'Hindu' India was uneccentable was unacceptable. Taking this opportune

moment when words like autonomy, self-determina-tion, independence, etc., are tion, independence, etc., allo being loosely used in rela-tion to Tibet, the Goan lamas have raised the de-mand that Goa too be de-clared and recognised as a clared and recognised as a separate sovereign State. According to them, Goans have ceased to be Indians because of the long' spiri-tual and other ties for fourwith and-a-half centuries Portugal. Goa, they argue. has evolved a distinct Indo-Latin culture and being a western outpost inside a 'pagan' India, Goa has all the qualities of separate nationhood. Twelve Goan Catholic pri-

rap. An unsuccessful attempt was mdae by these 'lamas' and 'sheikhs' to organise a mass rally of Goans in the City of Bombay where more than a lakh of Goans reside. But in

NEW AGE

T HE support given by some leaders in India to he serf-owners' revolt in a preliminary meeting held on April 21 last, the represen-tatives of the four main polltatives of the four main poli-tical parties—Sri Agustus Alvares (National Congress Goa), Sri Gerald Pereira (Goan People's Party), Sri Zotico D'Souza (Azad Gomantak Dal) and Nicolao Menezes (Goan Liberation Council) unanimously smashed the whole idea exposing the organisers as agents of imperia-lism, who had come forward to create a vacuum in Goa, to be filled subsequently by the U. S. imperialists. The patrio-tic liberation forces have made rank and file members. This grand lama is already and 'sheikhs' that they stand in touch with Senhor da for complete liquiation of Por-Costa, notoriously known as tuguese rule and integration Goa's Sheikh Abdullah. This of Goa with the Indian Re-

Dublic. One of these 'lamas' has openly declared that if Messrs Jaya Prakash Narayan, Asoka Mehta, Sucheta Kripalani, Mehta, Sucheta Kripalani U. N. Dhebar, Indira Gandh and others are really hones in their support for an inde-pendent State of Tibet then they should prove their honesty by supporting Sheikh Abdullah's demand for inde-Abdinian's demand for independent Kashmir, Phizo's de-mand for independent Naga-land and their own demand for an independent State of Góa

Just Released

Unfortunately some of the nationalists here have nationalists nere nave been carried away by ultra-paro-chial and chauvinistic slogans and they too state that the question of integration of Goa with India can be decided later

n. It is reliably learnt that the demand for the sover-eign Republic of Goa has been met with approval in the U. S. State Department and the Vatican. Enough pressure may be brought on the Salazar regime to have e sort of an election and some sort of an election and enlarge the existing 'Legis-lative Council' in Goa. The 'Council' is expected ^{*}to adopt a resolution declaring Goa a sovereign State. Thereafter recognition will be sourch from the Anglebe sought from the Anglo Americans and the U. N. and soon the uninvited U.S. fleet which is expected to be stationed in the Indian Ocean will stand by in ease

India plans any 'aggression'. Government of India circles here are very much perturbed about the whole affair. The Goa Branch of the Bombay U. I. D. has already been alerted. A woman who is sup-posed to be a liaison between the various spy rings has been arrested and summarily de-ported to Goa.

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BAGE THREE

BHUPESH GUPTA LASHES OUT AGAINST AN UNDESIRABLE PRACTICE him luck.. Some Governmen High Govt. Officials Joining Private Firms

ance Bill in the Rajya Sabha on April 27, Bhupesh Gupta, leader of the Communist Group, recalled the Prime Minister's remarks made at the Indian Institute of Public Administration up fat-salaried jobs with private firms on retirement from Government service.

Bhupesh Gupta said he shared the Prime | Minister's sentiment. "But the trouble is that the good sentiment ex-pressed by the Prime Minister can be frozen" in the lobbies or chambers by the Secretariat. He asked how it was that o stop this highly undesirable practice the Prime Minister did not issue an order that such things should not be done. "Why, did he give per-mission to Sri C. C. Desai for-mer I.C.S. official who is drawing pension, to join the Birla Brothers' Public Relations Department? Was it not possible for him to deny that permission? Why was

Bhupesh Gupta took up an-other instance, that of the ex-Deputy Governor of the Reerve Bank, Mr. Sundaresan who is now Financial Advisor to the Birlas. "He is also on the Investment Committee of the Life Insurance Corpora-tion. How were such things permitted?"

"Mr. Vashisht, a former member of the Railway Board is now with the Khambattas...

"Then there is Mr. Khagen Mukherjee (IPS retired) who was Superintendent of Special Police Establishment. After retirement, he has been apinted Chief Security Officer in Birla's Hind Motors Co.

"Mr. Robinson, who was Deputy Commissioner in the Traffic Department of the Calcutta Police, is now a Director of the Calcutta Tramways Co. Ltd

"Mr. Robertson (IPS) of Calcutta Police, after retire-ment joined Messrs. Jessop & Co. Ltd. as Chief Labour Wel-

fare Officer. "Mr. Norton Jones (IPS) formerly he was in the Calcutta Police-after retirement joined Messrs Balmer Lawrie & Co. Ltd. "Mr. Balakrishnan-Incom

Tax Officer, Government of India, resigned Government service and joined Messrs. Jardine Henderson."

Avenues Of Pressure

"This is how things are happening", said Bhupesh Gupta. "You are giving permission lavishly. Whenever they come, you give then permission. This creater nolications. It causes deoralisation in the adminis. moralisation in the adminis-tration, opens avenues of contacts, opens avenues of pressure, opens avenues of getting your secrets. This thing should not be done." He referred to the former based a Assistant to the Prime Special Assistant to the Prime Minister, M. O. Mathai, and

PAGE FOUR

S PEAKING on the Fin- said he had got de facto control of an English newspaper owned by the Birlas in Delhi. He drew attention to the fact that all papers had publishe his disclosure in Parliament of Sri Satyanarain Sinha's letter to Sri B. M. Birla "except the Birla paper." two days earlier, deprecat-ing the practice of high in that paper. "Not a word appeared about it ing the practice of high in that paper. The matter was Government officials taking so important that the Parliamentary Affairs Minister came this morning buttressed by the Prime Minister. He was tired after making the statement (on Tibet), he was brought here, ... I saw him running. I knew what it was then. I came running. I was afraid. He (Parliamentary Affairs Minister) made the statement. Now, nothing, not a word appeared in the Hindustan Times. Either I was telling the

truth or not. This is how things are going on...." Bhunesh Gunta asked what had happened to the enquiry the Government had instituted in the Mathai affair. He "I understand Mr. Vishhige nu Sahay has ben appointed

to enquire into the allegations I made. Am I not entitled to know the progress of that en-quiry? What has happened to it? Rumours are spreading. It is being said that he has been exonerated. Sri C. C. Desai and the Birlas are all inter-ested in spreading these rumours. But we should be told where the inquiry stands... You talk of parliamentary dethe Opposition is ignored in this mocracy; completely matter. Parliament is ignored in this matter....

Publish The Reports

"I demand again," said Bhupesh Gupta, "before you adjourn this session, that the entire report should be placed before Parliament and the attempts at hushing up this enquiry should be given no

quarter. He also referred to news-paper reports of a fine of Rs. 55 lakhs imposed on Sri Shanti Prasad Jain for rack-

eteering in foreign exchange and asked why Parliament had not been told, "According to my calculations," he said "the fine should have been higher, even according to law. "Then comes the Vivian Bose Enquiry Committee Report. All kinds of stories are spreading. Tell us. We are not strangers."

Having dealt with Government policy on taxation and reiterated the demand for a basic change in it, Bhupesh Gupta before closing his speech again warned "the country and the members opposite that we are alarmed by the manner in which Big Business is trying to influence Government, frustrate some of its declarations, pressurise it into submission.

"In this context," he said, "I want to draw the attention of the House to the Indo-U.S. Economic Cooperation Con-ference that is going to be held in Washington. It seems Mr. Asoka Mehta has gone to ioin this Conference. I wish

of India officials' have also joined. According to Press re-ports, it seems the whole of this Conference is to improve the climate for private capitalists' investment so that the American millionaires would be in a position to make more investments, earn profit, ex-ploit our resources. This is the whole purpose of this Conference.

On Sri Morarji Desai protesting that the Govern-ment had nothing to do with this Conference, Bhupesh Gupta asked to be enlightened on how names of some ment officials, including the Ambassador Mr. M. C. Chagla, Mr. B. K. Nehru and somebody from the Reserve Bank had ap-peared and they were re-ported to be joining the Confrence. "I would like to be assured

that we do not take such a step whereby they will be giving Pakistan sabre-jet fighters and a chance to shoot down our Canberras or giving arms to Pakistan's armed forces for training themselves against us and firing on us from ac-ross the borders, and then hold such Confrences to lead us into believing that their help is to create a more fav-ourable climate, a favourable situation for capitalistic penetration into our economy

of gruel and administered to the sick."

"A Tibet doctor—they are all monks—is likely to give a wealthy patient a perfectly good stomach draught of herbs with test-ed efficacy and at the same time e niceed efficacy and at the same time a piece containing the excrement of one of the Grand Lamas, all to be taken on an astrologically auspicious day. There was no medical service for the poor formerly. Those who could afford it paid a monk to pray when they were sick." could aft to pray sick."

I wonder if there will be short supply of those holy lls in Tibet today with pills in Tibet toda the impressive Lama van encamping at Mus-

But even if we cannot arrange the export of those holy pills to Tibet, we must see to it that the holy stomachs are not upset. I was, therefore, heartened to see the holy menu of the Lama party at Tezpur. I am greatful to the Times of India for this piece of

"The lunch menu was: french orange cocktail, soup, fish indienne, mutton crumb chops and vgetables, chicken curry, pilau, dal, papad and chutneys, man-go ice cream and rosgolla, dessert coffee."

"For breakfast, the Dalai Lama had corn-flakes, toast, eggs, jam, fruits, tinned milk and coffee."

tinned milk and coffee." Mrs. Punj, the charming wife of the officer-com-manding the Foothils Camp, was ecstatic that she could serve the meals to the Dalai Lama before her husband was transfer-red: "Isn't it wonderful that this should be before there?" then?

Isn't it really wonderful -how we can blend the holy menu, the holy pills and all that with our So-cialist pattern?! The Chinese surely have a lot to learn from us....

-DIARIST

★★★ Resolutions Of The Puniab State Council Of The Communist Party ★★★

The Punjab State Council of the Communist Party of India in its second meeting held from April 19 to 21, 1959, in Patiala adopted the following resolutions :

Stop Forcible Realisation ?

RESOLUTION CALLING the scale of advance, too. UPON GOVERNMENT TO STOP FORCIBLE REAL-ISATION OF ADVANCE PAYMENT OF BETTER-MENT LEVY.

FTER the withdrawal of the anti-betterment levy satyagraha on March 22 by the Sahha with the declared object of creating a calm atmosphere for a negotiated settlement, quite contrary to popular expectations, the dis-trict authorities under instructions from the State Government have resorted to coercive methods with the aid of larger armed forces of the police for realisation of advance pay-

ment of levy. The bureaucracy, it may be noted, during the course of the satyagraha dared not demand any payment from the pea-sants. In the districts of Ferozand Bhatinda, armed police have raided and besieged villages, beaten up pea-sants, arrested those who prosants, arrested those who pro-tested against coercion, and forcibly realised advance pay-ment. All legal processes have been wantonly trampled un-.

derfoot. The resort to hasty coercive methods is all the more sur-prising for the State Govern-ment has already announced, reduction of the quantum of levy from Rs. 82 crores to Rs. 33 crores and stands commitderfoot. 33 crores and stands commit-ted to further reduction. Such a heavy reduction in the ori-ginal quantum should have logically led to reduction in

Forcible realisation is moreover a wanton breach of the oft-repeated declarations of the Chief Minister that the district authorities had been instructed not to use coercion against those who were unable to pay the kharif instalment. These forcible realisations are moreover contrary to the normal revenue practice followed throughout the years to postpone realisation of Govern-ment dues outstanding against the peaasntry after March 15 to the rabi instalment following the harvesting season. In their aim to realise the levy in haste and through coercion, the district officials have wilfully interfered with the harvesting operations at a time when there should be the least interference with the peasants.

The provocative, coerc methods used by the author coercive ities have sent a wave of reentment among the pea try. Instead of normalisation of the situation, the atmos-phere has been further vitated. The responsibility for the deterioration lies on the shoulders of the State Government and in particular on the Chief

Minister. The State Council condemns

the coercive realisation of ad-vance payment and demands that such realisation be stopfinal ped forthwith till the final settlement of the entire levy

NEGOTIATE SETTLEMENT ?

issue.

NEGOTIATE WITH KISAN warrants including those SABHA LEADERS FOR THE PEACEFUL SETTLE-MENT OF LEVY ISSUE.

THE State Kisan Sabha had called off the anti-betterment levy satyagraha on March 22 in response to oftrepeated appeals by the Gov-ernor, Irrigation Minister and the appeal by the Speaker of the Punjab Vidhan Sabha endorsed by the Communist Group in the legislature, fol-lowed by a declaration of elcome by the Chief Minister announcement that the quantum had been reduced to Rs. 33 crores and would be still further reduced.

Definite assurances regardsubstantial reduction in levy, spreading it over a longer period and withdrawal of repressive measures had been held out by the Chief Minister personally in his negotiations with the all-India leaders of the Communist Party and Kisan Sabha before the termination of satyagraha. It was expected that the State Gov-ernment would gracefully respond to this gesture by releas-ing all prisoners, cancelling all

MAY 3, 1959

ed the unity of rural toilers. Their sacrifices will not go in vain. Millions of toilers 6......

"Inside the monasteries, as out, wealth counts. It is in any case a proof of de-voutness in previous exist-ences. Well-to-do, families have houses of their own inside the monasteries, passed down from genera-tion to generation of monks. Wealthy monks have their own food prepared, do no manual work and are as-sured of advancement all along the line.... Among the vast majority of monks --those from poor families --some are able to learn to read and write and to gain advancement, but news: to read and write and to gain advancement, but most can only hope to spend their lives as ser-vants, carrying water and doing the work of the monasteries and monks of high degree."

Harrer, with all his at-tachment to the old order in Lhasa, referred to the Tibet Government's policy towards medicine as "a dark chapter in the history of modern Tibet" and he said so with good reason:

"The Lamas often smear their patients with their holy splittle. Tsampa, butter and urine of some saintly man are made into a sort

about the dispensation of justice in blessed Tibet: "There is no organised sys-tem of law courts in Tibet. The investigation of offen-ces is entrusted to two or three persons of noble rank, but corruption is unfortunately very prevacome of these monasteries." No wonder that the Dalai Lama's party wisely pre-ferred to bring packages of gold with them in their-flight to India, in prefer-ence to adequate supply of clothes. But perhaps you will expect that even with all this wealth, the living gods, inside their holy order at least, practised austerity. Here is what Winnington found: come of these monasteries.

