

Where Is The Enthusiasm?

by Onlooker

JOINT cooperative farming is the new panacea that the Congress found in Nagpur. It was proclaimed to be a panacea for all the ills of rural India and the only solution of its many problems of food scarcity, poverty, unemployment and what not. Having found out a wonder drug which would cure mother India of all her sufferings, the Congress leaders naturally busied themselves with advertising its many virtues and its miraculous powers of healing. They had expected the Congress and the country to jump with joy at the discovery and be eternally grateful to the wise leaders who had discovered it.

But to their great regret and surprise and annoyance the Congress leaders found that there were many in the country who were not prepared to accept at their face value all that they said about the panacea. The critics insisted on examining and testing it. Some of them even went to the extent of irreverently pointing out that there was nothing new in the suggested remedy, that it had been tried and found wanting in communist countries and that it could not be adopted without taking recourse to coercive and dictatorial methods. Some stated that it would not increase production, some asserted that it would establish a slave society, while some others warned that the peasants would revolt against the attempt to deprive them of their lands. The more the Congress leaders talked about joint cooperative farming, the louder and more widespread grew the criticism of the plan.

The leaders were naturally angry. They expressed their anger in no uncertain terms. They hoped that seeing how angry they were the critics would have the good sense of keeping their doubts to themselves and not talking about them publicly. But the trick did not work. The critics went on criticising; and they included some of the most eminent and highly respected men in the country. To make things worse, there were critics even in the ranks of the Congress. Many front rank Congress leaders were openly sceptical and some of the more thoughtful amongst them regarded it as a positively dangerous move. The only political group which whole-heartedly welcomed the

Nagpur resolution was the Communist Party of India. But its support was more embarrassing than helpful. It added weight to the critics' assertion that joint cooperative farming would pave the way for the rise of a totalitarian police state.

The Prime Minister, the Congress President and a few other leaders were tireless in their propaganda for the Nagpur resolution. They delivered many speeches, issued many statements, and missed no opportunity to run down the critics and to paint them as social reactionaries and agents of vested interests. But all this high powered propaganda fell flat upon the country. Nobody can see any-where any enthusiasm for joint farming. Some people may talk about it in the cities, but in the rural areas where actually joint farming is to take place there was no stir and no move.

It is in this context that a meeting of the All India Congress Committee was held in New Delhi on May 9, 10 and 11. The object of the meeting was to whip up enthusiasm amongst Congressmen and to direct their attention to the practical tasks that they must perform in order to implement the great Nagpur resolution. The Prime Minister spoke eloquently about the decision, the Congress President told about the tremendous enthusiasm about the decision that she had seen in the country in the course of her tours, others also talked in similar terms and, in the end, a resolution was adopted accepting the plan that was detailed in a note prepared for the meeting. This makes nice reading. But what about a fact that was revealed by the Congress President? She revealed that she had received not even half a dozen names for attending a training camp when she had called for a hundred volunteers. Is this an indication of the "large-scale enthusiasm" for the Nagpur Resolution that she had witnessed in the Congress and in the country?

Even Congress journals have not ventured to say that the A.I.C.C. meeting was lively or enthusiastic. Their explanation is that a business meeting cannot evoke much enthusiasm. But the facts are much worse. The following is from a report of the session published in an independent journal: "The members were listless, inattentive and indifferent to the subject of discussion, implementation of the Nagpur Resolution on land reforms. Not only did they indulge in endless group chats within the hall even as the Congress President and Mr. Nehru were lecturing from the dias, but they constantly streamed in and out of the hall... not more than 25 members were found

(Continued on page 11)

Why We Have A Cold War

by William Henry Chamberlin

THERE is a tendency, at once dangerous and insidious, to regard the cold war with the Soviet Union as the product of American whim or intolerance, as something that would disappear like mist before the morning sun if John Foster Dulles were only replaced at the State Department by someone more "imaginative," more "flexible," more "accommodating." Anastas Mikoyan, during his barnstorming trip in the U.S., made every effort to play up to this tendency, to represent the cold war as a stupid, unnecessary business which could end overnight by a few kind words on both sides.

A professor of philosophy, John Somerville, in a recent letter to the *New York Times*, reduced the cold war to a matter of American intolerance, writing:

"Is it not likely that much of our acceptance of the cold war and our hesitation about peaceful co-existence stems from the fact that many of us tend to regard socialism (that is, the present social system of communist-led countries) as an illegitimate upstart or a criminal conspiracy — in short as something to which we do *not* grant equal right to exist?"

Perhaps Professor Somerville is a disciple of the British philosopher Bishop Berkeley, who held that there are no realities apart from those which the mind is able to recognize. Certainly his suggestion that the cold war has nothing to do with the fundamental Soviet design of world conquest and with innumerable specific Soviet acts calculated to advance that end is almost breath-taking in its naivete.

What are the basic realities behind the cold war? This whole twilight zone between war and peace would never have developed if the Soviet Government, after the end of World War II, had lived up to Stalin's assurance that it "did not want a foot of foreign soil" and stayed within its boundaries.

Had this occurred there would have been no divided Germany; no American fleet in the Mediterranean; no build-up of American armament, no cold war. The first and most obvious cause of the cold war was the aggressive projection of Soviet power far beyond any legitimate Russian ethnic limits, the emergence of a gigantic Soviet imperialism.

To say, with Nikita Khrushchev, Mikoyan and their dupes and agents abroad, that America has been the aggressor is to distort history in a monstrous fashion. The U.S. and its allies helped to defend the people of Korea when they were invaded, and they supplied the people of West Berlin when they were blockaded. But these were defensive actions.

