

What Next?

by V. B. Karnik

THERE will be widespread regret but no surprise over the failure of the talks between the two Prime Ministers. Even before the talks started everybody knew that there was hardly any prospect of their yielding any fruitful result. India could not adopt any other position than that of asking the Chinese communist Government to vacate the aggression; the Chinese representatives on the other hand were not prepared to admit that they had committed any aggression. That left no common ground between the two, and the result was bound to be a deadlock. As apprehended, a deadlock has been reached and the effort that India made to settle the border issue through peaceful negotiations has ended in a failure.

It is clear from the public statements that the Prime Minister of China made that he came to India hoping to be able to persuade the Indian leaders to accept the "present actualities", that is, to acquiesce in and condone the aggression committed by his country and to allow it to retain the Indian territory that it had forcibly occupied. It was his case that the territory was all along a part and parcel of the Chinese province of Sinkiang and that China had committed no aggression in exercising her dominion over it. He wanted the Indian Government to accept that position; and if that were done, he was prepared to accept some compromise with regard to the central and the eastern sectors of the border. He did not, however, fail to add that the "so-called MacMahon Line was absolutely unacceptable to China". That the Chinese Prime Minister should have entertained this belief and come all the way to New Delhi to present it as a serious proposition shows that he is woefully misinformed about the intentions of the Government of India and about the public opinion in the country. He does not appear to have fully grasped the intensity of the people's anger and resentment against the aggression committed by his country and of their determination to regain the lost territory. It is to be hoped that the talks in New Delhi have now given him a clearer picture of the mind of the Indian people and their Government.

There was a deliberate attempt on the part of the Prime Minister of China to play down the border dispute. He talked of the eternal friendship between the peoples of India and China and characterised the border dispute as "an issue of limited and temporary

nature." Quoting a Chinese proverb, he said that it concerned only "one finger out of ten". He had the hardihood of saying that it was a "question left to our two countries by colonialism", conveniently shutting his eyes to the fact that it was the aggressive action of his regime that had created the problem. Mr. Chou-En-lai did not, however, succeed in his attempt to minimise the gravity of the differences or to find a scapegoat in Western Powers. None of the Indian leaders was taken in by this clever talk. This is, indeed, a matter for gratification. But in view of this experience, one may wonder if Indian leaders will not be better advised to talk to the Chinese leaders in a blunt and forthright manner. The time has now come to call a spade a spade and to tell the Chinese leaders that we regard them as aggressors and are determined to secure the vacation of their aggression. Gentle words and indirect hints do not, it appears, give them a clear understanding of the reality of the situation. They must be made to see the reality which is that they have by their aggression begun a war against India. It may be at the moment a small-scale war and may have taken place in a far-off corner of the country, but it is none-the-less a war. The soporific talks about eternal and age-old friendship cannot make India forget this grim and tragic "present actuality". It is necessary to bring home this fact to the Chinese leaders in a clear and unambiguous manner.

It is difficult to understand why the talks between the two Prime Ministers dragged on for six days. It was clear on the first day, if not even before the talks started, that there was no common ground between the two. Would it not have been more effective to call off the talks as soon as it was discovered that the Chinese Prime Minister had nothing to offer and the only object he had in view was to secure the acceptance of "the present actuality" based upon his country's aggression? Was it necessary to keep on talking and to keep the country in suspense for six long days? Interminable and wearying talks is the technique that the Chinese communist rulers follow in all international conferences. Was it necessary to allow them to use that technique against us? Another circumstance which developed during the talks is equally objectionable. The Chinese Prime Minister and other representatives were allowed to hold talks with whomsoever they liked. The Government of India had designated a delegation consisting of the Prime Minister and Sardar Swaran Singh for holding the talks. The Chinese Prime Minister practically set at naught this decision of the Government of India by holding separate talks with the Defence

Minister and others. Was it necessary to give him that permission and opportunity? What did he hope to gain by those separate talks? Did he expect to discover differences of opinion? The expectation was ludicrous, but the fact that it was seriously entertained by the Chinese Prime Minister should be a matter of serious concern to the Government of India.

The talks have not brought any relief to India. The meetings of officials of the two countries proposed to be held, according to the joint communique issued at the end of the talks, for examining, checking and studying "all historical documents, records, accounts, maps and other materials" will not serve any useful purpose. If documents, records and maps were to decide the issue, it should have been decided a long time back in favour of India. It is obvious that the Chinese communist Government does not possess any of those materials. It is equally clear that they do not place any value on them. India may have plenty of those materials, but as long as she is not able to give a clear demonstration of her will to regain the possession of the territory that belongs to her, she will not be able to make any impression on China. The two Prime Ministers may meet again, and possibly again and again, but the meetings will always end in a deadlock. The deadlock is of disadvantage to India, but not to China. It allows her to continue in undisturbed possession of the territory that she has grabbed. The failure of the talks and the consequent deadlock need not therefore worry her. Every failure is in a sense a success for China, and her rulers will not be unhappy if they are able to score such a success from time to time. For India, however, it is a different matter. The failure and the deadlock is a prolongation of the indignity and agony of the foreign occupation of her soil.

The failure of the talks raises the big question: what next? It is a question which the Government and the country must face squarely and unequivocally. In international law India will be fully within her rights to expel, even by use of force, the aggressors from her territory. Whether and when to take recourse to that action is a matter which the Government alone can decide. The country is no doubt committed to the policy of securing settlement of international disputes through peaceful talks and negotiations. Nobody will suggest that the Government should abandon that policy. But it cannot, at the same time, be made an excuse for tolerating or conniving at aggression for an indefinite period. Sooner or later the people are bound to insist on the adoption of military measures if peaceful talks and negotiations are not able to serve the purpose. That stage, one may say, has not been yet reached. But short of military measures, there are many other steps which the Government can take for the assertion and vindication of the country's rights. It is high time that the Government now decide to take those steps one after the other. In the first place there should be an end to the unreal talk about the age-old friendship and good relations. It should be clearly asserted that there will be no

friendship and no good relations unless the wrong that has been done is righted. As the next step public opinion in the country and all over the world can be mobilised against this action of communist China, which in point of fact is a stab in the back of a friend. A country which is guilty of such action has no right to a place in the comity of civilised nations. Following from this it will be necessary for the Government of India to revise their policies in relation to that country. India has all along backed China in all international gatherings and organisations. The time has come to consider if she is any longer entitled to that support. In a fit of blind admiration for the new communist regime, India gave away in 1950 the independence of Tibet and the protection that she enjoyed through the existence of that country as a buffer State between herself and China. It will be necessary to revise that policy and to assure the brave people of Tibet the independence and integrity to which they are entitled. If all these steps do not produce the desired result, it will be necessary to take the final step of the severance of diplomatic relations. Gandhiji has taught the country how to non-cooperate with an evil-doer. Severance of diplomatic relations with China will be a form of that non-cooperation. It is along these lines that the thinking of the Government and the country must proceed now if an effective answer is to be provided to the crucial question: what next?

