

# The Chou En-Lai Dulles Faces At Geneva Conference

By EDGAR SNOW

On April 26, at the Geneva conference on Korea and Indo-China, top Western diplomats will probably have their first hand-to-hand encounter with China's Chou En-lai. This interesting meeting should decide which of Chou's various sobriquets, ranging from "elastic bolshevik" to "Iron man", fits best. Officially, Chou's place in the Peking regime looks similar to that long held by Molotov, "the hammer", in Moscow. In actual fact Chou is a more powerful figure in his own party than Molotov has ever been inside the Russian hierarchy.

Second only to Mao Tse-tung in Communist China, Chou is more Mao's counterpoint than his counterpart. Premier and Foreign Minister, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic, he has sat in the party's Politburo more continuously than has Mao himself. In the five-man Secretariat, the party's inner elite, he is senior to everybody but the Boss. As an ex-commander and currently deputy chairman of the powerful Revolutionary Military Council, he is an old comrade-in-arms of the Red generals today responsible for both political and military affairs in key administrative areas of the nation.

It is true that Liu Shao-ch'i is sometimes considered more likely to fill Mao's shoes. His government responsibilities now officially rank him about equal to Chou, and in the party Secretariat and Politburo he often serves as Mao's spokesman and first deputy. He may well possess more organic control over party machinery than Chou—a fact which in Russia might be enough in itself to determine "succession". But the power structure in China is complicated by other historical and class factors. Of those, seniority and personal relationships among the leadership elite are important, while prestige of the individual party chieftain with the armed forces is perhaps decisive.

## 20 Years Of Struggle

The 20 years of armed struggle which preceded Chinese Communist victory brought about an integration of military and political power such that, to an unique degree, the party is the army and the army is the party. Among top drawer Communists after Mao himself—Chu Teh, P'eng Teh-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i, Chou En-lai, Lin Piao, Yeh Chien-ying, K'ang Sheng, Kao Kang, Teng Shao-p'ing, Liu P'o-ch'ing, Jao Shu-shih, Chien Yi, P'eng Chen, Nieh Jung-chen, Lo Jui-ching, Ho Lung, Teng Tze-hui, Tung Pi-wu, and Lin Tzu-han—13 out of the 20 including Mao, have been or are today what might be called combat communists, as distinct from urban conspirators or civilian party workers. It is significant that Chou En-lai belongs in the former category from far back. The great majority of the above 20—and the same would probably be true of a second 20 just below them—are more intimately linked to Chou, from early guerrilla days, than to Liu Shao-ch'i.

Liu's roles today—as "translator of Stalinism into Maoism, and vice versa", as an organizer of the new urban proletariat for a party seeking to build up quickly a mature working class leadership capable of reducing present peasant predominance, as head of the Sino-Soviet friendship associations, and as the "returned student" most popular with the Russian C.C.—are all highly useful to Mao Tse-tung. Yet Liu's influence is everywhere divided or paralleled by Chou's prestige with the army, and by his direct control over the state administrative apparatus and its regional leaders—his long-time close associates. Furthermore, it is Chou En-lai who works out the details of vital economic, political and military collaboration with Russia. It is significant that in Kremlin protocol he takes precedence not only over Liu Shao-ch'i but over all European satellite reds.

## Mao's Heir-Apparent

As Mao's heir-apparent, then, Chou may be considered one of the three or four most important bolsheviks in the world. An interesting estimate of him has been made by Chang Kuo-t'ao, who was the last Communist seriously to challenge Mao Tse-tung's leadership. After losing that struggle Chang was expelled from the Politburo and his faction purged from the party—with the help of Chou En-lai. Now a Hongkong exile, Chang recently wrote in the N. Y. Times: "Chou En-lai is everything that Mao is not when it comes to implementing a policy—quick, decisive, careful, thorough and smooth. Furthermore Chou is probably closer to Moscow than any other Chinese Communist leader and, in my opinion, is the leading candidate for succession should anything happen to Mao...."

"Although (Mao) knows how to use power in the top leadership he has little talent for building up a large personal following except as a remote symbol. Unlike Stalin, who was a past master in building secret services, Mao does not know how to handle such matters well. He relies on Chou En-lai in work of this kind.... So far as I know, there are only two major factions in the party—Mao's and Chou's. But the two men are working together even though they are diametrically opposite in temperament and can never be in really complete harmony."

In several respects the most paradoxical member of the hierarchy, Chou is as cultivated a patrician as ever found himself leading the proletariat to Utopia. Some observers, confusing the scene with Russia, assumed that his "bourgeois" background would disqualify him as a figure of ultimate power. The truth is that none of the Chinese Politburo members is of proletarian origin. They are all sons of landlord gentry, peasant

proprietor, small merchant or scholar-bureaucrat families. Chou probably did have an easier youth and broader education than the others, however. To look at him now you might suppose that he has been a plush official all his life.

## 3 Major Insurrections

Yet as a "Red-bandit" he organized and led three major insurrections and took part in scores of battles. When I first met him he was skeletally thin, at the end of the Red Army's punishing 5,000-mile retreat from the far south to the northwest—the "Long March" which he largely planned. At about that time one of his Nankai University classmates exclaimed to me that Chou had "disgraced his ancestors" and was a "broken egg". Today he holds power far exceeding anything attained by those scholar-official Confucian forebears.

A northern Chinese with wide searching eyes under heavy black eyebrows, his erect military bearing lends dignity to an urbane—when he wishes it to be—personality. His habit of looking you straight in the eye gives him a forthright air and from his cultured Peking speech you might not suspect that he ever commanded a firing squad of desperadoes—or faced one. Behind the facade lies an adroit, ruthless, efficient, coldly analytical and resourceful brain. A tenacious Chinese nationalist and a dedicated Marxist of the Maoist deviation, he is an implacable enemy of any survival of Western power in Asia. Yet no Communist anywhere has beguiled so many Western soldiers and diplomats.

With his polite manner, a fair command of French and a working knowledge of English, German, and Russian, he struck many people as a "gentleman bolshevik" incapable of the double-cross. Chiang Kai-shek was said to consider Chou the only reasonable Communist he knew and the only one he could talk to. Mme. Chiang also spoke well of him. Their feeling doubtless traced to a belief that he had intervened, in 1936, to save the Generalissimo's life after the kidnapping at Sianfu.

## Chou's Estimate Of Chiang

Actually Chou En-lai did nothing, personally, on Chiang's behalf. At Sianfu he merely carried out party directives to extract promises of a united front against Japan from Chiang before he was released. Early in the war he expressed to me his contempt for the Generalissimo both as a soldier and a statesman. Having worked under Chiang in the past, he respected only two things about him. First, he was "in his way a sincere patriot." Second, although "an incompetent military tactician" he was a "political juggler" skilled in "traditional Chinese bureaucratic methods" of the "delayed decision." He knew "how to utilize contradictions" among his allies and enemies, and how to "maintain a balance of power." But he was a "poor student of modern history." His Fabian tactics, "his indecisiveness"—or lack of aggressiveness—would destroy him. Chou predicted that the war against Japan would mean "the beginning of the end for Chiang."

His remarks were then off the record. As chief Red negotiator he discreetly veiled such candid opinions of China's wartime leader. For the Communists, recognizing his own gifts as a "strategist" who knew "how to utilize contradictions," fully exploited them. From 1937 down to the failure of the Marshall Mission a decade later, he headed the Red delegation in Kuomintang China and served as chief liaison with the outer world—including Russia. When apprehensions arose among foreign ambassadors he was the Communist who met and allayed or quickened their fears, as the case demanded.

