

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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To Rajendra Prasad: Foreign Policy Restraint¹

April 2, 1959

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 1st April.

The course you suggest for us to take would mean our breaking diplomatic relations with China almost immediately, with all the consequences that flow from it. I do not think that would be advisable. As a matter of fact, the statements I have made in Parliament have clearly shown where our sympathies lie. The next few days are likely to see some further developments.

I hope to discuss this matter with you on your return to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

In the Lok Sabha: Arrival of the Dalai Lama²

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):

The other day, three days ago, I think, when I was speaking about recent happenings in Tibet, I mentioned that I would keep the House informed of every fresh development. In the last two days, day before yesterday and

¹ Letter

² Statement on the Dalai Lama, 3 April 1959. Lok Sabha Debates, Second Series, Vol. XXVIII, cols 9559-9561.

yesterday, we have been receiving a number of messages. They were often delayed because they had to come through a rather devious route.

Yesterday I was thinking of informing the House of a certain development, but then I hesitated to do so, because I wanted it to be fully confirmed; I was waiting for some details. We received them last evening. We could have issued this news to the Press last evening, but I thought I should inform the House first and then the Press can have it.

The facts are that on the 1st April, i.e. day before yesterday morning, we received a message via Shillong dated 31st March evening that an emissary with a message from the Dalai Lama had arrived at our border check-post at Chutangmu in the North East Frontier Agency. He had arrived there on the 29th March stating that the Dalai Lama requested us for political asylum and that he expected to reach the border on the 30th March, i.e. soon after he himself had come. We received the message on the 1st. The same evening, i.e. 1st April evening, a message was received by us again via Shillong dated 1st April that the Dalai Lama with his small party of 8 had crossed into our territory on the evening of the 31st March.³

Expecting that some such development might occur, we had instructed the various check-posts round about there what to do in case such a development takes place. So, when he crossed over into our territory, he was received by our Assistant Political Officer of the Tawang sub-division, which is a part of the Kameng Frontier Division of the North East Frontier Agency. A little later, the rest of his party, the entourage, came in. The total number who have come with him or after him is 80. From the 2nd evening, i.e. yesterday, we learn that this Party in two groups is moving towards Tawang, which is the headquarters of that sub-division and that he is expected to reach Tawang the day after tomorrow, Sunday, 5th evening. Shri Braj Raj Singh: I want a clarification, which is a very important one.

³ For other statements on the Dalai Lama's arrival, see items 119, 120, 122 and 128

Shri Khadilkar: I want a little more information.

Mr. Deputy-Speaker: This is the information that the Prime Minister has got just at present. If he gets more, he has promised us that he will place it before the House.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: I want a clarification. There is a news in the Press that the New China Agency had published the very same news yesterday. How is it that the Government of India here did not get this confirmation even till the last evening? The Prime Minister himself said that he knew the information when he was making a statement here yesterday, but he could get the confirmation only last evening. May I know whether we are going to give political asylum to the Dalai Lama?⁴

Shri Khadilkar: We have given the Dalai Lama asylum here...

Shri Nath Pai: We do not know if we have given him.

An Hon. Member: We have.

Shri Khadilkar: I want a clarification. The Dalai Lama is the temporal and spiritual head of Tibet. Does the asylum confer the same right on him and will he be functioning in the same capacity on the Indian soil? That is a very serious matter.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: So far as Mr. Khadilkar's question is concerned, about spiritual rights, etc., I cannot answer it. It is a complicated matter

⁴ See SWJN/ISS/47/pp. 584-585

which will have to be considered. But there is no doubt that he will receive respectful treatment.

Shri Naushir Bharucha:⁵ Is it a fact that the Dalai Lama was injured?

Shri Jawabarlal Nehru: No, Sir; he is quite healthy.

As for the other question, I myself stated that we knew it da y before yesterday evening-in fact, if I may say so, I was not here then, but we knew about his having crossed the frontier, but we wanted certain confirmation about details, whether the whole party had crossed over, where they were, etc., before I mentioned it to this House. Yesterday morning, I was not in a position to do so, although I knew that he had crossed the border. In the evening I was, but I wanted to wait for the meeting of the Lok Sabha today to say so, instead of giving the news to the press.

To Saiyid Fazl Ali: Public Feelings about Tibet⁶

April 3, 1959

My dear Fazl Ali,

Thank you for your letter of April 1st. As you must know, we have already agreed to give political asylum to the Dalai Lama, and he and his party are in India now.

I think that we have acted rightly. But, apart from my feelings, the strength of public feeling in India is so tremendous on this subject that no Government can ignore it. That feeling, of course, is not merely about the

⁵ Independent, Lok Sabha MP from East Khandesh, Bombay State.

⁶ Letter.

Dalai Lama, but about events in Tibet. And, to some extent, I share that feeling, though I have to express myself with restraint.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

To the Dalai Lama: Welcome⁷

I received Your Holiness' message dated the 26th March only yesterday on my return to Delhi. My colleagues and I welcome you and send you greetings on your safe arrival in India. We shall be happy to afford the necessary facilities for you, your family and entourage to reside in India. The people of India who hold you in great veneration will no doubt accord their traditional respect to your person.