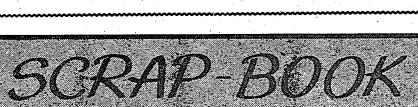
rank, but corruption is unfortunately very preva-lent: in fact, very few nobles have a high reputa-tion for integrity. The sums received as bribes are re-garded by many as part of the perquisities of the feu-dal system." WEALTH COUNTS

How civilised is the form How civilised is the form of punishment under the holy law you can very well judge: "When highwaymen or robbers are caught, they are usually condemned to have a hand or a foot cut off. I was horrified to see in what manner wounds so inflicted are sterlised. The limb is plunged into bolling butter and held there." Harrer left Tibet in 1950.

Harrer left Tibet in 1950. Five years later, Alan Winnington visited Lhasa Winnington Visited Lnasa and was a guest of both the Dalai and the Panchen Lamas. Winnington was impressed with the monas-teries:

"The monasteries are the repositories of the wealth of Tibet across the centu-ries: Into them have pour-ed all the gold and precious things, all the artistic and material production of the Tibetans. The richest nohe is a pauper compared with this vast mass of con-gealed wealth. Moreover, when he dies, he will try to ensure his future exist-ence by bequeathing most of his own lifetime's accu-mulation to the monaste-ries.... Rent from the big-gest landholdings in Tibet, trade, moneylending and gifts form the current in-

NEW AGE



ALL ABOUT LAMAS

T HE Chinese are really very naughty, upsetting the serene order of Lama society in Tibet. Even if Tibet is inside the frontlers of the Chinese Republic, the peace of the Holy La-mas must never be distur-bed. So, much is being said by our Friends of Tibet now-a-days about preserv-

by our Friends of liber now-a-days about preserv-ing "the religion of Bud-dha" in its pristine glory in Tibet against the Chi-nese barbarians who are

Being myself an ignora-

mus—who has already been branded by the Prime Min-

ister as having no national moorings—I have been try-ing to enlighten myself by

reading up all the books on Tibet I can lay my hands

on. You must have heard of Heinrich Harrer, the Aus-trian ski-ing champion who became the Dalai Lama's tutor before the Chinese troops' proximity made him flee Tibet. His book, Seven Years in Tibet, I would recommend to everyone who abhors Red propagan-da.

DIVINE WILL

This is what Harrer wri-tes about what he saw at Lhass: "The life of the people is regulated by the divine will, whose interpre-ters the Lamas are. Before anything is undertaken, they must test the omens. The gods must be unceas-ingly entreated, placated or thanked."

Harrer has a few words

endangering it.



alleged violence, remit and return all fines, restore attached properties, postpone reali-sation of advance payment of levy, and open negotiations with Kisan Sabha leaders for peaceful settlement of the

But the Chief Minister has

gone back on all his assurances and banged the door against negotiations. To make matters still worse, repression and measures are being stepped up against the pea-sants. Plans have been hatch-ed to create conflict in the villages and make peasant fight peasant. Chief Minister Kairon and State Congress President Darbara Singh are making highly provocative infiammatory and irresponsible speeches vitiating the atmos-phere still further.

The State Council deplores the deterioration in the situa-tion caused by responsible leaders of the ruling Party and urges upon them to put an end to this state of affairs.

It demands that the State Government should immediately open negotiations with leaders of the Kisan Sabha and settle the issue peacefully.

U.S.-PAK PACT PROTEST DAY

The U.S.-Pak Pact is dangerous above all to the treedom and sovereignty of our country. It is meant to further estrange the relations between. people of India and Pakistan. The ruling circles of Pakistan categorically state that it can be invoked against India. It is a grave threat to the people of the border State of Punjab who have hardly recovered from the scars of devastation caused by partition and the attendant measures.

The State Council welcomes the resolution on the subject passed by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference recently held at Calcutta and the decision to observe May 16 as Protest Day against the Pact. The Council calls upon all its units and appeals to the peace-loving people to jointly observe the day with meetings, rallies and processions.

Curb Kairon's Irresponsible And Provocative Activities

ON IRRESPONSIBLE AND PROVOCATIVE SPEECH-ES OF THE CHIEF MINIS-TER OF PUNJAB.

HE State Chief Minister, Sri Pratap Singh Kairon, has recently addressed a num-ber of public meetings in the villages of Jullundur district wherein he has made highly inflammatory and provocative speeches against the Communist Party and Kisan Sabha

leaders. On April 9 speaking at the village of Bilga, he remarked, "I would have been very glad f Communist leaders ha killed by bullets. I would see that not a single Communist is seen here." These words are a direct incidement to the police and agents of the domi-hant ruling clique in the State to make violent attacks against the Communists and their sympathisers in the vil-lages and spread lawlessness in the countryside. They have dangerous implications for our democracy, freedom and norms of decent public life. As if to cover up his call to lice and agents of the domi-

As if to cover up his call to violence against the Communists, he trumped up a wild charge in his speech to Conworkers at Phagwara on gress workers at Fliagwant -April 12 that Communists were collecting arms in certain charge which the State Coun-cil repudiates as baseless and malicious.

Minister, in utter violation of the foreign policy of the In-dian Government and reladian Government and rela-tions of friendship and Panch Shila between India and China, stated at another meet-Ing that if ever China invaded . India throught Tibet, the Communists would stab India the back-thus trying to in the back—thus trying to thinked the back—thus trying to the second of the people of the country to the dangerous character of these utterances and urge them to take steps to curb such activities.

Not satisfied with baiting challenging the patriotic bona local Communists, the Chief fides of the Communist Party fides of the Communist Party.

The State Council condemns these irresponsible and provo-cative speeches which are un-worthy of the Chief Minister of the State.

This Council draws the attention of the State Governor, Prime Minister Nehru, Home Minister Pant and of all leaders of democratic

killed. Many had their bones

and skulls fractured. Hundreds of houses even of non-satyagrahis were leoted

non-satyagrahis were leoted under pretext of attachment

of property for realisation of

over ten thousand persons

were put in jail in the anti-

betterment levy movement and about two thousand in the

food movement. When jails were filled to saturation, sat-

yagrahis in thousands were arrested, beaten up, put into trucks and left at distant places in the dark of night, hungry and shelterless.

The so-called guardians of

law and order themselves trampled law and order un-

derfoot. All sorts of excesses and illegalities were commit-

ted. The womenfolk of satya-grahis still in jail were sub-jected to horrible atrocities for

realisation of fines-beating

Unprecedented Repression Condemned

CONDEMNATION OF UN- result of police firing, repres-**CONDEMNATION OF UN- PRECEDENTED POLICE REPRESSION. Dozens were wounded by bul-**lets and a number of cattle

UNDER directions of the Punjab State Government, and especially Chief Minister Kairon, the police launched unprecedented repression ag-ainst the anti-betterment levy and food movements, in particular the former. Elev men and women fell martyrs as a

HOMAGE TO MARTYRS

homage to the martyrs of the anti-betterment levy and food movements who fell victims to police bu sion and maltreat. ment in jail. It greets their

ment in jail. It greets their glorious sacrifices and ex-presses heart-felt condol-ence to their relatives. The blood of agricultural worker and peasant mar-tyrs mingled in a common eam and has strengthen-

THE State Council pays homage to the martyrs of the anti-betterment levy and food movements who better, prosperous and free life. The agrarian movement will get strengthened.

The State Council pledges to take suitable steps to help erection of memorials to these martyrs. Names of martyrs :

Victims of police firing in Narur, district Kapurthala —Mai Basanti, Havaldar Basant Singh, S. Basant

Singh, S. Ram Singh and S. Lachhman Singh. Aitiana, district Ludhiana

-Mai Chand Kaur, Bibi Bachni.

Died of maltreatment in Jullundur jail—S. Malkiat Singh Kandolan, S. Dhana Singh Daulat Para (district Jullundur), Sri Godha Mal, Bhaini Maraj, district Sangrur.

Martyr of food movement —Sri Nika Singh (village Vein Poin, district Amritsar) died in Ferozpur jail.

realisation of nnes-beating, subjecting to indignities, firing and looting of property. Never in British days even did the bureaucracy act in such inde-cent haste in contravention of all normal legal processes. The properties of many *****SEE OVERLEAF

UNIFORM LEGISLATION FOR ROAD TRANSPORT

T was over three years cerning working hours and overago that the Madras meet-ing of the Standing Labour road transport undertakings Committee discussed the question of a uniform law to regulate the working hours, spread-over and overtime for

the road transport workers. A special committee was appoind to report on the matter. The committee submitted the report a year ago.

At the Bombay session of the Standing Labour Committee the problem was shelved due to the unhelpful attitude of some State ents and the emplo-Gov yers. And the report was referred to the Government for de-

So far no decision is in sight.

The road transport industry has expanded tremendously and within it the State sector has also grown though not to the extent as the private sec-

It is ridiculous that the provisions of the Factories Act con-

uniformly, but only the running staff is denied a uniform legis lation applicable all over the Railwaymen country. **Face Break**

It is evident that with the growth of the State sector, Governments are lining up In Service behind the private employe in opposing this legislation.

It is said that the Union Transport Ministry is opposing this measure and has been overruling the suggestions of Labour Ministry.

The problem was sharply fo-cused during the Labour and Transport debates in Par-

The transport workers have accepted the challenge. They have powerful national Federaions to move them into action. Irrespective of affiliations, they are absolutely unanimous abou this long standing and vital and just demand. T unitedly and win. They will act

Bank Bosses On War Path

Bank, Delhi, appear to have decided on provoking a major show-down with the bank emplovees.

These gentlemen are notorious for their anti-employee and anti-Indian outlook and behaviour. It is common knowledge that in the past they have abu-sed and insulted the employees and injured their national pride. And for this the bosses had even to tender written apologies in the past.

Now they have selected twelve employees-among them office-bearers and activists of the union and the All-India Bank Employees' Association for charge-sheeting as "un-reliable." It should be noted that disputes concerning supe session, denial of promotion and the like are pending about almost everyone of the twel And this has been do welve is said, notwithstanding

CORRECTION

In our "Labour Notes" published in New Age dated April 19, in our comments on Provi ent Fund Scheme', the question of deletion of Section 16(1)(a) to cover the undertakin ed by the Government or a loca authority is mentioned. This Section has already been dele-ted, which the commentator verlooked. The error is regret-

In the same note a mention was made of the failure of the Government in extending the scheme to the motor transport industry. But it has been decided that the scheme will apply to all motor transport establishments employing 50 or more persons from April 30, 1959.

PAGE SIX

THE British bosses of the an earlier agreement with the National and Grindlay's union to drop the charge of "ununion to drop the charge of "un-reliable", etc.

> The bosses have gone to the extent of refusing to proceed on an application of the workers ist the misbehaviour of the bank officials under the specific provisions of the Shastry Award.

But the most disgraceful part of the story is the role of the police. There is perpetual Section 144 in the Chan dni Chowk area where the bank is situated. Workers are denied the lawful right of peaceful demonstrati secure redressal of grievan Action under the Indian Penal Code is threatened agains bank employees' leaders. It is disgusting to see police men and officers crowding hear the bank and receiving the manager with "salaams", opening the door of his car and so on.

It should be emphasised that the employees have endorsed the Code of Discipline and are strictly within their rights whereas the employers have refused to accept the code and for days together and beaten turned down the plea of even. up. Brutal treatment was the Union Labour Minister in meted out to them in jail. the matter.

Yet the police stand with the

The Delhi State Federation of Bank Employees has moved in great protest- demonstrations. ications have been sent to the Union Labour and Ho

But no settlement has yet been reached.

The Government should stop this police provocation and shameless defence of foreign bosses and intervene to secure a just settlement of the emplo-, demands

* FROM PAGE 5

Communist and Kisan Sabha Communist and Kisan Saoha leaders and workers were at-tached even without declaring them absconders. Warrants were issued for arrest of al-most all Communist and Kisan Sabha leaders and workers. Active workers were arrested without warrants. The functioning of the Commu and the Kisan Sabha was virtually illegalised. The entire editorial and managerial staff of Nawan Zamana arrested and sent to jail so that correct and up-to-date news of the movement should not reach the public and police ses be not exposed.

sed the most unprecedented mass movement for food and

cheap grain shops. The sky-rocketing prices and the low earnings had resulted in wide-

Obviously in this situation,

the workers of the Central Rail-

way employed in the workshops at Jhansi went on a two-hour

spontaneous strike on February

1 demanding cheap grain shops. But the bureaucratic rail-way administration callously

ionored the human distres

behind the issue and pounced on the workers. They were marked absent for the day. Not satisfied with this, they

have now served notices on the 500 railwaymen that this would mean break in their

discontent and distur-

Indiscriminate Firing

Indiscriminate firing was resorted to in Narur, Aitiana, Dhaliwal and Upli, killing eight men and women, besides number of cattle and wounding many more. Teargas and lathis were mercilessly used. Peasants were detained in jails and kept without food Peasants were arrested from villages which were victims of police excesses and prosecuted in cases of alleged violence against police. The arrests are Armed Police was sent to the villages to terrorise the strug-Armed

gling peasants. Villages which have been cenes of police excesses are scenes of police excesses are being constantly harassed and fresh arrests are being made to crush their spirit. The A.D.M. of Ludhiana has earned activities of pasants of village Sherpur and terrorising them for participation in protest meetings.

NEW AGE

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

In this the railway adminisway Mazdoor Sangh (INTUC), while the PSP leadership of the National Railway Mazdoor Union (affiliated to the HMS $\mathbf{L}_{1959,\ Uttar}^{\mathrm{ATE}\ in\ 1958}$ and early in 1959, Uttar Pradesh witnesand the AIRF) is a silent spectator

Will the railway administration realise that this callous ac-tion would only add to the discontent and rebound on them?

EMPLOYEES

Anril 18 without assigning any

notices. Failing to evoke any response, they went on a pro- conten test token strike from 9 p.m. on tions?

Punjab Police Repression

The unprecedented repres-

sion against a thoroughly peaceful movement has expos-ed the horrible face of the

bourgeois-landlord Govern-ment in all its naked brutal-

ity. All the slogans of Congress

'ahimsa

leaders regarding 'ahimsa 'welfare State', 'democracy and 'rule of law' have vanish

ed into thin air. The Congress

ed into thin air. Into Constant Government launched against a peaceful movement what might be called 'Operation Pacification'. Conditions of

Pacification'. Conditions of Martial Law were created in many places without declaring

To cover up this brutal re-pression and to malign the

movement, stories are being fabricated such as 'creation of

Telengana in Jullundur' 'pre

parations for intensification of

struggle in Pepsu areas', 'Com-munist plot to annex Punjab

in next general elections', etc.

decided on March 22 to with-

draw the satyagraha to create favourable atmosphere for settlement. But instead of

helping to normalise the situ

ation, the State Government instructed the bureaucracy to

launch repression in new

to withdraw warrants in most cases, and release most of the satyagrahis. Hundreds are still

in jail or being prosecuted. Police pickets have been placed in villages—victims of police excesses—to further

terrorise and demoralise the

not been returned nor attach-

ed properties restored. Orders

have not been issued for re-mission of fines. Big police

forces have been sent to Feroz-pur, Bhatinda, Sangrur and

other places. The kisans were

asonts. Fines realised have

The State Government had 6.

forms.