## Attractive Qualities

Chou knew the idiom of democracy as well as he knew his dialectics. Unlike some of his comrades, he had never been beaten or mistreated by foreigners. He could be friends with them as individuals; his "anti-imperialism" was a matter of "historical necessity". Diplomats were often charmed by this attractive youthful-looking radical who could speak nostalgically of Paris, London and Berlin. Soldiers were impressed by the force and simplicity of his analysis and judgment. General Marshall, for example, usually got on well with him and apparently classed him as a "liberal" among Reds.

Chou's histrionic talent was already legendary. Hadn't he played feminine leads in school days at Nankai? Now he surpassed himself in the art of political dissimulation. As early as 1938 he impressed the asbrite anti-Communist English journalist, Freda Uteley, as "one of the most objective and fair-minded" of Chinese. In her book on China she concluded that communism there was "an almost entirely agrarian reform movement," that "the Chinese Communist party long ago abandoned the dream of establishing its own dictatorship," that it was "no longer a revolutionary party but a party of social reformers and patriots," and that "its aim has genuinely become social and political reform along capitalist and democratic lines." Since Miss Uteley was an acknowledged former Comintern agent turned sincerely anti-bolshevik her words were widely quoted as authority for the notion that the Chinese were "not real Communists."

## Foreigners' Estimate

Another person influenced by Chou En-lai was the British ambassador to China—the late Lord Verchapel—who frequently referred to the Chinese Reds as "agrarian democrats." By 1945 one

American diplomat in China, General Hurley, was reporting to Washington that "the Chinese Communists are not in fact Communists at all" and that "the Russian Government does not recognize the Chinese Communist Party as Communist at all." A myth also arose that there was a "pro-Western group" in the Red camp—of which some said Chou was the leader—as opposed to "pro-Moscow extremists." Exactly how much Chou himself contributed to such sweeping illusions is not known, but among Communists he got credit for the confusion. Perhaps he was merely lucky in the personalities he had to deal with.

Luck had befriended him many times—luck, plus a pronounced agility of brain and foot. He was an honors student—and is a good dancer. An expert at balancing himself on the party line, he was dubbed "the elastic bolshevik"—and incidentally "En-lai" literally means "coming of grace." General Chu Teh, in his own autobiography, described Chou as "a man of iron"—but the metal is mixed with resilient alloys. Certainly it required a supple politician to retain the trust of Moscow throughout the years, while at the same time avoiding identification with the Opposition to Mao Tse-tung—whose policies were at first frowned upon by the Comintern.

[Next Instalment TO-MORROW]



# State Transport System Criticised By Opposition

## Over Rs. 2-Crore Demand Passed By Assam Assembly

FROM OUR SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE  
SHILLONG, March 24.

Various defects of the State transport system were pointed out by Mr. Hareswar Goswami, leader of the Opposition moving a cut motion today in the Assam Assembly. He referred to the inadequate number of the vehicles which could not meet the situation.

Mr. Goswami also mentioned about the paucity of spare parts and how the vehicles remained idle for months together causing inconvenience to the public and loss to the Government. He asked why the Transport Department was not made a permanent organisation yet. The staffs, he said, did not know where they stood though five years had elapsed. Some of the transport stations were, in his opinion, useless. He also mentioned about the grievances of the staff and urged Government to remove them. The time table for the buses should be published in the press, he added.

Mr. Gourisanwar Bhattacharjee (Opposition) raised a general discussion on the State transport system. He felt the necessity of making the department permanent. He wanted to know whether this should be a public utility concern or commercial organisation.

Mr. Dharanidhar Basumatari (Congress) opposed the cut motion. Md. Omuruddin (Opposition) supporting the cut motion stated how the passenger fares in the Gauhati-Shillong Road had been increased immediately after taking over the road by the Government.

Mr. Ranandru Mohan Das also supported the cut motion.

The cut motions were afterwards withdrawn and the original demand for grant under the head, Road Transport Schemes, (Rs. 2,05,07,000) moved by Mr. Siddhinath Sarma, P.W.D. Minister, was then passed.

### AGRICULTURE & FISHERIES

Sri Mahendra Mohan Choudhury, Minister in-charge of Agriculture then asked for grants of Rs. 59,63,800 and Rs. 2,94,000 under heads Agriculture and Fisheries respectively and these were voted after discussion of cut motion moved by Gauri Shankar Bhattacharjee (Opposition) who, in course of his speech said that mere spending of money on agriculture would not improve matters. In the Grow More Food campaign Assam stood third from the last among nine States. Officers numbering 9 under Grow More Food campaign consumed 18 p.c. of expenditure. He also urged Government to give more attention to cotton grown in Garo Hills which, he said was not only money crop but also dollar-earning crop. Provision made in this direction, he opined was too small. Small irrigation schemes in hill areas were very important and agricultural progress in the Autonomous Districts should not be retarded for want of money as assured by Finance Minister on a previous occasion.

Md. Omuruddin (Opposition) supporting the cut motion said that results of research should fully be utilised by our cultivators, otherwise research would be useless and meaningless. Minor irrigation schemes should, he said he carried on more scientific basis. He also mentioned how water hyacinth had become a menace to the cultivators.

### MINISTER'S REPLY

Mahendra Mohan Choudhury, Minister in-charge replying to the criticisms explained the activities of the Agricultural Department. He stated how Government were trying to improve it on a scientific basis. He did not agree that Grow More Food campaign was a failure in this State as alleged by Sri Bhattacharjee. He added that this State had become self-sufficient in food in course of two years and this was not a mean achievement if compared with other States. Farms, he said, were being increased. Top-heaviness of administration, as mentioned by Sri Bhattacharjee, he said was not a fact. He also mentioned about the steps taken by Government for introduction of subsidiary crops in hill areas. Steps were also being taken to improve agricultural implements now used by our cultivators. The cut-motion tabled under demand fisheries were not moved.

### TUESDAY'S DISCUSSION

When the Assam Assembly met yesterday, the demands for grants under the heads, Charges on Motor Vehicles Taxation Act (Rs. 13,41,700) Other Taxes and Duties Rs. 4,23,900, Administration of Justice (Rs. 11,56,100) Co-operative Societies (Rs. 10,96,300), Co-operation (Rural Development), (Rs. 20,72,300), Forests (Rs. 47,86,100) and Land Revenue (Rs. 44,16,200) were passed.

All the cut motions moved were either lost or withdrawn.

Mr. Gaurishankar Bhattacharjee (Opposition) raised the discussion by a cut motion about the principles of taxation and maintained the Entertainment Tax as a whole should not come under the category of luxury. He referred to a case of suicide committed by a small businessman in BARPETA being harassed by the Collector of Sales Tax. He also mentioned how the businessmen were harassed by the officers of the Sales Tax offices. Summary assessments were made by the inspectors and this caused a good deal of hardship to the illiterate businessmen.

Mr. Ranendra Mohan Das supporting the cut motion pointed out how taxes were realised from the merchants of Karimganj for selling dry fish though it was exempted from the Sales Tax. He enquired whether money thus realised would be refunded to them.

Sri Motiram Bora, Finance Mi-

nister, replying to the points raised agreed that hardship might be avoided if human consideration was shown to the dealers while taxes were realised by the officers. Government, he said, did not want that the people should be harassed by the officers. The suicide case mentioned by Mr. Bhattacharjee had no connection with Sales Tax. It was also not a fact that the burden of taxation was high on the poorer section of the people. The officers were directed to exercise their discretion while assessing taxes so that there might not be any hardship to the dealers. It was far from his mind to create hardship to the people, said Finance Minister. He requested Mr. Bhattacharjee to withdraw his cut motion. The cut motion was then withdrawn and the original demand for the grant moved by the Finance Minister was passed.

### ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The administration of justice was criticised by way of cut motions moved by Mr. Ranendra Mohan Das and Mr. Ghanakanta Gogoi. Mr. Das said how the litigant public were suffering due to the huge accumulation of cases both in the district and subdivisional courts. Mr. Gogoi also suggested that the District Magistrates and other Magistrates should be directed to attend courts regularly and timely. Mr. Bhattacharjee reminded the resolution of the Karachi Congress in 1931 that Judiciary should be separated from the executive. He regretted that nothing had been done yet. He was also opposed to frequent transfer of Magistrates and engaging them to non-magisterial duties.

The Judicial Minister replying to the criticisms said that the administration of justice was strengthened. He stated the factors responsible for delay in the disposal of cases. The cut motions were then withdrawn.

Mr. Hareswar Goswami, Opposition leader, moved a cut motion and spoke about the condition of the co-operative societies in the State. He also mentioned how the co-operative societies were doing useful work in other States specially in Bombay. The root of defects, he said, must be enquired into.

Mr. Mahendra Mohan Choudhury, Minister in charge of Co-operation replying said that Govt. was trying to build up the co-operative societies on sound lines. He said the co-operative societies rendered useful service to the society. He said the shortage of the supervising staff had been removed. The cut motion was then withdrawn.

### AFTER LUNCH

When the House reassembled after lunch, Mr. Hareswar Goswami by a cut motion pointed out that money provided for various rural development boards was inadequate. He also mentioned how the panchayats could not function properly for want of funds. The panchayats should be remodelled, he said.

Mr. A. Alley (Congress) opined that for rural development initiative must come from the people and Government should create enthusiasm among them.

Mr. Sahadat Ali Mandal (Opposition) brought certain allegations against a rural panchayat. Mr. Mahendra Choudhury, Minister in charge for Rural Department assured that he would look into the matter. He then stated the activities of the rural panchayats numbering 50. Other 48 panchayats, he said were in the process of functioning. The panchayats, he said, should not be run on political level. The cut motion was then withdrawn.

### FOREST DEPARTMENT

Mr. Radha Charan Choudhury (Opposition) by a cut motion criticised the working of the Forest Department. The decrease in the forest revenue, he said, was not due to less demand for timbers from Pakistan. The department, he further pointed out, could not meet the local demands. He said there was less demand for elephants but not timbers. The market price of elephant went down from Rs. 4,000 to Rs. 1,500 and he apprehended that the business of capturing elephants would be wiped out soon if steps were not taken by Government. The royalty for tuskers should be less, he suggested. He pleaded for 'kheda sikhari' and not 'mela sikhari' which he opined, had become outdated. He also stated that there was no demand for big elephants.

Mr. Ramnath Das, Forest Minister, regretted that 20 valuable suggestions were made by the mover of the cut motion. He mentioned about the difficulties of the timber merchants of Goalpara and to what extent the forest revenue had been affected due to the partition of the country. The demand for timber had not increased, he added. He did not agree with the suggestion for the abolition of monopoly system of catching elephants and reduction of royalty. The demand for elephants, he said, became less due to the abolition of zamindaries. He also mentioned to what extent the expenditure had increased for the development of the forest areas. The cut motion was then withdrawn.

### LAND REVENUE

When the demand for grant under Land Revenue was moved by the Finance Minister, the Opposition leader, Mr. Hareswar Goswami, criticised by a cut motion the system of collection of the land revenue. All 'mauzadars' should be treated equally and people should be given permanent settlement. The annual leases, he said, should be done away with and periodic 'pattas' should be given.

Mr. Ghana Kanta Gogoi also raised a discussion on land revenue administration.

Mr. Gaurishankar Bhattacharjee

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curement, Rangiya, is transferred and posted at Netaipukhuri.

Sri Guna Kanta Goswami, Inspector of Procurement, Badati, is transferred and posted at Rangiya.

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Shri B. Neog, Inspector of Procurement, Titabar, is transferred and posted at Badati.



## CHOU EN-LAI-II

# Boy Sees China Undergoes Humiliation: Rebel Regime

By EDGAR SNOW

Chou and Mao not only complement each other in character; they personify two main streams of history which united in the Red deluge that overwhelmed China. In Mao you had the peasant rising in his immemorial wrath and violence in a milieu of social and economic chaos—signs of disintegration which since ancient times in China portended the sovereign's loss of "Heaven's mandate to rule".

Chou represented the thwarted Confucian-bred intellectual turned radical under those same conditions, which denied his class — its numbers swollen by "underemployed" modern college graduates — the full traditional satisfactions of office and prestige in an authoritarian order.

Mao Tse-tung, whose life story I first wrote and published years ago, came from a tiny village deep in roadless Hunan. His father was a landowning farmer and small-scale money lender—in Communist jargon, "petty-bourgeois". But he grew up in a rustic environment and was a peasant in training, mentality and sympathy until, at 27, he first encountered urban sophistication when he went to Peking. Sentimentally he still identifies himself with the tillers of the land, and in this lies his strength — for peasants are about 80 percent of China's 500 millions. Chou En-lai, in sharp contrast, is a product of official society atmosphere. He was the first general I met in the Red areas and I noted in my diary,

"Chou seems every inch the Chinese intellectual". It was hard to see any "Red-bandit" in him except for the red-tinged beard he then wore. And it was perhaps indicative that while Mao Tse-tung told me of his rebellious youth in uninhibited detail, Chou dismissed his early life as of little interest.

## 'Radical' Influence

Born in suburban Shanghai in 1899, seven years after Mao, Chou spent his early childhood in Manchuria. Unlike Mao and many others, he had no Freudian "death-wish" for his father who held a minor office and was a national patriot. The family name Chou is at least as old as the Chou Dynasty, which produced Confucius, and at his father's knees En-lai learned the Four Books of the sage, as generations had before him. His mother was an exceptional woman who not only could read and write but actually liked "modern" literature — a "radical" influence in a home of that period. When the Manchu Dynasty collapsed the elder Chou moved to Tientsin and went into business. There he put En-lai in an advanced "western-style" middle school — to "learn the secrets of the foreigners" which had, he thought, all but destroyed ancient Chinese civilization.

During his impressionable years this boy watched China undergo one humiliation after another at the hands of greedy colonial powers. His father, struggling to compete with aggressive western business men, complained that "foreign devils" already "owned" most of the country: the best ports, including Shanghai and Tientsin, the railways, the salt monopoly, the mines, the factories, and above all — the offices which rightfully belonged to Chinese scholars. In Peking a series of ignorant warlord comic-opera regimes were selling out what remained. Probably the old man encouraged En-lai when, in 1919, the son led student uprisings to protest against Peking's surrender to ruinous new demands from Japan — whence he had just returned from a year of special study.

There were no Communists then—only frustrated patriots. In one of the street demonstrations Chou met Teng Ying-ch'ao, an "emancipated" girl student of 17, who was to become his wife — and later the first woman member of the Communist Central Committee. Aroused to the danger of national extinction Chou formed a group appropriately called "The Awaken Society," and Teng Ying-ch'ao joined it. Together they studied democracy, anarchism, nihilism, and socialism — as roads to national salvation. Chou was not to learn much about Leninism and the Russian revolution until 1920. That year, after leaving Nankai University, he enlisted with a group of students bound for "work and study" in Europe. Mao Tse-tung also enrolled for the voyage, but abruptly he changed his mind and thus never got out of China until, 30 years later, he made his first trip to Moscow.