Anyone who wants to identify the aggressor in the cold war only has to answer a few questions: Was it the Soviet Union that incited armed revolt in Greece or was it the West that stirred up guerrilla warfare in Poland, Lithuania and Galicia after the end of the war? Did the Soviet Union blockade West Berlin or did the West blockade East Berlin? Was it North Korea that invaded South Korea, or the other way around? Did Red China try to capture Quemoy or did Chiang Kai-shek try to land on the mainland?

And it is truly adding insult to injury when the Soviet Government, after issuing an ultimatum to the Western powers to quit Berlin and after making an utterly unacceptable proposal for a German peace treaty, demands counter-proposals from the West. This is the method of the thug who first holds you up and demands all your money, then intimates that perhaps he will be gracious and entertain a "counter-proposal" which would offer him half of it.

What makes one almost despair of the future of the free world is the widespread tendency, from which America has not been spared, to regard the cold war not as an inescapable necessity, barring political collapse or a spectacular change of policy behind the Iron Curtain, but as an instrument that has failed, that must be replaced by something else, very vaguely envisaged. This "something else," so long as the Soviet purpose remains hard and unbending, as it is today, can only be some variant of appeasement, a further downward slide for the West from the static defence position which it has held for the past 13 years.

The great French political scientist Alexis de Toqueville, along with praise for many aspects of the new American democracy, took a dim view of the ability of a democracy to conduct foreign affairs effectively:

"Foreign politics demand scarcely any of those qualities which a democracy possesses; and they require, on the contrary, the perfect use of almost all those faculties in which it is deficient... A democracy is unable to regulate the details of an important undertaking, to persevere in a design, and to work out its execution in the presence of serious obstacles."

There are too many glib advocates of appeasement and defeatism (dressed up as "flexibility" and "realism") who seem bent on proving that Tocqueville was right. Thus, there is a very real and crucial responsibility for the rest of us to prove that he was mistaken.

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Notes

Restrictions on Dalai Lama

INDIA has granted asylum to the Dalai Lama, his entourage and over twelve thousand other Tibetan refugees. This action of the Government of India has been applauded all over the world, the only exception being communist Governments in general and the communist government of China in particular. In granting asylum India acted in accordance with established international practice and in conformity with the centuries-old friendship between her people and the people of Tibet.

The Dalai Lama is being treated with respect and is allowed to carry on his religious duties. But it appears he is not allowed the freedom that is due to him in other respects. There are severe restrictions on his meeting the press. Those pressmen who are allowed to meet him are compelled to speak to him only through official interpreters. This is a restriction which limits the liberty of the Dalai Lama as well as the press.

It is also reported that the Dalai Lama is not allowed to meet all persons that he desires to meet. Particular mention is made in this connection of Mr. Heinrich Harrer, the former tutor and old friend of the Dalai Lama. If the report is true it must be stated that the Government of India are making an improper use of their power.

A political refugee cannot make use of the country that has given him shelter to make a war against another country with which the former country has friendly relations. But he is not required altogether to give up his political personality. Under international law he is allowed a good deal of scope for political propaganda. Any number of instances can be quoted from history of political refugees continuing their political work and propaganda in countries of their refuge. Why should we not follow the same practice in the case of the Dalai Lama? Or is our solicitude for friendship with China stopping us from following the normal practice in the case of the Dalai Lama?

Nehru And Tibet

IN the speech that he delivered in the Lok Sabha on May 8 the Prime Minister was at pains to defend the Sino-Indian agreement in regard to Tibet. He said "I have no doubt in my mind that that agreement was the right agreement and correct agreement and we shall stand by it. It is not correct to say that that agreement has been broken. It functions". However the short discourse that he gave in the course of the speech on Sino-Tibetan relations through centuries

does not prove that the agreement was right or correct. He stated that "all along from the days of the emperors to the present day, the Chinese had considered themselves to be the overlords of Tibet." He admitted the fact that "Tibet had resisted this overlordship from time to time". One fails to see how a Chinese claim, which was admittedly resisted from time to time, could make Tibet a part of China. And even if China had at some distant date in the past conquered Tibet and established her overlordship, is not Tibet entitled to repudiate it and claim independence for herself? Anybody would have thought that the anti-imperialist Nehru would support that claim and help Tibet recover her national independence. It is strange, indeed, to see him accept the imperialist claim of China and bless it with his approval.

The Prime Minister further stated that the agreement had not broken down, it still functioned. The autonomy of Tibet was the basis of that agreement. Even according to the Prime Minister, China has violated that autonomy. The Dalai Lama has also drawn pointed attention to that fact. The Prime Minister stated in the same speech that he was not sure if China attached the same meaning to autonomy that he did. These facts prove that the agreement has broken down. China having violated the autonomy of Tibet, the very basis of the agreement is shattered. It is necessary now to reconsider the relationship between China and Tibet and to negotiate a fresh agreement which will be more in keeping with the desires of the people of Tibet and in conformity with modern ideas on the security and integrity of small nations.

As an anti-imperialist and a democrat, the Prime Minister ought to have adopted such a firm and unambiguous position and talked straight to the communist government of China. Nobody wants him to declare war against China or to seek a solution of the Tibetan problem through any but peaceful means. But let him tell China clearly and categorically that the only solution that India will welcome and approve will be a solution on the basis of the acceptance of the independence of Tibet. The Prime Minister's failure to adopt that obvious course raises suspicions in the minds of the people. Are we thinking of again sending back the Dalai Lama to Tibet on the strength of China's fresh promises to respect her autonomy? Any such return of the Dalai Lama will be a gross betrayal of that august person and of the people of Tibet; for the promises will be made but will never be kept. We hope nobody in the Government of India harbours any such intention.