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Notes

Defence Scandals

THERE is something seriously wrong with the Defence Ministry and the entire structure will have to be overhauled—right from the top—if it is to be prevented from giving rise to any more scandals with regard to its deals or expenditure. The Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon, cannot be absolved of his personal responsibility for what has happened, and it is indeed shocking that the Prime Minister must still shield him in the face of glaring facts. Undoubtedly, the Prime Minister has placed personal loyalties above the interests of the country. In no democratic country would such behaviour on the part of the Prime Minister be considered normal.

The settlement out of court of the claim and counter-claim in what has come to be known as the "jeep scandal", is an attempt on the part of the Defence Department to hush up a shady deal of a serious nature. As it is well known, the country has suffered a heavy loss as a result of the deal. The indecent haste with which the Government of India brought about the settlement can be explained only in terms of the Government's anxiety to avoid further probe into the deal and the countrywide publicity the probe would lead to. Yet, it cannot be denied that public opinion is shocked at Government's inability to bring to book all those—including the Defence Minister—who had been responsible for such a deal. The enormity of Governments' connivance will be clear from the fact that the reports of the Auditor-General and of the Public Accounts Committee have repeatedly drawn the attention of the Government to these irregularities.

The recent Audit Report also brings to light further misappropriations in the Defence Department's expenditures, which have also resulted in the loss of crores of rupees to the nation. The Audit Report indicates that the nation's money is being squandered away by mismanagement, negligence and inefficiency of the Defence Department. The public has been shocked to learn that 8,500 vehicles valued at Rs. 5 crores and stores valued to the tune of Rs. 57 lakhs were allowed to deteriorate for want of cover from sun and rain. Negligence of such magnitude is indeed criminal on the part of any one however great or high placed one may be, especially when the resulting waste has to be borne by the national exchequer. The Defence Minister's plea that the Auditor-General in respect of this particular report did not follow the usual convention of giving six weeks' notice to the Department concerned and obtaining its views prior to placing it before Parliament, is not convincing. It appears that the Defence Minister was trying to get away on flimsy grounds. The Defence

Minister has not yet offered a rational explanation for the criminal waste. Further, reliable reports indicate that six weeks' notice was actually given to his Department, but the Defence authorities did not care to reply.

By coming to the rescue of Mr. Krishna Menon again and again, the Prime Minister has been unfair to the nation. The least that Mr. Nehru can do to retrieve the wrong done to the nation and to put the Defence Ministry in order is to transfer the Defence portfolio to more competent hands. Thereby Mr. Nehru will be spared the unpleasant task of defending one who is indefensible.

Repression in Turkey

RECENT developments in Turkey indicate that the ruling Democratic Party is out to curb the free press and muzzle the opposition. The Menderes Government has already put severe curbs on the press and thrown several journalists, including the editors of some leading papers, into jail for having dared to criticise the authorities. The Government's past record in dealing with newspaper criticisms shows clearly enough its intolerance of even the slightest opposition to its policies. Publishers and editors who printed articles, or even headlines, "undermining the government prestige" have been charged with publishing libels, or insults, sentenced to imprisonment or fines and have had their papers closed down. International Press Institute recently protested against the imprisonment of Turkish newspapermen; but the Menderes Government, instead of heeding the advice, hastily secured a court order preventing the Turkish press from publishing the text of the statement. Not satisfied with these restrictions already placed on the press, the Menderes Government, it is reported, is preparing a draft bill which includes the establishment of a "press police" which would have power to close down any paper for fifteen days and to bar any journalist from continuing in profession.

Besides, it looks as if the Government is determined to go a step further and make it impossible for the opposition Republican party to function. It has already established a Parliamentary Investigation Commission composed entirely of the ruling Democratic Party. The purpose of the Commission is to investigate "destructive, illegitimate and illegal activities" of the opposition Republican Party. It has also banned all party political activity for three months. It is worth noting that the Republican Party, led by Mr. Ismet Inou, who was President of Turkey for many years after Kemal Ataturk's death, also supports Turkey's membership of Nato and the generally pro-Western policy of the Government. But the Government has accused it of trying to establish a secret organisation "similar to all organisations of the communists". If the Government really thinks that the opposition party is guilty of these crimes, it should have dealt with it through a court of law rather than resort to such repressive measures.

Dr. Rhee's Resignation

THE resignation of Dr. Singman Rhee of the Presidentship of South Korean Republic marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of that country. It is a sad commentary on his leadership that Dr. Rhee, one time popular hero and the President of the Republic since its birth, should have, in a decade, antagonised such a large majority of the people and provoked such a nationwide revolt against his regime. Dr. Rhee was the leader of the Korean revolt of 1919 against Japanese rule and had to his credit a brave record in the fight for Korean independence from Japanese rule. His regime enjoyed genuine popular support during and immediately after the Korean war and he symbolised the firm will of the Korean people to resist communist imperialism. But he aroused increasing opposition of the people during the last four years by his ruthlessness and dictatorial tendencies. The suspicion increasingly gained ground that he was out to establish and perpetuate one-party rule and the growing wholesale corruption in the administration only served to confirm the popular suspicion and alienate an increasing number of people from his regime. The outright manipulation of electoral returns in the March 15 elections this year was the last straw which sparked the popular uprising against his government. The riots which broke out simultaneously in Seoul and other cities were in protest against "dictatorial government" and against the brutalities and unfair practices that marked the elections. When his repressive policies failed to curb the popular discontent, Dr. Rhee bowed to the popular will and announced his resignation. His decision to retire was also prompted by the attitude of the U.S. Government which was clearly in sympathy with the

popular grievances. It is to be hoped that with the end of this sorry chapter, the Korean Republic will progress smoothly towards the democratic goal.

