

WHO ARE THESE FRIENDS OF TIBET ?

They Pit India Against China

★ by P. C. JOSHI

The same reactionary set that seizes every opportunity to change India's independent foreign policy, that opposes the expansion of the public sector in our economy, that campaigns against the Nagpur resolutions on agrarian reforms is behind the Tibet agitation and is very cleverly seeking wider support.

THE self-styled friends of Tibet are playing the big imperialist game of exploiting the Tibetan tragedy to bring about a change in India's policy towards China and thereby in the world alignment of forces.

Some Basic Facts

Tibet is a part of China and we have recognised it as such but the aim of the imperialists has always been to tear Tibet away from China. Hence they denounced the peaceful liberation of Tibet as Communist aggression. They have never reconciled themselves to the new situation and maintained their contacts with Tibetan reactionaries.

The patience and tolerance of the People's Government of China went to the extent that it made no change in the old Tibetan political system, the status and authority of the Dalai Lama or in the revenues of the monasteries. The old officials at all levels retained their former positions. The Chinese were so particular about peaceful voluntary methods that even the socio-economic reforms that were implemented in the rest of China were not carried out in Tibet with its society based on medieval serfdom. In 1956, the Central People's Government assured the local Tibetan Government that for a period of six years i.e. up to 1962 democratic reforms need not be carried out in Tibet.

Thus Chinese leaders respected Tibetan autonomy to the extent that they left the old political and economic system intact and gave more than ample time for wisdom to dawn on the Tibetan upper strata.

They, however, misused regional autonomy and their own authority; they maintained their old links with the Kuomintang, and imperialist circles, encouraged local rebellions, let them spread and ultimately staged an all-out armed rebellion, denounced the agreement they had themselves signed with the People's Government at the time of peaceful liberation, declared "independence" and when they failed, they abducted the Dalai Lama and now seek the intervention of foreign Powers.

What would any Government in the world have done

in such circumstances? What did we do in the Naga area when Phizo and his National Council declared the 'independence' of the Nagaland and took up arms against our Central Government? What did we do in Kashmir when Sheikh Abdula was barely planning to declare Kashmir's 'independence' from the Indian Union?

Referring to the Tibetan rebels, Jugantar, March 31, wrote editorially, "Towards those who had torn up the

agreement and launched on an armed rebellion, no Government can show mercy. For, this is treachery and without the smashing of treachery, the duty of the State would not have been fulfilled."

This, however, is not the view of the Asoka Mehtas, Acharya Kripalanis and their like inside the ruling party. They openly express their sympathy with the reactionary medieval Tibetan traitors and slander the People's Government of China.

Their anti-Communism knows no limit because they are out to seize the opportunity to weaken India-China friendship and strengthen India's bonds with the imperialist West. Their anti-Communism is not innocent ignorance or misplaced sympathy but the active weapon for bringing about an important reac-

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Their Slogans

The policy of friendship with China is not only a continuation of our best historic traditions but commands the warmest popular support. Through the Chou-Nehru agreement we accepted Tibet as Chinese territory and the Prime Minister of India has announced on the floor of our Parliament that the Tibetan rebellion is an internal affair of the Chinese people.

Sri Jaya Prakash Narain, however, wants India to put on record that "aggression has been committed against Tibet" and the freedom of a weak nation had been "snuffed out by a powerful neighbour." The Prime Minister's statement

did not "allay" his anxiety. Flouting our solemn treaty with China, he says, "Tibet has never been a part of China."

Sri Asoka Mehta in his Tibet Day speech in Bombay has also repudiated that the Tibetan revolt was an "internal affair" of China. "That way, he argued, Algeria was part and parcel of Metropolitan France and Goa of Metropolitan Portugal." (Indian Express, March 30)

It is only the imperialists who insist that we are threatened with aggression from China. The Indian Prime Minister has over and over again stated that there is no danger of aggression from the Chinese side. Asoka Mehta, however, says: "Today it is Tibet, tomorrow it may be Nepal and India." PSP General Secretary, N.G. Goray, hailed in a Delhi meeting the Tibetan rebellion as a national struggle against "Chinese colonialism."

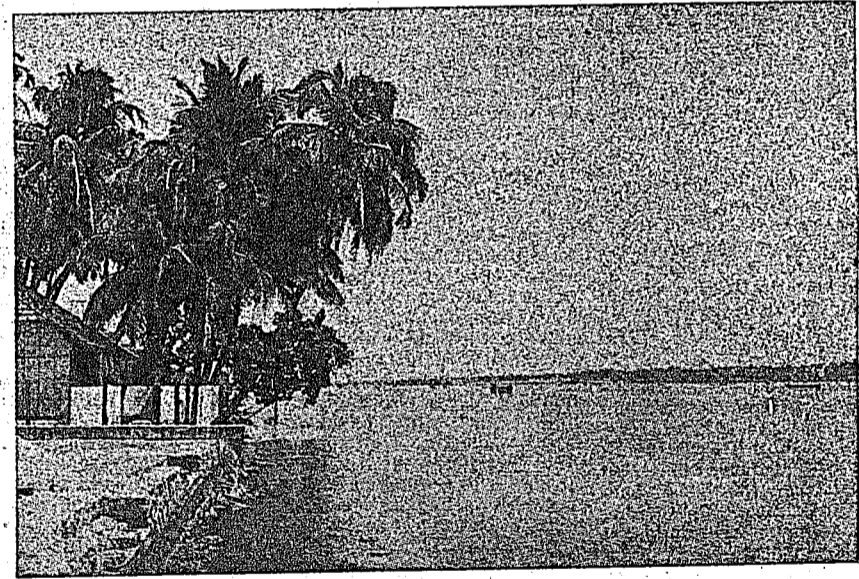
They are not only holding Tibet Day meetings but they have also formed a Committee of Solidarity with Tibet. It is the same Asoka Mehta-Masani-Frank Moraes combine and their one big demand is that India must throw open its doors to Tibetan refugees so that they may use our country as their base after their ignominious defeat in their own homeland.

Influential Urdu daily of Delhi, Milap, has hit the nail on the head in its editorial of March 27: "If Praja Socialist brothers feel so much worried about freedom and democracy then where were they when democracy was being trampled upon in Pakistan and a military dictatorship was installed? At that time, they did not start any agitation. Then why are they so worried today? Is it because the Western Powers 'so desire'?"

In its editorial of March 25, Bengali daily Jugantar has rightly exposed their game: "The aim behind this propaganda is to agitate the people in Tibet and India against China and make India's Prime Minister resile from the historic Panch Shila declaration and take his stand against China. Needless to say we are emphatically against this plot, because India's freedom and peace will be gravely threatened by this and Pakistan will get more chance of aggression against our borders."

Imperialism And India

The U. S. imperialists tried to intervene against China from Quemoy and Matsu but the Chinese guns proved too powerful. They tried it again



SALUTE KERALA

The Communist-led Government of Kerala completes two years on April 5. On this happy occasion, we greet the Kerala Government, the Communist Party in Kerala which has led it, and the people of Kerala who have sustained and nourished it.

During the two years in office, the Kerala Government has gone ahead to implement a programme of relief to the people, a programme which had been commonly accepted by the national movement during the struggle for independence but which the people waited in vain for Congress in power to implement.

It has been no smooth road for the Kerala Government. The Opposition parties in Kerala were not only unhelpful in putting through these policies of giving relief to the people, theirs was an attitude of active, blind obstruction at every stage. The Central Government, too, created difficulties in the way of the Communist-led Government.

If despite all this, the Kerala Government has been able to achieve what it has achieved, it is thanks to its policies that rallied more and more people in the State to its support, thanks to the sympathy and admiration it won from the rest of the country with the clean and honest administration it tried to ensure.

People in other States who have seen the failures of the Congress Governments, who have seen that the Congress Ministries cannot even root out corruption and nepotism, leave alone curbing the vested interests, have in larger and larger numbers begun looking to Kerala.

The Anniversary of the Kerala Government is thus an occasion for celebration not only to the people of Kerala, but to the democratic-minded people all over the country who look forward to an alternative to Congress misrule.

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U.S. FLEET FOR INDIAN OCEAN

WHILE the friends of America within our country are making as much noise as they can over Tibet, the American militarists are busy discussing the despatch of a U.S. fleet to the Indian Ocean, as powerful as the Sixth Fleet in the Mediterranean or the Seventh Fleet in the Pacific.

Rear Admiral E. M. Eller, Director of Naval History Division in the Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, has recommended this in the course of an article in the Navy whose articles are stated to have no official sanction but their "official links are unmistakable." (Washington despatch in Times of India, March 23)

The analysis is brutally frank and so is the aim. "Gone with the wind are the former protective flotillas of Britain, Holland and France. "The unpatrolled reaches of the semi-landlocked Indian Ocean, bordering the vast continents of Africa and India and a host of new fledgling independent nations is a wide open invitation to anyone to grab the sceptre. "The Indian Ocean is momentarily a naval vacuum... "Unless we build the strength to support our friends and block aggression, the day of reckoning will come as it did in Korea."

This increased and hardly concealed U.S. interest in the Indian Ocean is the logical corollary of the U.S. policy of bilateral and military Facts, arms deals and dollar bribes. The Navy, in its editorial, urges that "the question of the hour was whether the U.S. Navy must take over the watch in the Indian Ocean."

The U.S. rulers themselves realise that their military Facts, arms and dollars are not enough to sustain their puppets, a powerful U.S. Fleet is also necessary to keep under cover the resurgent Afro-Asian region around the Indian Ocean. The very recollection of the role of the U.S. Mediterranean Fleet in the aggression against Lebanon is enough to tell the Afro-Asian nations what role the proposed U.S. Fleet in the Indian Ocean is designed to play. It will be a gross violation of the Bandung Principles in the very region whose Governments made that solemn declaration, a permanent threat to Afro-Asian peace and the

sovereignty of the nations concerned. It is a pity this dangerous U.S. move has not received due attention from the Indian Press and Parliament. After the U.S.-Pak Pact came the Tibetan provocation, closely followed by the proposal for a U.S. Fleet in the Indian Ocean!

MORE FROM MALDIVES

LAST week we wrote of Maldives, where the British are forcibly building an RAF base without the consent of the Maldivian Government. The British imperialist answer to the demand for recognition of Maldivian sovereignty was the creation of a "rebel" Government in the Southern atolls of the sprawling Archipelago.

The Maldivian Government had declared Major Philips persona non-grata and demanded his recall. The British Commonwealth Secretary told the House of Lords that the Major had gone only to enquire about the food situation. The Maldivian communique states that this visit had been arranged without consulting the Maldivian Government and was another instance of British interference in the internal affairs of Maldives. Its motive was "to find some more traitors among the Maldives to help the British to overthrow the present Government."

Maldives Legal Adviser Nadarajah in London has accused the British Government for trying to stir up trouble in Maldives to get better terms for the air base there. He also accused the British of creating an "artificial food shortage by getting their agents to buy up food on the atolls."

The Maldivian representative in Colombo has stated that the appeal of the 'rebel' Government for recognition had been drafted by "British agitators" and communicated through the RAF postal system.

The anti-imperialist rank-and-file of the PSP should call upon Asoka Mehta and Goray to explain their silence over the British crimes in Maldives. They are loud only against People's China flogging a reactionary pro-imperialist rebellion within its Socialist motherland. Both ways, they play a pro-imperialist role. It should be obvious where their

NOTES OF THE WEEK

anti-Communism ultimately leads.

WESTERN AID

THE second "Aid India" Conference of the World Bank and the Western capitalist countries has belied all the fond hopes of Indian ruling circles. Last autumn, during the earlier New Delhi Conference, the Western aiders had assured us that they would give us 700 million dollars as loan for the next two years of the Plan and ensure its foreign exchange needs.

After their latest Washington Conference, they have offered us less than half of what Morarji reported to Parliament a few weeks back as having been definitely promised to us. All we are now offered is that the bare "essential maintenance needs" of our economy will be met and no more.

The exact amount will have to depend upon bilateral negotiations with each country which will have to be separately concluded, i.e. foreign aid will not depend upon our decision of our own needs but on their estimate of what projects they think are good for us.

U.S., the richest of them, promises nothing definite up to August, for it claims to have no funds duly sanctioned by the U.S. Congress.

The World Bank communique further adds that it was understood that "the Government of India would continue to pursue the economic and financial policies which had been discussed at the August meeting." The GOI has not taken the country into confidence about these conditions. It will be recalled that there were serious protests against the demands made by the World Bank Chief and the foreign bankers and advisers at the time of the last New Delhi Bank-Fund Conference. They are obviously undesirable conditions which the foreigners are insisting upon and which even the GOI is unable to accept completely and hence the present unwillingness of the World Bank Governments to fulfil their earlier promises to help us meet our foreign exchange needs.