Harassment

Continues

The State Kisan Sabha had

Will the AIRF and the union tration is directly supported by leadership realise their respon-the leaders of the Central Rail-sibilities towards these work-

> Is it fair to victimise these workmen for a two-hour action in the background of the deep distress and the wide-spread agitation?

We hope sanity will prevail and the administration would withdraw the notices served.

AIR COMPANY PROVOKES

THE management of the April 21 to 9 p.m. on April 22. Jamair Co., Calcutta, has retrenched. 31 employees on management. Even this has not moved the management. Now the Coordination Committee of the air transport em-

April 18 without assigning any reasons even while a dispute is pending before the Industrial Tribunal, West Bengal. The employees of this air company first requested the ma-nagement to withdraw these Foiling to evoke any ment intervene before the dis-tribunal west Bengal Govern. ployees' organisations in Calcutta has taken up the cause. Will the management realise

Will the West Bengal Govern-ment intervene before the dis-content spreads to other sec-

beaten, arrested and efforts

were made to realise the

advance payment of levy for-

to harass the peasants, lead-ers of the ruling Party, Kairon

and Darbara Singh, are ins-

tigating their agents to attack peaceful kisans and involve them in false cases. They

themselves are making irres-

speeches provoking attacks against Communist and Kisan

The State Council strongly

condemns this brutal repres-

sion and provocation and demands that :

All arrested peasants be

released and all prosecu-tions withdrawn.

2. All warrants of arrest be

fines realised and pro-perties attached be restored.

Judicial open enquiry be

Judge into police excesses and

guilty officials be punished.

Aitiana and Sherpur.

All fines be remitted and

held by a High Court

Police pickets be with-

drawn from Na,rur,

Forcible realisation of

The State Council sends

greetings to the heroic pea-

sants who braved uppreceden-

ted police repression and made unparalleled sacrifices. The

Council hopes that they will

patiently face police repres-sion that still continues. The State Council greets the

Communist and Kisan Sabha

workers who with great deter-

mination stood in the fore

the brunt of dire repression

front of the struggle and bore

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advance payment of levy

withdrawn.

State Council's

ponsible and inflammator

To disrupt rural unity and

cibly.

workers.

3.

5.

be stopped.

Demands

Following are extracts from the Presi-dential Address delivered by Comrade A. K. Gopalan to the Sixteenth Session of the All-India Kisan Sabha at Mayuram.

duction.

LET me begin with pay-Ling homage to the mar-tyrs, men and women who died in kisan struggles.

The past year has been one of magnificent struggles of our peasantry in defence of their vital interests, against inequitable and heavy tax burdens, against food scar-city, for radical agrarian reforms, etc. We also saw a reorientation of our organisation's policy towards construc-tive activities like increased food production, participation in developmental activities. organisation of cooperative

movements, etc. The past year also saw a reiteration of the attitude of he ruling party towards some of our most pressing and basic demands. The Nagpur and Resolutions of the Congress needs of the peasantry are relcome moves. However, while welcoming these resolu tions, we cannot shut our eyes to the experience of the last 11 years of Congress rule.

Nagpur Resolutions

The fact that the Con-gress—though belatedly, has been forced into an obliga-tory acceptance of ceilings on land-holdings is itself a great victory of the Kisan Sabha which raised this slogan first in this country and has ever since conduc-ted a sustained campaign. ted a sustained campaign. But this victory which is as yet only in principle, can-not be and will not be translated into practice unle we organise and conduct determined struggles in unity with all progressive sections of the Indian population, isolate the reacti ary vested interests both within and outside the ruling party, conduct sustain-ed political and ideological ed political and ideological campaigns against them and in the process build up an invincible organisation of our kisan masses to force the unwilling hands of the

the unwinning names of the ruling party to put their professions into practice. The policy of the Kisan Sabha has always been a

Sabha has always been and grammes have been drawn up in the best interests of the nation as a whole. From the very beginning we have em-phasised the importance of phasised the importance of radical agrarian reforms to the development of our naeconomy and rapid in-Our slogans dustrialisation and programmes were intended to build up a firm and unshakable base for the economic development of our country. But the Congress Governments at the Centre and the States ignored our ds and tried to bypass land reforms. The flasco of their policy is now seen in real life—our country and her famines, heavy tax burdens, a disastrous foreign exchange crisis which threatens to unnational indedermine our pendence and a creeping in-fiation.

MAY 3. 1959

What has been the result of this short-sighted, foolish and bureaucratic approach of the Congress? Agricultural production, especially of food grains, has more or less stag-nated during the last three or four years. Not merely has production not kept pace with the increase in population, it has not even come near the targets of the Plan. According to the economic survey of the Government of India

Serious

Consequences

of the Government of India, the per capita availability of foodgrains during the last year at 12.3 oz. per day was the lowest in the past few years even in spite of the vastly increased imports in that year. The index of na-tional income from the agricultural sector fell from 122.4 in 1954-55 to 118.6 in 1957-58 with 1950-51 as 100. The index people have been subjected with 1950-51 as 100. The index to untold sufferings, repeated of foodgrains production fell and chronic food shortage, from 127.4 in 1955-56 to 118.6 in 1957-58. The area under food crops fell from 215.835 million acres in 1955-56 to 212.717 million acres in 1957-58. The production of foodgrains fell from 65.794 million tons in

FOR CEILING AND DISTRIBUTION OF SURPLUS LAND

What is the approach of the Congress Government and the Planning Commission to this question? flucture While in agriculture, in the years.

present context of our econo-my, the endeavour in the immediate present must be to utilise to the maximum the available human resources, the Congress Governments have tried to bypass this issue. The methods sought to be adopted to achieve the production targets of the Se-cond Five-Year Plan were to rely mainly on its administrative functions and technical improvements, i.e., the allotment of lands as between different crops, price fixation, price support, etc., credit po-licy, irrigation facilities, use of fertilisers, better seeds, etc. No doubt these are important elements in a programme of increased agricultural pro-

But as experience has shown the results that can be achieved by these mea-sures alone will not be commensurate with the expenses incurred or with the needs economy so long as there is the failure to see the peasant as the central figure in any scheme of in-

1955-56 to 62.026 million tons in 1957-58. The per acre yield of foodgrains has also violently fluctuated during the last few

Apart from all this the most serious consequence to dur economy has been the enormous amount of foreign exchange we have had to spend on account of the import of foodgrains during the last few years. During the first three years of the Second Plan we imported foodgrains worth Rs. 300 crores. To meet this charge on our reources we had to enter into a number of agreements with the USA under PL 480 and such other con-ditions which threaten our economic stability and pave the way for imperialist inter vention in our political life. economic and

Whatever increase in production we have achieved during the last few years has been fortuitous, our agriculture has not been able to keep up a steady rise either in total production, or in pro-ductivity. In spite of all the money that has been spent on the development of agricultu-ral production, the results results have been meagre.

creased agricultural produc-tion today in our country. With that of China, Comrade

obtaining in China.

The precondition, therefore, for any efficient reorganisation of agriculture is thoroughgoing land reform. Here we must emphasise our basic demands regarding land and land relations.

1 Vesting of ownership rights in all tenants, regardless of the tenure under which they hold their land today, subject to restricted right of resumption by small owners. Full security against ejectment of sharecroppers.

2 Imposition of ceiling on all peasant holdings withdistribution of surplus land to ejected tenants, agricultural labourers and peasants.

3 Free distribution of all cultivable waste lands to agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

4 These are our basic de-mands in regard to land reforms and I wish to take this opportunity to emphasise that the carrying out of this task is the precondition for cooperativisation. Efforts which try to bypass these measures are bound to fail measures are bound to fail and are likely to bring further unlications in its wake.

Here I wish to record our

agricultural cooperatives can-not be overestimated. Scattered small-scale peasant proprietorship will in the long run be an impediment to development, to introduction on a wide scale of the most up-to-date and scientific method of cultivation, etc. Cooperati-visation helps better crop planning, suitable selection of crops, better facilities for permanent improvements of agri-cultural practices, better divi-sion and utilisation of labour and increase in cultivable area on the abolition of boundaries. It helps the introduc-tion of higher techniques, in-creased labour productivity etc. Hence there is no ques-tion of our own attitude to co-operative farming. But to make it a success, we must press forward land reform proposals, and also demand that:

- 1. The peasant must be educated on the benefits of cooperative farming. Efforts must be made to raise his conscious and at the same time proper propaganda must be carried out in the 2. It must be voluntary.
- Practically it must be demonstrated by organi-

AGAINST EVICTIONS, FOR DISTRIBUTION WASTE LAND

wardness of our economy, the question of increased agricultural production is not only a technological question but mainly it is one of organising the vast masses of the peasantry to carry out the national tasks, of enthusing them to put in their best both in terms of labour and spirit towards higher agricultural yields.

In the context of the back- Gopalan continued :

The most outstanding development which preceded the movement for cooperativisa-tion was the radical measure of land reforms carried out in China. The nature of these reforms and the unsparing manner and the speed with which they were carried out, influenced the growth of agrarian cooperatives in a measure as no other single factor has done.

Everybody who could cul-tivate and wanted to do so, man or woman, was given land. Altogether about 118 million acres out of a total cultivated area of about 275 million acres, were distri-buted among 300 million peasants. Besides lands, houses belonging to land-lords containing about 38 million rooms, about 30 million draught animals, 39 million agricultural imple-ments and about five million tons of foodstuffs were confiscated from landlords and distributed. The Chinese had thus eliminated at one stroke, in the course of less than three years, not only landlordism, but also the vestiges of kulak economy

appreciation of the efforts of the Kerala Government in the face of very advers factors and under sever constitutional restrictions in having brought before the legislature a comprehensive and satisfactory measur which to a great extent meets most of the demands of our peasantry.

Now I wish to draw your attention to the loud and heated controversy-now whipped up by certain reactionary vested interests in the country against land reform mea-sures in general and ceiling on landholdings and coopera-tives in particular. The controversy, though not of immepractical significance, diate in view of the halting and half-hearted measures of Con-gress Governments, has got an ideological importance of its own and we have to take up our positions with a clear perspective.

Cooperative Farming

What is our attitude to cooperative farming? While stressing the precedent con-dition -- viz. thoroughgoing land reforms-for the succe ful organisation of agricultural cooperatives, we welcome the measure wholeheartedly. In the development of planned economy, the advantages of sing cooperative farms wherever possible.

Fight Against Tax Burden

Now I come to certain other problems facing the peasantry. Among them is the heavy tax burden. In this connection we had warned earlier also that we will resist all inequitable and unjust taxation. How-ever the Central and State Governments in the name o the Plan and development continue to burden the people with more and more taxes. This way they are undermining the very basis of the success of planning viz., the cooperation and enthusiasm of our people. The Third Plan is on the

anvil and we hear voices camaigning for doubling the land revenue, increase in bet-terment levy, irrigation tax, etc. Such demands are often. clothed in high-sounding phraseology like taking more surplus out of agriculture, bearing a greater share of the burden of development, etc. This argument does not stand scrutiny. This argument would be understandable if a major or even a substantial portion of the taxes today collected by the Centre and States came from direct taxation taxes today collected States like corporation. income-tax.

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PAGE SEVEN

A. K. GOPALAN'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS TO KISAN SABHA



NEW AGE

CHINA: SOCIALISM HAS WON BASIC VICTORY OVER CAPITALSIM ON ALL FRONTS

Premier Chou En-lai of the Chinese People's Re-olic made, on April 18, a lengthy report of the work be Government of Chine to the National People's increase in absolute terms public made, on April 18, a lengthy report of the work of the Government of China to the National People's Congress which began its session in Peking on the same day.

CHOU EN-LAI, in discussing the two roads, Socialism had

and 1950. A great socialist re-been won for the Socialist re-volution on the ideological and political fronts during the nationwide rectification campaign and the struggle against crafts in the total value of the bourgeois Rightists in 1957 industrial and agricultural and the first half of 1958. output rose from 41.5 per cent Thus, in the struggle between in 1952 to 56.5 per cent in 1957.

Gigantic, All-Round Leap Forward

A gigantic and all-round education and military affairs leap forward, unprecedented were combined and Govern-in China's national economy, ment administration and emerged in 1958, the first Commune management were was affairs for a state of the Sacard First First Sacard First First Sacard First Fi Commune management were merged, had emerged in China's countryside at the decent compared with 1957. The output of pig iron, steel, coal, power-generating equipment, locomotives, mo-tor vehicles and motors more than doubled, and the out-put of food cross set put of food crops, cotton and tobacco also more than doubled. Investment in capital construction through the State budget was 70 per cent

more than in 1957. Chou En-lai said the speed at which China's national economy developed had never and could never be attined under the capitalist system. For instance, it took Britain more than 50 years to rais annual steel output from 1.3 Continuing million tons to ten million tons, but it took China only six years. Britain was already able Chou En-lai said that on the basis of the great victories in 1958, China should continue to produce in 1854 as much coal as China produced in 1952. But in 1958, China pro-duced 270 million tons ol coal,

surpassing Britain. Analysing the fact ng the factors for the great leap forward, the Chi-nese Premier said the most most important factor was that "in e spring of 1958 we summed up the experience gained in carrying through the First Five-Year Plan, succeeded in finding out a better way of building Socialism in our country, and worked out the gene-ral line of 'going all out, out, aiming high and getting greater, quicker, better and more economical results to hild Scalalizer," more economica build Socialism'."

build Socialism'." Cotton. Chou En-lai said that the The increases in the targets countries in the Socialist of many products percentage-camp, headed by the great wise would be greater this year. Sovjet Union, were giving compared with 1958 than last camp, headed by the great Soviet Union, were giving many-sided assistance to China's Socialist construction. He expressed thanks to the Governments and peoples of the which this year's planned Soviet Union and other Social- percentage increases would be percentage increases would be lower than those of 1958 com-pared with the previous year, but the increases in absolute ist countries for the great help they had given China in its construction. He praised the People's

Commune as a great creation social organisation by the Chinese people. Large-scale People's Communes, in which industry, agriculture, trade.

the productive forces and quickening the tempo of Socialist construction, but also for effecting the future

transition of China's entire

countryside from Socialist collective ownership to own-ership by the whole people and the transition from a

Socialist to a Communist

press ahead along the road

opened up in 1958 and strive to win even greater victories in

1959 in every sphere of en-

deavour. The economic plan for 1959, he said, envisaged a continued big leap forward. The main task of everyone in the coun-

try this year, he said, was to work energetically to fulfil and overfulfil the National Econo-

hig targets of 18 million tons

year's percentage increase

compared with 1957. There were also certain products for

output would be greater than

in 1958. For instance, steel out-

put in 1958 increased by 107 per cent, or 5.73 million tons

compared with 1957; the planned rate of increase in 1959,

mic Plan centring on the

society.