Maharashtra and Gujarat

WE welcome the emergence of Maharashtra and Gujarat as the two new States of the Indian Union. After the acceptance of the principle of linguistic reorganisation of States and its application to other parts of the country there was no reason why an exception should have been made in the case of Maharashtra and Gujarat. The demand of the two linguistic groups has now been accepted, after a lot of controversy, under the impact of powerful popular movements. The results of the 1957 election, more particularly in Maharashtra, had left no room for doubt that the people as a whole in both parts of the bilingual Bombay State desired the formation of the separate States of Maharashtra and Gujarat. The Government of India and the Indian National Congress ought to have accepted that verdict of the people. The able and efficient administration that the Chief Minister, Mr. Yashwantrao Chavan provided to the bilingual State did not assuage the feelings of the people and in the end their demand for bifurcation had to be conceded. The two new States of Maharashtra and Gujarat are coming into existence on the first of May. It is gratifying to note that all issues relating to bifurcation were settled between the two States by a near-unanimous agreement. That augurs well for both the States. We wish the two new States all success. We further hope that the remaining problem of the border areas between the States of Maharashtra and Mysore will be soon settled on the basis of some principles and after taking into consideration the wishes of the local population.

Oppression And Tyranny In Tibet

(The following is the text of the message sent by His Holiness the Dalai Lama to the Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet which was held in New Delhi last month.)

IN the name of my people whose sufferings are beyond measure and whose struggle for survival is becoming increasingly grim and severe, I offer you, gentlemen, our most cordial greetings. You represent the rising nations of the world. On your countries which have recently won freedom and independence depends the peace and progress of mankind. You represent the conscience of a newly awakened Asia and a nascent Africa. Naturally, we Tibetans, in this hour of our direst need and trouble depend on your help and assistance, and the very fact that you have gathered together here at personal inconvenience to lend the weight of your countries' name and support to the cause of Tibetan freedom has aroused feelings of deepest gratitude in every Tibetan heart.

Most of you, gentlemen, have had experience in the past of what it means to live under foreign rule. It

is for this reason that your countries have always endeavoured to champion the cause of others who are less fortunate than yourselves. It is for this reason that I and my people seek your active support and sympathy. My people are now living in a nightmare of oppression and tyranny, for the newest form of colonialism is something hitherto unprecedented by reason of extreme degree of regimentation which exercises complete control over the life and liberty of the people and enforces it by cruel and barbarous method.

Not only this, a massive colonization of Tibet by the Chinese is in progress. I cannot express it better than repeating what I said in my statement to the press on June 20th, 1959. I said: "The ultimate Chinese aim with regard to Tibet, as far as I can

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Crisis In South Africa

by S. Sharangpani

THE developments in South Africa during the last month and a half, though shocking, were not altogether unexpected. The logic of policies pursued by the South African Government in the last twelve years had long made the tragedy inevitable. The fierce waves of black nationalism that have been sweeping through the whole African continent were already beating at the barriers of white racialism erected by the Union Government; they were bound to storm this bastion of white supremacy sooner or later. For, South Africa was not only an anachronism in this age of racial equality and multi-racial partnership, it was a constant challenge and grave provocation to the resurgent forces that were trying to build a new world in whole Africa. The new forces were determined to end the age of white supremacy in the continent, they were in no mood to co-exist with the white racists in the South. In South Africa itself, it was palpably absurd to expect the Africans, smouldering in sullen anger, to accept indefinitely the white domination without any resistance whatsoever, especially when momentous changes were taking place in the rest of the continent. Thus both the sides were inexorably heading towards the final showdown which came about none too soon. The latest crisis that opened with the first shot at Sharpsville on March 21, seems temporarily to have ended with the shots fired at Mr. Verwoerd, South African Prime Minister, on April 9. But it is obvious that the tension that gave rise to the crisis still exists and in a much more intense form. As a result, though the crisis has been ended, South Africa today is much nearer the racial war than it was any time in the past.

Essentially, the problem of South Africa is how to establish harmonious relationships based on equality and justice between different races, which are at different stages of development. In this sense, South Africa symbolises the problem of whole Africa at its worst. There are 13.9 million people in the Union of South Africa, of which 9.3 millions are Africans, 2.9 millions are Europeans, 1.3 millions are coloured, and about 4 lakh Asians. Thus the proportion of whites to Africans is 1:3. But in the present political set-up, it is the white minority which dominates over the majority which is denied all power and privileges of a civilised community. And this denial is based on no other ground than that of white supremacy over the black. This fanatic racial doctrine of white supremacy, to which the majority of the whites are wedded, has gone to the extent of considering even the inter-racial mixing in any sphere as the worst evil. The whites have elevated their policy of racial segregation into a sacred way of life and given it the name of apartheid. For the last twelve years, the Union Government has gone full steam ahead to their goal which is nothing less than reserving all opportunities

for civilised living to the minority of whites and herding the Africans and other races into selected areas on the fringes of townships and cities. About 4 million Africans live in the reserves and most of them are women, children and other people. The young and able-bodied Africans, numbering about 2 millions, live in urban slum areas finding employment in mines, industries or in the houses of Europeans. Another 2 million Africans live on European farms. The land allocated to the Africans in the reserves is not enough to sustain the large population. The Africans have only 13 per cent of land, though they constitute 68.8 per cent of the population. In the urban areas, the African labour gets very low wages. A very high proportion of the urban Africans are below the subsistence level. They are denied trade unions, and their strikes are illegal. Besides, the system of job reservation which is in force imposes all the burden of any unemployment on the Africans only. They have no say in the government of the country. Thus the Africans have been victimised in every sphere of life because of the colour of their skin. They are treated as sub-humans, to be herded from place to place or to be confined for life-time to particular areas in the country.