An argument made in defence of not giving India further aid is that we have so far utilised "hardly 45 per cent of the external assistance already offered." The truth is that this aid was mostly earmarked for buying from the U.S. market where the prices are the highest. Besides, the procedural difficulties are a serious hindrance. The funds allotted are linked to specific projects. We cannot draw upon them according to our own ideas of our priority but only if we agree to build specific projects with which the foreign aiders also agree. They are funds with conditions attached and can be drawn only through a long and complicated process.

Another argument made for cutting the earlier promise is that our foreign exchange reserves are looking up and we can very well do with 150 million instead of 2200 millions as our sterling reserves. In other words, we have been called

upon to remove our sterling cushions, weaken ourselves still further before we can qualify for more foreign aid. The logic of this demand is easy to understand—the weaker we become, the easier they think we can be dictated to. Reuter discloses clearly enough what we are expected to sacrifice before we qualify to get their assistance: "The forthcoming assistance would have no room for any 'fills' in the economic development programme of the country which had already been severely trimmed."

Jan Sangh leaders know better than most of us what the American rulers want us to do. The Organiser, March 30, writes: "Friendly circles are of the view that the Planning Commission would perhaps be well advised to appropriately revise and prune the Second Plan working programme."

The pruning and re-pruning already done is not yet considered drastic enough by the Western monopolists. Leave aside all talk of aiding a big Third Plan, they want us to cut to a still smaller size the small Second Plan before they will help us to see it through. This is dictating a cut and not helping the development of our economy.

The contrast between U.S. and Soviet aid has been described by no less a person than Mr. Aziz Ahmed, the new Pakistan Ambassador to the USA, immediately after his arrival in New York. "At the moment the U.S. aid programme is very involved and very elaborate. Perhaps something could be done to simplify them." He also pointed out that the USSR had followed through in its programme of aid to India and Afghanistan "with efficiency and record speed." And this loyal puppet threateningly added, "But we hope that we won't have to accept any offers of help from the USSR."

SOVIET AID

THE Communist analysis that the GOI's neutrality is another name for a policy of balancing between, the capitalist and Socialist Powers stands once again vindicated. Pressed hard and squeezed roughly at the two "operation rescue" or "Aid India" Conferences of the capitalist Powers, the first at New Delhi and the Second at Washington, the Indian Government is tapping the countries of the Socialist camp with greater eagerness. Capitalising Khrushchov's message sent through the Soviet Goodwill Mission that "at present there are considerable possibilities for further development of all-round cooperation between India and the Soviet Union," the Indian Government is sending to the USSR a high-level industrial delegation headed by Sardar Swaran Singh, Minister for Steel, Mines and Fuel.

Knowledgeable circles report that there are two fields in which Soviet assistance is being mainly sought. The first is the development of machine-building capacity for such medium industries as paper, fertilisers, food processing, chemicals, etc., as are not

covered by the manufacturing schedule of heavy machine-building group of plants proposed to be set up in the Ranchi and Durgapur area with Soviet assistance itself. The second is the development of small industries which have hitherto been handicapped by the difficulties of plant and raw materials.

It is being stressed that this visit is only for "exploratory discussions" for the scope and nature of the Third Plan has yet to be determined.

If negotiations with the USSR are meant to serve a more serious purpose than as mere pressure on the USA and other capitalist countries, they will serve a practical and useful purpose and really help our industrialisation and the independent growth of our economy.

There are a few, however belated, positive signs.

The Special Correspondent of the Hindustan Times, March 31, reports that India and the Soviet Union have agreed in principle to the utilisation of the Russian credit for the five-unit Rs. 28.7 crores drug project in the public sector. India will receive Rs. 9.6 crores credit from the USSR on the same 2½ per cent interest as for Bhilal and repayable in seven years.

The Indian Government is also studying a Rs. 30-crore project to make oil machinery with Soviet assistance, as an auxiliary to the heavy machine-building plant proposed to be set up at Ranchi, also with Soviet aid.

The India Press Agency reports that the negotiations for the big oil refinery at Barauni have reached an advanced stage and the agreement is expected to be signed in a month's time.

Unacceptable Claim

People, therefore, were not prepared to accept the claim of the Congress that it was the insufficient majority of the Congress in the Legislature that made the Ministries unstable. They, on the other hand, thought that, for the very purpose of providing a stable Government in the State of Kerala, the Congress should be reduced to a minority. It was this feeling of the people of Kerala that brought the present Communist-led Government into office.

J. J. Singh, after spending a life-time in the USA has come to settle in India and campaign for greater friendship and cooperation with USA. Writing in D. F. Karaka's Current, March 25, in the Democratic Way of Life Special Number, he says, "I do know that today not a single cent would be voted by the U. S. Congress for the uplift of any under-developed area in Asia or Africa, if the threat of economic penetration by world Communism was not ever present and dangling before their eyes."

Economic competition between the two world systems of capitalism and Socialism is on. Real neutrality and our own national interests and dignity demand that we cooperate more with the countries of Socialism and not remain at the mercy of the capitalist countries and in the process aid the growth of genuine international economic cooperation and help preserve world peace.

P. C. JOSHI

(March 31)

E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD ON KERALA GOVERNMENT'S ACHIEVEMENTS

"Congress alone can provide a stable Government in Kerala. So vote for the Congress," was one of the slogans heard at Congress election meetings in early 1957. No less a person than the Prime Minister had advanced this argument during his electioneering tour in Kerala.

FIRST the State of Travancore, and then the State of Travancore-Cochin had a succession of Ministries one following the other (seven Ministries in nine years, excluding the caretaker Government in 1953-54 and President's rule in 1956-57). People had become fed up with this state of affairs. Congressmen thought that they could trace it all to the insufficient majority for the Congress in the Legislature and called for a comfortable majority in the new State of Kerala as the only way to avoid the repetition of this sorry.

The people, however, knew the baselessness of the Congress claim. They knew that ministerial instability started in the Travancore and Travancore-Cochin States at a time when the Congress had virtually cent per cent majority in the legislature: barring one independent who was elected to the Travancore Legislature in 1948, a few non-Congress members elected in the former Cochin State and one or two independents who got in during by-elections after the Travancore-Cochin State was constituted—this was all the non-Congress representation in the Travancore-Cochin Legislature till 1952. And yet the first Ministry of the newly formed Travancore-Cochin State could function only for a year-and-a-half; as for the former Travancore State, its first Ministry, consisting of what was considered to be the "big three" of the Travancore State Congress, fell in the matter of six or seven months.

In fact, the only effective way to break through Western capitalist dictation on Indian economic development plans is to go in for bolder and comprehensive economic cooperation with the rapidly developing countries of the Socialist camp headed by the USSR.

Relief To People

This, in itself, may be considered a big achievement of the two-year rule of our Government. But far more important than this is the fact that our Government has been able, during the short period of two years in which it has functioned in this State, to undertake such programmes of giving relief to the common people as have never been undertaken by Congress Governments in this and other States. Several measures of economic and political transformations, which the people of India had expected the Congress to undertake but which were not really undertaken by the Congress during the first decade of Independence, have been undertaken by us and are now in various stages of implementation. As a matter of fact, it is these measures of economic and political changes desired by the nation and undertaken by us that enabled us



E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

to continue in office for two years with a slender two-vote majority in the Legislature.

Our party has always attached great importance to the agrarian problem. Without a radical solution to this problem, it is impossible in our opinion, for our country to advance in any direction: industrialisation, improvement of agriculture, dissemination of modern scientific knowledge, etc.—all this requires the elimination of feudal domination in the countryside as its prerequisite. It was to this end that the Party had advanced the slogan of "abolition of landlordism without compensation" and "land to the tiller."

Agrarian reform, however, is only one of the most important phases in the democratic programme which our Government is pursuing. Equally important is the reorientation to be given to the work of planned development of our resources.

Weakening Landlordism

It is important in this connection to note that though India as a whole had very important projects of development during the First and Second Five-Year Plans, precious little of that has come to Kerala. The huge hydro-electric projects, steel and other heavy industries, the great construction projects connected with industries and other economic activities—none of this has come to Kerala. We know that this is not the particular misfortune of Kerala. This has been the lot of, say, States like Assam also.

Even among those States which have been more fortunate...

Article By The Chief Minister On Two Years Of The Communist-Led Ministry

statement recently made by the President of the Kerala Congress Committee who accused the Government of Kerala of unduly delaying passage of the Bill. He is reported to have assured the people that the Congress would never allow the Communist Government to continue in its delaying tactics. Brave words indeed! One would however, wish that the KPC had shown this awareness of the urgency for Agrarian Legislation before 1957 when its representatives were ruling this State. Even today, it would be more useful if the KPC President were to use his good offices with his own comrades in the other States who, after all, had to be pulled up by the All-India Congress itself (in its Nagpur Session) for their failure to bring about agrarian reforms. Let the President of the KPC remember that, while Congress Governments in many States are yet to prepare their Land Reform Bills, the Select Committee on the Kerala Bill had almost completed its labours before the Nagpur Session of the Congress was held.

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Backward Areas

Let alone the mammoth schemes implemented by the Centre with their direct investment, Kerala has not been lucky to get even a single industrial undertaking in the private sector also. When such things are pointed out, the excuses put forward generally are that a particular industry is started in a particular State in consideration of the facilities available there and that things in the private sector are governed by the wishes of the private investor concerned. These things have surely to be considered. Nobody disputes them, especially the one mentioned first, viz., the conveniences for starting the industry, the availability of raw

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materials and other conveniences; but invariable compliance with the whims of the private investor is not an indispensable criterion. Government must be prepared to suggest the location for the industry at the time of granting the licence. A deliberate and conscious attempt to bring up the industrially backward areas to the level of other areas is possible only this way.

"For instance, the finest clay in India is obtained in Kerala. But the Government of India, when granting the licence to start a factory for making high tension electrical goods do not stipulate where that factory should be located. Nor have they accepted the principle of such a stipulation. Consequently what the industrialist, who gets the licence, does is to start the factory anywhere he likes and to take from Kerala the raw material he wants. This is a practice which pains the people of Kerala very much. What amenity is it that Kerala lacks for starting any such factory? Nothing. So there is no unfairness in suggesting at the time of the granting of licence that such a factory should be located in Kerala.

"I was only mentioning an example. No particular con-

cern is referred to in this statement. I am raising a general principle. I believe this principle will be accepted by all the under-developed States of the Union. The reaction which the people of Assam had when the Government of India decided against the setting up of an oil refinery in Assam, an area which produced oil in abundance, will be felt by the people of other States too under similar circumstances. Special care has to be taken in connection with the Third Five-Year Plan to eliminate to the maximum extent regional imbalances and to provide adequate chances for all regions for the utmost development according to their genius.

Due Share Of Development

"In short, the substance of what is urged is, that so far as Kerala is concerned the Union Government and the Planning Commission should adopt an enabling policy under which such industries as related to rubber, bamboo, forests, mineral sands, etc., should be located and developed here. Another industry

worth mention is the manufacture of drugs. It was informed that three projects for drugs manufacture in the public sector were contemplated by the Centre to be started with Russian aid. It is the considered view of this Government that Kerala is most suited for locating the phytochemical plant amongst these. This fact has already been intimated to the Central Government." (Emphasis added)

While thus emphasising the importance of Kerala and other States getting their due share of India's development, our Government also emphasises the need for a reorientation in the outlook of our own people in the matter of development.

Our State being highly deficient in food, it is of the utmost importance that increased food production is given the place of pride in our developmental activities. An important place should be assigned also to the organisation of such small and medium industries as would increase employment opportunities. These two needs of development should make us reorientate ourselves on productive activities rather than on social service activities. For, however import-

ant, social service would not add to our material wealth or help in the solution of such acute problems as food deficit and unemployment.

We have unfortunately inherited a tradition of more or less equating development with education, medical and public health, communications and other social services, to the exclusion of agricultural and industrial development. This is an inheritance that should be given up if we are to implement a programme of real development.

Another important direction in which we should reorientate ourselves in development is greater and greater reliance in the utilisation of our own internal resources, which are vast but remain to be tapped. While it is undoubtedly correct for us to demand of the Central Government that our legitimate share of India's development should come to us, we should realise that there is a lot of work which we ourselves can do without any help from the Centre, or at best with resources that exist in our State.