The Leap

deavour.

on the basis of the set of poli-cles included in the concept of "walking on two legs"—the policy of the simultaneous development of industry, and agriculture on the basis of priority for heavy industry,

was 6.92 million tons. The Chinese Premier said the 1959 plan had been drawn

up in accordance with the

the policy of the simultaneous opment of heavy and industry, the policy of light industry, the po simultaneous developm national and local industry, national and local industry, simultaneous development of large enterprises and medium-sized and small enterprises and the policy of simultane-ously employing modern and indigenous methods of pro-duction

ities stemming from the re-volutionary energy of the popular masses," he said. As regards culture and edu-

cation, Chou En-lai said : "We have carried through the poli-cy of making education serve working class politics and combining education with pro-

ductive.labour, thereby initiat-ing a great and profound revolution in the educational

To achieve a sound develop-

On the political life of the State, he pointed out that "since the decisive victory won

in the Socialist revolution on

various fronts, the People's Democratic dictatorship and the unity of our people have

become more firmly consoli-

There had been a great de-velopment of People's Demo-cracy, Chou En-lai said, parti-

cularly through the deepening of the rectification campaign and as a result of the steady

implementation of the policy

laid down by Mao Tse-tung on the correct handling of con-tradictions among the people. In the future, he said, it

would still be necessary in

China to continue to consoli-date and develop the People's Democratic united front on

the basis of serving Socialism.

"Only on the premise of accepting the leading posi-tion of the Communist

dated than ever."

Political

Life

various democratic parties and groups is beneficial to the people's cause."

Chou En-lai pointed out that "the United States imperialism now occupies many places in the West Pacific, including our Taiwan, and is threatening us constantly. Therefore, we must continue to strengthen our defences to safeguard our people's peaceful construction work."

He said that great success had been achieved in promot-ing national regional auto-nomy on the principle of ensuring the unity of the country and national equality. In the work concerning nationalities,

The Premier continued : "Although the Dalai Lama has been abducted to India, we still hope he will be able to free himself from the hold of the rebels and return to the motherland."

China's internal affairs, and dung Conference, our country

Party," he added, "long- democratic reforms instituted Soviet Union, was forging term coexistence and mutual step-by-step in Tibet. This ahead rapidly. The entire So-supervision between the measure was warmly welcomed cialist camp was in the midst Communist Party and the by the broad mass of patriotic of a high tide of economic people in Tibet, both clerics of a nigh tide of economic and laymen. "This is a great damental policy of our coun-victory for our policy of na-try to strengthen our unity with the Soviet Unity with all other Socialist coun-tries," he said.

Chou En-lai stated : "Our country is developing good diplomatic relations with a number of countries in Asia and Africa, which have newly motheriand." and Africa, which have newly He added: "After the out-break of the rebellion in Tibet, and after the Dalai Lama was abducted to India by the re-bels, Prime Minister Nehru of our great friendly neighbour, India, issued successive state-ments on non-interference in Chinesi internal efforts and dung Conference our country colonial system has continu-ed to disintegrate. Asia, Africa and Latin America, which used to be the impe-rialists' rear, have now come to the forefront in the fight against aggress ion and colonialism."

Premier Chou stated : "The imperialist colonial forces will not step down from the stage of history of their own ac-cord." He said : "The impe-rialist colonial forces are trying hard to maintain or recover their control over those conntries which have re-cently gained independence." He declared : "It is particu-

larly worth noting that the imperialists are lately trying with all possible means to un-dermine the internal unity of the newly independent com-

Chou En-lai Reports On Achievements, Speaks On Important Home & Foreign Policy Issues possibilities presented by the material and technical con-ditions in our country, but also the subjective possibil-

years in further promoting national regional autonomy. In addition to the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, the Sinkiang Uighur Autonomous Region, the Kwangsi Chuang Autonomous Region and the Ningsia Hui Autonomous Region have been sucmous Region have been suc-cessfully established. A Pre-paratory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region has also been established. Besides this, 29 autonomous chou and 54 autonomous counties have been established in Chinghai, Kansu, Sinkiang, Yunnan, Szechuan, Kweichow and other provinces and autono-

autonomous areas comprise more than 30 national minor-There had been a tremendous economic and cultural leap forward in the national minority areas, he stated. Many national minorities, who only yesterday were still fettered by the feudal or even slave system, had today taken the bright road of Socialism. The frie and solidarity between the Han people and other brother nationalities, and between the different national minorities, had been greatly strengthened, he added.

The Tibet Rebellion

Premier Chou En-lai stated that the rebellion by a handful of reactionaries in Tibet had already met with ignominious defeat. He added that the Government had ordered the dissolution of the former Tibetan Local Government and enjoined the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region to exercise the functions and powers of the Local Government, so that regional national autonomy might be speedily realised and

- our mutual friendship and the principles in foreign relations adhered to by our two coun-tries jointly be shaken on account of a handful of Tibe-tan rebels." India-China

Friendship

Chou En-lai said : "It is our hope that, with the sup-pression of the rebellion in Tibet and through the joint efforts of China and India, we will lay an even firmer foundation, and secure an even more flourishing de lopment of the friendly relations between our two great peace-loving Aslan countries with their popu-lations totalling more than 1,000 million people. All the ill-intentioned provocations of those who are deliberately seeking to disrupt Sino-Indian friendship will be in vain."

The Chinese Prime Minister analysed the present inter-national situation. He said : "The present overall international situation is characterised by the fact that the forces of Socialism, the forces of the national independence movement and other peace-loving forces are growing rapidly while the imperialists' policy while the imperialists' policy of aggression and war is beset with innumerable difficulties Just as Chairman Mao Tse tung puts it, the enemy rots with each passing day, while for us things are getting bet-

ter daily." He pointed out that the Socialist camp, headed by the

r lidation of friendly Sino-indian relations. We welcome broad basis. We hold this these statements. There is a friendship very dear, and are friendship over 2,000 years thankful to many friendly old between China and India, who are moreover the initia-tors of the Five Principles of who are moreover the initia-tors of the Five Principles of national affairs. We are able Peaceful Coexistence. There is to form, and indeed have al-

been rising to ever greater heights and the imperialist

the Government has had in favour of continued conso- has established friendship tries and sabotage the solidar- establish and develop friend-great success in the past four lidation of friendly Sino- with these countries on a ity among them and between 1y, good-neighbourly relations ity among them and between them and the Socialist coun-tries, with the aim of defeat-ing them one by one and play-

ing the divide and rule game Chou En-lai said : "In order to gain complete victory, therefore, all the countries striving to win and safeguard national independ not only have to defeat the armed intervention and aggression of the imperialists but also to smash their various underhand schemes and machinations."

He said that "A complicated situation has arisen recently in the Arab inational indep



At the recent Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. On the right of Comrade Mao Tse-tung can be seen Chou En-lai and on his left Liu Shao-chi and Chu Teh.

To achieve a sound develop-ment in science and art, the Chinese Premier said, "we must carry through the policy of letting a hundred flowers blossom, letting a hundred schools of thought contend' on the basis of service to Social-ism." The leap forward in Socialist construction and the unsure of the mass cultural mous regions. These national upsurge of the mass cultural revolution, the Premier said, had "opened up a vast area for letting a hundred flowers ities. blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend' in the fields of science and art."

dence movement. Some people in power in the United Arab Republic have launched an attack on the Republic of trag, and then also attacked the Soviet Union, the great friend of the Arab peoples. Obviously, such actions are injurious to the cause of the independence of the Arab nations and, therefore, cannot enlist sympathy of the Arab people

"Like all other friends of the Arab nations," the Chinese Premier said, "we hope that ways can be found in solving this difficulty now facing the Arab cause of national independence, so that the impe-rialists will not succeed in their sinister scheme to harm the Arab nations"

He stated : "We desire to

Chou En-lai pointed out. that "the imperialist countries are being swept by an econo-mic crisis. Their mutual contradictions are coming out the open. Although the imperialist countries are still looking for some way of compromise to ease their mutual conflict temporarily, their contradictions are irreconcilable and are growing more and more acute as the result of the unhalanced development of capitalism disintegratio is inevitable as a general trend."

The Chinese Premier de-nounced United States impe-rialism for devoting special efforts to revive militarism in Germany and Japan and for stepping up their aggressive activities and war preparations in East Asia

Premier Chou En-lai, said that the Chinese Government supported the proposals made by the Soviet Government not long ago to terminate the oc-cupation regime in West Berlin and convert West Berlin into a Free City and to hold into a Free City, and to hold a Peace Conference of the countries concerned to discus and conclude a Peace Treaty. with Germany.

Premier Chou En-lai said : "Thanks to the consistent efforts of the Soviet Government and the pressing de-mand of the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world, the United States, Britain and France have had to agree to the Soviet pro-posal for holding; a Foreign Ministers' Conference and a Conference of Heads of Government. We hope that these conferences will help settle the international issues that are ripe for solu-tion, first of all the question of a Peace Treaty with. Germany and the Berlin, question, thereby paving the way for easing international.

"The Chinese people cannot sit idly by while Japanese militarism. is being revived, nor can they tolerate the conhostile policy of the tinued Kishi Government towar China," the Premier said. towards

"The Chinese people wel-come the great efforts made by the Japanese people_to ad-vance friendly relations between the two peoples," the Chinese Premier continued. "We are confident that the Japanese people will ultimate-ly break down all obstacles and develop peaceful and friendly relations with the

Chinese people," he added. Chou En-lai pointed out that the objective of the United States in ganging up the members of the SEATO bloc at the recent Wellington meeting: was to plot new aggressive and subversive ac-tivities in the East Asian area. The United States imperialists were also exerting their ut-most efforts to reinforce their military. establishments in South Vietnam in an attempt to instigate the Laotian authorities to repudiate the Geneva Agreen

The United States had engaged in flagrant subversive activities against the Kingdom of Cambodia through the instrumentality of countries under its control, the Premier continued.

The United States imperialists not only refused to draw their aggressive forces from South Korea, but went even further in introducing quantities of military nent including nuclear large equipment including nuclear and rocket weapons into South Korea and supporting the Syngman Rhee clique's clam orous demand to scrap the Korean Armistice Agreement as a whole, the Premier

These aggressive activities of the United States in Fost Asia, the Chinese Premier said, seriously endangered the security of the Vietnam Democratic Republic, the Korean Democratic People's Republic and the People's Republic of China, as well as the peace of East Asia.

"As a party related to the Geneva Agreements and the Korean Armistice Agreement, we absolutely cannot allow the United States to violate these Agreements and realise its scheme of extending ag-gression," he said.

Chou En-lai stated emphatically : "Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory. We are determin-ed to liberate Taiwan, Penghu, Quemoy and Matsu. All United States armed forces in the Taiwan area must be withdrawn. No plot to carve up Chinese territory and create 'two Chinas' can be tolerated by the Chinese

people." He said : "The intrigue of imperialists the United States imperialist and their followers of creating 'two Chinas', like the 'nonrecognition policy' pursued by the United States towards China, will only lead them into a blind alley."

The report ended amidst long, standing, stormy ova-

ly, good-neighbourly relations with all our neighbours in ac-cordance with the Five Prin-ciples of Peaceful Coexistence. "We advocate the establishment of an area free of atomic weapons, an area of peace, throughout the whole of East Asia and the Pacific region. We believe this is in conformity with the funda-mental interests of the peo-ples of East Asia and the Pacific region. China does not want to threaten or harm anybody, nor ask any-body to change the socio-

political systems they have

FROM PAGE 7

TASKS

etc. That is not the position. About 70 per cent of the total tax revenue comes from in-direct taxation, i.e., taxation on goods, services, etc., which are mainly consumed by the sses. As long as 70 per cent of the population of India is dependent on agriculture for n of India is their livelihood, the incidence of taxation falls on India's peasantry. Thus under the present dispensation, agriculture is providing the ajor surplus for development in the form of taxes.

Thus we see that the peasant is squeezed on every oc-casion. In this situation to talk about agricutural sector being made to pay more for development is a mockery. Even on an international

scale, the dice is heavily loaded against the underdeveloped countries export-ing primary products.

STATE TRADING

To arrest this trend and to see that the farmer gets a fair share for his toil, it is necesthe Government sary that takes over both internal trade in all important agricultural commodities and foreign trade in most of our export items. Here again we have to ex-

plain our position in regard to State trading in foodgrains and expose those elements who oppose the scheme and also the inadequacies and ineffectiveness of the scheme now proposed. We have now to take up a campaign in the country to make the scheme more thorough, effective and. capable of protecting the former and consumer alike. State trading is necessary

not merely from the point of view of enabling the farmer to get a fair value for s products, it is also necessary from the point of view of protecting the consumer against the depredations of blackmarketeers, speculators and other anti-social elements who go with the res-pectable name of traders The role of the private trade in foodgrains espe-cially in our country has been one of unashamed criminal exploitation of scarcity. I will now come to our tasks

in national reconstruction. The Kisan Sabha while leading the peasantry in the struggle for land and better life must also lead them in the struggle for more production Today we must take up the question of higher agricultural production as a national task; while we continue relent our struggles, we must at the take upon ourselves the duty of more food production.

We must also take up seriously the question of imple-menting irrigation works, use of better cultivation techniques, use of manures, improved eeds, etc. We must as far as sible seek and offer coope ration to official agencies like Community Projects, Extension Services, agricultural department and irrigation staff. But such cooperation will be possible and will be useful only if at the same time we continue to expose the corruption, bureaucracy, political discrimination, etc., indulged in by local officials as well as Congress Govern-

of administration effectively was one of the reasons for shuts out mass mobilisation in nation-building activities and inhibits the enthusiastic bureaucratic red-tape and corruption. The way forward is to decentralise the administrative structure, give more vers to panchayats, Dis-

AHEAD

has taken up this question in right earnest is the Government of Kerala and I take this opportunity of congratulating them for that

AGRICULTURAL LABOUR

I now come to the problem gricultural workers. This problem is more important to us both from the political and organisational point of view. Agricultural labourers constitute a sizable portion of the rural population. According to the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee, out of a total 58 million rural families 17.6 million were agricultural labourer families. This was in 1950 Today the position must vorsened due to a numhave worsened due to a num-ber of changes which have taken place in the land rela-tions since then. The total number of agricultural labour-ers number 35 million. They have the lowest per capita in-come, their diet is deficient by 25 per cent of the normal requirements. Forty-five per cent of the families are indebted, the average deb expenditure of an agricultural labour family is Rs. 1072 labour family is Rs. 107.2 against Rs. 204 of all rural families according to national sample survey. On an average they are unemployed for nearly four months of the

year. The Kisan Sabha should give attention to their deands and should organise them in separate agricul-tural labour organisations run on trade union lines. They can be associated with the Kisan Sabha, We should demand fixation of mini-mum wages, in all States at

all levels of operation. A question that has to be taken up in this connection is rural unemployment. According to certain calculation, the ployment in our countryside runs up to the figure of nearly 5

To tackle this problem. the most important measure is the distribution of waste and fallow lands among the pool peasants and agricultural lab low lands our. Today in the country there are about 56.5 million acres of cultivable waste land and another 31.8 million acres of fallow land other than current fallows. The distribution of this 'vast amount of land among poor peasants and agricultural labour will mitigate rural unemployment and at the same time increase agricultural production.