## "Chinaman" In Paris

In Paris Chou En-lai, as an unknown, impoverished "Chinaman", and a miner in part-time jobs, found a welcome among French workers. They introduced him to Communists like Duclos, Marty and Thorez. In 1921 he joined other exiles in forming a Chinese branch of the French Communist Party — the year Mao Tse-tung became a founder of the home party in Shanghai. During the next four years, between work and study — some courses at Sorbonne — he read Marxist literature, travelled Europe, and helped organize party branches in Berlin, London and Marseilles.

Among Chou's recruits overseas

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Friday, March 26, 1954.

# Boy Sees China Undergoes Humiliation: Rebel Regime

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were several men who now rate high in China. None was to prove so useful to the Soviet cause — and his own — as a certain homely middle-aged Kuomintang general. Having made a small fortune as a minor satrap in Yunnan, the dumpy little militarist had, after being thrown out of office in a coup, examined his life and found it wanting. He decided to pay off his wives, travel, study, reform and return "to do some good for China". At Shanghai he had first sought to join the infant Communist party but the then secretary, Chen Tu-hsiu, had stiffly rejected him as too corrupt and "feudal" in his background. In Berlin, where he was studying military science under a Prussian staff officer, he met Chou En-lai. Again he humbly sought admission to the unholy society of bolsheviks. Chou heard him out, realized his value, and on his own authority gave him a party candidate's card on the spot.

The novice's name was Chu Teh — the future Red commander in-chief. He was to remain a crypto-Communist for years after his return to China. Not till 1927, when Chou En-lai brought him the order for an insurrection in the city of Nanchang, where Chu Teh commanded the Kuomintang garrison and military school, did he become known to Chiang Kai-shek as a Red. His Nanchang veterans became the nucleus of today's 5,000,000-man—or 18 million with para-military auxiliaries — "Liberation Army."

## Training In Moscow

Meanwhile, in 1923, Chou had paid his first call on Comintern headquarters, where he met Bukharin, Zinoviev and Stalin. In Moscow he received training for important tasks ahead. On his arrival in China he became, as one of the few Celestial Reds known and liked by the Russians, a leader in the Kuomintang-Communist alliance during the Nationalist revolution, 1924-27. Borodin and Bluecher, chief Russian advisors, made Chiang Kai-shek chairman, and Chou En-lai vice-chairman, of the Whampoa Academy, which produced officers for the Nationalist forces. While Chou was lecturing, and studying military science from Russian teachers, Mao Tse-tung was working in the rather neglected peasant bureau of the Kuomintang. It was Chou who, as secretary of the Canton Communist party, and political director of the Whampoa Academy, organized the first Red military cadres among the cadets — including Lin Piao, Liu Po-ch'eng, Nieh Jung-chun, Yeh Chien-ying, and other ranking generals of today.

When, in 1927, Chiang Kai-shek turned on the Reds, Chou was his chief antagonist at Shanghai. On the joint orders of the two parties he and other leftists had secretly entered China's greatest city, to organize 600,000 workers and stage an uprising ahead of the advancing Nationalists. The work so well succeeded that the metropolis was, except for its foreign areas, already in the hands of the revolutionary unions and their armed pickets, and evacuated by the

Northern militarists, before the Nationalist army arrived.

Instead of becoming a fraternal meeting place, however, Shanghai became the scene of a *coup d'etat* in which Chiang Kai-shek's generals captured and executed some 5,000 radical labour and youth leaders. Chou En-lai himself was caught and sentenced to death. A Kuomintang officer who had been his student at Whampoa helped him in a last minute escape.

## Bloody Insurrections

More than half the industrial workers of China were concentrated in Greater Shanghai and the purge was so thorough that it beheaded Red proletarian organization for 20 years. Nevertheless, the Comintern persisted with abortive putsches in the cities, until most of the remaining working class Reds were sacrificed. There were bloody insurrections in Nanchang, Swatow and Canton, in which Chou played a leading role, narrowly avoiding execution. Then, from 1928 to 1931 he went underground. Shuttling back and forth to Moscow he tried to reconcile the Comintern's long-range masterminding with the discouraging facts in China. But throughout this period he sagaciously avoided assuming top leadership in the fugitive urban Politburo which was nominally supreme over the scattered party.

Inside China he maintained friendly personal relations with Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh, who had retreated to the deep hinterland and found sanctuary among rebellious elements of the bankrupt peasantry. There they slowly built up their armed strength, aiming at what — in Moscow's view — was a heretical strategy of ultimate "encirclement of the cities." As a result of Chou's adroit straddling of the "line", however, he was not among those Politburo members purged as scapegoats for Comintern failures when it finally conceded primacy to the "Chu-Mao" rural revolution. He was therefore able to rejoin Mao and Chu Teh in the interior with their confidence in him intact.

From 1932 onward, while Mao was chairman of the "Red-bandit" regime, Chou was political director of the army and commander with Chu Teh. The trio often differed on practical measures but against organized opposition Chou nearly always backed Mao, with whom he did not compete as party theoretical leader. Together they worked out "Maoism"—a technique combining inter-national solidarity with Russia, and "pragmatic Asiatic Marxism." Tactics tended to exploit local conditions as they actually existed rather than as Moscow's professors insisted they should be.

## 'Diplomatic' Job

When I met Chou in the Northwest, in 1936, he was vice-chairman of the rebel government and the Red military council. He was then also on the eve of a major triumph as a "diplomat." To him had been entrusted no less a job than winning over the deputy commander-in-chief of all the Generalissimo's forces. That person was Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang, erstwhile ruler of Manchuria, who still commanded his own formidable army of exiles. The Reds had captured several of Chang's generals in a surprise attack. Chou's eloquent pleading with them, that Chinese should not fight Chinese but should unite to win back Manchuria from the Japanese, had fallen on sympathetic ears. Released, they returned to persuade Chang Hsueh-liang to meet secretly with Chou and discuss possibilities of imposing, on Chiang Kai-shek, a cessation in civil war.

At that time the Generalissimo stood at the zenith of his power and the Reds faced possible total extermination. The wretched underpopulated mountains and pastureland of the Northwest could not support the blockaded Red Army. Beyond lay only the deserts of Mongolia and Turkestan, where Moscow offered no aid. Chou's success with Chang Hsueh-liang was a matter of life or death for the Communists. And when the impulsive Young Marshal decided, during the Generalissimo's preparations at Sian for a "final annihilation campaign," to lead a mutiny and detain his superior — until Chiang agreed to accept the Reds' offer to end the civil war and combine against Japan — the fate of Asia was sharply altered. After Chiang's release his plans to disarm the Reds by piecemeal surrender might still have succeeded — but the Japanese came to Mao's rescue. They launched their crusade to "eradicate communism in East Asia" and it became impossible for Chiang to fight two wars at once. It was, as Chou prophesied, "the beginning of the end" for him.

[Next Instalment  
TO-MORROW]



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# 11-Day Old Budget Debate In Bihar Assembly Ends

## All 45 Demands Totalling Rs.62,72,89,731 Voted By House

FROM OUR SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE  
 PATNA, March 25.

The Bihar Assembly voted yesterday 45 budgetary demands for grant of a total sum of Rs. 62,72,89,731 to defray the charges to come up for payment in the next financial year.