Joint Defence

PRIME Minister Nehru's outright rejection of the offer for a joint defence of the sub-continent by India and Pakistan as originally made by Mr. Manzoor Quadir, Foreign Minister of Pakistan, and later by

President Ayub Khan must have come as a great disappointment to all those who have ardently wished an abiding friendship and understanding between the two sister countries. The rejection is all the more surprising as the proposed joint defence would have paved the way for better relationship and eliminated the fear of mutual aggression that has so long poisoned Indo-Pak relations.

It cannot be denied that the joint defence of the sub-continent would be in the interest of both countries. It would considerably reduce the huge expenditure that both countries have to incur and thereby help the diversion of national income in the reconstruction programmes.

Pakistan's later clarification of the joint defence idea has removed whatever ambiguity it had. President, General Ayub Khan has made it clear that his proposal for a joint defence of the sub-continent would in no way prejudice Indian's neutrality since it did not envisage any special military pact. "India could cooperate with Pakistan in the defence of the sub-continent and yet keep out of military pacts", he assured. President Ayub's clarification did not even insist upon the solution of problems of Kashmir and canal waters as a prerequisite for such a defence arrangement as he had been reported to have said in his earlier declaration.

We hope, however, that India's rejection of the Pakistani proposal for joint defence is not final and that there is still scope for reconsideration. The fact that India has about 2000 miles of border with China which, in recent months, has unambiguously demonstrated its aggressive designs towards peaceful countries, calls for a reappraisal of India's defence needs and the establishment of a system of joint defence with our immediate neighbour. In this context, Pakistan's plea for joint defence becomes worthy of serious consideration.

Language Problem

PARLIAMENT will have to ponder seriously over the points raised by Mr. Rajagopalachari and others in the petition that they have submitted over the issue of the official language. The petition cannot be dismissed as the cry of a few individuals. It is signed by responsible and influential public men drawn from many parts of the country. The signatories represent a considerable body of public opinion. They have urged the continuance of English as the official language of the union and the abandonment of all measures to replace it by Hindi. They have further requested a calm and unbiased consideration of the issue.

It is unfortunate that the question of the official language of the Union is not being considered in a calm and dispassionate manner. The protagonists of Hindi have developed a passion over its acceptance as the official language. They are intemperate in their denunciation of all those who do not unreservedly

accept their position. This has produced an equal reaction in the other camp. The latter use equally harsh words to make their point and in the din of accusations and counter-accusations the issue does not receive the serious consideration that it deserves.

In the course of their petition, Mr. Rajagopalachari and others have expressed the fear that the imposition of Hindi, which they characterise as "the unimaginative imposition of the will of a dominant group" is likely to destroy the unity of the country, that it will place in a position of permanent advantage those whose mother-tongue is Hindi, and that it will hinder emotional integration. They have further pointed out that the opposition to the imposition of Hindi as the official language is a "people's opposition in every sense of the word" proceeding as it does from three such important and widely separated areas as Madras, Bengal and the Punjab. One may not accept all the arguments, but they are serious enough to merit a calm and dispassionate consideration.

In the States also a similar problem has arisen more particularly after the reorganisation of States on linguistic lines and the acceptance of the regional language as the official language of the States. In each State there are linguistic minorities and they have their problems in relation to the regional language. The Commissioner for Linguistic Minorities, Mr. B. Malik, has drawn pointed attention to those problems in his first report to the President. He has strongly recommended proper educational facilities and State help in preserving their language and culture to linguistic minorities in each State. It is to be hoped that State Governments will implement those recommendations so that linguistic minorities may not feel that there is any discrimination against them.

In this connection it will be useful to take note of Mr. Frank Anthony's resolution moved in the last session of Parliament requesting the inclusion of English in the VIII Schedule of the Constitution. Apart from being the most important modern language and the language of communication amongst educated classes, English is the mother tongue of a sizeable section of the people such as Anglo-Indians and Christians. It is difficult to understand why there should be any opposition to its inclusion in the VIII Schedule. The same holds true about Sindhi. The Communications Minister, Mr. S. K. Patil, deserves to be congratulated on his bold support to the move for the inclusion of the two languages in the Schedule and on his plea for a rational approach to the language problem.

Lolita

VVLADMIR Nabokov, a Russian emigré scientist (lepidopterist), teaching at Cornell University, has created a veritable storm in literary circles with his novel, *Lolita*. Much ink has been spilled in literary journals by those who defend it as great literary piece and those who attack it as a work of porno-

graphy. Nabokov today finds himself rudely awakened from the world of butterflies and flowers he loves and dragged into the heated controversy of the literary market place.

The story of the novel evolves around a twelve year old girl Lolita and the all consuming passion of Humbert, a rascally European. Humbert, disillusioned with life in Europe, migrates to the U.S. where he manages to live as a paying guest with an American middle class widow, Charlotte Haze, with the intention of enticing her daughter Lolita. Mrs. Haze discovers her boarder's intentions but before she could do anything she is killed in a car accident. Humbert goes to the Boarding School where Lolita has been consigned by her mother and takes her away. Then he sets out with her on a motor car tour, across the country. Humbert makes advances to Lolita, which instead of being repelled, are accepted by her as a matter of course. During one of their sojourns, a playwright named Dicks abducts the girl. For some years Lolita disappears from his life. Then one day he receives a letter from her asking for money to help her husband get a job. Humbert goes to Lolita and pleads with her to come back to him, but Lolita refuses. Piqued by her rejection, he searches out Dick and kills him. The story is in the form of a narration by Humbert, awaiting trial for homicide.

The novel was first published in Paris. Some British tourists, returning from France brought it with them. Some British newspapers called the book obscene and demanded proscription. In the United States, opposition came mainly from ecclesiastical circles. But most of the leading literary critics and authors praised the novel as an outstanding contribution to modern fiction. They have pointed out that it contains no pornography at all, when compared to the aggressively pornographic descriptions found in many American novels.