Similarly, while it is the bounden duty of the State Government to help all districts with the necessary technical and financial assistance required for their development, the people in the districts and lower units should remember that they can themselves do a lot if only they pool their own material and human resources. The prevalent tendency to look upon the Central and State Governments as the agencies to spoon-feed all the districts and villages of our State should be put an end to and the people made to depend on themselves to the utmost possible extent.

This idea is sought to be worked out in actual practice when our Government calls for shramdan in furtherance of its developmental activities. This was recently carried out in an organised way during the Minor Irrigation Campaign organised in January when dozens of local projects, which have been investigated and approved, but have not yet been taken up for execution were brought under the scheme of shramdan. Hundreds of people belonging to various walks of life offered themselves to do this work and thus to make possible what has so far been considered impossible.

This is as yet only a small beginning. It, however, is a beginning. If this is carried forward, improved upon on the basis of experience and applied to every department of developmental activity, it will be possible for us to work out a programme of development which is vaster in scope and easier of fulfilment than many of us imagine today.

Administrative Set-Up

Such an approach to developmental activities requires a radical reorientation in the administrative structure. For, the vast unutilised material and human resources of the people cannot be fully exploited for the benefit of development if the labouring people are not given a place of honour in the economic and administrative set-up of the country. This is impossible with the present system of administration.

technical expert have, of course, to play a very important role in organising and coordinating the activities of the people. But their efficiency and usefulness as administrators and experts consists in the degree to which they are able to inspire confidence among the labouring people. Such a feeling of people's confidence in the administrator and the expert can be generated only if the administrative set-up is democratised and decentralised. To this end, the Administrative Reforms Committee set up by our Government has recommended—and the Government has accepted these recommendations—to the effect that elected organs of administration should be set up at the panchayat and district levels.

No more will the Collector of the district be the all-powerful administrator and agent of the Government in the district. Parallel with him will be the elected head of the elected District Council which will be responsible for the activities of the Government in the district (except the departments of Revenue and Law and Order). The present over-centralised Secretariat of the State capital will be deprived of several of its functions which will be transferred to the District Council and to the District Collector. Many of the functions which are performed today by the District Collector will, in their turn, be transferred to the panchayats as well. The village administration which is today conducted by permanent officials, directly responsible to the taluk and district authorities, will become part and parcel of the elected village panchayat.

This is the broad outline of the reorganisation of the administration envisaged by our Government; it is to this end that a Panchayat Bill and a District Councils Bill have been drafted by us. (The former has already been introduced in the Legislature and referred to the Select Committee, while the latter is shortly to be introduced.)

These are some of the measures of economic and political transformations that we have undertaken during the last two years. There are, of course, several others which have been left out here. But even this brief discussion is enough to show that, as opposed to the previous Governments in this State and most other States, we are trying our level best to carry out the programme of democratic transformations to which all the democratic elements in the country are pledged.

We would have been able to do far more if the Opposition in this State (which happens to be the ruling party in the rest of the country) were a little more cooperative in implementing a programme which is jointly accepted by them and us. It is, however, unfortunate that they do not take such a constructive attitude, but try to create difficulties for us. We, on our part, are confident that with the increasing support that we are receiving from the people of Kerala and of the rest of the country, we will be able to face this opposition and carry out the programme to which we are pledged.

The administrator and the

AFRO-ASIAN SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

—Calcutta's Unprecedented Response

Calcutta, March 30

The All-India Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity, which will be in session when these lines are published, has evoked unprecedented response from all sections of people here. In the background of the recent U.S.-Pak Pact and repeated Pakistani firings across the borders of West Bengal and Assam, the Conference has assumed added significance for the people of this State.

From

J. B. MOITRA

In Calcutta alone, 32 local and regional conventions and over 50 meetings have been already held. Thousands of people from all walks of life have participated in them. By the time the Conference begins on April 2, many more of such meetings and conventions would have been held, especially in the districts.

Almost all the important personalities of the areas concerned, Chairmen and members of Municipalities, Presidents and members of Bar Associations, leading physicians, readers of school and colleges, representatives of youth and students, women's organisations and trade unions have associated themselves with the local meetings and conventions.

To ensure broad participation of different sections of people during the Conference itself, three conventions of the delegates of workers and trade unions, youth and students, and women will be held.

A special appeal to the workers and employees of West Bengal to participate actively in the Conference has been issued jointly by Dr. (Mrs.) Maitreyee Bose, MLA (INTUC), Sibnath Banerjee and Rajani Mukherjee (HMS), Indrajit Gupta and T. N. Sidhanta (BPTUC), Ne-

pal Bhattacharya and Jatin Chakravarty, MLA (UTUC), Tushar Chakravarty, Secretary of the Bengal Provincial Bank Employees' Association, and Amiya Chatterjee, Joint Secretary of the Federation of Mercantile Employees' Unions.

Another joint appeal has been addressed to the youth and students of the State by, among others, the General Secretary, West Bengal Youth Congress; Organiser, Bharat Juba Samaj; General Secretary, West Bengal Students' Federation; President, Calcutta University Students' Union; President, Kalkata Yuba Sangha; General Secretary, Democratic Students' Organisation, and representatives of the All-India Students' League and West Bengal Chhatra Parishad.

An important meeting of the leading figures in the women's movement was held on March 25 with a view to ensure effective participation of women in the Conference and to make arrangements for the Sectional Convention for women.

Among those who attended the meeting were Smt. Maya Banerjee, Deputy Minister; Smt. Mira Duttgupta, Smt. Anjali Khan, MLA and Smt. Santi Das, MLC (Congress); Smt. Renu Chakravarty, M.P., Smt. Manikuntala Sen, MLA, and Smt. Gita Mukherjee (Communist); Smt. Pushpamayee Basu and many others.

Prominent medical practitioners of Calcutta met on March 23 under the chairmanship of Dr. B. P. Trivedi, President of the Bengal Branch of the Indian Medical Association, to discuss the question of their participation in the Conference. It is understood that a proposal to send Medical Missions to Algeria and to the Cameroons is under consideration.

1,500 DELEGATES EXPECTED

Over 1,500 delegates are expected to participate in the Conference, which is due to be held in Calcutta from April 2 to 5. While the majority of delegates will be from West Bengal, delegates are coming from the Punjab, Delhi, U.P., Bihar, Orissa, Andhra, Mysore, Kerala, Madras, Bombay and Rajasthan.

Among the prominent persons from other States who have already informed the Reception Committee of their participation are Smt. Rameshwari Nehru, President of the Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity, Dr. Anup Singh, M.P., and Govinda Reddy, M.P., Secretaries of the Association, Pandit Sunderlal, Dr. Mulik Raj Anand, A. K. Gopalan, M.P., Diwakar Kakodkar, leader of the Goan peoples' struggle, Darbara Singh, MLA, President of the Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee and others.

Among the foreign delegates who are arriving in the next two days are:

Messrs Chin Chung Hua, Vice-President of the All-China Journalists' Association, Yang Shuo, Secretary of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council, and Liao Cheng Chiao, Secretary of the Chinese Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity; Messrs D. N. Nepesov, Minister of Public Health of the

Turkmen Republic, USSR, A. A. Khorava, People's Artist of the USSR; E. P. Chelyshev, Philologist; and Mrs. G. G. Krivopavlova;

Messrs Cherif Guellal and Teunik, representatives of the Algerian Front of National Liberation;

Mr. George Pirinsky of Bulgaria, representing the International Institute for Peace;

Mr. Youssef el Sebal, Secretary-General of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council and its Permanent Secretariat at Cairo;

Mr. Luzzatto, Socialist member of the Italian Parliament, representing the World Peace Council; and a delegation of three from Ceylon.

Answering a question from a Press reporter, Dr. Anup Singh said that they would have been very happy if a delegation had come from Pakistan, but so far as he knew, no one was coming from that country. The Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan in Calcutta, however, had promised to make some items available for the Exhibition.

The Conference will be inaugurated in the evening of April 2 with a message from Vice-President Radhakrishnan.

Commission meetings have been fixed for April 3 and 4, and the Plenary Session will take place on April 5.

Seminars on the political situation, economic and cultural relations, and public health in Afro-Asian countries will be held on April 3 and 4.

The Exhibition, which will be opened by the noted Bengali novelist, Sri Tarashankar Banerjee, will depict the life of the Afro-Asian peoples, the impact of Afro-Asian culture on world civilisation in art, sculpture and painting, natural resources and imperialist exploitation in these countries, etc.

Film shows on these aspects have also been arranged.

The sectional conventions of the youth and students, workers and trade unions, and women will be held on April 4.

In the afternoon of April 5, an open rally will be held at the Maidan. This will be preceded by a colourful procession with the delegates and foreign guests. Attempts will be made to give expression to the various aspects of Afro-Asian life and the solidarity of the peoples of these two continents through posters, symbols and tableaux.

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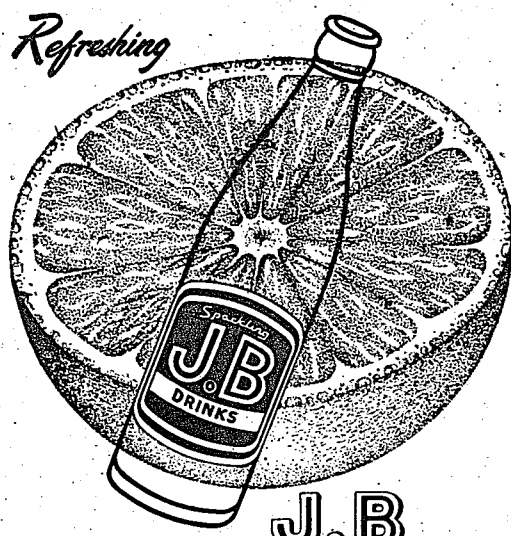
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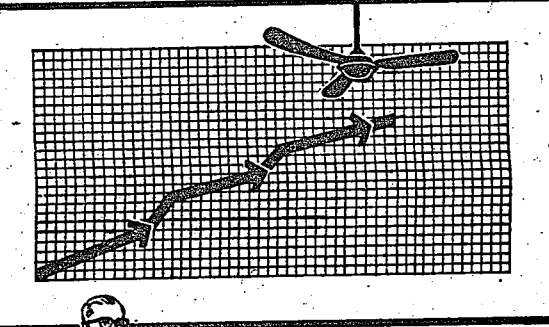


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KALIMPONG

With the flare-up in Tibet, Kalimpong has suddenly been pitched into the world's headlines. The picturesque hill-station commanding a magnificent view of the mighty Himalayas with their eternal snows is literally placed at the crossroads of history. For, it is from Kalimpong that the journey starts which leads one beyond Gangtok and the high Nathu-la to the land of the Lamas. Traders cross the border every year and a brisk trade has been going on for decades, if not centuries, says a special despatch of the India Press Agency.

AND as it has always happened, politics follow trade. If you go round this quiet town, you see people from distant corners of the globe living the most extraordinary life. Some have come as research scholars in Buddhism. Some others are anthropologists or botanists, while still others say they have just come to enjoy the beauties of the Himalayas. All of them, it seems, have liked the place immensely and many have settled down.

Among them one meets those who retain a nostalgic attachment for the old days when these sensitive areas happened to be the special preserve of the Western Powers. There are those, too, who have not reconciled themselves to the advent of the new regime in China, and whose bitter animosity to Communism heightens their interest and sympathy for the Lama-serie. All these have made Kalimpong their base of operations. It was not, therefore, an exaggeration on the part of the Prime Minister to say some years ago that Kalim-

pong had become an intelligence centre. When you ask a local man, after getting his confidence, about the galaxy of foreigners at Kalimpong, he would almost invariably look around with caution and whisper to you with bulging eyes that all the strangers are spies. Surely that is an exaggeration, and yet it is not all a figment of Himalayan imagination. For, here at Kalimpong, the Government has posted besides the Frontier Police, a unit of the Central Intelligence Branch, whose office is situated in one of the most beautiful sites. Obviously such a step wouldn't have been taken but for the shady activities going on there.

left India. I am told, three or four years after our Independence: in fact, as soon as People's China extended her authority to Lhasa.

A widely-known settler in Kalimpong was Prince Peter of Greece, a cousin of the Duchess of Kent and also very friendly with the Mountbattens. After India became free, this royal scion seemed to have developed such a passion for the anthropological peculiarities of the people of this region that he took the trouble of practically settling down here to do his original research. The Government of India, presumably not impressed with his anthropological activities, objected to his buying a house at Kalimpong. But the resourceful Prince, it

guest house for his visiting foreign friends.

Centre Of Shady Activities Needs A Probe

is reported, could pull powerful strings, and very soon Peter could buy a lovely mansion.