The House devoted 11 days to the debate arising out of cut motions on demands in respect of general administration, education, irrigation, road transport agriculture and some others. Out of a total of 45 demands, 7 demands could be voted after usual discussion.

As the time schedule for budgetary discussion was over this afternoon, the Speaker applied his guillotine on a score of cut motions to 38 demands, which were put one after another and were consequently voted by the House.

The rest of the 7 demands were voted earlier during all these days following heated debates.

There was a division today when the demand on Land Revenue was put to vote. It was voted with a dissent from 42 Oppositionists.

The Public Health demand, to which a cut motion was moved in the morning, provoked a day-long discussion today, and was voted after the application of the Speaker's guillotine. Many other important and vital demands were thus voted by the House which adjourned till Thursday, following the adoption of the State's budget to come into effect from April next.

### DISTRESS IN KOSI AREA

After lunch recess, speaking on the cut motion to the Public Health demand, Sri Ramesh Chandra pointed out the needs of the stricken people in the Kosi area. He regretted that recommendations of the Bhore Committee were not fully implemented. Primary health centres with depleted staff and medicines were not in a position to render relief to the people. Most of the tubewells in Kosi area had gone out of order and the only motor vehicle meant for Public Health work was being used for pleasure trips by officers in Saharsa. Something positive and useful must be done on permanent basis to mitigate suffering of the people there.

Sri Purushottam Chouhan (Congress) mainly confined his speech by focussing the needs of coalfield areas. Incidence of tuberculosis was rampant there for which facilities for X-Ray photography should be extended and mobile dispensaries should be renovated.

Sri Anath Kanto Basu (Congress) drew attention of the Government to the health problems of Purnea District where malaria came to be permanent malaise. He wanted more anti-malarial measures and deplored closure of anti-kalazar centres. He pleaded for sinking of tubewells in Kishanganj area, where there was scarcity of drinking water.

### SANTHAL PARGAS.

Sri Gokul Mehra (Jharkhand) urged for adequate provision of health centres and facilities for drinking water in Santhal Parganas.

Sri Laliteshwar Jha (Congress) did not like the free use of anti-biotics by village-quacks, who often endangered lives of poor patients. To ensure good health, he asked the Government to provide drinking water in rural areas. He thought amalgamation of Public Health and Medical Departments would make the confusion worse confounded.

Sri Damodar Jha (P.S.P.) disclosed that abruptly most of the population of Parsurampur in Sitamarhi Sub-division was attacked with leprosy. This disease might spread if proper prevention was not taken in time.

Sri Nawalkishore Singh (Congress)

pointed out that there was need to awaken consciousness of the people to develop personal and social hygiene and sanitation. It was also incumbent to ensure good food, healthy drinking water for the people's improved health.

### HEALTH HABITS

Sri Lal Singh Tyagi (Congress) pleaded for encouraging naturopathy among people, who should be helped to learn health habits and proper hygiene.

Sri Tribeni Singh (P.S.P.), Sri Bokal Mandal (Congress) and Sri Hembrom (Jharkhand) placed their respective viewpoints for improvement of public health in their constituencies.

### MINISTER'S REPLY

Replying to the debate, Pandit Sri Harinath Misra, Minister-in-charge, Medical and Public Health, assured that the various public health needs of Saharsa and more particularly of the Kosi area were constantly in Govt. mind. Sri Misra held that the Government had already done a great deal to mitigate the suffering of the people there. He was sure that the mobile dispensaries in the area were doing good work, and thought allegations against the Public Health officers were without basis. He indicated that more amenities would be provided there. Nearly 960 tubewells were sunk in Saharsa District, where another one 180 more would be sunk in a year.

### BHORE COMMITTEE REPORT

Sri Misra said that the Government would try to fully implement Bhore Committee's recommendations in the Kosi area and try to give the mobile dispensaries a permanent character. He said a sanatorium was being opened at Koilwar in Shahabad and anti-T.B. clinics in some other places. As regards the need of family-planning, he referred to the constitution of a Committee whose report was awaited.

Sri Misra wanted more emphasis on the aspect of Public Health and through amalgamation of both Medical and Public Health Departments would be found useful.

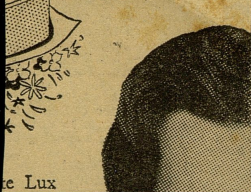
At this stage, as the time was up, the Speaker applied his guillotine on the cut motions to the rest of the 38 demands, which were put before the House one after another and were voted.

A division was challenged to the passage of the demand with regard to land revenue. The demand was adopted by 91 against 42 votes.

All the budgetary demands amounting to a total of Rs. 62,72,89,731 were voted by the House after a prolonged debate for 11 days.

### KASHMIR ASSEMBLY

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# Architect Of New Dynasty: People's Republic In China

By EDGAR SNOW

Subsequently, when Chou left the Communist areas to become his party's chief of mission in Kuomintang China, some people supposed he had been side-tracked or would be quickly "corrupted by an easy life". I remember visiting him and his wife in a comfortable modern house provided by the Generalissimo, where they had what Teng Ying-ch'ao called "the first real home since we were married." She was then convalescing from a return bout with tuberculosis and that relative peace meant much to her. "It's wonderful to sleep in a bed after years of living in caves," she said. But Chou's ambitions — and her own — meant more.

Among radical youths their marriage had been celebrated as a model, intellectual and political partnership, as well as a sentimental one. Ying-ch'ao's career had steadily paralleled her husband's. The ablest and shrewdest of the party's Amazons, she had long been chief of its women's department, and was eventually to become head of all the women's federations of China. She had come, like Chou, from a family of the old official class ruined in the fall of the empire. Her mother, widowed and left penniless when Ying-ch'ao was an infant, was educated enough to earn a living as a teacher and governess, until her daughter finished normal school in Peking. But it was a bitter struggle for them. Ying-ch'ao, her health suffering from overwork, grew up deeply resenting the inferior status of women, and determined to "change fate," as the Chinese say. It was her own luck to be childless in her marriage — in former times a tragedy for any Chinese wife. But Chou's interest did not wander, and Ying-ch'ao appeared to be the only serious affair in his somewhat austere personal life.

## Intensely Practical

Unlike Mao, who was a chain smoker, fond of strong native wine and well-seasoned food, wrote poetry, and sometimes stayed awake all night talking philosophy, Chou did not use tobacco, drank rarely, preferred to be up at the crack of dawn, and was intensely practical. Strict in his self-discipline, he took care of his health. He rode frequently and rather fancied himself as a horseman. A man of few discernible petty vices, and as firm a believer in "personal virtue" as any Confucianist, he could not be "reached" by bribery or offers of rank in the Kuomintang regime. His interest in playing the good guest in Chungking was to prepare the funeral arrangements for his Kuomintang hosts.

During World War II Chou was responsible for securing and transporting supplies for Yen-an — the Red "capital" in Shensi. He directed propaganda among Chinese at home and abroad, organized secret party cells among civilian and military groups, and routed students and other volunteers to the guerrilla frontiers in the north. The one open and legal Communist paper in Kuomintang China took its orders from him, as did leaders of various front organizations. He was in touch with Russians as well as other foreign diplomats and correspondents and he had valuable contacts inside the Generalissimo's headquarters. He was Mao's main source of "outside" intelligence.