LESSONS OF STRUGGLES

As T stated earlier, last year was a year of great struggles for us. We have to draw important lessons from these struggles. The U.P. food strug-gle and the West Bengal food struggle showed that the organised kisan masses can force the hands of the Governments to concede certain urgent de-mands. That these struggles generally served the interests This brings us to the ques-tion of administrative re-cluding the working class and forms. The present system the city urban middle classes

their attracting widespread sympathy and support. In the Press and among the political parties these struggles evoked sympathetic cords and that was one of the factors which led to their success. However one of the mag-

KISAN

OF

nificent struggles of recent years was the struggle of the Punjab peasantry against betterment levy. In this mass movement over 15,000 people were arrested, eight people were killed in police firings and the panicky Kairon Government inleashed a reign of terror on the rural population. The great struggle showed the potentialities of our women participating in such strug-gles. The peasant women of Punjab were actually in the forefront defying police repression, goonda menace and Congress propaganda. All honour to the brave kisan women of the Punjab! The lesson of Punjab shows the importance of drawing women into kisan movement as active participants. should hereafter pay parti-cular attention to this aspect of our organisation and see that more and more women participate in the activities of the Kisan his most important neutenant, in command of his most im-portant sector, indicates that the siege has failed. The sort-ies of the beleaguered were successful; they've won vic-

Sabha. Now this question of better-ment levy and irrigation rates has to be thoroughly gone into. Fixing of water rates should not be on the basis of narrow financial considerations which are a legacy of the British Government in India whose only objective was to collect as much in taxes as possible. Today, the wider eco objectives, like the welfare of the people, increase in food production, full utilisation of available water resources, etc., should be taken into consideration. To make the peasant alone pay for a number of benefits which accrue to the society as a whole is shortsighted bureaucratic policy.

during the narsh days when the enemy battered at the gate. Some may long just for a walk outside, for the green of field and forest unbounded by sombre walls. Others want more material benefits. You and do without a lot under The Kisan Sabha should therefore demand a revision-of the present criteria for selection of irrigation projects, and recovery of their costs, Water rate boards on which all concerned interests like Government, kisans, etc., are adequately represented should be set up to fix up rates, etc. The coming year is going to be an year of mounting strug-

gles and we must prepare ourselves for the tasks ahead. With the formulation of the Third Plan fresh tax burdens

are likely to be put on the peasantry. We will have to put up consistent and determined struggles to avoid the shifting of the burden of development on the common people. Another task is to campaign for social reforms, against super-stitions, and for education The caste and communal feelings in the countryside are another obstacle to the unity of the kisan masses. Very often caste feelings stand in the way of the unity of klsans and agricultural labour. All these we have to fight.

We must conduct adult education classes, group reading should be organised, village music, ballet, painting; and that most potent means of influencing people: words. You will have to compete with books, journals, broadcasts, films, plays. A challenge has gone out for peaceful compe-tition; and you will be judged not just by quantity, but also libraries and reading rooms should be organised. We must help the kisan

masses in acquiring new techniques, better methods of cultivation, organise cooperative credit societies, etc. If possible model coopera- by quality; not just by how

NEW AGE

SABHA

tive farms must be organised in suitable areas. Our kisan cadres must themselves know and study better farming techniques, animal husbandry, poultry, etc. They must learn the land legislations existing in each State, help the kisan masses by explaining its pro-visions and insist on their implementation.

Above all in this year we must conduct a countrywide campaign against eviction, and for distribution of fallow and waste lands. This cam-paign is of great urgency in view of the national need of view of the national new of higher food production and mitigation of unemployment. We must warn the State democratise the Governments that if they do and give them mo

Fate has prevented us from seeing the captain of the

seeing the props of his strate-gic conception knocked out

m under him, arranging

the retreat of his forces;

but the coming retirement of his most important lieutenant,

tories economic and scientific —decisive victories. But with the siege lifting, with talks about to begin on

with talks about to begin on disengagement, on a thinned-out military zone, on removing the dynamite from the West Berlin bridgeboard

Berlin bridgehead, the people

gin to develop an appetite for a great many things which they had to deny themselves

during the harsh days when

can do without a lot-under siege. You will accept short-

now that you've stuck it out, you want some of the things the besieging forces have

dangled before your noses, al

style, quality. You want varie-

furniture, refrigerators, cars, houses. It goes for art, too. As

long as the siege was on, as long as the artist and the writer along with his public were immured behind the thick walls of the fortress, a

certain introversion, a certain

unavoidable. Under conditions of slege you were happy to have any sort of bread—and

have any sort of bread—and any sort of art. Now, however, the new kind of demand has grown—within

and without the fortress. You

to trade--things to eat, to wear, to ride around in; and

music ballet, painting; and

want to exchange. You want

-things to eat, to

sometimes

provincialisn

from which to choose

ages, shortcomings, tempers-under siege.

short But

these years. You are sick and all fields of human endeavour tired of the drab fare behind are in the ascendancy. In the your walls. You want colour, centre of these forces is the metanational working class.

This goes for food, textiles, men who have prevented the

in the beleagured fortress b

MAY FIRST, 1959

ways than one.

imperfections.

ger bang.

competition between

walls.

There are among my best

friends a few who look at this

perspective with inner mis-givings. They've come to like living behind impenetrable

spreading their comfortable

cloak over the musty narrow-ness and the state of siege

affording a perfect excuse for

with

the

Peaceful competition is-

going to be a strain on some fellows—East and West. Yet I think this competition preferable to the competi-

tion of arms; and the ques-tion of whose workers will produce more and better

goods and whose authors

will write more and better-books should get priority over the question of whose H-bomb will make the big-

Writing in Berlin, a few steps from the boundary line-that divides the two worlds of

our day, I believe that peaceful

worlds is moving into top place on the agenda. Resist-

ance against it won't suddenly

dissolve-old conceptions die hard; but the forces pressing

narrow-minded approach in all fields of human endeavour

the millions of men and wo-

outbreak of atomic war up to

this date and who have the numerical, economic, military,

and political strength to con-tinue staying the hand of the

I see these millions march-

ing this first day of May-Unter den Linden in Berlin,

on Red Square in Moscow, past Peking's Tien An Men, in Rome, Paris, and London, in Africa, Asia, and America—

people of every colour, every

They have come a long

way from Chicago's Hay-market and they carry on their flags my future and yours, the future of us all. They carry in their hearts the spark that could not be

the spark that could not be extinguished, the spark the man Spies spoke of, long ago, in that Illinois court-room, the spark that has set the world aglow with the

fire of Freedom and Justice

race, every creed, united.

class.

for peace and for a saner, I

international working

atom mongers.

impenetrable the shadows

not distribute waste lands, the poor peasants and agricultural : labourers will forcibly occupy all available land and start. cultivation.

The second s

Before concluding my speech. I want to point out you the latest decision of the-National Development Coun-cil, taken in its meeting in the first week of April 1959, panchayats, which is very important. Panchayats will be-made the agencies for carry-ing out various development schemes. They will also be called upon to discharge cer-tain customary functions for-meeting the needs of rural. development..... The Ki-san Sabha must pay utmost importance to the work in thepanchayats and durin the next year the Kisan should start big campaigns to democratise the panchayats re powers.

★ FROM FACING PAGE well you mean, but also by how well you are able to say what-you mean. And don't kid. yourself about your competi-tor : he is an expert in more

IN the year 1886 a man named Spies, a German by birth, rose in an Illinois ourtroom and spoke to his judges :

"If you believe that by hanging us you can hang the workers' movementthe movement from which of oppressed, the millions the millions toiling in darkness and misery expect deliverance-if you really believe that, go ahead, hang us! It may be that by this hanging you will extinguish a spark—but there!—and

Alongside him were hanged three more leaders of the American workers' eight-hour day movement : Persons, Fischer, Engel. The judge said that on or about May 1, 1886, they had organised the throwing of a bomb on Chicago's Haymarket, thus killing a

the case, Illinois' Governor Altgeld stated that the prose-

Altgeld stated that the prose-cution's evidence against the defendants was based on

"pure invention". This didn't

bring the four men back to life, but it vindicated them

officially and exposed the technique of the frame-up in

which oppressor Governments have always excelled. The in-

ternational working class

owever, did not wait for the

In memory of the martyrs

of the Haymarket trial the International Workingmen's

inernational day of

Congress of 1889, convened in Paris, named May First

struggle and memorial for all the workers of the world.

The workers of the world

aw to it that the spark of

Chicago kindled fires around

the globe. And on one-third of the earth's surface the

Governor's action. It proceed-ed independently to fulfill

Spies's fierce prophecy.

International

Day

MAY 3, 1959

Extinguish

the revolution that took place in October, 1917, or the world's first artificial planet made in the world's first Socialist State. Man is changing his world-that is, a certain kind of man, with a certain kind of knowledge, a certain kind of fire... How did Spies put it in that

MAY 3. 1959



Anti-War Posters displayed on West Berlin's Kurincrstendamm.

workers have set themselves free. 0 In this, the seventieth year

after the proclamation of May First, the day seems to assume a special, triumphant character. Writing in Berlin, a few steps from the boundary line that divides the two worlds of our day, sensitised by years of living on a combi-nation powder keg and baro-meter, one develops a nose for political imponderables.

in the situation. They were utterly calm throughout the so-called Ber-lin crisis, and while American On Brandenburg Gate the goddess Victoria once more rides in her four-horsed cha-In crisis, and while American Generals were publicly dis-cussing the possibilities of an armoured break-through in case a German Democratic Republic border guard at Helmstedt should ask them for their documents, the Berlin people went about their usual day's activities. They knew the crisis was strictly ning headline of Railroad Station Friedrichstrasse spell out Adenauer and Presidency of the Bundesrepulik. The manufactured to exert a little pressure on Moscow and to postpone the inevitable sumpostpone the inevitable sum-mit talks; there isn't much left of the crisis except an occasional American plane trying to fly above the 10,000 young trees on Unter den Linden Boulevard are clothed in a young, juicy green. May-be there will be peace. Of course there will be peace. feet limit on its way to Tempelhof airport; that's the Pentagon desperadoes sni ing at the wheel of history The unrest came after t desperadoes snip-

Years later, in reviewing Fire You Can't

things began to look as if the It is just because of the danger of peace breaking out West was coming around to that conference table, after that the vicious old man in all. Bonn will grudgingly retire to his new post as Bundes-Re-publican figurehead. The move The unrest gripped certain circles West of Brandenburg Gate, and there's a noticeable burst on the world as sudden-ly as the budding green of the linden trees; but the suddenboom in the furniture moving business; vans are booked up solid until after July for ness is deceptive; there was a moves from West Berlin into the Bundesrepublik. You can long slow groundswell beyond the Gate, in the West. We're suddenly get apartments in West Berlin without having to living through one of those periods when ever-mounting quantity bursts into new quapay exorbitant premiums to the landlord or "buying" your apartment outright.

lity. Changes were bound to happen. More will come. These changes are part of a huge process. The Chicago events of more than seventy years ago must be seen within its context, as must the revolution that took

Illinois courtroom? THIS IS A FIRE YOU CAN'T EXTIN-GUISH !

* * *

The split that runs through Berlin, the slight fever that consequently envelops the body of the city, makes this a place where one feels better than elsewhere the portent of things to come. This is what they call the Frontstadt of the cold war, and people here have the front-line soldier's sharpened sense for changes

crisis talk died down and

Retreat From Berlin

A few of the espionage and political subversion agencies operating out of West Berlin have either publicly "dissolved" or retreated to prepared positions in Munich or Frankfurt.

A number of bank accounts are being transferred

NEW AGE

BERLIN

Mau First, 1959

• by STEFAN HEYM

NEW AGE is happy to present this article. from the renowned novelist, Stefan Heym. He has written it from Berlin, "a few steps from the boundary line that divides the two worlds of our day," and his thoughts are naturally on the German problem on which the attention of the world is focused today as the Big Power Foreign Ministers' meet on May 11 approaches.

safer institutions elsewhere, and the cold war profiteers shudder at the thought of losing the comfortable ing they have been making out of the split and the ten-sion, out of the blackmarket difference in the rate of East and West Mark, out of the gorgeous smuggling pos sibilities across a border that's daily pierced by hun-dreds of subway and elevat-ed trains and tens of thousands of pedestrians.

6

Where is the root cause of this unrest, of these changes that are beginning to show their impact? Is it merely that an Adenauer resigns in anger over political ingratitude or that a Dulles gives up making resigns in anger ingratitude or policy? Is it that the Big Powers' Foreign Ministers are meeting and that a get-toge-ther at the summit can be expected?.... But haven't old men bowed out of politics before? Haven't we had Foreign Ministers' conferences and even summit meetings?

The causes seem to me lie deeper; and I'm afraid that at present they reveal no more of themselves than the iceberg, its bulk below the surface, reveals of its dimensions. The sputnik was one of those causes; so are t blocks of apartment hous shooting up in suburban Mo so are the cow. The leap forward in Chinese backvard steel production has had its effect, as has the paper being manufactured by a German Democratic Republic-Rumanian combine out of the miles of reeds in the Danube delta. The new Siberian industrial base makes itself felt; the investments going into East German che-mical plants influence the chemistry of politics. And these are only a few spurts evident. out of a huge effort coordina-ted by the entire Socialist orbit and designed to bypass and outstrip capitalist per capita production and capita-list per capita consumption.

It makes for a change in the balance of power.

It makes war a risky gamble even for those who, only a few years ago, believed themselves safe from the ravages of atomic radiation. It makes West German imfrom West Berlin banks to perialism, together with its

dangerous delusions of grand-eur, a pimple on the skin of mankind.

Trek To Rast

It even begins to tin that trend of migration which in Germany goes under the name of REPUBLIKFLU-CHT and which is the re-CHT and which is the re-sult, largely, of the German petty-bourgeois' desire to be, for once, on the winning side. Until now, the trend was overwhelmingly East to West, from the alleged rigours of Socialism toward the flesh pots of Bonn. Now that the coal piles up, un-sold, at West German pitheads, while in the much-ridiculed little Socialist Republic East of the Elbe prices fall and wa FLUCHT in the wages rise opposite direction, from, West East, has tripled; and the reception centres in the German Democratic Republic are being enlarged as fast as the bricklayers can lay the necessary bricks.

Straws in the wind? Portent of things to come?.... It's that iceberg of which the largest part stays hidden under the waters.

.

The great change in the air this May First, the change in the balance of power, is bound to express itself not only in the attitudes and actions of people in Western countries. The dialectics of history would make us expect a new look, as well, in various facets of life in the struggling socialist camp. Some of this new look has become unmistakably

Viewed from Brandenburg Gate, the picture of the last years presents itself as a giant siege operation against the Socialist part of the world. Socialist part of the world, with West Berlin serving as a bridgehead. For what but a strategy of siege were Mr. Dulles "brinkmanship," his policy of "containment" policy of "containment," con-ducted "from positions of of strength" by means of embargo, bases, subversion, limit-

***SEE FACING PAGE**

PAGE ELEVEN

BETTERMENT LEVY

THE peasants of Punjab have to be repaid, otherwise moved on such a huge we shall not be able to secure financial assistance for devescale and withstood such ferocious police repression because their cause is manifestly just. Their case as represented by the Punjab Kisan Sabha is simple and clear. The Bhakra Project is productive and hence there. s no justification for the botterment levy.