The controversy has reached India. Not only literary critics and writers but news magazines with no literary pretensions have written about it. It has been suggested by some that the novel should be prohibited entry under the Sea Customs Act. This will amount to putting arbitrary powers into the hands of Customs Officers. Nobody can pretend that Customs Officers have any competence to decide the issue of the obscenity of a literary production. Definition of obscenity differs from society to society and even in the same society from period to period. Under the circumstances to ban a book merely because it is not

to the taste of some will amount to an unjustified interference with the freedom of writers and readers.

John Foster Dulles

WE join in the world-wide tributes that are being paid to the late Mr. John Foster Dulles. Tributes are being paid to him not only by those who agreed with his policies but also by those who disagreed with them. For even those who disagreed with him cannot but accept the greatness and uniqueness of his many qualities of head and heart. He was a man who had dedicated his life to the defence of the free world and its free institutions against the open and secret machinations of imperialist communism. He stood steadfast like a rock when many vacillated and many were taken in by the smiling face that communism put on from time to time. His task was hard and unpleasant. It is because he performed it efficiently and successfully, unmindful of the unpopularity and bitter criticism that it evoked, that the free world is today in a position to face the challenge of the mighty hordes of communism. He laboured till the last ounce of energy and strength were left in him to build up the moral and material strength of the free nations. He was a rare specimen of a dedicated public servant who placed principles above expediency and rendered invaluable service not only to his country but to the whole free world.

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Communist Rule In Tibet

The following open letter was written on July 20, 1956 by Thubten Nyenjik, Abbot of Gyantse Monastery and Governor of Gyantse Province. Written while he was a refugee in India, it was addressed to the leaders of Governments in Asia and elsewhere.

IT is now six years since the Chinese communists invaded my country, Tibet. As Governor of the Gyantse Province I saw what these six years years meant for my countrymen, in terms of their subjugation and slaughter; and in order to make their tragic plight known to the free world I have but recently left my homeland. It is that you and your people may know, Sir, what my fellow Tibetans are suffering today that I presume to address to you this letter.

"To us Tibetans the phrase 'the liberation of Tibet', in its moral and spiritual implications, is viewed as a deadly mockery. The country of a free people was invaded and occupied under the pretext of Liberation. . . . Liberation from whom and what? Ours was happy country with a solvent Government and a contented people till the Chinese invasion in 1950 since when we have been so exploited that we have been reduced to a state of intellectual, spiritual and economic bankruptcy. Are the ruthless attacks by land and air, the indiscriminate and cold-blooded bombing of Dzachukha in Golok and of Litang proof of the Chinese concern for our progress and welfare? In Litang alone, over four thousand men, women and children have been killed and the capital razed to the ground. The survivors have taken to the hills and are now waging a desperate guerilla warfare with the Chinese. The ferocity with which this campaign is being carried out may be judged by the words of General Chang Kuo-hua in his speech in Lhasa on April the 26th, 1956, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Preparatory Committee for the Regional Autonomy of Tibet, in which he declared, '*We have bombed Litang and shall wipe out all such revolts in the same manner*'. Aghast at these latest atrocities, the Tibetans of Golok, Horgok, Chanting, Menyak, Shooktook, Taou, O Thok Sompas, Molashay, Nyarong and Gbantse have risen in aid of their fellow countrymen and are at this very moment fighting for their national and cultural integrity. Their monasteries and homes bombed, their wives and children machine-gunned — they fight on, without hope and without fear, in the unshakeable belief that they should be free and that the conscience of the free world will at least recognize and speak for the justice of their cause.

"It is here, in Outer Tibet, an area about one million square miles, where the Chinese for the past 42 years and more, ever since the days of the Manchus, have been doing their utmost to colonise the country and have even imported large numbers of Chinese settlers, that the trouble has first broken out,— ample testimony to the failure of an alien Government to subjugate and absorb the Tibetans who believe in their own national integrity.

"It is owing to the resistance, passive or active, of

Tibetans from all walks of life that the Chinese during the six years of their occupation have been unsuccessful in their designs on us. This could only have been achieved by the determined and united resistance of a nation in the face of cajolery, threats, torture and death. There have been and continue to be, such systematic disappearances of Tibetan men and women, and even school children, for the casual expression of anti-Chinese sentiments that the Tibetan phrase "to disappear" has come almost wholly to mean to die at the hands of the Chinese.

"Viewed in its historical perspective, the so-called 'Liberation of Tibet' is the latest and most formidable attempt of the Chinese to colonise Tibet, prompted by the greed of an over-populated country for the vast area which comprises Tibet and her wealth in natural resources. For let there be no mistake about it, the 'Liberation' of Tibet is nothing but a newer form of brutal, ruthless colonialism to be more dreaded than the old because here, the aim is not only exploitation but the complete absorption of a people — absorption or extermination are the only two alternatives offered to the people of Tibet by the Chinese. That they are committed, despite all their talk of autonomy, to the obliteration of the religion, culture and tradition of a non-Chinese people so that they might become indistinguishable from the millions of Chinese is all too clear, for as General Chang Kuo-hua himself in his speech in Lhasa on April 26th 1956, on the occasion of the inauguration of the Preparatory Committee for the Regional Autonomy of Tibet, quoting Mao Tse-tung, said 'in a few years the population of Tibet must be raised from two or three million to over ten million'. This can only mean the genocide, the complete disappearance of an ancient culture and people through the importation of Chinese on a gigantic scale. Such is the meaning of Chinese autonomy for Tibet.

"It was a blot on the conscience of the world when not a single finger was lifted by any country to prevent the forcible occupation of a free people: it should now be a matter of the deepest shame that not one country raises its voice against the butchery of that people.

