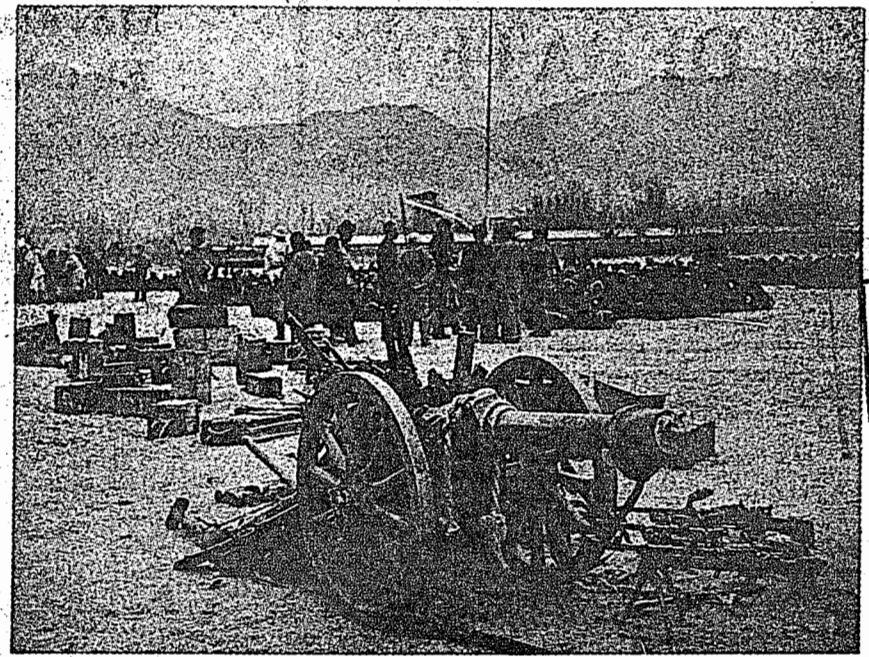


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Part of the arms surrendered by the captured rebels in Lhasa.

ANNA LOUISE STRONG

Writes From Peking On

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

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

think the Dalai Lama a helpless prisoner, still others may wonder if the Dalai himself is fence-sitting, keeping an alibi for a safe return. If so, Peking will play the game with him; for Peking has recognised as the administration in Tibet a Committee of which Dalai Lama is Chairman, and of which the Panchen Lama is only Acting

make Americans think realistically about Tibet and "living gods". The present Chinese Government seeks ends with minimum friction. Their take-over of Tibet in 1951 was very politely done. Washington did not appreciate it, for Washington was set to rush into the vacuum created when Chiang Kai-shek

Lhasa, and then waited until the Dalai Lama and Panchen Lama both went to Peking, to make a treaty. These two "Lamas" are two incarnations of Buddha, supposedly equal, "father and son" and always acting as one... Suppositions are not always realities, in politics or theology. The Dalai waited longer than the Panchen: he

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

The Reverend Shirob Jaitsov, seventy-six-year-old Chairman of the Chinese Buddhist Association, a Tibetan who studied theology in Lhasa thirty-two years and should know the ropes, is as explicit as Herter but on the other side. He has made a formal statement which "fully endorses" Peking's actions, "as a Tibetan and a Buddhist", and declares that "the reactionary clique of serf-owners, shamefully turned against the interests... of the Tibetan people... against Buddhism and against law." He adds, optimistically that the rebellion and its failure "opens a new page in the history of Tibet." Jaitsov, meantime, resides in Peking.

THE TIBET REBELLION

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

Chairman, pending the Dalai's "return". (Saying that he is the first Dalai Lama for generations who managed to live past the age of eighteen, the others having presumably been eased from the world by the palace guard of regents who thus kept rule in the names of successive Dalais, getting rid of each before they reached the age of actual power, Anna Louise Strong continues.) The present Dalai survived because he signed up with Peking before he reached maturity at eighteen years. This is only one detail that should

collapsed on one side of Tibet and British rule on the other. China's "sovereignty" in Tibet—meaning the right of protector and general overlord without local administration—had not been challenged for centuries except briefly by Britain's "special interests". Nonetheless, the People's Liberation Army stopped in Chamdo, a border area with a lot of Tibetans which had been mapped as China's proper decades earlier, scared a Tibetan border garrison into running away to report to

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

Playing Ball With Serfs

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

Americans will take side in accordance with past allegiances, and nothing they think or do is likely much to affect Tibet. The rebellion itself is ended in Lhasa, with authority restored to a Tibetan Preparatory Committee, of which the Vice-Chairman Panchen Lama is to act as Chairman until and unless the Dalai Lama returns. There are, however, some bits of unfinished business which may keep

Kuomintangite Antics

THERE is a news-sheet called the Chinese Journal of India, published from Calcutta. It is the mouth-piece of some Kuomintang Chinese who stay in Calcutta's China Town.

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

The editorial said, "If the Chinese Communists succeed in stabilising their domination in Tibet, it will mean a grave danger for India—nobody can deny this fact." If activities against the Communist Government in Tibet had not continued, the editorial observed, "India could not remain as peaceful as it is today."

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

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

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

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

daily

KAIRON IS GUILTY

★ FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

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

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

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

day the movement was called off, 500 satyagrahis had arrived in Chandigarh from the districts to offer satyagraha in the Capital, that hundreds of Satyagrahis did offer satyagraha on that day in Ferozepur, Bhatinda, Sangrur, etc. Not the signs of a movement fizzling out.

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

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

What does all this add up

When these are the facts, for Sardar Kairon to say that there were no assurances before the movement was withdrawn is sheer political dishonesty and when he says

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

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

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

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

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

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What They Said Then

● The Governor of Punjab, Sri N. V. Gadgil, delivering the Convocation Address of the DAV College in Amritsar on March 15, said, "If the Communists really wanted to discuss matters it could be done within a week's time" (Hindustan Times, March 16). He "appealed to the Communists for the immediate withdrawal of their agitation against the betterment levy. 'If you really want to discuss the issue, you must withdraw the agitation and create the necessary atmosphere'" (Tribune, March 16).

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

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

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

● The Times of India reported on March 18: "The Punjab Government is inclined to discuss details regarding the method and form of collection of the betterment levy. This renewed offer on behalf of the Government was made by the Irrigation Minister, Mr. Gyan Singh Rarewala, while replying to the debate on demands for the Irrigation Department in the Vidhan Sabha today."

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

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

For Sardar Kairon's information, just to show that this was not the understanding of the Communists alone, this is what the Times of India wrote editorially on March 24:

"That the agitation was ended only after informal 'talks' between the Government and the Kisan Sabha

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

Movement Was Still Strong

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

● Perhaps Sardar Kairon needs reminding that on the

OF VIOLATION OF ALL ASSURANCES

Martyrs Of The Anti-Betterment Levy Struggle



Five persons were killed, one of them a woman, when the police opened fire in Narur village during the anti-betterment levy movement. Those who have visited the village have all said that the firing was wanton and indiscriminate. Pictures here are of the five martyrs. LEFT: Sardar Lachman Singh. RIGHT: Smt. Santi. BELOW LEFT: Sardar Ram Singh. CENTRE: Havildar Basant Singh. RIGHT: Sardar Basant Singh.