## 'The Red Scholar'

Closely associated with the work of the Chungking headquarters was old Tung Pi-wu, "the Red scholar," who is today chairman of the Political and Legal Affairs Committee and boss of the vital ministries, in Chou's cabinet, of interior, public security, and justice — all the machinery of state repression and conformance. The extent of the party nuclei set up by Chou and Tung throughout Kuomintang China became apparent only when, as civil war spread after 1947, ready-made local co-operating teams arose to sabotage and help "liberate" one town and city after another.

In the Communists' post-war decision to make a bid for all-out power Chou's role was probably demeritizing. Analyzing Kuomintang demoralization through his intelligence network, and sitting in on "mediation conferences," he concluded that Chiang Kai-shek could not conquer the Red army. Indeed he had told me much earlier that civil war was probable after the defeat of Japan, unless there was "international intervention" — by Soviet-American agreement. He believed that effective unilateral action to save Chiang would demand the use of a "great army" of occupation. By 1944 my own guess was that the task would require no less than one million American troops.

## Stalin's Views

At any rate Chou knew, in 1945, that the United States would not tender the Generalissimo such huge

forces to keep him afloat. He therefore pressed his thesis upon Mao, and urged him to seek Russian support in a major challenge for power — and that became the policy of the Central Committee. But Stalin was against it, at first, believing Chou underestimated both Chiang and American determination to stay in China. In a conversation during 1948, as reported by Yugoslavia's Vice-Premier Vladimir Dedijer, he revealed to Tito's party that he had earlier "bluntly told" the Chinese that "the development of the uprising in China had no prospect . . . and that they should join the Chiang Kai-shek government and dissolve their army. The Chinese comrades agreed here with the views of the Soviet comrades, but went back to China and acted otherwise. Now, as we see, they are beating the Chiang Kai-shek army . . . we admit we were wrong."

In 1949, at the end of the long road of innumerable battles, thousands of miles of marching and counter-marching, countless hours of wrangling, trickery, cunning and deceit known as "negotiations," years of youth and middle-age dedicated to the hard insurgent quest for power — violence, devastation, millions of casualties — Chou had his reward. The foreign-devils had been eliminated — with one notable exception, the "northern barbarians," the Russians. The Kuomintang was in full flight. As he stood beside Mao and Chu Teh, before the imperial palaces at Peking, a vast sea of faces turned to hail Chou En-lai as one of a triumvir, the architects of a new dynasty — the "People's Republic."

At the "People's Consultative Conference," where his wife spoke for all the women of China, he had the satisfaction of depicting the future which lay ahead — as defined in a "common program" drafted by the commission Chou himself had headed and molded to the party's will. It was an accurate description of precisely what was meant by "liberation" and by Mao Tse-tung's contradictory phrase, "democratic dictatorship."

## Joint Dictatorship

"Democracy for the Chinese people" — those classes not opposed to the Reds. "Dictatorship for Chinese nationals" — not "people" — who supported the old rulers or were categorized their class allies. Impassively Chou had watched his own family estates in Kiangsu broken up, the land distributed, his clan relatives reduced to poor peasants. But division of the land was not socialism nor communism, which were distant goals of the future. Chou warned — as, also, was a popularly elected assembly. For the present the state must be "guided" by the Communist party, as trustee and guardian of the proletariat. A "mixed economy" would prevail — with some private capitalism tolerated while state-owned industry and a modern working class matured. In structure the Government would aspire to copy Russia. But it would be modified by the existence, on a level with central Government organs, of a "special system" unifying regional, political and military power in party hands. In short, it provided for a joint dictatorship of the party, the army, and the state bureaucracy, all culminating in the Politburo.

More than one person noticed that this picture bore a closer resemblance to the totalitarian pattern of imperial China than anything heretofore attempted in the days of the republic. And when you substitute the authoritarian works of today's master Mao Tse-tung, for the Classics of Confucianism, there is a pronounced resemblance, yes — but no more. For in its thorough permeation of every aspect of life, in its intellectual and physical regimentation of the plebeians whom it at once exalts and patronizes, in its paternalistic use of modern technology and propaganda, in its transference of Confucian ancestor-worship, progeny-worship and emperor-worship to new fixations of Mao-worship, love of the "father-mother Communist party," and "love of the great family China," the regime is unique in history.

Having gone through the ceremonies in the Forbidden City, Chou got down to business. In 1950 he negotiated an alliance and mutual assistance treaty with Russia. It was to become the cornerstone of foreign policy for the "New Democracy" in accordance with doctrine laid down by Mao Tse-tung: "We are told, you incline to one side. Exactly. . . There is no third way. Internationally, we belong to the anti-imperialist camp headed by the Soviet Union."

## Moscow As Spokesman

The bamboo curtain dropped along the China coast and a cen-

(Continued On Last Page Col. 4)

(Continued from Page 4)

tury of accumulated national paranoia and xenophobia was turned against America. All Chinese, war-time allies, except Russians, were spurned, in varying degrees, as "imperialists," "warmongers," and "germ warriors." American nationals were insulted, tortured, killed, or driven from the country, their remaining interests virtually confiscated. In international parleys Moscow became spokesman for China's 500 millions. Thousands of Russian advisors descended upon the country, and Russia secured valuable concession in Manchuria and Turkestan. The Soviet Union was glorified everywhere, a Sino-Soviet Friendship Association was organized with 26 million members, and Stalin's portrait for a time took precedence even over Mao Tse-tung's.

Direct proof was lacking, however, of Russian military and police control inside China. Because of that, and hopeful that they might still be able to deal with Peking directly and as a sovereign regime, the Western powers early in 1950 had privately agreed to withhold the veto against Communist China in the U. N. The United States was then even disposed to compromise over Formosa. Before the issue could be resolved the Korean Communists launched a war of conquest against the South, with the support of both China and Russia. Any early possibility of a "detente" with Peking vanished altogether after the Reds engaged in heavy warfare against the United Nations' defense of South Korean independence.

## "Asia First" Policy

Some diplomats at first believed that China had become purely a pawn in Moscow's game of cold war. But the affair was more complex. Subsequently it became apparent that Chou and Mao were pursuing aims of their own aided by, but not necessarily designed by, the Kremlin. Clearly the Russians gained something by Korea. The war tied down Allied forces on one of the least important fronts, and it confirmed the break between China and the United States. The Chinese, too, had won real objectives useful in their own "Asia first" policy.

Communist China's intervention in Korea committed large sectors of Russia's productive system to the task of rehabilitating Manchuria's transport and industrial facilities. It obliged Russia to supply and modernize (and the United Nations to "teach" the latest combat technique on land and air to) China's vast army. The war became more and more Eastern in its results, and less and less European — where the Kremlin's primary ambitions are focussed.

Its main disadvantage to Moscow was that it stimulated the United States to re-tool for military production, accelerating the

development of nuclear weapons of all kinds and placing very heavy burdens on Soviet economy struggling to keep pace with and surpass American war technique.

Nor could the gains in Korea itself be said to benefit Russia. Whereas before 1950 Korea north of the 38th parallel was a satellite closely under Russian control, today China may actually be paramount there. It is significant that Peking's recently announced reconstruction loan to Communist Korea was larger and more generous in its terms than Moscow's. There is little reason to suppose that Chinese troops will not remain on the peninsula indefinitely. And as the visible combat forces who fought the Allied powers to a stalemate it is Communist China — as distinct from Russia — that has won enormous prestige among Asian nationalists.