Very soon the Indian police became interested in the Prince's movements, and discovered that he had been making mysterious trips to various places and had gathered a large number of contacts in these countries. Diplomatic reasons perhaps came in the way of actually apprehending the Prince, and it was no easy task to push him out of the country. Finally, Prince Peter was forced to quit Kalimpong. But his house still serves as a hospitable

at Kalimpong, known as Triyana Vardhana Vihara. This serves as an interesting rendezvous for most of the foreigners who have drifted into Kalimpong.

A frequent visitor to the Bhikshu's Vihara is a Scotch lady named Kazini Eisa Maria. During the war, I understand, she travelled extensively in the Chin and Kachin Hills in Burma, in Manipur, Malaya, Thailand, Egypt, Turkey and even some places in Africa. She has settled down at Kalimpong, marrying a rich Sikhinese Kazi or nobleman.

The Kazini is a social figure at Kalimpong. Her house is a favourite meeting place for foreigners, particularly of the emigre Tibetans. She is also a friend of some of the foreign journalists coming to this part of the West.

The visitors from the West usually put up at Kalimpong's best hotel, the Himalayan Hotel. This place is owned by Mr. David Macdonald, who served as the British Trade Agent at Gyantse in Tibet. He was very close to the Thirteenth Dalai Lama, the one before the present Dalai Lama.

Gyalo Thondup, the Dalai Lama's elder brother who resides in Darjeeling, is a frequent visitor to Kalimpong.

*SEE PAGE 18

TIBET—WHAT REALLY HAPPENED

Measures To Safeguard National Unity

The following order is herewith proclaimed.

Most of the Kaloons of the Tibet Local Government and the upper strata reactionary clique colluded with imperialism, assembled rebellious bandits, carried out rebellion, ravaged the people, put the Dalai Lama under duress, tore up the 17 article agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet and, on the night of March 19, directed the Tibetan local army and rebellious elements to launch a general offensive against the People's Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa.

Such acts which betray the motherland and disrupt unification are not allowed by law. In order to safeguard the unification of the country and national unity, in addition to enjoining the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion thoroughly, the decision is that from this day the Tibet Local Government is dissolved and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region shall exercise the functions and powers of the Tibet Local Government.

During the time when the Dalai Lama Dantzen-Jaltso, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, is under duress by the rebels, Panchen Erdeni Ghuji-Geltseng, Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee, will act as the Chairman.

Pebala Cholichnamje, member of the Standing Committee of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, is appointed Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee; Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, member of the Standing Committee and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee, is appointed Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Preparatory Committee.

Eighteen traitorous elements, Surkong Wongching-Galei, Neusha Thubten-Tarpa, Hsinka Jigmedorje (Shasu), Yuto Chahsidongchu, Tsjijong Lozong-Yiehsi, Kachang Lozong-Rentzen, Dala Lozongsundin, Kheme Sonamwongdui, Rongname Thubtan-Norzong, Pala Thubtenwenten, Nongshi Thubtan-Zongchu, Namselin Panchunjigme, Menjelin Jalyandeltseng, Darihpen Tsewong-Dorje, Pengchu, Weisegeltseng (Kundelinchasa), Gungalama, and Tsugamapa Riheidorje, are relieved of their posts as members of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region and of all their other posts and are to be punished individually under law.



PANCHEN ERDENI

Sixteen persons, Teng Shao-tung, Chan Hua-yu, Hui Yi-jan, Liang hsuan-hsin, Tsuiko Dongchutseren, Chantung Lozongnamje, Ghaden Tsripa Thubten Kunga, Chienpaitzuli, Ngapo Tsrirtenchoga, Dorjetsirten, Chirous Dunchu, Geltsengpintso, Lozong Tzucheng, Chunnie, Pintswongchui, and Wang Pei-sheng are appointed members of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region.

It is to be hoped that the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region will lead all the people of Tibet, ecclesiastical and secular, to unite as one and make common efforts to assist the People's Liberation Army to put down the rebellion quickly, consolidate national defence, protect the interests of the people of all nationalities, secure social order and strive for the building of a new democratic and Socialist Tibet.

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI
March 28, 1959.

A news communique, released in Peking on March 28 by the Hsinhua News Agency on the rebellion in Tibet, reads:

VIOLATING the will of the Tibetan people and betraying the motherland, the Tibetan Local Government and the upper strata reactionary clique colluded with imperialism, assembled rebellious bandits and launched armed attacks against the People's Liberation Army garrison in Lhasa during the night of March 19.

Acting on orders to put the rebellion down, the valiant units of the People's Liberation Army stationed in Tibet completely smashed the rebellious bandits in the city of Lhasa on the 22nd. Now the units of the People's Liberation Army assisted by patriotic people of all sections, both ecclesiastical and temporal, are mopping up the rebellious bandits in some other places in Tibet.

In order to safeguard the unification of the motherland and national unity, Premier Chou En-lai of the State Council issued an order on March 28 which, apart from enjoining the Tibetan Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army to stamp out the rebellion thoroughly, proclaimed the decision that from that day the Tibetan Local Government which instigated the rebellion be dissolved and the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region exercise the functions and powers of the Tibetan Local Government.

The armed rebels at the same time surrounded the Headquarters of the Tibetan Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army and the offices of the Central Government agencies in Lhasa.

Armed Rebellion

The armed rebellion of the Tibetan Local Government and the reactionary clique of the upper strata in Lhasa began on March 10. The Dalai Lama was originally scheduled to attend a theatrical performance in the auditorium of the Tibetan Military Area Command of the People's Liberation Army

on March 10. The proposal was put forth by the Dalai Lama personally more than one month earlier and the date of March 10 was fixed by the Dalai Lama himself.

Who Are The Rebels?

On that day, however, the rebellious Tibetan clique spread wild rumours alleging that the army units of the Tibetan Military Area Command would detain the Dalai Lama and by using this rumour as a pretext, staged armed rebellion, raised such reactionary slogans as "Drive away the Han people" and "Independence for Tibet" and, at the same time, killed Kanchung Soananchiatsa, a Tibetan official of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region who opposed the rebellion, and wounded Sampo Tsewongrentzen, the Tibetan Vice-Commander of the Tibetan Military Area, and others.

The 17 article agreement stipulates that the Tibetan Army must be reorganised, and that Tibet's social system, that is serfdom, must be reformed in accordance with the wishes of the people. These two important tasks could not be carried out as the result of obstruction by the reactionaries. In order to wait for the reactionaries to wake up, the Central Authorities at the end of 1956 told them that within six years, that is for the period of the Second Five-Year Plan, reform would not be carried out and the Tibetan army would not be reorganised.

The Local Government of Tibet is called Kasha in Tibetan and its six members are called Kaloons. Of the six Kaloons, two are patriots: Ngapo Ngawang Jigme and Sampo Tsewongarentzen who was wounded by the rebels on March 10. One of the other four, Yuto Chahsidongchu, had already turned traitor in 1957 and fled to Kalimpong—the centre of the rebellious elements' activities abroad. The three others, Surkong Wongching-Galei, Neusha Thubten-Tarpa and Hsika Jigmedorje (Shasu) came out into the open as traitors in the present rebellion.

But as the motherland is thriving and prospering day by day, the policy of the Central People's Government toward Tibet is correct and the garrison units of the People's Liberation Army in Tibet observe strict discipline, all of which elicit the warm support and love of the people of all sections in Tibet, the rebellious conspiracy of this handful of reactionaries had no support from the Tibetan people. In accordance with the stipulations of the Constitution, the Central People's Government has always insisted on the solidarity of all the nationalities in the country and solidarity among the Tibetan people, and has carried out regional national autonomy in Tibet.

Obstruction To Progress

This is warmly welcomed by the Tibetan people. The Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region was established as early as April 1956. Yet, owing to obstruction by the reactionaries in the Local Government of Tibet, the preparatory work for the Autonomous Region has made little progress.

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Before this, these traitors had used their legal status in the Kasha to muster the reactionary forces of the upper strata collaborate with the external enemy and actually directed some of the most reactionary big serf-owners in Sikang and Tibet in organising armed rebel forces in certain regions east, north and south of the Tsangpo River to oppose the Central People's Government and betray the motherland.

Their rebellion was engineered by the imperialists, the Chiang Kai-shek bands

*SEE PAGE NINE

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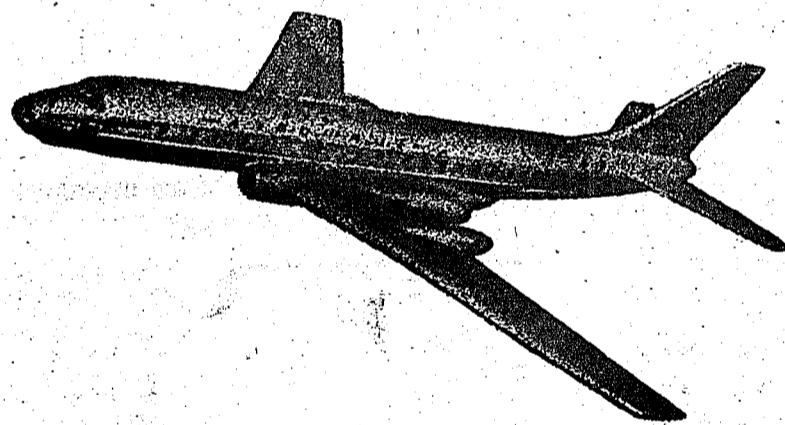
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TIME OF DEPARTURE
AEROFLOT
FLIGHT SU-054 TU 104
ON EVERY WEDNESDAY AT 06.30

TIME OF DEPARTURE
A. I. I.
FLIGHT 509 SUPER-CONSTELLATION
ON EVERY THURSDAY AT 08.20



Tibetan students attending a class in the Lhasa Primary School.

TIBETAN REACTIONARIES CHOOSE THE ROAD TO THEIR OWN EXTINCTION

★ FROM PAGE 7

and foreign reactionaries; the commanding centre of the rebellion was in Kalimpong; and their leader is the dismissed Silum Lokongwa Tsewongtrun. Many of their arms were brought in from abroad. The base of the rebellion to the south of the Tsangpo River received airdropped supplies from the Chiang Kai-shek bands on a number of occasions, and radio stations were set up there by agents sent by the imperialists and the Chiang Kai-shek clique to further their intrigues.

Between May and June of last year, on the instructions of the Tibetan Local Government and the upper strata reactionary clique, the rebel bandits intruded into Chamdo, Dinching, Nagchuka and Loka, destroyed communications, ravaged the people by plunder, rape, arson and murder; and attacked agencies and army units of the Central People's Government there.

What They Expected

Guided by the spirit of national unity, the Central People's Government repeatedly enjoined the Local Government of Tibet to punish the rebel elements and maintain social order; but the Local Government of Tibet and the upper strata reactionary clique took the Central People's Government's attitude of maximum magnanimity for a sign of weakness. Their talk was of this sort: The Han people can be frightened off; in the past nine years, the Han people have not had the courage to lay even a finger on our most wonderful and sacred system of serfdom; if we attack them, they can only defend and not hit back; they dare not suppress our rebellion but only enjoin us to suppress the rebellion; if we bring a large group of rebel forces to Lhasa from other places to hit them with, they will surely run away; if not, we abduct the Dalai Buddha to Loka and gather forces for a counterattack to take Lhasa back; if we fail, we run to India; India has sympathy for us and may help us; there is the powerful United States which may also help us; President Chiang Kai-shek in Taiwan has already given us active help; the Dalai is god, who dare not obey him? The Americans say that the People's Commune movement in China has caused discontent among the people who are ready to rebel; it is time to drive the Han people away and proclaim independence, and so on.

The spirit of these reactionaries soared to the clouds and they were ready to take over the whole universe. They refused to do their duty to stop the rebel bandits' ravages and instead stepped up their treacherous intrigues. After concentrating considerable counter-revolutionary forces in Lhasa, they started their armed rebellion on March 10, openly scrapping the Seventeen-Article Agreement.

After the outbreak of the March tenth rebellion in Lhasa, the Dalai Lama wrote to the representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet on three occasions saying that he had been seized by the reactionaries and was making all possible efforts to deal with the illegal actions of the reactionary clique. In reply, the representative of the Central Government welcomed the attitude of the Dalai Lama and expressed the hope that the Local Government of Tibet would change its wrong attitude and do its duty to suppress the rebellion.