Though racial discrimination was in force for more than a century in the past, it came to be enforced in a ruthlessly systematic manner since the Nationalist Party, composed of Afrikaners, came to power in 1948. The Nationalists, who by their religious doctrine and general attitude were fanatically wedded to the belief in the supremacy of white civilisation, set out since their advent to power to enact a series of racial laws to enforce their policy of racial separation in social, political and economic spheres. They passed a number of laws in the social sphere like the Mixed Marriages Act, which prevents marriages between Europeans and non-Europeans; the Immorality Act, which makes any sexual relations between them illegal, the Group Areas Act, which segregates the different racial groups in separate areas for ownership, occupancy and trade; and the Separate Amenities Act which provides for amenities on the basis of race. In the economic sphere, the Nationalist Government passed the Industrial Conciliation Act giving the Minister of Labour powers to determine what occupation each racial group may engage in and the Native Labour Act, which provides machinery for the settlement of disputes, thus denying the Africans the right to have trade unions. Similar laws have been passed in the educational and political fields which try to perpetuate the backwardness of the Africans in the country.

Thus the object of all these and similar other laws has been "to keep the Kaffirs permanently in their place" and to deprive them totally of opportunities for development and progress. The Africans, because of

these policies, are handicapped and frustrated at every stage in their life, they see no hope for salvation unless they rise in revolt against the white supremacists in power. They naturally tried to resist these attempts at their permanent enslavement, but the African opposition so far was confined to non-violent and passive resistance. But after the Sharpville massacre, it is obvious, the African resistance is bound to take more and more violent turns.

The immediate provocation for the recent disturbances was the hated Pass Laws. Though the Pass Laws have been in force, in one form or the other, for about two centuries in South Africa, for the Africans they now symbolise at every moment in their lives the utter inequity of the white domination. In terms of these laws, every African over sixteen has to possess pass even for moving from one street to another. He must produce his pass on demand at any time or be thrown into jail. The police raid incessantly for passes—at all hours of the day and night. Any African without an up-to-date pass is immediately hauled into the waiting pick-up van and spirited away. Because of the harsh impact of the pass system on their every day life, the Pass Laws have come to be most hated by Africans in the Union. The pass books have become the visible signs of the tyrannical network of control and harassment by the whites. Every year, for example, one out of every seven African men is convicted of an offence against the Pass Laws. This explains why this system has become a focal point of African resentment and why the call for protest against the Laws brought the mass response last March.

As a result of these disturbances the South African Government has assumed emergency powers, banned the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress and arrested African as well as some of the

liberal and progressive European leaders. This has temporarily suppressed the present unrest but the attitude of the whites leaves no hope for peaceful settlement of the crisis. Inside the country there is no effective challenger to the unyielding African Nationalist Government which now seems to have been hardened in its attitude towards the Africans. The white and black advocates of a multi-racial solution are now either in prison or reduced to political impotence. The opposition United Party, composed of English speaking South-African whites, is also supporting the Government in all its basic policies. Thus practically the whole of the white population is committed to maintaining white political supremacy which rules out any chance of an acceptable compromise with even the most moderate African leaders.

On the other hand, the adamant attitude of the Government, even in the face of the civil war, is driving the Africans more and more into the embrace of militant black nationalists. The Africans have long passed the stage where they would accept any proposals that did not offer them adequate representation in Parliament. And there is not slightest chance of any white Government conceding such rights in the foreseeable future. This dilemma is making any solution of the crisis impossible. It is also strengthening the counter-forces of black racism represented by the Pan-African Congress. The African National Congress, which is committed to the policy of inter-racial co-operation, is finding it increasingly difficult to retain its hold over the African masses who are now turning to Pan-African racists for the solution. If this drift continues, we might see soon in South Africa black and white racisms poised against and vowed to exterminate each other.

TYRANNY IN TIBET—(Continued from Page 4)

make out, seems to attempt the extermination of religion and culture and even the absorption of the Tibetan race. Five million Chinese settlers have arrived in Eastern and North-Eastern Tibet, in addition to which, four million Chinese settlers are planned to be sent to U and Tshang provinces of Central Tibet. Many Tibetans have been deported. "I have reliable information that apart from the 'reforms' which are being carried out in Tibet, this process of colonization is going on apace. If this is not halted there may be no Tibet".

We Tibetans have no quarrel of any kind with the great Chinese people. We have always endeavoured to live in peace and amity with them. Even after the territorial integrity of Tibet was violated by the Chinese armies, I had always sought for peaceful and amicable settlement. Even after my arrival here in India, I have repeatedly appealed for just and peaceful solution of the Tibetan question. All that we ask is that we should be allowed to live on equal terms with our neighbours, as in the past while following our own traditional mode of life, being left to solve in our own way such fresh problems as changing

times have brought. You, who belong to nations that have successfully claimed these rights, are in a good position to know that our demands are just and deserving of support. I would, therefore, ask you to do all that you can to enlighten public opinion in your countries. I would beg of you to impress on your governments and peoples the urgent necessity of coming to the rescue of my poor and unfortunate people. I would beg of you to lend your fullest support when the Tibetan question is raised again in the international forum; and I have no doubt that the voice of Afro-Asian countries, growing stronger and more powerful every day, will compel the attention of the entire world.

Though, in a question like this, the broad human issues, as I am sure you will agree, must take precedence over legal and political arguments, we nevertheless feel that there is considerable misunderstanding amongst people regarding the historical status of Tibet. We also feel that the hesitation shown by some of the Afro-Asian States, despite their evident sympathy, is probably attributable to the lack of

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Afro-Asian Convention On Tibet

by G. L. Jain

EIGHTY-NINE delegates from 18 Asian and African countries, including 41 from India, met in New Delhi from April 9 to 11 primarily to raise their voices against the subjugation of Tibet, the destruction of her social and economic institutions and the massive colonisation of the country by Han Chinese with the calculated purpose of changing the ethnic character of the population. They also drew attention to the problem of colonialism and racialism, particularly in Africa, and demanded that the peoples of Tibet and other colonies in the two ancient continents must have the right of self-determination.