"The economic effect of the 'liberation' of Tibet has been disastrous. Before the advent of the Chinese the economy of Tibet was sound, the cost of living low, and the Tibetan Government was in a position to aid its people in their economic, social, cultural and religious aspirations. But now owing to the influx of one hundred thousand Chinese soldiers who live off the Tibetans, their granaries are empty, for the Chinese take 'loans' which are never repaid, the vast

herds of yaks and flocks of sheep have been decimated, trees in Government and private owned parks uprooted for firewood and the economy of the country has been so disrupted that the cost of living for the bare necessities of life have risen nine and ten times and where formerly there was a large exportable surplus, these have now to be imported.

"The Chinese have built roads but these are military roads, indispensable for holding down a conquered people, and built with the help of forced Tibetan labour and the 'loan' of vast quantities of grain and silver from the reserve granaries and treasury of the Government of Tibet. The expenditure in Tibetan silver Tanka coins in one year being 600 loads, the equivalent of one million five hundred thousand rupees and grain from the Tibetan Government granaries in Inner Tibet alone, since the occupation, khehs 12,00000/- the equivalent of forty eight million rupees.

"From the frontiers of China, through the heart of Tibet and beyond, the road has left its trail of destitution, broken homes and death, rivalling in its sum total of human misery and suffering that other Chinese masterpiece — the Great Wall of China.

"The Chinese have set up schools but these schools are designed solely for the purpose of the indoctrination of the youth of Tibet with Communist ideas. There is no vocational training and no attempt to familiarize the pupils with their own cultural and religious heritage, in fact, the Chinese are waging a continuous campaign to close all the indigenous schools, none of which has ever taught Chinese. The aim of Chinese education in Tibet is the production of reliable pro-Chinese Communists and this involves nothing short of the wholesale alienation of the Tibetan youth from their own tradition and culture — a tradition and culture that have been noted for their humanity and tolerance and have contributed their just share to the spiritual heritage of Asia and of the world.

"The Chinese claim to have built many hospitals but these are again, like the schools, make-shift affairs established in houses requisitioned from private individuals. They do not treat the poorer elements of Tibetan society including pilgrims who are turned away. This would be all the harder on them as the Chinese actively discourage the practice of indigenous systems of medicine, but for our doctors (who are all trained in Ayurved and are also familiar with modern drugs and anti-biotics) who at great risk to their lives and personal property continue treating the poor for nothing.

"After the invasion in 1950 the Chinese forced upon the Government of Tibet a 17 point agreement of their own devising, each and every clause of which they have violated and continue to violate. In addition to this they try by every means in their power and at every opportunity possible, to undermine the spiritual and temporal sovereignty of His Holiness the Dalai Lama by seeking to raise to as high an official status and prestige as His Holiness Himself, the Panchen Rimpoche who, as a re-incarnated lama,

is entitled solely to the status and privileges of the other re-incarnated lamas in Tibet.

"They wilfully seek to mislead the world by requesting His Holiness the Dalai Lama to read Chinese prepared speeches in praise of the fictitious benefits of the regime. What choice has His Holiness but to accede to these requests when made under the heavy political pressure that is brought to bear on Him through the presence of a hundred thousand Chinese soldiers in His country and when a refusal might lead to a major crisis which would further injure His country and His people. Under the benevolent guidance of the successive Dalai Lamas, we Tibetans have lived in peace and contentment in an atmosphere of humane tolerance that allowed the pursuit of intellectual, spiritual, social and material advancement according to individual inclination and temperament. In this land of self-sufficiency with plenty for all, vexed with no problems of over-population, desirous only of the good will and the prosperity of her neighbours and fellow nations, His late Holiness the 13th Dalai Lama 60 years ago added yet another blessing — the abolition of the death penalty. A truly humane measure in keeping with the noble precepts of the Lord Buddha. But all this now is changed. Life for us Tibetans has become a living hell, burdened as we are with crushing levies in cash and in kind; the manner of collection and the distribution among the people of the taxes would be considered ridiculous were it not for the merciless severity of the universal burden thus imposed upon the people; images, manuscripts of any kind and any possession—one mug, one pair of chopsticks, one cotton outfit in clothing, one bedding roll and one mat are subject to taxation. The aim of these measures is all too clear, it is to lower the people of Tibet to one universal level of poverty and to root out the very foundations of religion and culture by denying them access to these very things which are the sole and indispensable means for their existence.

"Thus deprived of normal participation in the spiritual and cultural heritage of our country and lowered to the status of mere beasts of burden, the Tibetans in Eastern Tibet have revolted against this intolerable situation and are being subjected to ruthless and cold-blooded attacks by land and by air in which whole towns are being wiped out, as has happened in Litang.

"One of my fellowmen has just arrived in India from Tibet on the 19th July, telling that the Communist troops recently pour into Tibet more and more every day, the guerrilla warfare widely spread out all over Eastern and North-Eastern Tibet including the Timje district and Amdo area, and in Lhasa hundred of tanks newly arrived to combat any uprising. Owing to the indiscrimination of the Communist we Tibetans are expecting a very serious famine this year.

"Though this appeal for sympathy in our cause is signed by me alone, I speak on behalf of the millions of my fellow Tibetans who today are suffering to the point of death for their freedom."

Long Live Personality!

ONLY three years ago, in 1956, Khrushchev said in his "secret" speech to the 20th Congress of the CPSU:

"It is impermissible and foreign to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism to elevate one person, to transform him into a superman possessing super-natural characteristics akin to those of a god. Such a man supposedly knows everything, sees everything, thinks for everyone, can do anything, is infallible in his behaviour."

In 1959, during the 21st Congress, the modest beginnings of a new idolatry were clearly visible, although tributes paid to the old destroyer of "the cult of [another] personality" were not expressed in the superlatives customary under the old idol. But if no explicit reference was made to Khrushchev's infallibility, effusive praise was lavished on his universality.