Dalai Lama Abducted

These reactionary elements, however, not only did not in the least repent but decided to extend the rebellion. They blatantly abducted the Dalai Lama from Lhasa and launched an all-out attack on the People's Liberation Army units stationed in Lhasa on the night of March 19. The hope of a peaceful settlement was extinguished. THE REACTIONARY FORCES OF TIBET FINALLY CHOSE THE ROAD TO THEIR OWN EXTINCTION.

At 10 a.m. on March 20, the troops of the Tibetan Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army were ordered to take punitive action against the clique of traitors who had committed monstrous crimes. With the aid of the patriotic Tibetan monks and laymen, the People's Liberation Army completely crushed the rebellion in the city of Lhasa after more than two days of fighting. A rough count shows that by the 23rd, more than four thousand rebel troops were taken prisoners, and eight thousand small arms of different kinds, eighty-one light and heavy machine guns, twenty-seven eighty-one-millimetre calibre mortars, six mountain guns and ten million bullets were

captured. Encircled by our troops, many of the rebel troops surrendered in groups.

The rapid putting down of the rebellion in Lhasa showed that the Tibetan traitorous clique is certainly doomed and that the future of the Tibetan people is bright. Primarily this is because the Tibetan people are patriotic, support the Central People's Government, ardently love the People's Liberation Army and oppose the imperialists and traitors. Tibet (including the three areas of Chamdo, Chentsang (Yu), and Houtsang (Tsang)) has a total population of one million two hundred thousand, while the rebellious bandits number only about twenty thousand people, mostly people who were deceived and intimidated to join. Included are some rebellious elements who fled to Tibet from areas east of the Kingsha River in what was formerly Sikang Province, and are known as the Kamba people.

People Are Not With Rebels

The overwhelming majority of the Tibetan people are peasants and herdsmen who live in extreme poverty, and they eagerly hope to free themselves from the darkest feudal serfdom in the world. There are also many patriotic progressive people in the upper and middle strata in Tibet. They support the Central People's Government, oppose the rebellion and advocate democratic reform of the unjust social system so as to turn Tibet step by step into a civilised, progressive area. Tibet now already has a labouring class firmly aspiring for emancipation, and fairly large sections of patriotic progressive people who want reform in the upper and middle strata and also middle elements. The task at present is first to put down the rebellion and establish peaceful



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order. In the course of this, the policy of the Central Government in dealing with the rebel elements is to punish without fall those guilty of major crimes, not punish the intimidated followers and award those who have performed meritorious services.

The Central Government has instructed the People's Liberation Army units in Tibet to unite broadly with all Tibetans who have not taken part in the rebellion, accept responsibility for protecting the lives and property of the peasants, herdsmen, and people of the industrial, business, political and religious circles in Tibet, respect the habits and customs of the local people and their religious beliefs, protect the Lamaseries and cultural institutions and relics and safeguard the interests of the mass of the people and social order. As for those captured and enemies who have laid down their arms, it will not be permitted to retaliate against, injure or humiliate them.

The Chinese Government, for its part, considers that in the relations between China and the neighbouring countries to the Southwest, primarily between China and the great friendly country of the

Republic of India, the principles of peaceful coexistence are to be persistently applied. The Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence were for the first time put forward in the agreement signed between China and India on April 29, 1954, on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India. In the fundamental interests of the two countries, both parties have no reason at all not to adhere to these principles fully both at present and in the future.

Chinese Government quarters welcome the statement of the Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Nehru, on March 23 on non-intervention in China's internal affairs and consider this statement to be friendly. On the part of China, there has never been interference in the internal affairs of India or discussion of the internal affairs of India at the sessions of the National People's Congress or its Standing Committee. It considers such discussion of the internal affairs of a friendly country to be impolite and improper.

Autonomy Will Be Restored

In order to wipe out the rebel bandits thoroughly, the State Council has ordered the units of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed in Tibet to assume military control in various places in Tibet. The tasks of the military control committees are: to suppress rebellion; to protect the people and the foreign nationals who observe the laws of China; with the authorisation from the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet and the Tibet Military Area Command of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, to set up administrative bodies at various levels of the Autonomous Region of Tibet, and organise self-defence armed forces of patriotic Tibetans to replace the old Tibetan army of only a little more than three thousand men who are rotten to the core, utterly useless in fighting and have turned rebel.

The Military Control Committee in Lhasa was formally set up on March 23. Military Control Committees will be

★ SEE FACING PAGE

We give below the text of six letters exchanged between the Dalai Lama and General Tan Kuan-san, Acting Representative of the Central People's Government in Tibet and Political Commissar of the Tibet Military Area Command. All three letters from the Dalai Lama are in his own handwriting.

The rebellion in Lhasa was launched on the day when the Dalai Lama was scheduled to attend a theatrical performance in the auditorium of the Tibet Military Area Command.

Having made their arrangements in advance, the clique of traitors in Tibet spread rumours that the troops of the Tibet Military Area Command would detain Dalai Lama. On this pretext, they assembled a crowd in Lhasa city on that day and besieged Dalai Lama in the Norbu Lingka, and staged an open armed rebellion.

Following the outbreak of these events, General Tan Kuan-san wrote a letter to Dalai Lama on the very same day, requesting him not to attend the theatrical performance.

The Dalai Lama wrote to General Tan Kuan-san on the eleventh, saying "reactionary, evil elements are carrying out activities endangering me under the pretext of protecting my safety. I am taking measures to calm things down."

On March 11, General Tan Kuan-san wrote a letter to Dalai Lama pointing out that there were open military provocations by reactionaries and he called on the Tibet Local Government to take responsibility to stop them immediately.

On March 12, Dalai Lama wrote a reply to General Tan Kuan-san in which he once again explained that "the incidents which have seriously estranged relations between the Central Government and the Local Government" had been created by reactionaries under the pretext of protecting him, and said that he was "making every effort possible to deal with them."

On March 15, General Tan Kuan-san wrote a letter to Dalai Lama explaining the attitude of the Central People's Government toward the rebellion and welcoming Dalai Lama's desire to make every effort to deal with the incidents.

On March 16, Dalai Lama said in his letter to General Tan Kuan-san that he had instructed the officials of the Tibet Local Government and that he might go to the Military Area Command in a few days. But on the night of March 17, the traitorous clique abducted him from Lhasa to the Loka area southeast of Lhasa. Then on the night of March 19, the clique of traitors launched an all-out attack.

FOR DEMOCRATISATION IN TIBET

★ FROM FACING PAGE

set up in succession in other places except for Shigatse, the capital of Houtsang (saTng) area which is under the leadership of Panchen Erdeni, where it is not necessary to set one up. All the military control committees in Lhasa and the other places consist of the representatives of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and representatives of local patriotic people.

Now important cities and areas including Ari, west of Lhasa, Gyantse, Phari, Yatung, southwest of Lhasa Damshune and Nagchuka, north of Lhasa, Chetang, south of Lhasa, and Taichao, Licgtze, Tsamu, Dinching, Chamdo and Dza-l, east of Lhasa, are all under the firm control of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The overwhelming majority of the local people are cooperating closely with the Chinese People's Liberation Army. The rebel bandits are still carrying on only in some very remote places.

Since the Dalai Lama, Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Tibet Autonomous Region, is still held under duress by the rebels, the State Council has decided that Panchen Erdeni, Vice-Chairman of the Preparatory Committee for the Autonomous Region of Tibet, assume the post of Acting Chairman during the period of the Dalai Lama's abduction. The State Council has also appointed as Vice-Chairmen the Living Buddha Pebala Chollehnampe

and Ngapo Ngawang Jigme, Standing Committee members of Tibetan nationality of the Preparatory Committee of the Autonomous Region. Ngapo is concurrently Secretary-General.

As soon as order has been restored, local administrative bodies of the Autonomous Region of Tibet at all levels will be set up one after another throughout Tibet and exercise the functions and powers of autonomy. At present, autonomy and military control by the People's Liberation Army are simultaneously in force. Autonomy will gradually and completely replace military control when the rebellion is put down and peaceful order is established.

As the result of the rebellion by the reactionaries in Tibet and the defeat of the rebellion a new page is unfolding in Tibet's history. The conclusion can now be drawn that the imperialists and Tibet's reactionary forces entirely miscalculated the situation in Tibet. Contrary to their wishes, the rebellion started by them in Tibet has not led to a split of the motherland and the retrogression of Tibet, but instead has strengthened the consolidation of national unification, accelerated the doom of the reactionary forces in Tibet, pushed forward democratisation in Tibet and promoted a new birth of the Tibetan people.

DALAI LAMA WRITES...

ONE

The letter sent to Dalai Lama on March 10 by General Tan Kuan-san:

Respected Dalai Lama, it is very good indeed that you wanted to come to the Military Area Command. You are heartily welcome. Since you have been put into very great difficulties due to the intrigues and provocations of the reactionaries, it may be advisable that you do not come for the time being. Salutations and best regards, TAN KUAN-SAN.

TWO

The Dalai Lama's letter sent to General Tan Kuan-san on March 11:

Dear Comrade Political Commissar Tan, I intended to go to the Military Area Command to see the theatrical performance yesterday, but I was unable to do so, owing to obstruction by people,

Reactionary Evil Elements Are Endangering Me Under Pretext Of Protecting Me, They Are Responsible For The Incidents

ecclesiastical and secular, who were instigated by a few bad elements and who did not know the facts. This has put me to indescribable shame. I am greatly upset and worried and at a loss what to do. When your letter (this refers to the letter sent by General Tan Kuan-san to the Dalai Lama on the 10th) appeared before me, I immediately became overjoyed, you do not mind at all.

Reactionary, evil elements are carrying out activities endangering me under the pretext of protecting my safety. I am taking measures to calm things down. In a few days when the situation becomes stable, I will certainly meet you. If you have any internal directives for me, please tell me frankly through this messenger (this refers to Ngapo Ngawang Jigme).

DALAI LAMA

(Written by my own hand)

THREE

Letter to Dalai Lama from General Tan Kuan-san on March 11:

The reactionaries are now so audacious as to have openly and arrogantly carried out military provocations. They have erected fortifications and posted large numbers of machine-guns and armed reactionaries along the national defence highway (the highway north of the Norbu Lingka) thereby seriously disrupting the security of the national defence communications.

Many times in the past, we told Kasha that the People's Liberation Army is duty bound to defend the country and to protect the security of communication lines related to national defence, and therefore it certainly cannot remain indifferent to this serious act of military provocations. Therefore, the Tibet Military Area Command has sent letters to Surkong, Neusha, Shabu and Pala asking them to tell the reactionaries to remove all the fortifications they established and to withdraw from the highway immediately. Otherwise, they will

bear responsibility themselves for all the serious consequences. I want to inform you of this. Please let me know what your views are at your earliest convenience.

Salutations and best regards, TAN KUAN-SAN.

FOUR

The Dalai Lama's letter to General Tan Kuan-san on March 12:

Dear Comrade Political Commissar Tan, I suppose you have received my letter of yesterday (referring to March 11) forwarded to you by Ngapo. I have had the letter you sent me this morning. The unlawful actions of the reactionary clique break my heart. Yesterday I told Kasha to order the immediate dissolution of the illegal People's Conference and the immediate withdrawal of the reactionaries who arrogantly moved into the Norbu Kingka under the pre-

People's Government will have to act itself to safeguard the solidarity and unification of the motherland.

In your letter, you said: "As to the incidents which were created under the pretext of protecting my safety and have seriously estranged relations between the Central Government and the Local Government, I am making every possible effort to deal with them." We warmly welcome this correct attitude on your part.

We are very much concerned about your present position and safety. If you think it necessary and possible to extricate yourself from the present dangerous position of being abducted by the traitors, we cordially welcome you and your entourage to come and stay for a brief period in the Military Area Command. We are willing to assume full responsibility for your safety. As to what is the



DALAI LAMA

best course to follow, it is entirely up to you to decide.

In addition, I have much pleasure informing you that the Second National People's Congress has decided to open its first session on April 17.