Comrade Harkishen Singh Surjeet, Secretary of the State Council of the Communist Farty, and Comrade Jagiit Party, and Comrade Jagjit Singh Lyallpuri, General Se-cretary of the State Kisan Sabha, have in a number of statements and articles in the Press cited incontrovertible facts and figures to substan-tiate the justness of the peasant case.

Prof. Sher Singh, MLA and former Irrigation Minister, has in a special article ed in the Press provpublished in the Fress prov-ed to the hilt, on the basis of official figures which he could cite with full authority, that the project is pro-ductive. Again articles of a ductive. Again articles of a technical expert, Mr. H. L. Sally, Director, Technical Publications, Reorkee University, published in two successive issues of the TRIBUNE dated February 19 and 20 have in substan fully supported the case of the Kisan Sabha.

The Punjab Kisan Sabha considers the question wheth we accept the principle of betterment levy or not as an abstract one. It derails the real issue and is meant to confuse issue and is meant to confuse the people. As ardent friends of the Punjab peasants, both inside and outside the State, are likely to be confused by official propaganda, it is nessary to reiterate once more cessary to reiterate once more the kisan case in a concrete manner.

Government's

Case

Let us first examine the case of the Punjab Government.

The State Government spokesmen argue that loans from the Central Government in-curred for the Bhakra Project



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PAGE TWELVE

lonment works in future. Hence the betterment levy to the unproductive porrecover tion of the cost.

tional production of food-

exchange to the nation in-curred on food imports. It demands that the Centre

should hear a share of Rs. 50

crores. Even Congress MLC, A. C. Bali, has, on similar grounds, demanded in the

Vidhan Parishad that the

Centre should bear Rs. 25 crores as its share. If the Central Government were to accede to this demand, the

Project becomes productive even on the basis of official

But even apart from that

the Project is productive. The Kisan Sabha justifiably de-mands that in the break-up

of the project cost as between

irrigation and electricity, the

crores should be equally divid-

ed between the two. The Rs. 15

crores cost of Nangal Dam and

Nangal Hydel channel which

are primarily meant for pro

be debited to that side.

of Rs. 17 crores

will be Rs. 76 crores.

of irrigation. Of the 49 lakh

Area of the Bhakra Project, 67

per cent or 35 lakh acres wil

receive actual irrigation. The

other auxiliary taxes from this area will be as follows :

debited to Bhakra

Putting the cost of main-tainence at Rs. 84.1 lakhs, as

officially stimated, the net re-

Money required to capitalise the irrigation cost of Rs. 76

crores at three per cent inter-

est is Rs. 2.28 crores annually.

Therefore, the real net re-

turn after paying annual in-terest on the irrigation cost will be Rs. 1.09 crores.

Thus the irrigation project

is clearly productive. The real net saving can be used to pay back the central loan and

turn will be Rs. 3.37 crores.

return from water rate and

Is

duction of electricity should

nount of valuable foreign

would save a large

grains

figures.

Project Is

Productive

Previously the amount of betterment levy was put at Rs. 82 crores or Rs. 104 crores-with interest. As the pressure of the mass movement mounted, the State Government was mpelled to rethink and yield. The unproductive por-tion was scaled down to Rs. 38 crores and later in the month of February to Rs. 33 crores mises have been made to reduce it further in consulta tion with the Central Government.

How does the Government calculate the unproductive portion at Rs. 33 crores? It is calculated on the basis of the following figures :

	-
Rs. (in c	rores)
Total loan	170
For electricity	84.21
For irrigation	85.81
Due from Rajasthan	18.40
Punjab share of	
irrigation	67.77
Interest on this sum a	t
four per cent com	
pound till March 195	8
and three per cen	t
simple thereafter	
till 1960-61	19.64
Irrigation loan due	
in 1960-61	87.41

The official estimate of re-

turn both from water rates and water advantage rote (land revenue due to irriga-tion) is put at Rs. 2.74 crores. After deducting Rs. 84 lakhs annual working expenses. the net return is stated to be Rs. 1.90 crores.

This net return, which is an underestimate, will be used to capitalise the loan at Rs. 54.3 crores at 31 per cent average rate of interest. The unpro ive portion will, according to Government calculation remain at Rs. 33 crores. Nin crores of rupees will have t be paid as interest on it in 15 vears.

It may be noted here that the rate of interest to be paid to the Central Government will be three per cent after 1958, but the State Governnt wants to charge 31 Der cent from the peasant

Calculated at three per cent the loan that can be capital ised would come to Rs. 631/3 crores, leaving Rs. 24.08 crores as unproductive portion ever according to official assumption

Kisan Sabha's Position

The Kisan Sabha stands for the repayment of Central loans but it takes the stand Central Governthat the ment should bear a portion of the cost, because addi-

NEW AGE

bu MASTER HARI SINGH

Last week we printed an article by Master Hari Singh on the Punjab struggle against the betterment levy This week we give the second part of his article on the Punjab peasants' case against the levy. —EDITOR

there is no case for burdening the peasants with additiona levy.

Prof. Sher Singh, MLA and former Irrigation Minister who can be expected to know the ins-and-outs of the Department has in his articles forcefully yet cogently supported the case of the Kisan Sabha.

In his article published in the Tribune of January 24 1959, he conclusively proved that the Bhakra Irrigation Project was productive. He thinks that the cost of the irrigation portion should in no case exceed Rs. 71 crores. Including interest at three per cost of Bhakra Dam at Rs: 64 cent, its total cost will amo to Rs. 95 crores. For capitalising the entire cost, an interest of Rs. 2.85 crores has to be paid per annum.

authority of a Government publication issued in 1957 put If this is done electricity the income from water rates at more than Rs. three is deficit on the irriga-tion side, it can be met from joinder to Gyan Singh Rarecost will be Rs. 93 crores and irrigation cost Rs. 77 crores, from which Rajasthan's share wala, Irrigation Minister, who argues that one object of the will have to

Punjab Kisan Sabha's Case

Now come to the income side An Expert's

cres of Cultured Commanded Views

to irrigation) at Rs. three per acre

5) Tax from bridges whose cost has been

4) Surcharge and special charge

TOTAL

3) Local rate on the Water Advantage Rate

welfare State. He pleads with the Central Government, therefore, to charge no interest and follow that example of the USA and the USSR. He again commends the example of the USA where excess power revenue is credited to the cost of Irrigation Project beyond the ability of water users to Dav. .

and the second second

Case Based On Justice

Now in the case of the multi-purpose Bhakra Project, the electricity part is, on the Government's own admission. very profitable. If the entire-The . Professor has on the project is taken as an integrated whole, as it should be, it is very profitable. Even if there is deficit on the irriga-

Unassailable be deducted leaving Punjab's had rebutted the Professor's Bhakra Dam is flood protec-share of Irrigation cost as Rs. and Comrade Surjeet's as-60 crores. At three per cent sumptions, he has firmly stuck interest, in 1960-61 the cost to his figures. Bas 76 crosses

> Citing the example of the-USA, he recommends thatno levy should be realised! during the first ten years of development period and laterinstalments should be spread? over 40 years which may even be extended to 75 years: if need be.

Profitable

Mr. Sally concludes : "Forobtaining optimum results, we example for proper developthe example of the USA and farmers who have to fight.

It is crystal clar, therefore, Government for develop- that the case of the peasants ment. In his opinion, such a of Punjab against the betterconduct does not behave a ment levy is based on justice.

MAY 3, 1959

FROM BACK PAGE =

make such a charge against. the Chinese they should at least present us with some facts

Article 9 and 10 enjoined the Central Government to develop Tibet economically and culturally and improve the livelihood of the people step by step in accordan with the actual conditions in Tihet

The engineering miracles as the three highways in Tibet have been called, the bridges over the Lhasa and the Nvangchu Rivers, the host of nedium and small industries that have been set up, the many hospitals and free medi-cal treatment to people, the schools of various kinds to wipe out illiteracy, the large interest-free loans to peasants and herdsmen, etc., are stand-ing evidence of the way the Chinese Central Government has implemented these clau-

Reforms in Tibet

Article 11 lavs down that matters related to various reforms in Tibet, there will be no compulsion on the part of the Central authorities." And the fact that to this day no reforms have been imple ted and that the Chines thorities have said that no reforms would be implement-ed till 1962 is proof, if proof were needed, that China had not even thought of infringing Tibet's autonomy

While these were the clau-ses which laid obligations on the Chinese Central authorities there were some clauses which the former Tibet Local Government had to impl ment.

Articles 1, 3 and 12 laid flown that the Tibet Local Government should unite the Tibetan people, drive out the imperialist aggressive forces and carry out national regional autonomy They implemented these clauses by organising a re-volt and raising the imperialist-inspired slogan of Inlenendent Tibet.

Articles 2 and 8 said that Tibet Local Government should actively assist the Peo-ple's Liberation Army to enter Tibet and consolidate the national defences that the former Tibetan troops should be reorganised step by step into the People's Liberation Army and become a part of the na-tional defence forces of the People's Republic of China.

The former Tibet Local Government honoured these clau-ses by greatly expanding their ses by greatly expanding their Tibetan troops in violation of the agreement. The numbers of the Tibetan troops were in-creased by almost one-third during the last few years.

Article 11 made it obligatory on the Local Government of Tibet to carry out reforms of its own accord. While the Chinese Central authorities scrupulously stood by the first part of this clause which said they would not use compul-sion, the former Local Government did not lift a finger to introduce any reforms of its own accord. The Tibetan people continue to suffer under the antique social system where the serf-owners have the right to torture, starve and kill the seris.

 The Tezpur Statement says: "In 1956, a Prepara-tory Committee was set up for Tibet. In practice even this today had little power, and de-

MAY 3. 1959

money was left over from this, the Preparatory Commit-

4.21 expert on the subject and this expert supports the the Government to follow charging high interest on

the loans given to the State

Most illuminating are the articles of Mr. Sally, Director. Technical Publications, Roorkee University. He is an (Rs. in crores) 1) Water rate at average of Rs. seven per acre 2,45 2) Water advantage rate (land revenue due

1.05

0.50

0.16

0.05

Funds.

Project

must also follow the American ment of projects. In doing so. cannot be accused of any they will have to forego largepolitical bias for the Kisan sums of money which accrue-Sabha and against the State as interest on investments in Government. In substance a project as also the excesspower revenue and allocation. Kisan Sabha case and urges for flood control. These concessions are necessary for the USSR. He blames the against raw desert conditions: Central Government for to develop a project area."

cisions in all important mat-ters were taken by the Chi-Let us get the record strai-ght on this also.

nese authorities.

establish

trative

Reactionary

Obstruction

Local Government?

The Chinese People's Republic's State Council passed the decision on March 9. 1955. to establish the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. The decision stipulated that the Preparatory Committee was in the nature of a State organ in charge of preparing for the establishment of the Tibet Autonomous Region and that it was suborinate to the State Council. On April 22, 1956, the

Committee was formally in-augurated in Lhasa. In the past three years, the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee has held 27 meetings. All but two of them were presided over by the Dalai-Lama. But the work of the Committee has not pro-gressed very far. Why? Be-cause of the obstructive tactics of the former Tibet Local

Government. A few instances are illus-

On December 30, 1957, on the suggestion of the Dalai Lama, the Preparatory Com-mittee decided to end the imposition of the unpaid forced labour system on Tibetan functionaries and students in the Tibet region This century-old system of feudal exploitation gives powers to nobles, monaste ries and serf-owners to order those under them to work for them without any wages. Because of the suf-ferings this system entailed for them, the people enthu-siastically welcomed the de-cision to end it.

But the former Local Government used every pretext to delay implementing the decision. Simultaneously they began telling the people that unpaid forced labour was necessary and good and anyone who opposed would be killed Defying the Preparatory Com-mittee decision, they stub-bornly kept on with the ex-ploitation of the Tibetan Government workers and stulents. That was the end of the progressive decision. Who is responsible—the Chinese authorities or the former

In order to train the large numbers of 'libetan functionaries who would be needed for the regional autonomy of Tibet the Preparatory Com-Tibet the Preparatory mittee decided to set up schools and training classes, send outstanding students to study in other parts of China and nominate representatives of all sections Peking and other places. But the former Tibetan

Local Government went on postponing submission of lists of names and obstructed progressive and young Tibetans who wanted to get further studies. And naturally, because this is one of the things they are most afraid of. Once the people begin getting a modern edu-cation. it will cut at the root of the privileges they enjoy in a backward set-up.

The Chinese Central Peo-ple's Government had alloca-ted 800,000 Yuan for relief to flood victims in the Gyantse area in Tibet. When some

TEZPUR STATEMENT BRISTLES WITH INACCURACIES

tee decided to use these funds to build some houses for the poor people and beggars of Lhasa. This decision again was sabotaged by the former Local Government and the poor people of Lhasa continue to live in inhuman conditions. in the open tottering tents that are falling to pieces.

The Chinese Central People's Government allocated farm tools, free of charge, for the peasants in Tibet, of a total value of 1.4 million yuan. Though these arrived in Lhasa a long time ago, due to obs-truction of the former Local Government, these tools had still not been distributed at the time of the rebellion

Of what value then is the assertion against these facts that even after the formation of the Preparatory Committee, it had no powers, that the Chinese au-thorities were taking all decisions? If there had been any restriction on the po-wers of the Preparatory Committee, the restriction has come, as can be seen from the instances quoted, from the former Local Government which obstructed the carrying out of decisions which would have meant even the smallest relief to the long-suffering Tibetan people.

And finally, the Tezpur Statement says: "After this, the advisers became alive to the danger to the person of the Dalai Lama..... One can understand the advisers be-coming alive to the danger. But what about the Dalai

Lama himself? Hadn't the Dalai Lama, in his letter to General Tan Kuan-san on March 12, called these advi-sers "the reactionaries who arrogantly moved into the Norbu Lingka under the pretext of protecting me"? The Texpur Statement does not say anything about how. why and when the Dalai Lama changed his opinion about the "advisers", but it certainly gives the impres-sion that it is these "advisers" who had taken the decision for the Dalai Lama.

The Tezpur statement thus bristles with inaccuracies and the later Mussoorie statement ascribing all responsibility for the Tezpur Statement to the Dalai Lama has only made matters worse-because while it took note of the criticism that had been made about the use of the third person and changed it, it did not do anything to "unravel the myste-ries" as the **Bindu** Correspon-dent has said or explain the inaccuracies as has been pointed out here.

Whose Hands Strengthened ?

Why then was the Tezpur Statement made? Here is an indication from a despatch in the Tribune from the paper's New Delhi Corespondent on

April 18: "Although it was generally presumed that the Dalai Lama in his first statement would repudiate the Chinese Government's allegation that he had been 'under duress' while fleeing to this country, few had anticipated that the Tibetan 'God-King' would be

NEW AGE

that the Dalai Lama's state. hands nent strengthen the of those who ask for a stronger stand on the part of the Government in support of the Tibetan rebellion." (emphasis added)

So that is the purpose of the statement-it is meant to strengthen the hands of those who have been trying their desperate best to disrupt India-China friendship exploiting the Tibetan events.