AGRICULTURE: "I should like to suggest that much of what has been achieved along the path shown by the great Lenin is the result of unflagging initiative and personal example of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, his profound practical knowledge, his ability to fuse creatively the practical demands of life and theory, and his close ties with the broad working masses." (E. Andreveva, Chairman of the Comintern Collective Farm, Tambov Province, *Pravda*, February 5, 1959.)

ALCOHOL: "Dear Nikita Sergeyevich, we are very grateful to you for your indefatigable solicitude for the well-being of our Soviet people. Our people will also be grateful for your concern that the consumption of alcohol should be sharply reduced." (T.S. Maltsev, Field Foreman in the Lenin Behest Collective Farm, *Pravda*, February 5.)

ARMY: "I consider it my duty to state that thanks to the daily solicitude of the Communist Party, its Central Committee and, personally, of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev, our armed forces are equipped fully in accordance with modern military requirements." (Marshal R. Malinovski, Minister of Defence, *Pravda*, February 4.)

ATOMIC PHYSICS: "Installations for the study of thermonuclear reactions are large and complex constructions costing tens of millions rubles. Their speedy setting up has been achieved thanks to the enormous attention and great help given by the Presidium of the CC of our Party and by Comrade Khrushchev personally." (Academician I. V. Kurchatov, Soviet atomic expert, *Pravda*, February 5.)

CHEMISTRY: "Now, as is known, we have already set about the fulfilment of the programme of the ac-

celerated development of the chemical industry, elaborated on the initiative of N. S. Khrushchev." (L. Breznev, Member of the Presidium and secretary of the CC, CPSU, *Pravda*, January 31.)

COTTON-GROWING: "What has guaranteed a further increase of cotton production in our country is mainly the indefatigable activity of the Presidium of the CC and of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev personally." (T. Uldzbabaev, First Secretary of the CC of the Tadjik CP, *Pravda*, February 4.)

EDUCATION: "The question of the reorganization of education, taken up on the initiative of Comrade N. S. Khrushchev, is a clear manifestation of the Leninist solicitous, sensitive and attentive care about the needs and peculiarities of each people." (I. R. Razzakov, First Secretary of the CC of the Kirghiz CP, *Pravda*, February 4.)

ELECTRIC POWER: "A classical model of the correct approach in the problems of construction is the one advanced by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev for the construction of thermal instead of hydro-electric station." (A. F. Zasyadko, Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers, *Pravda*, February 3.)

GUIDED MISSILES: "For the successes in the construction and launching of the artificial satellites and the cosmic rockets, we are obliged above all to the Presidium of the CC of our Party, and to Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev personally, who guided the works aiming in this direction." (D. F. Ustinov, Chairman of the Council of Ministers, *Pravda*, February 5.)

LITERATURE: "In the appeal for a close link of literature and art with the life of the people, so beneficial to literature, lies the enormous importance of the well-known statement of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev." (Alexander Tvardovski, Editor of *Novy Mir* and Member of the Presidium of the Writers' Union, *Pravda*, February 2.)

NATIONALITIES: "The workers of Turkmenistan profoundly, with all their heart, thank the Leninist Central Committee, the Soviet Government, and Nikita Sergeyevich personally, for the genuinely fatherly concern for the prosperity of the Turkmen people, for realisation of its century-old dreams." (D. D. Karaev, First Secretary of the CC of the Turkmen CP, *Pravda*, February 9.)

PLANNING: "It might have seemed at first that a dry, purely economic and, indeed, a very boring problem had been placed before us: the plan figures and those control figures. But Nikita Khrushchev's report has fallen on our ears more like a magnificent symphony of communist construction." (A. I. Miko-yan, Member of the Presidium and First Deputy Chairman the Council of Ministers, *Pravda*, January 31)

SCIENCE: "In the name of the scientists of Siberia, many thanks to the Central Committee of the Party, to the Council of Ministers, and to Nikita Sergeyevich for their attention and daily help." (M. A. Lavrentyev, Academician, *Pravda*, February 1)

THEORY: "Comrade Khrushchev has shown, as early as the 20th Congress, an example of the creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory and of its skillful application to the specific features of the concrete situation." (O. V. Kuusinen, Member of the Presidium of the CC of the CPSU, *Pravda*, Feb. 4.)

UNIVERSAL GENIUS: "We must say quite plainly, comrades, that in the great political, theoretical and organisational work which has been carried out in all fields by our Leninist Central Committee, beginning with the solution of the most complex and urgent international questions, the consistent struggle for the cause of peace, for the prevention of war, the solution of the most important questions of the development of agriculture, the collective farm system, the reorganisation of the management of industry and construction, and ending with questions of science, literature and arts, the questions of enhancing links between the school and life, the outstanding role belongs to the initiative, the rich political experience and tireless energy of Comrade Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev. [*Stormy Applause*]." (P. Pospelov, Candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CC of the CPSU *Pravda*, February 1.

RELIGION: Khrushchev was awarded the Lenin Peace Prize on May 16. At the ceremony he was praised to the skies. The Indian representative present on the occasion, Mr. Sunderlal, Chairman of the All-India Peace Council, addressed him as follows:

"I am a religious man, while you, obviously, do not like the word religion; you probably take pride in calling yourself an atheist. But I assure you on the basis of the sacred writings of all the religions of the world, which I have studied to my modest ability, that in the best noblest sense of the word you are now one of the most religious leaders of mankind."

By Khrushchev's 65th birthday (next month), tributes to him may well be accompanied in *Pravda* by the supreme typographical insertion, "STORMY APPLAUSE—ALL RISE," as in the good old days. The cult is dead, but long live personality!