[Next Instalment On

MONDAY]



# U. S. Main Obstacle To The Expansion Of Red Empire

By EDGAR SNOW

Korea has considerably strengthened Chou En-lai's independent bargaining position. From it he is now able to jockey for place as premier of a great power to be reckoned with in both "camps". In the diplomacy of the Red mandarin one may thus discern a return to patterns of the past, when China was called — and regarded herself — the "central kingdom." Both Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek, voicing vestigial imperial sentiments, in various ways claimed hegemony over Korea, Mongolia, Tibet, Indo-China and Burma, all of which were once vassal states of the Dragon Throne. Aside from Korea, Tibet is now under an occupation more complete than at any time in Chinese history, and the Reds are spilling over the frontiers of Himalayan India. Outer Mongolia remains a Soviet protectorate, but Peking has an embassy there for the first time since Urga established its "independence", while Inner Mongolia is under much tighter Chinese control than in Kuomintang days. A civil war is going on in Burma, another former tributary state, where local Communists follow "the path of Mao Tse-tung." And in Indo-China, a vassal of Peking as recently as the French conquest less than a century ago, Ho Chih-minh is now fighting under the leadership of Mao Tse-tung and dependent on him for advice and supplies.

## "U. S. Imperialism"

Speeches of Chou, Liu Shao-ch'i and other Communist leaders—who regard India, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines and Japan as scarcely less colonial puppets than Malaya and Vietnam—have informed all Asians that "the path of Mao Tse-tung," the "path of armed struggle," is the path to be followed by all colonial and semi-colonial peoples seeking "liberation from American imperialism." "The victory of the Chinese people," Chou En-lai said before the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, "has greatly inspired the peoples of the world. If the Chinese can smash the blockade—as the people of the Soviet Union smashed the blockade and intervention of 14 countries after the October revolution—then China will achieve an independent economy. In this manner the Chinese people will make an even greater contribution to world peace and democracy."

Heretofore no Communist state-lite has dared boast about achieving an "independent economy" or making "an even greater contribution" than Russia along any line. Unlike Eastern Europeans, the Chinese now subtly assert a sovereign role in world politics. The death of Stalin has enhanced Mao Tse-tung's prestige as a peer of the Kremlin demi-gods. Peking considers itself, to quote Max Beloff, an authority on Russian foreign policy, as "a primary source of inspiration at least where Asian countries are concerned." If that remains true, Beloff predicts, "Soviet policy, which has rested on the absolute identification of world revolution and Soviet nationalism, would receive a blow more fundamental than it has hitherto sustained."

## De Facto Sovereignty

That is little cause for rejoicing on Eisenhower's side of the Pacific, however, nor does it imply potential "Chinese Tito-ism". In reality the Chinese party now possesses all the elements of sovereignty which in Tito were regarded as heresy. But when Mao Tse-tung came to power the Russians had learned their lesson, and recognized geographical limitations to the extension of their absolute dictatorship over communist states. The significance of China's de facto sovereignty has not yet been widely understood, i.e., it poses the possibility of radical structural changes in the socialist world which could lead toward a voluntary federation of sovereign socialist states. Such a development would indeed be a "fundamental blow" to the ambitions of Soviet nationalism. But it would also challenge the capitalist nationalisms of the West with concepts of a "universal state" inherently far more appealing than anything yet offered by Stalinism.

Those tendencies, now latent in the Sino-Russian relationship, would certainly emerge into the open if the communist system expanded further in such ways as to give China independent access to an alternative advanced industrial base—for example, Japan. For the present China's industrial backwardness does make it an economic satellite of Russia. Governed by that basic condition of China's economic dependence, Chou En-lai can merely follow the old Chinese strategy of "yung-yang ta-yang"—using one foreigner to beat another,—seeking wherever possible to exploit

the Russian alliance for Chinese national aims. He is, in other words, exploiting the Russian alliance for Chinese aims in an intermittent but relentless drive to restore Chinese hegemony over Eastern Asia. In this ambition there is, of course, nothing much to disturb Moscow as yet. But such "independence" could prove contagious and offer a serious challenge to Russia's absolute domination of the Communist world.

## Main Obstacle

Since Chou sees in the American republic and the influence of its ideas the main obstacle preventing the expansion of Red empire in the Far East his estimate of this country is rather interesting.

Speaking to a meeting last year in the Western Hills, outside Peking, the premier revealed that his policy is based on an assumption that the United States, while possessing enormous power and the ability to use it effectively in crises of immediate danger, lacks the endurance for prolonged conflicts over "unimportant" or indecisive issues, and is inclined to settle them impulsively or to become impatient and gradually withdraw.

The inference of Chou's remarks was that Peking should, while attempting by all means to splinter the Western alliance, carry on a kind of "guerrilla diplomacy" against the United States as the key force opposed to communism. Years ago Chou said to me, "All diplomacy is a continuation of war by other means"—a paraphrase of Clausewitz attributed to Lenin. His practical application of the principle may be expected to utilize experience gained from the military strategy which brought the Reds to power. Hence his future foreign policy doubtless will attempt to combine, in protracted attrition against all U.S. positions in far Asia, endless propaganda and political erosion; sudden "short attacks" at the weakest point in Allied strength and unity; abrupt disengagement and peace talk when "the enemy" is determined and powerful; and "no major war" and "no major peace" but "two steps forward for every step backward."

## China's Policy

Internationally, the Chinese Communists may now be said to stand against the United States somewhat as they stood against Chiang Kai-shek two decades ago. With the full support of Russia they could go far toward achieving their own national aims. Denied that collaboration, or exploited by Moscow strictly in the interests of Russian nationalism, Chou's policy could well pile up on reefs no less disastrous than the insurrections which failed in the twenties.

Somewhere Lenin wrote that history never moves in quite the direction, and sometimes moves in just the opposite direction, of the destination imagined for it by the man sitting in the driver's seat. That is because there is not one tram but several, and not one driver but a host of them. A policy of guerrilla diplomacy has obvious limitations and presents grave risks—especially in an atomic age—and may well provoke a mobilization of forces which less adventurous means of

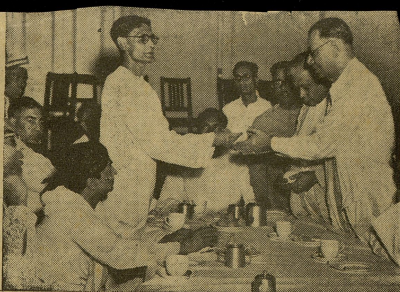
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(Continued from Previous Column) expansion might not awaken. In battle, guerrilla tactics always depend for success much more on lack of vigilance, lack of unity, and lack of steadfastness in the pursuit of clear alternative purposes on the part of the enemy, than they depend on the basic strength of the insurgent force, which is inherently the weaker. Faced by adversaries fully conscious of both their imminent peril and their superior strength, by adversaries resolute in the defence of broadly human moral-political principles, guerrilla diplomacy can lead to catastrophe. No one should know that better than Chou En-lai, however, as a survivor of one of history's great retreats—the Long March which so nearly became a death march.

(Concluded)

(Continued From Previous Column) as also its causes the Soviet Government's announcement ending the occupation regime in East Germany and declaring it a sovereign State can hardly be considered a startling development. Whatever be its other implications, this is obviously designed to perpetuate the power-political status quo, no other alternative being possible in the existing circumstances. So far as the question of sovereignty is concerned, East Germany will be as much sovereign with Russian overlordship as West Germany with the Western powers as its bosses. Whether this division of Germany is going to stay or not is a different matter, but what is clear is that it will help to consolidate the cold-war strategy of the two armed rival blocs into which Europe is divided to-day. So far as it concerns the U.S.A., this will strengthen her hands in hastening the formation of the E.D.C. which has been proving very difficult. The pressure she has so long been exerting on wavering France without any success may now bear some fruit. But the chance of any relaxation in the present East-West tension at least over Germany has further receded.