It is too early to say whether the Afro-Asian Convention on Tibet and Against Colonialism will prove to be a landmark or merely a passing event. Much depends on whether the Convention turns out to be the beginning of a movement or the culmination of an effort that was undertaken somewhat haphazardly in March, 1959, when thousands of Tibetans died fighting for freedom in and around Lhasa and the Dalai Lama took asylum in India, to be followed by over 13,000 other Tibetans.

It is a hopeful sign that the delegates decided to constitute themselves into a permanent body to be known as the Afro-Asian Council. Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan, whose moral authority in India is second only to that of Prime Minister Nehru, was elected its first President and Chairman of the Council's Executive Committee, comprising two members from each of the participating countries. The permanent Bureau of the Council will be located in New Delhi. The establishment of these bodies is a guarantee that at least an effort will be made to keep the issues of Tibet and colonialism in the foreground.

It is common knowledge that the developments in Tibet leading to the flight of the Dalai Lama took most Indians by surprise. The Government of India also was at one with the people in its sympathy with the Tibetans and was naturally aggrieved by Peking's virulent anti-Indian campaign. But having accepted China's claim of sovereignty over Tibet under the Sino-Indian Agreement of April 28, 1954, it found itself helpless in espousing the cause of Tibetan freedom. Leaders of public opinion, Mr. Jayaprakash Narayan foremost among them, felt that the time had come when it was obligatory for India to revise her policy in respect of China generally and on the issue of Tibet in particular. These leaders were convinced that not even the Chinese claim of suzerainty over Tibet was justified. In any case this claim was dependent on China respecting Tibet's autonomy. Since the Chinese communists had flagrantly violated Tibet's autonomy and the assurances written into the Sino-Tibet Agreement of 1951, neither the claim of suzerainty nor the Agreement had any validity.

It was to mobilise public opinion on this issue that the All-India Tibet Convention was organised in Calcutta on May 30 and 31, 1959, with Jayaprakash Narayan presiding. This convention decided that an Afro-Asian conference should be held. In the course of the subsequent efforts to mobilise support for the cause of Tibet, Mr. Narayan found it necessary to agree to the extension of the scope of the proposed conference. The organisers of the Convention cannot escape the logic of their action. The logic is that they have, even though unwillingly, entered into competition with communist front organisations for the hearts and minds of the people of Asia and Africa.

In a sense, the unity of Africa and Asia is a myth. The conflicts, for instance, between the U.A.R. and Iraq and between India and Pakistan, are real. So is the clash of interests between India and China, and China and Indonesia. Not all states in the two continents follow the policy of non-alignment in the world-wide struggle between communism and democracy. But in spite of these and other issues, the slogan of Afro-Asian unity has a power and dynamism of its own. So far on the popular level, the communists alone have paid attention to this fact and sought to harness it into the service of their faith.

The communists have at no point been original. The concept of an Afro-Asian conference was conceived by the Prime Ministers of the Colombo powers, including Ceylon, India, Burma, Pakistan and Indonesia. The first Afro-Asian Conference was held, as is well known, at Bandung (Indonesia) in April, 1955. The communists were not slow to see the immense potentialities this concept opened up for them. To begin with they organised the Afro-Asian Students Conference in May-June, 1956, also at Bandung.

This was followed by the Asian Writers Conference in New Delhi in December, 1956. Taking advantage of this platform, the Asian Solidarity Committee met in New Delhi on December 29, 1956, and decided to sponsor an Afro-Asian People's Conference in Cairo. This conference took place towards the end of December, 1957. It set up a permanent organisation, the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Council, with headquarters in Cairo. This replaced the Asian Solidarity Committee in New Delhi.

As a part of the same effort, an Afro-Asian Writers Conference was held in Tashkent in October, 1958. In December of the same year the Afro-Asian Economic Conference was held in Cairo. The second Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Conference opened at Conakry in newly independent Guinea in Africa on April 11, 1960, the day the Convention in New Delhi concluded its deliberations. This juxtaposition of dates brought out in a forceful manner the fact that the organisers of the Convention in New Delhi had

entered into competition with the communists for the "soul of Asia and Africa".

The limitations under which Mr. Narayan and his associates functioned and will continue to function are obvious enough. Their rivals are supported by mighty powers like Russia and China whose interests they serve, and the local communist parties whose activities are carefully co-ordinated in Moscow and Peking. The communist front organisation has no dearth of financial and political support. Mr. Narayan and his associates do not enjoy any financial support.

In spite of the limitations, the organisers did quite well. Delegates came from Ceylon, Indonesia, Japan, Hong Kong, Malaya, Nepal, South Viet Nam, the Congo, the Philippines, Pakistan, Turkey, Lebanon, Kenya, the United Arab Republic, Jordan and Burma. Tibet and Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang) were represented by refugees from those countries. Some of the participants were writers, scholars and journalists, lawyers and men who have held diplomatic and ministerial offices in their countries.

Important organisations like the All-Ceylon Buddhist Monk Union, the Nahadat-ul-Ulama and Masjumi Parties (Indonesia), the All-Japan Buddhist Association, the Cultural Workers Association of Hong Kong, the ruling Alliance Party of Malaya, the Vietnam Socialist Party and the Farmers Association of the

Philippines were represented at the Convention. Leaders of the Praja Socialist Party, Jana Sangh and the newly formed Swatantra Party lent active support to the organisers in India. The message of the Dalai Lama and the speeches of the President, Mr. Narayan, and leaders of delegations at the inaugural session, the tenor of discussion at the plenary session and the resolutions left no room for doubt that it was primarily the new form of communist colonialism that occupied their minds.

The Dalai Lama declared: "My people are now living in a nightmare of oppression and tyranny, for the newest form of colonialism is something hitherto unprecedented by reason of the extreme degree of regimentation which exercises complete control over the life and liberty of the people and enforces it by cruel and barbarous methods."

And Mr. Narayan, summing up, said: "History will soon prove that communism instead of being the final flowering of human civilization, was a temporary aberration of the human mind, a brief nightmare to be soon forgotten. Communism, as it grew up in Russia and is growing up in China now, represents the darkness of the soul and imprisonment of the mind, colossal violence and injustice. Whoever thinks of the future of the human race in these terms is condemning man to eternal perdition."