Science And Freedom Committee's Protest

The International Committee on Science and Freedom has sent a cable to the Prime Minister, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, calling on the South African Government to abstain from pursuing their policy of university apartheid.

The full text of the cable reads:

Following message addressed to you (the Prime Minister) on occasion of opening of Parliament:

International Committee on Science and Freedom supported by members of 296 universities in 52 countries expresses admiration and support for South African universities resisting Government policy of compulsory race segregation in universities.

We condemn this policy as flagrant denial of human brotherhood, which strikes at roots of genuine university education and menaces the standing of South African universities as members of world community of learning.

We call upon South African Government to heed cruel and disastrous consequences of their policy and abstain from its further pursuit.

A copy of the cable has also been sent to the National Union of South African Students.

Will Be Out Shortly

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

The Great Debate

between

Jawaharlal Nehru

C. Rajagopalachari

Jayaprakash Narayan

K. M. Munshi

M. R. Masani

N. G. Ranga

Shriman Narayan

Frank Moraes

and others

Democratic Research Service
127, Mahatma Gandhi Road,
Bombay.

News & Views

Chinese Workers' Earnings

ACCORDING to the Radio Peking broadcast of March 22, Chinese workers now earn Y60.00 a month as wages. This was revealed in their weekly Sunday programme of 'Listeners' Post Box' in reply to an enquiry by a listener in the United States of America.

At the official rate of exchange of Y1.00: U.S. \$0.42, the monthly wage of Y60.00 would work out to be U.S. \$25.20. But at the current market rate of exchange of Y1.00: U.S. \$0.21, this wage would work out to be no more than U.S. \$12.60.

The admission from Radio Peking has revealed the low standard of wages prevalent in the Chinese Mainland, although in the eyes of the communists, such a sum is considered high. As to the earnings of the peasants, Chou En-lai, Premier of the Chinese Communist regime, in his report to the National People's Congress on June 26, 1957, revealed that the average income of the peasant was about Y70 annually, which work out at Y6.00 a month. From this we know that the peasants are in far worse position than the workers.

Students Sentenced For Treason

The *Information Bureau West* reported that the Gera Area Court in East Germany sentenced eighteen Jena University students and young workers to penal servitude ranging from three to fifteen years for treason. The evidence against them showed that they had prepared a ten-point programme for German reunification providing for the dissolution of the SED (East German Communist Party) prior to all-German elections in which the SPD (Socialist Party of Germany) and the KPD (West German Communist Party) would take part as separate national parties. The programme also envisaged the denationalization of public-owned enterprises, except for big ones in the basic industries, and the liquidation of those agricultural producer cooperatives which have proved to be a failure. Other evidence used against the young people was their creation of a political cabaret "hostile to the state" during the Hungarian uprising. (*DPA*, October 13, 1958.)

According to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the charges also specified the existence of "an 'inter-faculty conspiracy' to ask for the abolition of Russian and Marxism-Leninism as compulsory subjects," and the fact that some students possessed copies "of Orwell's 1984, Leonhard's *Child of the Revolution*, and Djilas' *The New Class*." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, November 4, 1958.)

Flight of Physicians

Apparently distressed by the flight to the West of 813 doctors and 114 pharmacists in the first eight

months of 1958, the East German regime is taking a new approach to the problems of physicians.

Medical practitioners are now being assured that they may keep their private practices and will not be subjected to "any ideological obligation in favour of dialectic materialism." A Politburo communique of September 16th requested the Ministry of Health to reduce red tape, to increase research possibilities and exchange of scientific information through encouragement of scientific congresses and publications, and to ease travel restrictions for attendance at foreign scientific meetings.

The Ministry of Education has been instructed to admit children of physicians and other members of the intelligentsia to colleges and universities, a tacit admission that these children had hitherto been discriminated against because of their bourgeois origins.

Nevertheless, according to *Neues Deutschland*, medical students in all branches will continue to be "made familiar with the ideas and aims of socialism during their training so that they can devote all their strength to the maintenance of peace, the victory of socialism in the German Democratic Republic, and the renaissance of Germany." (*Neues Deutschland*, September 18, 1958.)

Another newspaper, the *Rostock Ostsee-Zeitung*, published a similar statement concerning medicine and socialism: "The doctor's or nurse's clear political attitude toward our system is just as vitally important for the patient as his medicines—if not more important." This so infuriated the medical world that one Rostock doctor wrote: "It has never been my experience, as hospital doctor and surgeon, to cure an inflamed appendix or a burst ulcer with anything but the knife or medicine." (*Ostsee-Zeitung*, Rostock, August 25, 1958.)

Secret Film Performances In Prague

Vecerni Praha, Prague's only evening paper, reported that secret performances of American and other Western films had been held in Prague. "The participants used to meet under the steeple at the Old Town Square and walked in small groups to the place of performance." The organizer of the performances, Vlastimil Mynarik, twenty-eight years old, was accused of contacts with the Press Attaché of the American Embassy in Prague who allegedly provided some of the films. According to the paper, Mynarik "smuggled on the screen American literature and Western way of life."

Mynarik was arrested by the police and "a criminal charge is to be preferred" against him. *Vecerni Praha* condemned these private performances in strong words, and accused the American diplomat of unsavory activities. The most surprising aspect of the incident is that "unbelievable as it is, the performan-

ces (in the afternoon and in the evening) were taking place in the factory club of the national enterprise Laboratory Utensils in Prague 1, Michalská 19." (*Vecerní Praha*, November 25, 1958.)

Intellectuals Flee East Germany

According to West German official statistics, a total of 119,300 persons fled from the German Democratic Republic to West Germany during the year 1958. The proportion of young people under twenty-five among them is surprisingly high (nearly fifty per cent) and seems to be increasing. These are exactly the people on whom the communist regime relies for support.