Salutations and my best regards, TAN KUAN-SAN

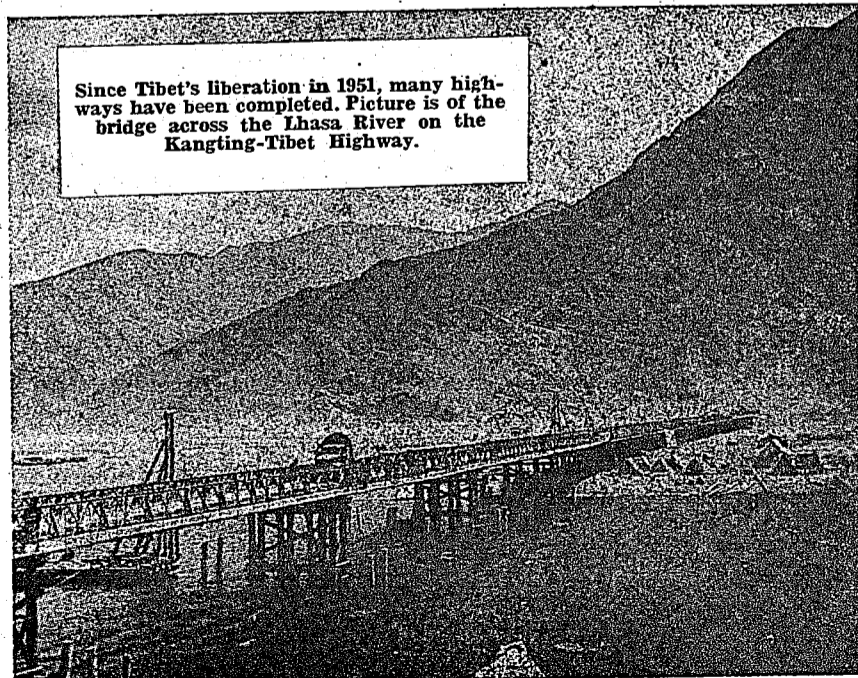
The Dalai Lama's letter to General Tan Kuan-san, on March 18:

Dear Comrade Political Commissar Tan, Your letter dated the 15th has just been received at three o'clock. I am very glad that you are so concerned about my safety and hereby express my thanks.

The day before yesterday, the fifth day of the second month according to the Tibetan calendar (March 14, 1959), I made a speech to more than seventy representatives of the government officials, instructing them from various angles, calling on them to consider seriously present and long-term interests and to calm down, or my life would be in danger. After these severe reproaches, conditions took a slight turn for the better. Though the conditions, in here and outside are still very difficult to deal with at present, I am trying skillfully to make a demarcation line between the progressive people and those opposing the revolution within the government officials. A few days from now when there are enough forces that I can trust I shall make my way to the Military Area Command secretly. When that time comes, I shall first send you a letter. I request you to adopt reliable measures. What are your views? Please write me often.

DALAI

PAGE NINE



Since Tibet's liberation in 1951, many highways have been completed. Picture is of the bridge across the Lhasa River on the Kangting-Tibet Highway.

★★★ TWO YEARS OF THE COMMUNIST-LED GOVERNMENT IN KERALA

AN IMPRESSIVE RECORD

As a Communist I am naturally proud of the impressive record to the credit of the Communist-led Government of Kerala in its two years of office—proud because the Kerala Government has done all this from inside the same set-up from within which the Congress Government also could have done them, but did not, proud because the Kerala Government explored all the possibilities within the four corners of our Constitution to do the maximum good to the working people and did not allow the Constitution and the State machinery to be used to defend the vested interests in land and industry, proud because the Kerala Government took its pledges to the people seriously and did not forget them once they had been voted into office.

It is for these same reasons that the Kerala Government has drawn sympathy from large sections of the Indian people who had thought that August 15, 1947, would mean a big break from the past, that a new era had begun when the Congress in power would implement the programme which the entire national movement had voiced

during the struggle against the British. For a decade they waited and were disappointed and only when the Communist Party broke the monopoly of power of the Congress and formed a Ministry in Kerala State did they find a Government, even at the restricted level of a State, making its best efforts to implement this commonly-accepted program-

me for the welfare of our people and the prosperity of our land.

It is not possible to make a complete list here of all the achievements of the Kerala Government but a rapid survey of its activities—in relation to land reforms, implementation of Plan programmes, industrial and agricultural development of the State, the new deal it has given to workers, peasants, white-collared employees and others, its new police policy and the democratic liberties that have been guaranteed to the people and, as a result of all this, the success it has achieved in realising people's cooperation—a rapid survey of all this will show how the Communist-led Government has been different from the Governments of other parties in the State in the past and the Congress Governments in other States today.

there was no emergency warranting such a procedure; secondly, it objected to any drastic scaling down of the debts, saying there was no crisis in the economy necessitating it; and thirdly, it took the stand that the measure should not offend the constitution or the sanctity of property rights.

Thanks to such limitations and the need to accept the "expert advice" of the Centre, it was no radical measure that the Kerala Government could introduce. Still it did improve the position to a very great extent from the Madras Indebted Agriculturists (Repayment of Debts) Act, 1955, which had caused universal discontent among the Malabar agriculturists.

The Kerala Bill stayed all suits for recovery and decrees for execution, it laid down provisions for repaying debts in instalments, certain categories of debts were scaled down and, perhaps most important of all, the debtor with a usufructuary mortgage was entitled by the Bill to redeem the whole of the property mortgaged even if the period, if any, fixed in the mortgage deed for redeeming the mort-

gaged was not complete. The Bill closely following the recommendations of the Land Panel of the Planning Commission from which the Commission itself has gone back, not to say that none of the Congress State Governments have bothered to even lift a finger to consider them, leave alone the question of their implementation—fixed ceiling at 15 acres on double-crop land or its equivalent and provided for Government taking over all the excess land. The permanent tenants were given the right to purchase the land by paying the price. The Bill fixed the maximum and minimum fair rent.

Land Bill

And on December 19, 1957, just eight months after it assumed office, the Communist-led Government published its comprehensive Agrarian Relations Bill.

The main feature of the Bill was that it was intended to abolish landlordism and promote the emergence and growth of a peasant community with full ownership and proprietary rights over the lands held by them.

Though the demand of the kisan movement has been for abolition of landlordism without paying compensation, the Kerala Bill had to remain within the limits of our Constitution with its allergy to any encroachment on property rights and had to provide for payment of compensation. The Bill had fixed the rate of compensation at 16 times the fair rent in the case of the first five acres, 14 times in the case of the next five acres, 12 times in the case of the next five acres, ten times for the next five, eight times in the case of the next three acres, six times in the case of the next five acres and altogether five times for above 100 acres.

Though the demand of the kisan movement has been for abolition of landlordism without paying compensation, the Kerala Bill had to remain within the limits of our Constitution with its allergy to any encroachment on property rights and had to provide for payment of compensation. The Bill had fixed the rate of compensation at 16 times the fair rent in the case of the first five acres, 14 times in the case of the next five acres, 12 times in the case of the next five acres, ten times for the next five, eight times in the case of the next three acres, six times in the case of the next five acres and altogether five times for above 100 acres.

Safeguards To Smallholders

The problem of small-holders, landlords with holdings of less than five acres, who form an appreciable bulk of Kerala's population, were taken specially into consideration and the Bill also contained the necessary safeguards to protect the tenants from the machinations of the landlords who might try to evade the law and defeat the purposes of the legislation.

Some of these original provisions have been amended later after discussions in the Select Committee, etc., and the Select Committee report on the Bill has just been presented to the Assembly.

Thus in the first year of its tenure of office itself,

By

RAMDASS

the Kerala Government took all the major steps necessary to meet the demands of the kisan movement and to implement the long-standing pledges of the national movement. And without waiting for the finalisation of the land reform measure, the Government ordered the distribution to the landless of about seven-and-a-half lakh acres of Government waste land.

Kerala Builds For Prosperity

One of the main reasons for the Congress defeat in Kerala was that the Congress leaders were not able to respond to the aspirations of the Kerala people to build up a prosperous State.

Previous Governments had not been interested enough in the development of the State to even spend all the money that was allotted. But the Communist Government not only showed a better performance here but fought for its legitimate allotments. And the Centre had not shown a very helpful attitude in this regard. To take only one instance, the Central assistance to Madras State during the 1956-57 period was Rs. 452 million (50.1 per cent of the Plan outlay), Andhra Rs. 315 million (59.8 per cent) and Mysore Rs. 344 million (62.2 per cent). But the assistance to Kerala was only Rs. 155 million (43.1 per cent). While Madras had

For industry, the allocation was Rs. 11.18 millions while fulfilment was 5.85 millions—just above 50 per cent. Even here, a break-up shows that in the sphere of cottage industries, the fulfilment was Rs. 3.3 million out of an allocation of Rs. 8.9 million, i.e. about 35 per cent.

Record Of The Congress

This was the record of the Congress when it was the ruling party a record which did not inspire the people of Kerala to leave the fate of the State's economic development in their hands for another term of five years.

The Communist Ministry assumed office in April 1957 and it is a different picture of Plan fulfilment that can be seen in the ensuing period.

For the first year of the Second Plan, 1956-57 (when the State was under President's rule) the allocation for agriculture and community development was Rs. 28.865 million and expenditure was Rs. 15.224 million, working out Plan fulfilment at 52.3 per cent. For the second year, 1957-58, the allocation under the same head was Rs. 27.714 million, expenditure Rs. 19.24 million, taking up the Plan fulfilment from 52.3 per cent in the previous year to 69.5 per cent.

This steady progress has been maintained in 1958-59. Taking Plan expenditure as a whole under all heads, up to the end of December 1958, Rs. 102 million had been spent against the budget estimate of Rs. 135.2 million for the whole of 1958-59, comparing favourably with the corresponding



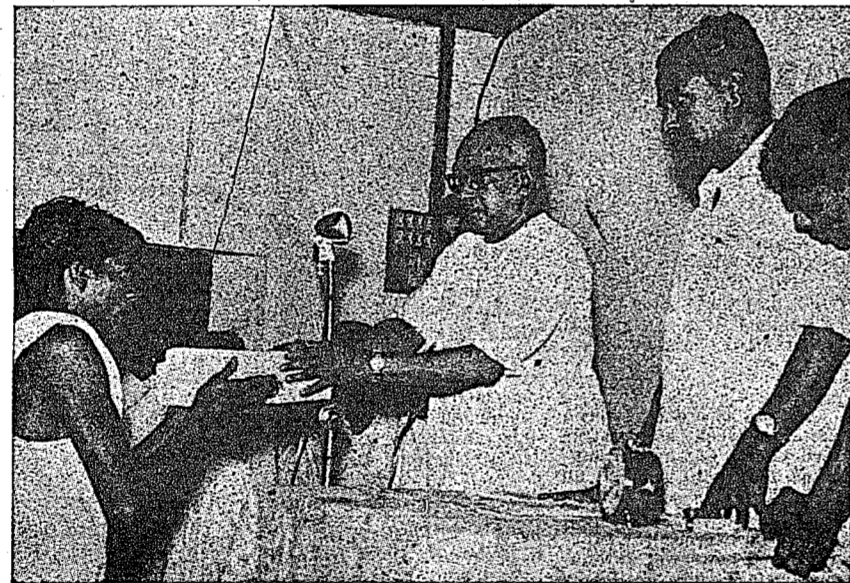
Along the beautiful Kerala coast—a woman and child—they are drying fish.

★★★

LAND TO THE TILLER

—An Age-Old Dream Comes True

Land to the tiller has been a basic slogan of our national movement which the Congress leaders themselves had popularised in the days of the anti-imperialist struggle. But, leave alone comprehensive land reforms, the Congress Governments at the Centre and in the States did not even guarantee security of tenure and fair rent to the peasantry in the years they were in office. Wherever any legislations had been framed or Government orders issued, they were riddled with loopholes, deliberately left in them so that the landed gentry could make use of them and evade the laws themselves. Evictions were going on on a mass scale in every State and the fight against evictions had become one of the main battle fronts of the kisan movement.



Food Minister K. C. George granting ownership right on Government waste land to a landless peasant.

It was against this background that the Communist-led Government of Kerala, within a week of its assuming office, totally and unconditionally stayed evictions in the State. The new Government of Kerala saw the urgency of the situation and decided on the most expeditious action—an Ordinance which would become immediately effective. The Kisan Sabha had demanded such Ordinances from all other State Governments but in every case the demand had been turned down.

The Ordinance, later replaced by a Bill, was important not only because it gave security of tenure as no other Government had done. It had a very vital bearing on the question of land reforms. In a State like Kerala, with its very complicated land problem, any comprehensive land reform bill dealing with all aspects of the question would have taken time for preparation and even after drafting, it would have taken further time for discussions in Select

Committee and the Legislature before it could finally become law.

It is well known and a phenomenon witnessed in every State in India that immediately the Government begins to talk of land reforms, the landlords begin evictions and resumption of land. The Congress Governments have always been kind enough to give the necessary time to the landlords to "clear" as much of their land before any laws are finalised.