TYRANNY IN TIBET - (Continued from Page 6)

understanding and necessary knowledge. Therefore, I deem it necessary to emphasize that whatever might have been our relation with China in the ancient past, we have enjoyed full and complete sovereignty since the declaration of Independence made by the Thirteenth Dalai Lama. It has given me and my people a great deal of hope and encouragement to find that the Government of India have endorsed the position, which we have always taken, in their Note to Government of China of the 12th of February, 1960. They have clearly pointed out that in 1914 "was not the first time that Tibet conducted negotiations and concluded treaties, in her own right, with foreign states. On several occasions before 1914, Tibet had conducted negotiations and concluded treaties with other states". They have further made it clear that "at the Simla Conference, the Tibetan and Chinese plenipotentiaries met on an equal footing. This position was explicitly and unequivocally accepted by the Chinese Government". They have also drawn the attention of the Chinese Government to the fact that "the credentials of the Tibetan representative issued by the Dalai Lama made it clear that Tibet was an equal party at the Conference with the right to decide all matters that may be beneficial to Tibet, and the Chinese representatives accepted the credentials of the Tibetan representative as being in order. The credential of the British Indian representative which were also accepted by the Chinese representative, confirmed that all the three representatives were of equal status, and that the Conference was meeting to regulate the relations between the several Govern-

ments". These observations made by the Government of India should dispel any doubt that anyone may have entertained regarding the sovereign status of Tibet.

There are at present many nations in Asia and especially in Africa which are fighting like us against tyranny. To them goes our deepest sympathy. We, as their brothers in the struggle against oppression, are perhaps in the best position to know exactly how much they are suffering. We cannot isolate oppression. Whether it is in the heart of Asia or in the Tropics of Africa; whether it is political subjugation or social injustice as shown recently in South Africa, it is the same foe to all free men. I, on my part, will carry on my earnest prayers to the Divine Providence to bless us in our fight for our rightful destiny.

Before I conclude, I wish to take this opportunity to express our heartfelt gratitude for the refuge offered to us by the Government and people of India in our sad and tragic situation. The very existence of this Conference provides evidence, if such were needed, that here we are in a country that believes in freedom and free institutions and is prepared to act on its belief.

We invoke the blessings of Divine Providence upon this Conference and all its members. May their efforts to win justice for Tibet and its people be crowned with ultimate success. To work for this end, as you are doing, is also to work for peace. Justice and peace are indissolubly linked together; separately they cannot be pursued, for they are but the twin names for the self-same truth.

Decline Of Communism In Iraq

by Adam Adil

FROM recent reports it is clear that the influence of the communists in Iraq is on the decline. The communists are being increasingly isolated from the Iraqi public opinion, and the nationalists are stepping up their activities and almost emerging as a formidable factor on the political scene of Iraq. Much, however, depends on the attitude and political affiliation of General Abdel Karim Kassem, but the General does not seem to be particular for communist support to keep himself in power, although communists, on their own, demonstrate over-enthusiasm for the "Zaim". It has been also obvious for the past couple of months that General Kassem was encouraging the dissident group in the Communist Party led by Dawood Sayegh. A weak and divided communist party would serve the political interests of the ruling military junta better than a strong and united one. And General Kassem is sufficiently far-sighted to see that the communists, once convinced of their strength, would make a bid for political power even if it involved the betrayal of General himself and his colleagues in the army. He knows too that all communist protestations of loyalty to him constitute no more than lip service, meant primarily to serve a strategy in the communist scheme for supremacy.

Apart from the determination of General Kassem to keep the communist influence in check and not to allow it to grow beyond what it is today and even to curb it, the anti-communists in Baghdad and elsewhere are gathering strength at various levels of Iraqi public life. The change in the political climate of Iraq can be gauged from the series of recent murders and anti-Red riots in various parts of the country and also from the poor showing at the annual parade of the communist-sponsored peace partisans, held in the first week of April. While last year the parade attracted thousands of admirers and supporters, this year it could not muster even a couple of hundreds. This time, when the partisans marched down the Rashid street — a central thoroughfare in Baghdad — three and four abreast, they presented a comparatively sorry spectacle. The notorious Baghdad crowd which would "scream", "shout" and "yell" at the slightest instigation of the communists was now conspicuous by its absence.

The army and the police seem to have taken a special dislike for the communists. They are always alert to quell any communist disorders while they — particularly the police — prefer to stand aside and not interfere when the communists receive the beating. The army and the police are greatly strengthened in their attitude towards communists by General Kassem's coldness to the orthodox or the official section of the Iraqi Communist Party led by Zaki Khary and Abdul Kader Ismail and particularly by the dismissal of Mr. Ibrahim Kubba, the fellow travelling minister, from

the Iraqi cabinet. The police are also trying to put an effective check on the Red drive in the workers and the peasants' unions.

The riots against the communists are undoubtedly an open expression of the deep seated resentment among a large mass of moderate Iraqis at the excesses communists indulged in during March and April last year, when they enjoyed the hay-day of their popularity in the streets of Baghdad and elsewhere.

The riots do not present a pattern or organised direction behind them, hence they are spontaneous. Therefore communists have failed to pin the responsibility for the riots on any political party or group. The riots will not, however, lead to a major violent clash between the communists and the anti-communists — the communists themselves would prevent such a clash; but they would do incalculable harm to the prestige of the communists in the country and the Middle East.

The army leaders, inspite of their dislike for the communists, are anxious to bring the riots under control, especially in view of Iraq's quarrel with Iran on the question of Shatt-el-Arab estuary, over which the communists have supported the government. They want the communists to lose but would not like a civil war in the country. Yet they do not shield the communists when public resentment expresses itself against them.

General Kassem in a television broadcast has appealed to the people to stop the riots. Till he appeared on television four communists were killed and several injured in the riots. Obviously, to pacify the nationalists he stayed the executions of six men, who had attempted to assassinate him and were condemned to death.