Another interesting aspect of the statistics is the high number of intellectuals leaving East Germany. During 1958, over 3,000 teachers, 1,200 doctors, 2,000 engineers, and 400 professors of East German universities and other institutions of higher learning sought freedom, a higher living standard, and better working conditions in West Germany. (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, January 2 and 16, 1959.)

Elections In Europe Show Decline In Communist Influence

In an article on March 2, the American political commentator, Paul Ford, pointed out that recent elections in European countries had shown a decline of communist influence. This decline of communist votes was an indication that the people had seen through the treacherous intrigues of the communists and had accordingly withdrawn their support.

This decline could be found in the 14 free countries of western Europe where in some cases the decline had been as much as 50%. The most notable examples could be found in Italy and France, which had the biggest communist parties outside the iron curtain.

The following statistics will enable one to grasp the situation:

Italy: The People's Alliance formed by the Communist and Socialist parties in 1948 then had 31% of the votes, but in 1958 they had only 22.7%.

France: The Communist Party got 5.1% of the votes in 1951, but in the two elections in 1958 they lost a good percentage of their former votes.

Austria: The Communist Party got 5.1% of the

votes in 1949, but was reduced to 4.4% in the 1956 election.

Belgium: In 1950 the Communist Party got 4.7%, but in 1956 they could only obtain 1.9% of the votes.

Denmark: 4.6% of the votes was obtained by the Communist Party in 1950, but this was reduced to 3.1% in 1957.

West Germany: The Communist Party got 5.6% of the votes in 1948 and 2.2% in 1953. In 1956, the Government banned all activities of the Communist Party.

Iceland: The Communist Party got 19.5% in 1944, but was reduced to 19.2% in 1956.

Luxemburg: The Communist Party got 13.5% in 1945, but was reduced to 8.9% in 1954.

Holland: The Communist Party got 7.7% in 1948, but only 4.8% in 1956.

Norway: The Communist Party got 5.8%, but reduced to 3.4% in 1957.

Sweden: The Communist Party got 4.4% in 1952, but only 3.4% in 1958.

Switzerland: The Communist Party got 5.1% in 1947, but only 2.3% in 1955.

England: The Communist Party got 0.3% of the votes in the 1950 election, but this was reduced to 0.1% in 1955.

WHERE IS THE ENTHUSIASM?—(Cont'd from page 1)

in the hall at any time. Those who spoke travelled widely off the subject, indulging in endless platitudes and commonplaces." *The Times of India* reported: "Members, except for a few, provided the picture of being quite disinterested in the proceedings. Throughout the morning session, members were busy either talking among themselves in the air-conditioned comfort of Sapru House or at the tea and soft drink bar." Other journals have also published similar reports. The Congress after all is part of the nation. If there is no enthusiasm in the country, how will it be evident in a Congress meeting?

Commenting on the A.I.C.C. meeting the *Times of India* wrote: "The debate in the A.I.C.C. has only shown, what its critics have held all along, that the Congress does not know its own mind". It said further: "The truth is that though the party leaders swear by the voluntary principle they look forward to administrative measures to achieve the miracle". The miracle is the acceptance by the peasants of joint cooperative farming and the administrative measures are the coercion and the terror that are to be practised by the police and other officers of the Government.

The leaders of the Congress should have the wisdom of accepting this fact of the situation. The panacea that they discovered is not acceptable to the Congress and much less to the people. One can always put on convenient spectacles and see out of them things not as they are but as one desires to see them. Politicians usually get into that habit, but that is of benefit neither to them nor to the country they desire to serve. If there is no enthusiasm it cannot be created by merely talking of it.

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

—Tennyson.

It is not possible to have peaceful co-existence by yourself alone.

—Acharya Kripalani, *Hindu*, May 10.

Tibet has knocked the idealism out of our relations with China... The Panch Sheel has now been revealed to be no more than a string of high-sounding platitudes formal adherence to which signifies nothing.

—B.G. Verghese, *Times of India*, April 29.

Principles do not bleed when they are shot in the back; Tibetans do. Indo-Chinese relations are determined by more than mere words—even irresponsible words in Western newspapers—and if words come to mean more to the Indian Government than the sufferings and liberties of human beings, then the mentality of cold war will have won another big victory.

—*Manchester Guardian*, May 16.

How is it that after thundering against landlordism in India, after passing the Nagpur resolution on land ceilings, Shri Nehru thinks that Tibet can do with land monopoly in the hands of the monasteries and nobles?

—B. T. Randive, *Monthly New Age*, May 1959.

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The Chinese communists have been ill served by their Indian comrades during the Tibetan crisis.

—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, May 10

Communist China does not care for as and does not care for the opinion of Asia.

—Acharya Kripalani, *Hindustan Times*, May 9.

Why hasn't Mr. Krishna Menon said a word about the events in Tibet?

Why should he? He isn't our Foreign Minister!

I see. That's why he recently spoke on Cyprus at Sapru House and on the Bandung Conference Day at the Indonesian Embassy?

—"Heard In Town", *Thought*, May 16.

To say that the Indian Government in the past and at present has not interfered in China's Tibet in any way does not sound convincing.

—*People's Daily*, Peking, May 6

There is another difficulty in my or our dealing with these matters, and that is, that the words we use have a different meaning for other people. For instance, we talk of the autonomy of Tibet. So do the Chinese. But a doubt creeps into my mind as to whether the meaning I attach to it is the same as they attach to it. I do not think so. There are so many other words.

—Prime Minister Nehru, replying to the Debate on the Situation in Tibet in the Lok Sabha. May 8.

What they (certain Indian politicians) call "autonomy" for Tibet is different from national regional autonomy as laid down in clear terms in the Constitution of China; rather it is a kind of semi-independent status.

—*People's Daily*, Peking, May 6.

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