In West Bengal when the Government introduced the Estates Abolition Act, the expectation was that about six lakh acres of surplus land would be available for distribution; but in actual fact, it was found that the Government could hardly get sixty thousand acres. The land had not disappeared all of a sudden, all that had happened

was that the landlords, with the patronage of the B.C. Roy Government, had transferred or sold all the excess land so that by the time the law came into force, there was no surplus land to be taken over. This has happened not only in West Bengal, the story has been repeated in all our States. It is only in Kerala that the Government took effective steps to prevent such malpractices by the landlords.

Debt relief to our heavily debt-ridden peasantry has been another national slogan. In some States, Agriculturists' Relief Acts had been passed, but they fell far short of the demands of the situation. In Kerala, too, the Government was not able to do all that it wanted and the way it wanted. The Congress Government at the Centre objected first to the Kerala Government issuing an Ordinance to give relief to the peasantry saying

that the landlords, with the patronage of the B.C. Roy Government, had transferred or sold all the excess land so that by the time the law came into force, there was no surplus land to be taken over.

This was a Bill which helped the rural indebted to liberate themselves from the greed of the money-lender and his extortionate terms. No wonder, during the recent Three-Lakh Party Fund drive, a peasant pointed to his small coconut grove and said, you can have all the coconuts from these trees for the Party Fund, I got this garden back into my hands because of your Government's Debt Relief Act.

The Kerala Government followed these two beneficial measures with the Jenmikaram (Abolition) Bill to meet the long-standing demand of a certain category of tenants in about 15 lakh acres of land in the Travancore area. These tenants, while enjoying fixity of tenure, had, apart from the basic tax and other dues to the Government, also to pay

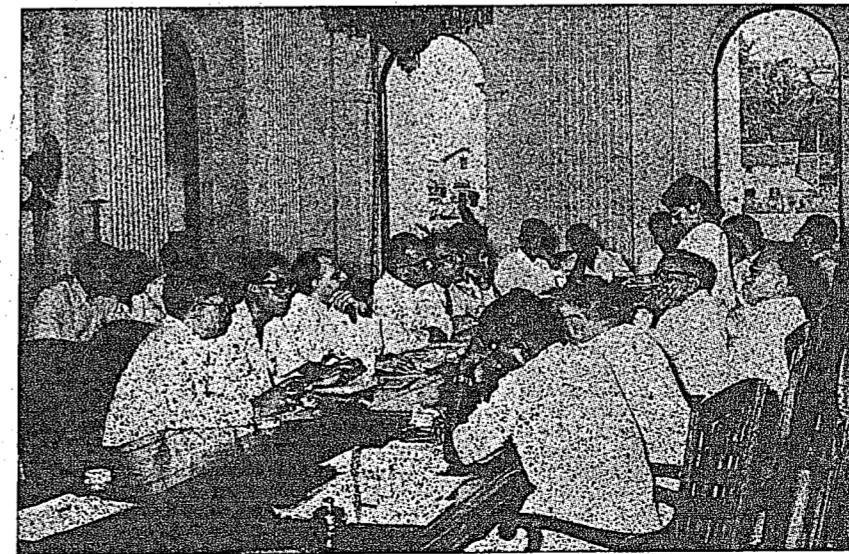
to contribute only 51.5 per cent, Mysore 34.5 per cent and Andhra 30.7 per cent, Kerala was asked to contribute 54.7 per cent of her Plan outlay.

It is against such odds that the Kerala Government has been able to show the steady progress in Plan implementation and the development of the State and what the Congress Governments could never achieve because of their lackadaisical attitude to the State's development has been achieved by this Government—and that is to carve a permanent place for itself in the hearts of the Malayali people.

First Govt. To Attempt Industrialisation

The industrialisation of the State, one can say, is one of the toughest problems that has faced the Communist-led Government because the State has been one of the most backward areas in the country as far as industries go. Though the State is a foreign-exchange earner for the country to the tune of about Rs. 500 million every year, none of the heavy industrial units under

the First or the Second Plans have been located in the State. But here again, the Government has gone all out to get new industrial units established in the State and to infuse new life into the existing ones. When the Government took over, there were 1,528 registered factories in Kerala. At the end of 1958, there were



Revenue Minister Gowri Thomas addressing a conference of Collectors. Chief Minister Namboodripad, Law Minister Krishna Iyer and Food Minister K. C. George can be seen in the picture.

1,613 registered factories with a total of 107,629 workers, including 41,621 women workers. Bearing in mind the importance of adding to the industries in the State, the Government has made a provision of Rs. 68.3 million—nearly eight per cent of the total outlay of the Plan—to be utilised for the development of industries with the following break-up: Major industries in public sector—Rs. 11.25 million; major industries in private sector—Rs. 2.375 million; small-scale industries—Rs. 17.84 million; coir development—Rs. 15 million; handloom development—Rs. 16 million; and khadi and village industries—Rs. .98 million.

The first large-scale co-operative industrial unit in Kerala—the Cooperative Spinning Mill at Cannanore—is expected to go into production in the course of this year. The Hydrogenation Factory in Kozhikode in the public sector has already started production and its products are in great demand in the market.

The story of this Hydrogenation Factory is a classic example of the unconcern shown by the previous Governments to the industrial development of the State and in contrast, the present Government's attitude. It was the Madras Government which had sanctioned the scheme for the establishment of a State-owned Hydrogenation Factory at Kozhikode for the production of vegetable ghee. The factory buildings were completed by August, 1953. The plant and machinery were erected, and a successful trial run was conducted in January, 1954. But even before the plant was erected, Government officials had begun to doubt whether the factory would be able to work to full capacity without loss to the Government.

A public limited company with an authorised capital of Rs. 1.1 million has been registered in which the Government holds 51 per cent of the total paid-up capital, to establish an industry for the manufacture of bricks, lime shell and other material readily available in abundance in Sherthallay and the adjoining areas. The scheme for starting a cycle rim unit in the Trivandrum Rubber Factory is nearing completion.

In January 1955, the Madras Government notified its intention to sell or lease out the factory and invited offers, though the representatives from Malabar strongly protested against this move. The response to the Madras Government's proposal was poor and the whole plant was lying idle till the Kerala Government decided to work it.

Not only was a new industrial unit brought into operation in the State, the Hydrogenation Factory provided scope for starting a number of subsidiary or feeder industries like oil crushing and tin

Teachers, Students Better-Off

The Kerala Education Bill created constitutional history when the Rashtrapati referred it to the Supreme Court for opinion before giving his assent. But, after all the maulings at the Bill, it has survived as the charter of teachers' rights. No more can teachers' jobs be auctioned to the highest bidder nor can managers' any more pocket part of the teachers' salaries granted by the Government and

run education as business for profit. That this is no ordinary achievement can be seen if one views it against the background of the failure of the previous Congress Governments. A Congress Government had in fact introduced a similar Bill but it had to bend its knees before Catholic reaction, withdraw the Bill and sacrifice the interests of the

teachers. Even Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer, when he was the almighty Dewan of Travancore, could not break the Catholic opposition to such educational reforms. It is only the Communist-led Government that stood up to the challenge of Catholic reaction, fought it and forced it back. The per capita expenditure on education in the whole of the country in 1954-55 was Rs. 4.32, in Kerala that year it was a little higher. In 1957-58, after the Communist Ministry had assumed office, it rose to Rs. 6.64 and in 1958-59 it was eight rupees. The

higher salaries given to primary and secondary school teachers alone involve an additional expenditure of Rs. 1.81 million. Free midday meals to school children cost the Government Rs. 0.53 million. In the course of the last three years the Government has opened 329 new primary schools, 446 middle schools and 154 high schools, against a target of 136 primary schools, 132 middle schools

and 23 high schools under the Second Five-Year Plan.

The adoption of the University Bill and the Education Bill, the enormous relief granted to teachers, the rising tide of education, the emphasis on technical education to create the necessary personnel for an industrial Kerala—these are the achievements of the Kerala Government in the field of education in the last two years.

Administrative Reforms

Gandhiji once said, "The centre of power is now in New Delhi or in Calcutta or in Bombay, in the big cities. I will have it distributed in the 700,000 villages in India."

It is not in any one of the Congress-ruled States that this dream of Gandhiji's is being realised, it is in Communist-ruled Kerala. Two bills are already on the anvil—the District Councils Bill and the Village Panchayats Bill—as part of the administrative reforms which the Kerala Government intends to introduce according to the recommendations of the Committee it has appointed.

The main idea underlying these reforms is to provide for a unified and decentralised system of administration of village affairs by organising panchayats as units of local self-government at village level throughout the State and to establish above the village level also democratic bodies with substantial powers.

What these reforms seek to do away with is the present position where though local bodies like District Boards, Municipalities and Panchayats exist, they have only restricted powers and where the effective participation of the people in general administration does not extend below the Central and State levels. Achievement of Independence and all the developments since then have not meant any change in the over-centralised administrative system that we have had.

The Kerala Government has decided to break out of this system, has decided to take democracy to the villages, to ensure people's participation in administration and developmental activities.

To do all this, the Kerala Government needed money—money which had to be collected without imposing heavy additional burdens on the people. With its first budget itself, the Government showed how it was going to do it.

The first Budget of the Kerala Government which gave a lot of benefits to all sections of the working people imposed new taxes to the extent of Rs. 23.757 million—an Agricultural Wealth Tax on landlords to yield Rs. 1.6 million, a Super-Tax on companies with agricultural incomes over Rs. 25,000, i.e., Rs. 6.5 million from the planters, and so on.

Here was a Government which took money from where it was for developmental activities and for giving relief to those who deserved it. The second and third budgets of the Kerala Government have followed the same pattern.

It is for the first time that the same Ministry has lasted long enough in the State to present a second and a third budget.

Even when the Congress had most of the seats in the Travancore-Cochin Assembly it could

not keep the same Ministry going for more than a year because of internal squabbles. When it was reduced to a minority it tried to rule in a coalition with the Travancore Tamilnad Congress. When that also did not last, they got the PSP, a small minority party in the Assembly, to rule on its behalf. That arrangement also did not work and President's rule had to be imposed on the State.

The people of the State had become sick of this instability—a creation of the ruling Congress Party and they entrusted the Communist Party with the task of ensuring stability in the State. And their hopes have been justified.

With a slender majority of just two in the Assembly, the Communist Party has still been able to ensure this stability because its policies have been policies in favour of the people and the people have seen it and rallied to its support as they had not done for any other Government before.

Not only has this Government ensured stability, it has given the maximum democratic liberties to the people as they have never enjoyed under any other regime. In any other State, all the Opposition leaders of Kerala would be safely behind the bars for the type of inflammatory speeches they make and the provocative actions they organise. But in Kerala the Government which they have pledged to overthrow by all means, even violent, allows them the fullest freedom.

It is only such a Government that could inspire the people to come out with shovels and pickaxes to contribute their free labour to nation-building activities as was seen during the Minor Irrigation Week recently. There have been other verdicts, too, of the people.

In the only by-election to the Kerala Assembly from the Devicolum constituency, the Communist Party retained its seat though all the opposition parties combined together and made it a prestige fight.

In the panchayat by-elections held from April 1957 to February 1959, the Communist Party secured 54 seats, the Congress 34, the PSP and RSP—three and two respectively.

And only a fortnight ago they gave their seal to the policies of the Communist Party and its Government when they gave a majority to the Communist Party in the Muvattupuzha Municipal Council, an area which has so far been held by the Congress.

The Communist-led Government has administered Kerala for two years and today it can stand proudly with its head erect and say: All our efforts have been to serve the people best! And no one can challenge this claim.

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Veronica's life with Mark has proved a failure. She has come to hate her husband

The girl keeps waiting for Boris.....