The decline of the communist influence in Iraq has yielded some healthy results. The businessmen have regained their confidence in their employees and shop assistants. The teachers in schools and colleges are not now afraid of their pupils; and the army officers have begun to trust their ranks. The shop assistants, the students and the ranks of the army no longer look to the communists for leadership and hence behave more responsibly. Even the minorities — the Kurds and the Christians — who, during the early months of the revolution, had cast their lot with the communists in the hope that they would protect their rights from the rising tide of Arab nationalism, have realised the futility of siding with the communists. The minorities feel that their interests — political and economic — lay with those of the Arab majority and that they can survive only by an appropriate adjustments with the demand of the Arab aspirations.

Many political observers the world over had foreseen the clash between General Kassem and the Iraqi

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Planned Genocide In Hungary

by Dr. Miklos Tiszay

THE communist authorities in Hungary have published the frightening results of a recent census of the population.

The population of Hungary, on 1st January, 1960, numbered 9,977,870, of which the metropolitan area of Budapest accounts for 1,807,000.

Official statistics showed the country's population on 1st January, 1956, as 6,861,314.

The annual average of natural population increase over the past four years has dropped to 0.3 percent. By comparison, this figure represents only one quarter of the normal annual average.

Since the Revolution, escape to the free world, deportations, the execution of countless freedom fighters, and the licensed murder of 150,000 unborn children in their mothers' wombs, have decimated the Hungarian nation.

The legal basis for this methodical pruning of the nation's effectives had been laid down by Decree No. 1047/1956 (VI. 3.) of the Hungarian Council of Ministers. At first the Hungarian press was full of letters of protest written against the Decree by professors, physicians, and chiefly gynaecologists. Since then, the big national newspapers, as if obeying a strict order, have ceased to publish such protests. However, the national newspapers' conspiracy of silence is broken every now and then by several scientific periodicals; from their accounts emerges the tragic picture of the decimation of an entire people.

Under the authority of the Decree referred to above, 5,000 abortions are effected in Budapest each month, that is, three times as many as the number of children born alive. The statistics of 1959, when published, will no doubt dramatically confirm this catastrophic trend. For as early as 1957, in Budapest, 55,804 abortions took place as compared with 17,495 live-births. While, in 1955, the natural rate of increase of the population had still amounted to 5.1 per mille, by 1957, this had slumped to a mere 0.2 in a thousand.

Beginning in 1956, practically every Hungarian medical man of repute has raised his voice in protest against the inhuman Abortion Decree. Quite recently, Professor Janos Batizfalvy, M. D., the Director of the Gynaecological Clinic in Szeged, pointed out the grave consequences which the operational interruption of pregnancy might entail.

Over and above these and other similar critical utterances, two new voices have been raised against the methods of birth controls as practised in Hungary today. The owners of both these voices are holding high positions in the Medical Administration of the State: yet their conscience must have got the better of them compelling them to speak up, with all the scientific arguments at their command, against the harmfulness of the present practices of national decimation. In his book entitled "In the Defence of Womanhood", published last year, Dr. Hirschler manifested, never-

theless, his abhorrence as regards present-day practices. In the chapter on birth control, Dr. Hirschler severely criticizes these methods as practised in Hungary today and points out that as far as the Birth Control Decree is concerned "its enactment is largely to be attributed to the awareness that in socialist construction investments represent such great burden as will needs lower the otherwise attainable standards of living if there is an upsurge in the rate of the increase of population."

The inhumanity of this argument stands without parallel. Never before has a government attempted to secure higher living standards by decreeing as lawful the destruction of hundreds of thousands of embryos and the inducement of barrenness in women.

Nor is there need for such measures in Europe. According to United Nations statistics, Europe's annual increase in population amounts to 0.7 per cent while the other continents of the globe still reach an average of 1.6 per cent.

Not only are Europe's living standards standing up well, apparently, to the rate of population increase of 0.7%, they are visibly rising everywhere except in the countries behind the iron curtain.

Dr. Hirschler points out further that the number of the officially registered abortions in Hungary increased fourfold between 1950 and 1956.

1950: 35,973 — 1955: 78,000 — 1956: 121,163

"So great is the number of surgical abortions", Dr. Hirschler writes, "that it would seem people have no clear idea of the harmful and often very grave consequences of the interruption of pregnancy."

The book gives a considerable number of case histories which all converge in one thesis — surgical operations aimed at the interruption of pregnancy are gravely prejudicial to the patient's health. Dr. Hirschler then goes on obliquely vindicating the struggle waged by his colleagues in present-day Hungary:

"The majority of obstetricians and gynaecologists are against them (i.e. surgical abortions) ... Not because they do not understand that birth-control is indicated in the present social and economic circumstances, but because they are physicians who have chosen their profession in order to preserve human lives, not to destroy them. If, therefore, the advent of children is undesirable, their conception must be prevented so as to make surgical abortions unnecessary. In this respect everything must be done in view of the need to limit the number of births under present-day conditions..."

This is the most shocking chapter in Dr. Hirschler's book. Casually, almost clandestinely, he touches on the struggle the Hungarian medical profession is waging against the destructive Abortion Decree. These passages of the book paint a tragic picture of

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Review

Tibet Fights For Freedom, A White Book

Edited by Raja Hutheesing, Orient Longmans, Pages 241,
Price Rs. 15.

IN theory the U.S.S.R. recognises the autonomy of the constituent republics which make up the Union. This involves the right even of secession. In practice, the predominant Russian race, through power of a major populace, control of party and bureaucracy, imposes its language, culture and administrative authority over the rest of the units. In China, there is no recognition of federating units with their autonomous existence. The Chinese have chosen to regard their commune as a civilisation, not a nation, something like what might have been a vast unit of European or Western civilisation, such as obtained in the crisis of the Crusades. In such a concept, the treaty of 1951 which purported to recognise Tibetan autonomy had no real meaning or purpose.

The Chinese race has five branches; the Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Hui and Tibetan, each entitled to equality, as adumbrated by Dr. San Yat-Sen. Like the Russian race in U.S.S.R., the Han race claims the dominant position by virtue of number and personnel in the Communist Party. But the minorities are not spread over a relatively small area in China; although the minorities total only 6% of the population, geographically they are spread over 60% of the country. These widely spread races make the task of Han domination difficult in practice; hence the severe methods adopted by the Central Government in subjugating the other races by violence, by imposing Han cadres of service, even by wholesale import of Han people in large numbers to colonise and subdue the vast minority areas. Thus the genocide of Tibet, the transplantation of a foreign race to change the very nature of the country in due course, the "reforms" which mean forcible seizure of other people's land, these are only the normal methods of racial conquest. These are methods before which the *apartheid* policy of African Whites pales into insignificance.