Indian Journalists' Association presented cheques to the authorities of K. S. Roy Tuberculosis and R. G. Kar hospitals towards the recurring expenditure for the maintenance of the two beds of the Association in those hospitals at a function on Sunday. Sri Manindra Roy, President of the Association is seen here handing over the cheques to Principal, Dr. S. K. Sen of R. G. Kar Hospital and his right Sri M. N. Gupta, Secretary K. S. Roy T. B. Hospital. — Photo: Patrika

## Pattern Of India's Economic Structure Must Be Changed

### Sir M. Visvesvaraya's View: Tributes To 'Industrial Nestor'

By OUR STAFF CORRESPONDENT

A public reception was accorded to Sir M. Visvesvaraya, 94-year old Founder-President of the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation, at a meeting at University Institute Hall, Calcutta, on Sunday. Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor, West Bengal, presided and others who spoke were Dr. J. C. Ghosh, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, Dr. Meghnad Saha and Sri D. N. Sen.

Sir M. Visvesvaraya who was described as "the industrial nestor of India", replying to the reception, emphasised that in matters of industrial development India must proceed on a planned basis. He asked his countrymen to compare the developments that had taken place in U.S.A., which was now at the top of the industrial world, with that of the conditions prevailing in India and said that India was at a low level of living condition. This was due to backwardness in education and lack of initiative among the people. In U.S.A. the average longevity of the citizens was 62, while in India the corresponding age was below 30. The people in India seemed to be quite content with the agricultural pattern of their economy but no country in the world to-day was safe without an all-round development of the wealth of the country. So, the people of India must have to change the pattern of their economic structure.

He said that there were two types of industries. One was for cities and the other was for urban areas. Both these types of industries had to be developed in India. In West Bengal particularly small-scale industries in villages had to be developed. An experiment was made in Mysore and they would be glad to know that in three years the scheme had been successful.

The first thing they should do was to industrialise the country as this was an industrial age, he said. Later on, after the industries had been brought to a proper level India could hope to extend other activities like agriculture and other services. Then only they could keep both industry and agriculture in a balance. He said that English language

should be remembered that work, production, income and standard of living, all these went together.

#### GOVERNOR'S TRIBUTE

According to a reception to Sir M. Visvesvaraya Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, said that when he was poor teacher of English in the City College he pursued which was the first book written on the subject in India. This chased a copy of Planning of India book was written by Sir M. Visvesvaraya. The first thing that struck the Governor was that after they had acquired freedom probably as a result of the struggle through which they had acquired, the country could be served only through legislatures. But in Sir M. Visvesvaraya was an example how the country could be served from outside the legislature. He had kept himself deliberately out of the legislature. It was quite possible for him to acquire an important position but he thought it his duty to be elsewhere outside politics. He had been of great service not merely to Mysore, his native place, but also to the whole of India. The second point that struck him was that the country could be served only through democracy. When they thought of man like Babu Prasad Nath, Mahatma Gandhi and Sir M. Visvesvaraya, he found that even more important than counting of heads was the leadership. It was indeed given to a very few of them to serve the country for such a long period as Sir M. Visvesvaraya.

#### SERVICE TO COUNTRY

Dr. J. C. Ghosh, Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, said that the life and work of Sir M. Visvesvaraya had been a continuous endeavour to overcome the lack of enterprise among the Indian people, to develop the country's resources and to overcome the inertia of the Government also. He hoped that with the dawn of new era his precepts would be followed both by his countrymen and the Government ushering in a new and better life in India.

Dr. Meghnad Saha said that he was the first man in India to con-

(Continued on Next Col.)

## Centenary Of Holy Mother Sarada Devi

### Statue To Be Installed At Birthplace On April 8

(From Our Own Correspondent)

BALLY, March 27. A three-day function will be held on April 7, 8 and 9 next at Jayrambati, the birthplace of the Holy Mother Sri Sarada Devi in connection with the Holy Mother Birth Centenary celebration.

A 2-foot 10 inches white marble statue of Sri Sarada Devi seated on a lotus will be installed by Srmat. Swami Sankarananda Maharaj, President of the Ramakrishna Math

## Broadcasting

Monday, March 27

### CUTTACK

222.2 metres :  
7-0 a.m.—Time Signal Mangalika; 7-10—Music; 7-15—News in Oriya; 7-30—Instrumental music; 7-45—Radharani; Bhajan; 8-0—News in English; 8-15—News in Hindi; 8-30—Vocal music; 9-0—Instrumental music; 9-30—Time Signal Close down. 6-0 p.m.—Time Signal Programme for Women; 6-25—Local announcements and weather report; 7-30—Programme for the Countryside; 7-0—Instrumental music; 7-15—News in Oriya; 7-30—Time Signal Vocal music; 7-45—Instrumental music; 8-15—News in Hindi; 8-30—Nimal Charan Harichandran (Khandana); 8-45—Radharani (Khandana); 9-0—News in English; 9-15—Open Air Music; Concert; 9-30—Time Signal Close down.

### PATNA

263.5 metres :  
7-0 a.m.—Time Signal; Nav Prabhakar; 7-10—Kumudini Mathur; 7-20—Lok Nath Kapoor (Sitar); 7-45—Debabrata Choudhuri; Bhajan and Geet; 8-0—Time Signal; News in English; 8-15—News in Hindi; 8-30—Ram Chatur Mallik (Khayal); 9-0—Time Signal; Close down. 12-30 p.m.—Time Signal; Geet (Records); 1-20—D. V. Paluskar; Hira Bai Barodekar and Subhila Tambe (Records); 1-40—News in Hindi; 1-50—Bhajan; 2-0—School programme for Schools; 2-30—Time Signal; Close down. 3-30 p.m.—Time Signal; Lok Nath Kapoor (Sitar); 3-45—Debabrata Choudhuri; Geet; 6-0—Interlude; 6-5—News in Hindi; 6-10—Local announcements; Weather report; Jute prices and Programme summary; 6-20—Geet; 6-30—Chaupal (Programme for Rural Areas); 7-15—Prashna yeh hai (Programme of impromptu replies to questions in Hindi); 7-45—"Jai Dol" (Radio adaptation of his story by S. H. Vatsyayan); 8-15—News in Hindi; 8-30—Kumudini Mathur; Geet; 8-45—Science Marches on; Quarterly Science review; 9-0—Time Signal; News in English; 9-15—Lok Nath Kapoor (Sitar); 9-30—Ram Chatur Mallik (Thumri); 9-45—Lok Nath Kapoor (Sitar); 10-0—Ram Chatur Mallik (Khayal); 10-30—Time Signal; Close down.

### GAUHATI

384.6 metres :  
6-55 a.m.—Bandana; 7-0—News in Assamese; 7-15—Shila Ghosh (Adhunik); 7-30—Tribal songs; 6-45—Bidhu Bhushan Chowdhury (Esraj); 8-0—News in English; 8-15—News in Hindi; 8-30—Close down. 6-15 p.m.—Geeta Dasgupta (Adhunik); 5-30—Programme for the Countryside; 6-0—Programme in Khasi; 6-30—Geeta Dasgupta (Modern Bengali songs); 6-45—Adhir Chandra Deb (Khayal); 7-0—News in Assamese; 7-15—Local news and weather report; 7-20—Hardiyal Singh Sohel (Geet and Ghazal); 7-30—Sports review in Assamese by