Demonstrative Reception

There is yet another thing which is strengthening the hands of these elements. Let us quote the Editor of the. Tribune from his weekly column

"As the Dalai Lama began his slow progress from the Indian border in NEFA towards Dehra Dun and Mus-soorie, the reception given to him by the Government of India at every stage of the journey left no doubt that he was receiving much more than the normal consideration extended to a political refu-

...What is more important, the courtesy has been conspicuously demonstrative, especially in view of the fact that the demonstration was likely to embarrass China, with whom Mr. Nehru wishes to continue to have cordial relations. This is an interestcordial ing development in Indian foreign policy and deserves notice.

".....It is doubtful if any other foreign visitor to India has received so much atten-tion apart from Mr. Khrushchov and Mr. Bulganin, Security is an important reason, but the requirements of secu-rity do not explain the demonstrative aspect of the welcome.

"....A highly probable ex-planation-and one which is

so sharp and pronounced in his more important in terms of criticism of the Chinese au-thorities...It is, however, felt wish to express indirect disapproval of China's stand Tibet. While India not with complete justification sermonise the Chinese over what has already been accepted as the internal affair of China, she can, without offending the normal canons of behaviour towards a powerful neighbour, make her at-titude known through this oblique. condemnation of China's bad faith.

and for her suzerainty over Tibet, New Delhi is not afraid of asserting herself when the subject lies within her legitimate domain." (all emphasis added)

From here it is not far to the Free Press Journal Editorial of April 24:

"It is possible that China is interpreting India's wide moderation as a sign of weakness. No interpretation could be more harmful to the Chinese....we also believe in the need for good-neighbouriness need for good-neighbourliness between those who share frontiers. But we certainly do not believe in friendship at any cost...If friendship cannot be built on decent terms, there will be no one here trying to be friendly with China ...

This is a dangerous trend for our own future. When the imperialists are sending odern jet hombers to Pak istan, when the British are bent on keeping Maldives as their base, when SEATO is planning new moves against the independent Asian coun-tries, what we need, more than anything else for our own security. is friendship with China and the rest of the Socialist world. And it is not as if we are

fighting for a right cause in Tibet. India-China friendship is too precious to be hartered away for the freedom of Tibe tan serf-owners to enjoy their time-worn privileges

(April 29)

India-China Friendship **FROM FRONT PAGE**

and that nothing will be said or done which endangers the fri-endly relations of the two countries which are so im ant from the wider point of view of the peace of Asia and the world."

The National People's Congress of China has passed a re-solution calling for Indian-Chinese joint efforts to further strengthen "great and long-standing friendly relations." It added: "It notes with regret that certain people in Indian politi-cal circles have recently made extremely unfriendly statements and committed extremely un-friendly acts which interfere in China's internal affairs." "These statements and acts do not conform to the common interests of the peoples of the two countries. They only conform to the interests of the common enemy, the imperialists." It expressed the hope that this ab-normal situation will disappear

Let us all hope that this abnormal situation will disappear. The code of conduct for the future is giv statements of Chou En-lai and the earlier statements of Nehru - the great emphasi on Sino-India up. It is given in the Panch Sheel principle which enjoins strict non-intervention in each other's affairs, in word and deed. Let all learn that cultutal ties and interests cannot override national frontiers.

Tibet will certainly march to Socialism and it is not for In-dians to shed tears over it. Theoverwhelming majority of our people will welcome the dawn of Socialism, of economic free-dom over this glorious ancient land and can have nothing but. pity for those who seek to a pose Socialism in the name ldhism.

> (April 29) PAGE THIRTEEN



out any positive proposals for a solution of the German

problem, they could not

In the U.S., though Dulles

is no more at the command-ing post from which he had earned for himself the hatred

of Afro-Asian and Latin Am

rican peoples the policies that have come to be associated

American rocket ramps on Italian territory. It is nego-

tiating similar agreements with Greece, Turkey and the Federal Republic of Germany. Why? To create a "conducive" atmosphere for the Geneva Conference? Or to foredoom

worse still, apprehensive lest the positive tendencies that have lately appeared in international life may upset the plans of the arming of the Worse still, apprehensive

Bundeswehr with nuclear weapons, the U. S. and Bonn

ped up tehir feverish activity in this direction. According to

U. S. Press reports, more than a thousand West German ser-

vicemen are being trained in the U.S. in the use of rockets. Upwards of 2,000 West Ger-

preparing to receive rocket weapons made in the USA.

In sharp contrast to the Bonn revanchists is the atti-tude of the German Demo-

In a letter to the West Ger-man Chancellor, G. D. R's Prime Minister Otto Grote-wohl had proposed to com-

wohl had proposed to com-mission representatives of both German States to work

a peace treaty with Germany.

The G. D. R. Premier's view-

point in his own words was: "According to our opinion it would be of great significance if a concerted attitude of both

German Governments on the

question of peace treaty could

be achieved before the agreed

German standpoint for

of

ans have comple

G. D. R.'s

cratic Republic.

ssive circles have step

tiating similar agreem

it to failure?

Dulles Goes,

But...

With May 11-the date fixed for the Foreign Ministers' Conference—fast approaching two facts are being increasingly recognised by the world Press. On the one hand, is the correctness of the Soviet inibreak-through in the cold war impasse, and on the other hand, the failure of the Western Powers to reach an "agreed negotiating position."

M EANWHILE, the aggres-sive Western ruling circles when it came to "interests are taking certain unilateral and aims towards African measures that can complicate problems" of both. neasures that can complicate international situation and jeopardise the success of the negotiations at Geneva.

The Western Powers, in the course of their diplomatic preparations to face the clear-cut proposals at Ge-neva, have had a series of their bilateral visits and talks among themselves, have had a number of highsecret sessions of their orking group" in London; to have a meet and are nov ing of the NATO Council, to be followed by their eign Ministers' meeting in Paris on April 29.

However from the Press rehave come to be associated with his name, continue to operate. The U. S. is speeding up the arming of the NATO countries with nuclear and rocket weapons. It has recent-ly concluded an agreement with Italy, for the building of American rocket ramps on ports it becomes clear that they have made no headway whatsoever in grasping the two crucial issues: the recogof the reality of the n that is the existence of two German States and the acceptance of the need to create an armament limitain Central Europetion zone in Central Europe-issues which are unavoidable, if the Geneva Conference is to pave the way towards a solu-tion of the German problem, towards a solution of the disarmament problem and the easing of international teneasing of

Lively Disarray

It is said that there is an American draft of a German peace treaty and there is also a British draft. It is also said that there are "serious objecions" from the West German and French Governments to

.

But are the Western Powers, training courses. The first jet detachment of the Bundes-wehr has been formed and is in their "lively disarray"—as the London Economist calls it —moving towards a position that would be hopeful for the success of the Conference?

Indications so far call for serious reservations.

To start with, Britain, which **Proposal** had taken the lead, has start-ed to yield to the pressure of its Western allies, on the question of the armament limitation zone in Central Europe. The British Press, Europe. The British Press, which had thought that now was the opportunity for John Bull to lead, with Dulles out, appears to be finding it hard stick to that fond belief, with Herter-or for that mater anyone else, so long as the U. S. remains what it is today already there.

France, enraged with Bri-tain over the "Free Trade Area", and wooing German nopolists for a colonialists' 'honeymoon" in the Sahara, has found "common detern nation to work together" and unsihility" to

PAGE FOURTEEN

international conference is held. This would considerably facilitate the solution of this question. The G.D.R. Government is prepared to discuss the vital question of Germany in negotiations with repre-sentatives of the Federal Republic at any time. It expects and with it the entire German people, that the Federal Government finally assumes a similar attitude in order to overcome the menace of an atomic war from the Germ For suppressing the napeople and to give Germany the perspective of a peaceful tional independence move-ments in Africa, they are agreed. But, for chalking future.

But Bonn rejected the G.D.R's suggestion. In Bonn, are openly on sale, grama-phone records of the speech-es by Hitler, Goebbels and Goering, records of songs and marches of Hitlerite fascists, records imported from the U. S. How can Bonn listen to these records as well as to the voice of G.D.R. at the same time?

Principal Task

A principal task, hence, that faces the other participants of the Foreign Minister's Conference is to stop the militari sation of West Germany. Will the other Western Powers agree to it? And what is more, will they stand up against Bonn?

"There is hope, however,"— says a West German news-paper Neu Rhine Zeitung— "This hope lies in the inevitable trend of international developments. The time when Bonn as a result of exorbitant demands and to rigid 'no' finds itself isolated has almost arrived. Critical voices are

Spying: Multi-Million Dollar Business In U.S.

have been giving Gehlen

eight million dollars a year.

railroad briges and stations

burn factories and assasi-

In 1955, the East German Government reported it had arrested 521 Gehlen agents

and contacts, seized 19 American-made radio re-

ceivers and transmitters, plus arms and ammunition,

poison, incendiary sets, special cameras, bogus ration cards and forged

Bellamy says the best estimates place the little known top-secret CIA's total domestic payroll at

15,000 plus thousands of foreign-born personnel. The Agency's Director, Allen Welsh Dulles, was not res-

write a million dollar check without explaining the ex-penditure to anyone. He is the only man in Washing-

ton, including the Presi

dent, with such powers."

Besides the CIA. Bellamy

says there are eight other cloak-and-dagger outfits employing 20,000 to 30,000

full-time spies for clandes

tine intrigue on a world-

nate government

passes.

Gehlen agents were caught in East Germany in 1953 with plans to blast

million and

officials

hetween five

S PYING has become a multi - million - dollar business for the U.S. Government, Frank Bellamy writes in a series of three articles in the latest issues of National Guardian, an American weekly.

The biggest of these spy groups, the Central Intelli-gence Agency (CIA), Belgence Agency (CIA), Bel-lamy says, gives no public accounting of its 500 mil-lion dollar annual budget. "Dirty tricks," he writes, "remain its stock in trade." In detailing the CIA's

use of spies, he says, it use of spies, he says, he provides them with coun-terfeit money, arms, am-munition, forged documents munition, forget documents and even, in some cases, explosives. He cites the case of Berlin. In 1956, the CIA dug a tunnel a third of a mile into East Berlin to tap telephone and telegraph wires there. Western graph wires there. Western weish builds, was have a supported by possible "to the taxpayers the Soviet authorities how whose money he spends," the tunnel led directly to a Bellamy writes. "Allen U.S. sentry-guarded instal-U.S. sentry-guarded instal-lation 550 yards on the Western side of the border. Today, the President of the West German Federal

Intelligence Agency, Rein-hard Gehlen who directed Nazi espionage on the So-viet front during the Second World War, is working for both the U.S. and Western Germany, Bellamy writes. American tax-payfor both without knowing it,

> tempt to continue swimming against the current of world opinion

wide basis.

--RAZA ALI

WHAT GOES ON IN

Dr. Thirumalachar is today.

There was a sensational announcement by Dr. Thirumala-char of the isolation of an "acid stable antibiotic" from the ste mycelium of the factory. Dr. Nagaraja Rao announced in a meeting that this great disery of his protege would fetch lots of money. So far no acid stable antibiotic has come

out!

Then there was another sen-sational "antitubercular antibiotic" 'superior to streptoanti-biotic superior to streptomycin. This was made so much of that a responsible officer of the UNTAA is reported to have written that the plans for strep-tomycin should be deferred since this antibiotic would replace streptomycin. One has yet to know what has happened to this discovery. There was the announcement of an antifungal antibiotic. superior to the com-mercially available nystatin; we have still to hear of its isolation as a chemical entity.

There are so many things

of which this official has earned his promotion. The most im-portant thing is that within a year of his taking charge of the search Laboratory, all scientific spirit and atmosphere have been banished from there. There re have is fudging of results, reports, secrecy of a type not heard of, extraordinary efforts at selfropaganda, putting down others, etc. There is bitterness and frustration among all the workers in this laboratory—a fact which can easily be verified.

It is on the reports and results of such a person that a project costing Rs. 1.3 crores is being formulated. In the interests of the science of anti-biotics in the country and also the antibiotic in-dustry, a thorough en-quiry should be made into the whole business. Sri Raja should be ask-ed to establish that the two methods he has referred to are original. And he should not be allowed to get away with some report which he can get some officers to sign.

MAY 3: 1959

After successfully mutilating the ditractive Integrated Drug Project with Soviet aid, there is now a well-planned plot on to sabotage the Soviet offer to set up a plant to manufacture tetracyclines. The principal actors in this game are once again, Sri S. T. Raja, the Managing Director, Hindustan Antibiotics, and Dr. Nagaraja Rao of the Commerce and Industry Ministry.

ent. Sri Manuhhai Shah told ent on March 6 that tw entirely Indian processes had been worked out at the National Chemical Laboratory (did he mean that the Hindustan Antibiotics is just an appendage to the National Chemical Laboratory, as one of the Directors from there has made it in fact?), and that production would soon start on the basis of these. This was questioned in these colu (New Age, March 22).

nounced (on April 14): "A pro-ject for the manufacture of the broad spectrum antibiotics (tetracyclines) to meet the entire requirements of the coun try was worked out in the re-search department of the Hin-dustan Antibiotics with its own strains and processes and sub mitted to Government. This project, formed part of the future development of the fac-tory and would cost Rs. 1.3 crores out of which the foreign exchange component would be was made on September 25, Rs. 70 lakhs." (Times of India, 1958 in a 500 gallon tank. After April 15)

How far is this essertion of Sri S. T. Raja true? Is he wilfully misrepresenting facts?

In April 1958, Sri Raja, renortedly at the instruction Dr. Nagaraja Rao, wrote to the American Cyanamide Co. (Lederle Division) of America, enquiring whether it would col-Co. laborate with Hindustan Antibiotics for the manufacture of aureomycin. At that time, Dr. Nagaraja Rao could not ha been unaware of the Soviet early as in 1956.

"Teaching The Russians⁹⁹

This American firm did not give any hopeful reply because it already had an arrang with an Indian firm for the import of crude aureomycin, re-fining it and marketing it with the label "Made in India."

Having failed thus, another strategy was worked out to beat the Russians. In fact, Dr. araja Rao is said to have told a group of technical offi-cers at Pimpri in September 1958, that in this tetracyc business, he "will teach the Russians a lesson"! How, will be clear from the following:

When Dr. Thirumalachar, the present Superintendent of Re-search went to the Soviet Union with the Indian team at the cost Hindustan Antibiotics, he had noted down the Soviet methods for manufacture of terramycin, aureomycin, etc., there but had carefully kept them all with himself.

General Sokhey in 1957 had brought from the Soviet Union strains for producing penicillin, streptomycin, aureomycin ramycin, tetracycline, etc., a were handed over to Dr. Thirumalachar through Dr. Ga-napathi, the then Research Superintendent. Dr. Nagaraja Rao was aware of this because he

Soviet Strains Were Used What is to be noted in all these experiments is that the strains used were the Soviet ones. Two methods of extrac-tion were adopted: one was the Soviet method and the

other a method from the pa-tent of Pfizer. There is no question of an entirely Indian

ormally, acknowledged this

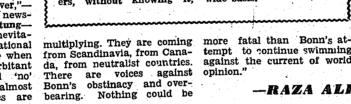
MAY 3, 1959

PIMPRI IS SCANDALOUS that could be listed, on the basis *** FROM FACING PAGE**

boratory as it is today, and the unethical and unscientific me-thods of the Research Superintendent, a protege of Dr. Nagaraja Rao.