It is in this context that one has to view the fight for freedom which took place in Tibet in March 1959. *Tibet Fights for Freedom* gives an authentic account of that fight. It is compiled from newspaper reports and despatches and from statements made from time to time in the Indian Parliament. It also gives the reactions of the people to the events in Tibet. Being in the nature of a collection and statement of facts, the book does not omit to give even the Chinese version of the revolt. The materials collected and ably presented in the book are so comprehensive that it will not be necessary for any student to go beyond it for information about the revolt.

The articles on the land and the people of Tibet, their history and civilisation and on the international

significance of the national uprising written by distinguished scholars enhance the value of the book. There is also a foreword by the Dalai Lama.

The Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom deserves to be congratulated on its decision to compile and publish the book. The Editor, Mr. Raja Hutheesing, has done an excellent job in the matter of the selection and the presentation of the vast material.

RAMAN DESAI

GENOCIDE IN HUNGARY — (Continued from Page 10)

the bloody work done in the maternity wards and the enslavement of the doctors who "have chosen this profession in order to preserve human lives."

Not long ago, Professors Raics and Arvai gave account of their depressing experiences gained in the course of the work done in the sphere of surgical abortions at the Obstetrical and Gynaecological Clinic of Debrecen University. A thorough analysis of their case histories establishes shockingly the great frequency of impairment of health attributable to the surgical interruption of pregnancy. According to Professors Raics and Arvai, nearly half of the women subjected to surgical abortion have fallen ill subsequent to and consequent upon the operation. This is of the gravest significance, all the more so as the majority of these cases relate to the age groups between 25 and 34 years, that is, those most valuable from the viewpoint of population increase, and also because among the women having suffered enduring damage there are many who have never given birth to a live baby.

On the pages of the official periodical entitled "National Hygiene", Dr. Tibor Takátsy, a medical officer of County Vas, has published abortion data from his county which largely bear out the Debrecen obstetricians' finding.

The Report is significant from the sociographical viewpoint as well since it states that the incidence of abortions was highest among physical workers with intellectual and other workers taking second place. If that be so, what ought one to think of Mr. Endre Sik's assertion to the U.N. General Assembly's session on Hungary, last November, when he exclaimed "never before has the Hungarian nation enjoyed such high living standards." If that be true, why are female factory workers the most numerous among those flocking to the operating theatre? Is it the high standards of living or rather destitution which compel to subject themselves to such painful humiliation?

Dr. Takátsy's Report contains yet another shameful statement. For the sake of speeding up the campaign abortions "we were compelled", he writes, "to put to work *non-specialist*, elderly general practitioners as auxiliaries". This seems to have been the *decisive factor* in the frequent incidence of direct lesions. The State-organized massacre of embryos imposes an ever increasing burden on the hospitals' maternity sections. Healing is gradually rendered impossible, the entire staff and resources being solely geared to the carrying out of abortions.

—Condensed from *Hungarian Guardian*

With Many Voices

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

—Tennyson.

Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai is no more a popular slogan; the Indians are almost ashamed they ever uttered it.
—'Dim', *Current*, April 27.

To Mr. Chou En-lai's charge that India had a hand in the revolt in Tibet, Mr. Morarji Desai's unembellished reply was: "Nonsense!" And when the Chinese Prime Minister accused India of damaging Sino-Indian relations by giving asylum to the Dalai Lama, the Finance Minister reminded his guest that the communists should be the last to object to political asylum. Who gave asylum to Dr. K. I. Singh of Nepal? And where would communism be today, if Lenin had not received political asylum outside his own country?

—Prem Bhatia, *Times of India*, April 26.

Hereafter the Sino-Indian border is going to be not only alive but also inflammable. There is a danger of all Asia getting enveloped in a cold war, which will not only jeopardise any chances of a detente in the West, but will liquidate the bloc of uncommitted non-communist nations, at any rate in South Asia.

—D. R. Mankekar, *Indian Express*, April 27.

Rightly or wrongly, Mr. Menon has become a symbol of India's old "soft line" diplomacy towards China and any settlement to which he was party would be suspect to a large segment of Indian population.

—Max Lerner, *Indian Express*, April 22.

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Whenever Nikita Khrushchev wanders about the world, he trails, like a whiff of sulphur, the memory of Hungary. When Chou En-lai sets out on his travels, it is the corpse of free Tibet that he wears like an albatross.

—*New York Herald Tribune*, April 24.

Communists must make two preparations, one for the development of the revolution and other for the non-peaceful revolution, The result of a nuclear conflict will be a civilisation thousands of times higher than the capitalist system and with a truly beautiful future.

—*Red Flag*, organ of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, April 22.

A socialist is now somebody who is fighting bitter mock battles to change a society that is past.

—*The Economist*, London, April 16.

COMMUNISM IN IRAQ — (Continued from Page 9)

called the Arab family. But he cannot be completely communists. And the British Government while refusing to give up Iraq as irretrievably lost to communism, had decided to supply arms to the new government of Iraq. A year back, *London Observer* remarked "Iraq may still go communists, but there is still fair chance that General Kassem and the army may resist successfully".

If Kassem continues his present political line he is bound to build his position in the eyes of the Arab world and to find for Iraq a rightful place in what is called the Arab Family. But he cannot be completely oblivious of the danger the communists constitute: they would, if the circumstances are not favourable, go underground and resort to subversive activities and certainly they would have the secret moral and material support of Moscow. Underground, the communists would be able to do greater harm than overground. They would do everything in their power to bring the regime into disrepute. They would exploit every conceivable grievance of the people to undermine the political stability of the country. Already the communists have been saying that "things are almost as bad as they were under Nuri."

This calls for vigilance on the part of General Kassem and the nationalists in the country. They can keep the communists at bay only by one way: they must start, in right earnest, efforts to improve the economic conditions of the Iraqi masses. This will require them to compose their quarrel with the United Arab Republic on the one side and Iran on the other.