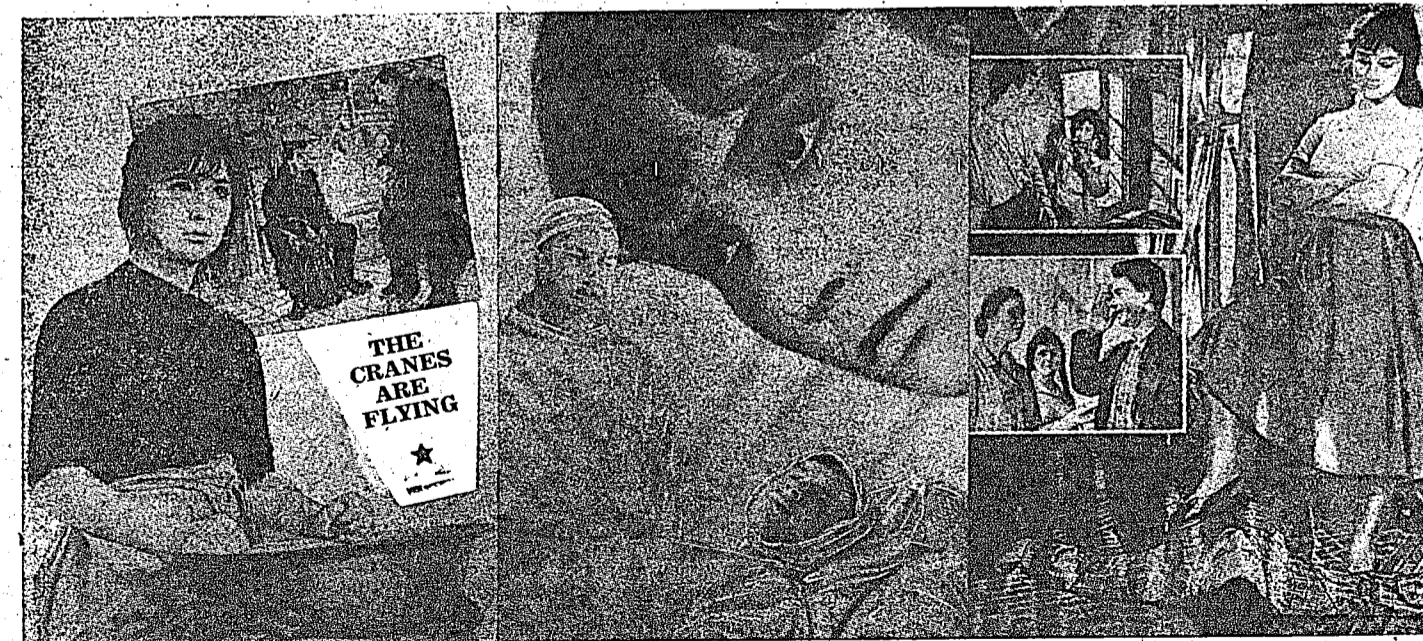
But when she goes to the station on Victory Day to meet the men returning from

the war and sees Boris' comrade, Stepan standing there with downcast eyes, she realizes that there is no hope left.

All around her are happy faces, animated talk, laughter, joyous exclamations and Veronica suddenly feels that she is not a

stranger here, that these people are her own, that she is not alone. And through tears in her eyes she smiles as she hands out flowers to the veterans.

... And again, like in the open shots of the film, we see cranes flying...



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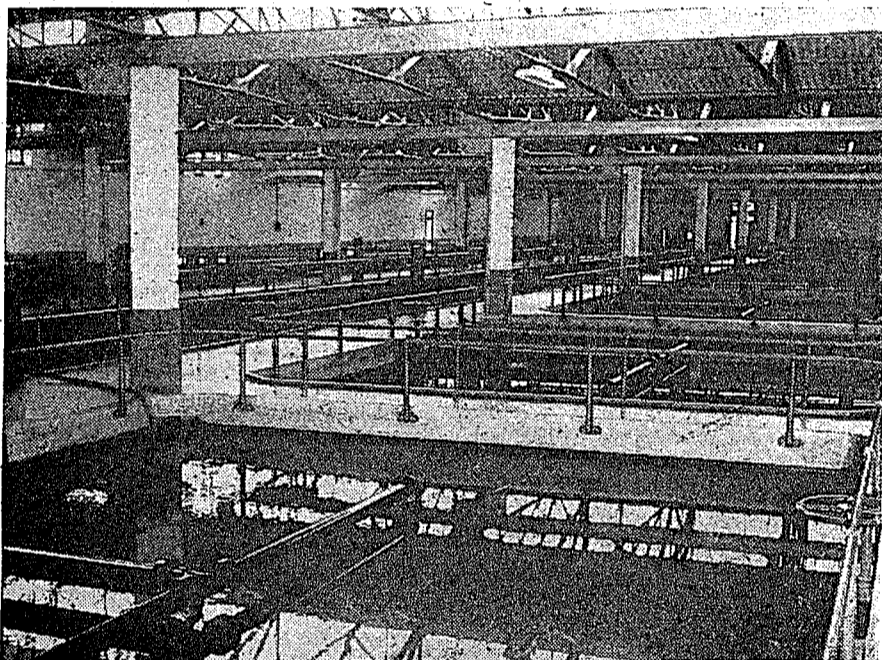
NEW AGE

PAGE FIFTEEN

Kerala people reiterate confidence in their present Government. So they do in Paterson's Water Purification Plants.

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**CPI STATEMENT
ON TIBET**

THE Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India issued a statement on Tibet to the Press on March 31. The text of the statement which became a subject matter of discussion in the Lok Sabha, reads:

All honest men in our country have been extremely pained by recent events in Tibet. This ancient land with which our people have long and abiding ties, has recently seen much loss of life and destruction of property. And it is but natural that it should attract the sympathy of all Indians who have always wished well to the people of Tibet. All Indians likewise sympathise with our friendly and great neighbour China, who is meeting this difficult situation with utmost regard for human considerations, of Tibetan autonomy and the unity of the Chinese nation.

The people who are responsible for this considerable and wanton suffering in Tibet are the same who cause it elsewhere. They are the reactionaries who do not want to move with times, the serf-owners who wish to prevent the dawn of modern enlightenment and equality in Tibet. Misusing the trust placed in them by the People's Democratic Government of China, exploiting the scrupulous regard shown by the Government of China towards Tibetan autonomy, these elements conspired with foreign imperialists to stage a revolt. They had opposed land reform and every progressive measure in the interests of the people. The Government of China decided to give them time, which they utilised to stage a reactionary rebellion.

These elements are neither fighting for democracy nor for freedom. The fact that they have the sympathy and support of Chiang Kai-shek and the American imperialists is sufficient to show that they stand for utter reaction. In fact, without active support from the imperialists, these elements would not have been able to stage their reactionary rebellion.

India herself suffers from imperialist intrigues against her safety whether in Goa, Kashmir or the Pakis-

tan border. The same kind of intrigue was organised in Tibet and we should be happy that our neighbour has successfully scotched the imperialist plot across our border.

India has always recognised Tibet as part of China and it is in our agreement over Tibet that the famous Panch Shila principles were born. These enjoin on us strict neutrality and non-intervention in each other's affairs. This also means that we should not allow our territories to be used for hostile or prejudicial acts against each other.

The People's Government of China, with a full sense of responsibility, has drawn our attention to Kalimpong, which according to it, has become the command centre of the rebels. We all know that many shady happenings are taking place at Kalimpong and that a lot of doubtful foreigners are visiting this place. In the interest of both countries as well as the inviolability of our national soil, our Government should immediately investigate the affairs in Kalimpong and place the truth before the people.

Everybody in this country will be glad to find that the Government and Sri Nehru have taken a proper attitude on this question and refused to oblige the reactionaries. And yet a few reactionaries and political parties like the PSP and the Jan Sangh are attempting to whip up anti-Chinese feelings in this country. These champions of freedom and democracy remained silent when the U.S.-Pak Pact which directly threatens India's security was signed. Their one aim is to sow discord between our two friendly peoples. They only bring grist to the mill of American imperialism.

The Communist Party of India sends its warm greetings to the Communist Party of China under whose guidance the People's Government of China is leading the people of Tibet from medieval darkness to prosperity and equality. The people of Tibet firmly allied with the people of China, will not only defeat all imperialist plots but will rapidly progress to peace and happiness.

**Their Attack Is On Our
Foreign Policy**

*FROM PAGE 17

stay as refugees in our country and live peaceful lives. But must they be permitted to engage in political activity like the above? What happens to Panch Shila then? Should they be given a standing and status which they have lost in their own country?

Again, these Tibetan refugees and residents are not innocent beings only seeking asylum and wanting to live a peaceful life. The Statesman of March 22 reports from Kalimpong, "Lonenla Sadu Tshang and Chago Tshang Namgay Dorjee, members of the 22-man Khampa 'War Council' arrived here yesterday from Tibet. They were received by a large number of Tibetan residents here. It is gathered that the leaders are here to ascertain the extent of the help the Kham people will get from Tibetans residing in India as well as in Central Tibet. The Khampas have no direct communications with Central Tibet."

The above was obviously a very careless slip on the part of the Statesman Correspondent, and next day he wrote, "they described themselves as travellers visiting India and denied that they are seeking help from the local Tibetans to fight the Chinese."

We, Indian Communists, are not the only ones agitated over Kalimpong. Jugantar, Bengali daily edited by a nationalist of the standing of Sri Vivekananda Mukherjee has written, "For a long time there has been news of suspicious foreign agents in Kalimpong and the Indian-Tibet border. It is clear from the fact of the dissemination of the news of the internal revolt and the propagation of its twists and turns that a gang of agents, spies and agent-provocateurs are bent on murdering the freedom, democracy and peace of India, China and Asia and a set of duped persons' have joined this murder campaign, presenting a sorry picture. Can Lord Buddha be merciful to them?" (March 31)

The above are only a few bits from the Indian Press, with which Mrs. Menon ought to be familiar. Much more of such outrageous activities can and will be found if the officials in the External Affairs Ministry take their job more seriously and honestly and the Home Minister swallows a bit of his anti-Communism and concentrates upon his duty to see that the Tibetan refugees behave as refugees and not as conspirators against their homeland and our friendly neighbouring country and that on our soil.

Indian reactionaries know that their hate-China policy is not popular among the common people and wide patriotic circles of our country. Hence, besides Press propaganda in the monopolist Press, they shoot their mouth in Parliament as often as they can and stage scenes. They raised the Tibetan issue twice but did not quite succeed. The Prime Minister reiterated India's friendly policy towards China and that the Tibetan developments were an inter-

national affair. They got the chance of their life on April 1 during the Prime Minister's absence, forced a discussion and made provocative scenes over the People's Daily editorial and the statement of our Party—their weapons were traditional anti-Communism and throwing mud at our Party. Their reaction to the Prime Minister's statement the following day in which he not only chided them for the provocative behaviour but himself exposed the shady goings-on in Kalimpong is bound to be bitter and angry. We can count on them to continue their efforts.

Our countrymen know the political physiognomy of those who are shedding false tears over Tibet. They are the very gentlemen who seek to change India's foreign policy and give it a reactionary pro-imperialist orientation. And for whom in Tibet are they shedding tears? It is the reactionary ecclesiastics and serf-owners who have misused the magnanimity of their Socialist Government, resisted even those social reforms within Tibet that we have already put through in every Indian State, who provoked an armed uprising in cooperation with the exiled Kuomintang and imperialist circles, who are out to break up the unity of their motherland and go over to the imperialist camp, only to preserve the dark medieval past of Tibet which they represent.

They have lost the game and it is good for Tibet and its people that it is so. Now the common people of Tibet can march forward unhindered to progress and Socialism like the rest of the people of China. They themselves know their bankruptcy and the impracticality of their false slogan of "Save Tibet" which is only a cover for their real slogan "Slander China"—and thus they create the psychologi-

cal pre-conditions for a closer link-up with the imperialist West.

Let us note what is at stake if they succeed.

It is India-China friendship, an important plank of our independent foreign policy that has brought honour and glory to our country.

Let us note why they are attacking India-China friendship at this particular moment.

The coming meeting of Seato will also discuss Tibet and they want us to begin the game and give the Seato stand moral justification.

India-China Friendship is the powerful axis of Afro-Asian solidarity. The imperialist circles desire nothing better than breaking Afro-Asian solidarity before which their Baghdad Pact and Seato have become ineffective. Their urgent need is to allay Indian suspicion over the U. S.-Pak bilateral Pact and nothing suits them better than the provocation over Tibet. Anti-U. S. vigilance is being diverted towards an anti-Chinese slander campaign.

The Summit Conference is due and what can suit the imperialists better than soiling India-China relations and keeping the two major States out and at loggerheads?

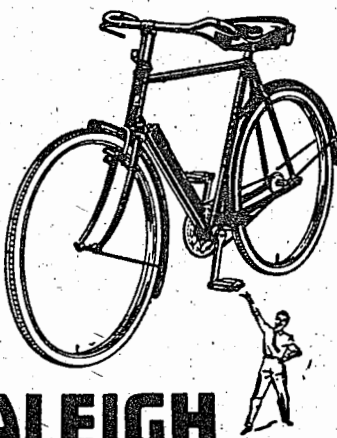

In every U. N. Session India has been raising the issue of China's admission. What will suit the imperialists better than India raising the Tibetan issue instead?

The Indian crusaders for Tibet are out to drag India into the cold war by creating tension with China.

This well-planned, cunning and desperate reactionary offensive needs to be beaten back to save India's good name, national honour and foreign policy. They raise the false slogan "Save Tibet." We have to save our country's honour and foreign policy from their attack.

(April 2)

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