Dr. Thirumalachar has been making claims that he has evolved many high penicillin-yield-ing strains; and every visitor to is place will be shown some charts claiming that his results are better than those of the Russians. This news is circulaof the ted by Dr. Nagaraja Rao him-self and believed by many in-cluding the Ministers at Delhil. But the fact is that the so-called high yielding strain of Dr. Thirumalachar created a terrible mess in production and it was a problem to dispose of the three million mega units of coloured penicillin crystals produced with it.

All the penicillin produced Pimpri is from a Russian strain from which isolates have been made by another officer in the plant laboratory who has not even been given credit but after



A LL sorts of half-truths and and thanked General Sokhey for this but had indicated that in future such strains should be handed over to him. It is with these strains that Dr. Thirumalachar started his work to produce terramycin and aureomycin. The bickerings that went on between him and other officers over this, the bad blo it created, etc., are all well known in Pimpri. Thirumalachar was announcing great results, he, it seems, did not even have a reliable and accurate assay method. This was. worked out by another officer Now Sri S. T. Raja has anwhich made further quantitative work on terramycin possible. A thorough enquiry will establish

> Story Of The Experiments

all this.

There is no space to go into the various distressing and shameful details here but to make a long story short: the first trial run for terramycin was made on September 25, ntation (vield, 1,700 units per c. cm.), the broth was filtered over many days, and a part of the filtrate worked up acording to Soviet methods by an officer in the laboratory for a number of days and finally

about 175 gms. of terramycin crystals were isolated. On the basis of this, Dr.

Thirumalachar presented a confidential note to Mr. Raja, in which he claimed credit entirely for himself, with scarcely a mention about the others who had also worked on the project.

Since this report did not contain any details, and his me-thods were so secretive, a group of officers were asked to go the question and run two more batches and obtain technical

data.

A second batch was run on October 23, 1958—this experi-ment did not lead to the isolation of any crystal at all in mantity.

The third run was on Nov-ember 13, 1958—in this also no terramycin was isolated.

1 . . .] [

When Dr. possible. A

A fourth batch was run on December 17, 1958; in this case also the filtration of even a small quantity of the broth took many days; after working this in the laboratory for many more days, 1250 gms of terramycin

A fifth batch was run on Jan-uary 29, 1959, which, as usual, took many days to filter, and on working in the laboratory, yielded 700 gms of terramycin.



FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

report on the patent question have submitted a report that the processes adopted in Pimpri are covered in the patents The claim of entirely Indian ocesses is thus absolutely false. Can't something be done about the official who had behaved in a way unworthy of a scientific man and made such false claims?

A senior officer is reported to have objected in a technical meeting that the claim made by the Minister in the Lok Sabha was not correct: but Sri Raja to whom this objection was made is keeping mum. It is a fact that, so far, no adequate technical data is available to draw up a project report to the extent of Rs. 1.3 crores. The

Process. The officers asked to whole thing has been manoeu-report on the patent question vred by Sri Raja to fool the country and give the impres that he is doing wonderful things and that he is also beating the Russians. The very limits of decency and honesty are being tran essėd.

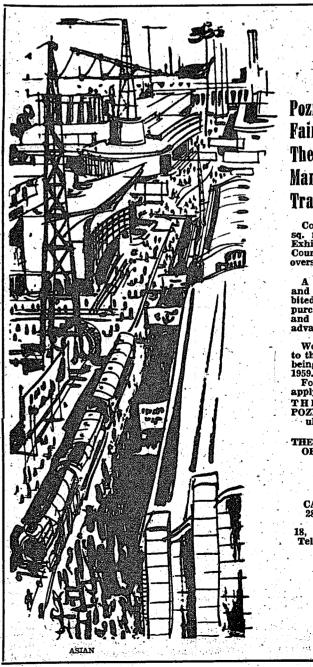
> The story of aureomycin is another miserable episode. In the initial stages, it is said, Dr. Thirumalachar did not even know what he was doing but went on blaming the chemists for failure. In this case, two batches have been run so far giving about 1.000 units. . '

In view of all this, a very crucial question arises: While with such meagre and unconvincing data, Sri Raja and Dr. Nagaraja Rao came out with

plans of the order of Rs. 1.3 crores to manufacture the te-tracyclines, why did they not take up streptomycin on their own since we know more about streptomycin manufac-ture than the tetracyclines and we have even the strains? Probably because another Merck and Co. was not available, and the deal here would have had to be with the Russians.

Since it has been asserted once more by Sri Raja that the strains used at Pimpri for tetracyclines production were theirs and that the processes had been worked out in the Research Laboratory, it is high time people know some facts about this la-

*** ON FACING PAGE**





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NEW AGE

PAGE FIFTEEN

BEGD. NO. D597



annanzia 🗰 by RAMDASS

Prime Minister Nehru's announcement to Press men after he came out of his four-hour meeting with the Dalai Lama in Mussoorie that the Dalai Lama-General Tan Kuan-san correspondence had in fact taken place and that the letters written by the Dalai Lama were authentic has brought a whole propaganda edifice crumbling down.

W HEN Peking had released these letters they had been dubbed as fabricated, the Indian Press continued to refer to them as the "alleged letters" of the Dalai Lama.

What They Said Then

Even as late as April 16, a New Delhi despatch in the Hindu was saying: "What has perplexed New Delhi is the reiteration by the Premier (Chou En-lai) of the genuine-ness of the letters written by the Dalai Lama to the Chi-

nese Military Commander.... Even if the Dalai Lama now denied having written those letters the Chinese could still maintain that he is saying it under duress...."

The Tribune was on the The Triume was on the same day editorialising: "The Chinese Embassy in New Delhi has also been circulating pho-tostat capies of certain letters alleged to have been written by the Dalai Lama to the Chinese representative in Lhasa, in support of the official Peking line." Other papers were writing in a similar vien.

These Special Correspondents and editorial writers were all expecting that the moment the Dalai Lama entered India he would deny authorship of the letters and what made them bold to cling on to this belief was Prime Minister Nehro's own words in the Lok Sabha, "I would like to get gracter words in the Lok Sabha, "I would like to get greater confirmation about them (the letters), the circums-tances in which they were written and whether they were written at all."

When Sri Nehru came out of Birla Nivas on April 24 and acknowledged that the letters were the Dalai Lama's, one expected him at least to express some regret about his earlier statement. But nothing of the sort was done, instead he tried to explain what might have prompted the Dalai Lama to write those letters

Wider Significance

With all that, it is good that the authenticity of the letters has now been established. Its significance is not only that it has proved as baseless a oved as baseless charge agai against particular particular charge against China, it has much wider sig-nificance, it puts a question mark against many things that have been said in the now-famous, very controver-sial Tezpur Statement. When the Delia Lama race

When the Dalai Lama rea-ched Tezpur and the state-ment was read out by a Tibe-tan official and copies were handed out to Pressmen by an official of the Ministry of Ex-ternal Affairs of the Government of India, this statement which has since been the centre of a debate raised a number of questions—and not from the Chinese alone. The Hindu's K. Ranga-

swami, for instance, wrote from New Delhi: "There is an impression here that the Dalai Lama's statement has

The first of these gaps, of course, was that the state-ment kept completely silent on the letters.

"Another aspect of the situ-ation," wrote the Bindu Cor-responent, "which is regarded as even more fundamental is yet to be cleared. The Dalai Lama narrated in proper sequence all the events leading to the appointment of the Perparatory Committee for Tibet in 1956. Then the Dalai Lama deals with incidents which occurred in March this year and what happened in these three years has not been stated. These three years are considered as particularly relevant. It is in 1956 that Pekthat the Tezpur Statement is riddled wih questionable facts.

The Tezpur Statement says: "The relation' of Tibetans with China became Tibetans with China became openly strained from the early part of February 1959. The Dalai Lama had agreed a month in advance to attend a cultural show in the Chinese headquarters and the date was suddenly fixed for March 10." Who fixed the date so was suddenly fixed for March 10." Who fixed the date so suddenly? Doesn't the word-ing of the statement give the impression that the Chinese military authorities had fixed the date? And doesn't it seek to become a justification for the rumour the rebels had spread that the Dalai Lama was about to be abducted by the Chinese?

Truth In **The Letter**

And yet what had the Dalai Lama written in the letters which he has said are his own.

He wrote to General Tan Kuan-san on March 11: "I intended to go to the Mili-tary Command to see the intended to go to the Mili-tary Command to see the theatrical performance yes-terday, but I was unable to do so, owing to obstruction by people, ecclesiastical and secular, who were instigated by a few bad elements and who did not know the facts." Obviously it was the Dalai Lama who had "inten-ded to go" on the 10th and it was the Chinese who were saying, "it may be advisable saying, "it may be advisable

a Manchu Minister stationed in Tibet—that all this means that the leading position of the Dalai Lama was bestowed on him by the over-all Chinese Government then in power and that the Kasha was just an administrative organ of the over-all Government at that time. that time

And what is the present position? The present position is that Tibet is a local region of China where a Preparatory Committee for the autonomous

region has been established. The assertion of Tibetan indpendence looks strange, to say. the least, against these historical facts.

1951

Agreement

• The Tezpur Statement says: "In 1951, under pres-sure of the Chinese Government. a 17-point agreement as made between China and Tibet.'

Anart from the fact that the Dalai Lama himself has in the past lauded this agree-ment publicly and talked of ment publicly and talked of Tibet's advance under this agreement, here is the testi-mony of one who signed the agreement in Peking in 1951 Ngapo Ngawang 'Jigme was the Chief Plenipotentiary De-legate of the former. Tibet Local Government in the negotiations and signing of the 17-article agreement. He is now Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Pre-



ing declared that for a period of six years the Chinese Gov-ernment would leave the task of undertaking reforms to the Tibetan Government itself. For any complete picture of the situation one should know what the Tibetan Government did or did not do in these three years. Peking has been alleging that the interval was utilised for organising an open utilised for organising an open rebellion in Tibet. There is an obvious gap in the Dalai Lama's statement between the time the negotiations with the Chinese authorities com-menced and his flight from Lhasa and what happened in the interval would provide a clue as to who fired the first shot in the battle not for shot in the battle not for Lhasa but for the Dalai Lama

Mysteries To Be Unravelled

himself.

Yet another aspect. Wri-tes the Hindu Correspon-dent: "It is not clear why the Tibetans should have organised a demonstration against the Chinese if the Dalai Lama chose volunta-vilu to execut on invition rily to accept an invitation to attend a cultural performance at the Chinese head-quarters." "These and other mysteries of the Tibetan scene remain to be unravel-led," he concluded. It is when one begins to unravel some of these myste-

ries with all the information that is available that one finds

that you do not come for the time being." (General Tan Kuan-san's letter of March 10)

Statement begins The with expressing the strong desire of the Tibetan people for inependence. "Sometimes the Chinese Government had imposed their suzerainty on Tibet and at other times Tibet has functioned as an inde-pendent country."

A Bit Of History

The Dalai Lama must be knowing Tibet's history much better than anyone of us. He must be knowing that the head of Tibet did so at an order from Peking.

He must be aware of the fact that Tibet has been one of China's administrative areas for over 700 years; that areas for over 700 years; that the fifth Dalai Lama, the first to enter the political arena yas appointed head of Tibet by the Central Government in Peking during the reign of Emperor Kangsi (1662-1723) of the Ching dynasty; that the establishment of the Kasha-Local Government of Tibet-at the time of the Seventh. at the time of the Seventh Dalai Lama was authorised by the Central Government in Peking during the reign of Emperor Chien Lung (1711-1799) of the Ching dynasty; that the Kasha was then the Central Government in that the Kasha was then directly under the authority of

paratory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region. He has said that the 17-article agreement was sign-

ed with the plenipotentiary delegates of the Central People's Government after 'detailed discussions on an intimate and friendly basis which arrived at unanimous opinions satisfactory to both rties."

After this, it is too late in the day now to say that the agreement was signed "under pressure."

• The Tezpur Statement says: "In fact after the occupation of Tibet by the Chinese armies the Tibetan. Government did not enjoy any measure of autonomy even in internal matters and the Chinese Government exercis-ed full powers in Tibetan affairs."

And Its **Implementation**

Without bothering too much at the moment with the fact that the charge is fami-liar and that we have been hearing it in India quite often even before the Tezpur Sta--even before the feepur sta-temnt was made, let us exa-mine its truth. And here it is necessary again to go into the question of the 17-article agreement and how it has been implemented.

Article 4, 5 and 6 guaran-teed that "the Central authorities will not alter the exist-

ing political system in Tibet. ing political system in Thet," that they "will not alter the established status, functions-and powers of the Dalai Lama," that "officials of various ranks shall hold office as usual," that "the established status, functions and powers of the Panchen Lama shall be maintained."

We know that the func-tions and status of the Dalai Lama have not only not been altered, he had been elected Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Con-gress, thus becoming a lead-ing member of the State ing member of the State. He was also appointed Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the autonomous region of Tibet. Even after the rebellion, he continues to be the Chair-man of the Preparatory Committee and the Pan-chen Lama is only acting in that capacity as long as he is away from Tibet. And even in this session of the Chinese National People's Congress the Dalai Lama has been elected to its Standing Committee and as a Vice-Chairman

Where Is The **Interference** ?

While these are facts we know, we have yet to hear-from the Dalai Lama of spe-cific instances of any inter-ference with his status and. functions.

Neither can one imagine. looking at the caravan that has arrived with the Dalai Lama that there has been any interference with ecclesiasti-cal and secular officials. If the Chinese had decided to interfere, not many of those who-have come to India would have remained as high Tibetan officials.

Except very general asser-tions not one instance has-been brought to our notice sofar of a single decision taken. on any internal matter of Tibet by the Chinese authorities without the consent of the former Local Government. Article 7 lays down that-"the religious beliefs, customs-

and habits of the Tibetan people shall be respected and lama monasteries shall be protected. The Central autho-rities will not effect a changein the income of the monasteries.'

Not only have the Chinese scrupulously adhered to this-clause, they have in cases-even gone out of their way to-provide transport facilities tolamaseries which wanted to buy goods from a distance.

They Are The Criminals

Before we are expected to-Before we are expected to-believe that there has been any violation of religion and customs, we should at least-be told which monastery has not been protected, which lamasery's revenue: which lamasery's revenue has been reduced. Particu-larly so when we know that some of these people who are making the charge, while swearing by Buddhism and Tibet's ensure have and Tibet's customs, have-been responsible for the killing of even Dalai Lamasthemselves—for some gene-rations no Dalai Lama has: lived to reach the age of 18, as Anna Louise Strong wrote in her article in New Age. They are the ones who have violated Tibet's religion and customs and when they

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