Kind regards.⁸

⁷ Telegram to the Dalai Lama, sent through K. L. Mehta, Adviser to the Government of Assam, 3 April 1959

⁸ After the message to the Dalai Lama, the following instructions were issued by S. Dutt to K.L. Mehta, as part of the same telegram:

"2. In transmitting the message, the officer concerned should also inform the Dalai Lama and his principal advisers that the Government of India are making the necessary arrangements for the Party's travel in India.

3. If the Dalai Lama wishes to halt at Bomdila or Tezpur for rest you should fall in with his wishes. We are sending P.N. Menon, formerly our Consul-General in Lhasa up to Bomdila within the next day or two. He will be in charge of the party during: their travel to destination in India. We have not yet decided where the Dalai Lama should reside but obviously Shillong, Kalimpong or Darjeeling is out of the question. We shall send you a further message about this at the earliest possible.

4. We hope you have made the necessary security arrangements. We propose sending a senior IB Officer from here. We shall also send one or two interpreters. Please let-us know if you want any other staff, which should be kept to the minimum.

To Subimal Dutt: Tibetan Refugees, Heinrich Harrer⁹

Telegram from Shri Chagla,¹⁰ Washington

2. I do not think that this proposal to start a big fund for the relief of refugees from Tibet is a desirable one. People abroad and specially in America seem to be obsessed with Hungary and what happened then. You must have seen the telegram I received from Norman Thomas.¹¹

3. I do not think there is likely to be any large number of refugees, and to start big funds, at any rate at this stage, has no meaning. It will have a bad political effect. If necessity arises later, the funds can perhaps be started.

5. No person, whether Indian or foreigner, should be given Inner Line permit to meet the Dalai Lama and his party. When the Dalai Lama reaches Assam, we cannot altogether prevent press correspondents from approaching him. P.N. Menon will be instructed how best to deal with them.

6. We are instructing P.N. Menon to inform the Dalai Lama orally that it would be best for him not to issue any long statements to the press here at this stage. The Dalai Lama will undoubtedly appreciate the inadvisability of saying anything which would cause embarrassment to him and to us. Similar advice will also be given to members of his party. Since no press correspondent can meet the Dalai Lama until he comes out of the NEFA area, it is not necessary to convey this advice immediately, even if it were possible to do so. We should like all our officers who will be with the Dalai Lama and his party to observe the utmost discretion in what they do or say to others.

7. [T.S.] Murti who is now in the Party should be with them until they reach their final destination in India. Instruct him accordingly."

⁹ Note to the FS, 4 April 1959

¹⁰ M.C. Chagla, India's Ambassador to the USA

¹¹ American socialist leader

4. Norman Thomas imagines that large numbers of Tibetan refugees can be sent to other countries for rehabilitation. Tibetans will hardly fit in in any country.

5. If you agree with this, we shall draft a telegram tomorrow to Shri Chagla.

Telegram from Hicomind, London about Heinrich Harrer¹²

2. Any interview by Harrer with the Dalai Lama will be world news, and is bound to be embarrassing both to the Dalai Lama and to us. I do not think we should encourage this. We do not know what the immediate future may bring, and whether the Dalai Lama himself would be agreeable or not. At any rate, we are likely to advise him not to give interviews.

To M.C. Chagla: Fund for Tibetan Refugees¹³

Your telegram 157 April 3.

It seems to me premature to start a fund for relief of refugees from Tibet. Thus far there has been no such movement of refugees except for party accompanying Dalai Lama who will be looked after by the Government of India. It appears that people are being influenced by example of Hungary although conditions in Tibet and India are completely different, and I doubt very much about any large influx of refugees into India. I would not like to encourage this either on a large scale. Tibetans do not easily fit in any foreign country. Even in India only the hill areas are suitable. Other

¹² Heinrich Harrer (1912-2006); Austrian mountaineer, sportsman, geographer; lived in Tibet, 1946-52; author of *Seven Years in Tibet* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1953).

¹³ Telegram, 5 April 1959

countries would not suit them at all, and I am sure they will not be accepted there. If a situation arises later demanding necessity of fund we can consider it then. For the moment situation is fluid and uncertain. Dalai Lama, will probably take another two weeks or more before he comes out of NEFA. Discussions with him might help us to understand situation a little better.

2. Norman Thomas has also sent me message about helping large number of Tibetan refugees.

3. While therefore we appreciate sentiments which have led to proposal for a fund, we feel that at this moment it is neither needed nor a desirable move. You can explain position privately and suitably to sponsors of proposal. Recent events in Tibet have deeply stirred feelings in India, and I have explained our views and position in some detail at a press conference held this morning.

To Harold Macmillan: Explaining Tibet Events¹⁴

Thank you for your personal message which has been communicated to me through your High Commissioner in New Delhi.¹⁵ As I am leaving Delhi for some days, I am sending you a reply immediately;

We are naturally much concerned at the developments in Tibet. You must have learnt that the Dalai Lama has sought political asylum in India and we have granted it. He has come over with members of his family and a party

¹⁴ Message sent through the Indian High Commissioner, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, 6 April 1959

¹⁵ Malcolm Macdonald

of about eighty persons. He is still in the remote areas of our North East Frontier Agency. It will take him about two weeks to reach the railhead. After that we propose to invite him to stay at one of our hill stations in Northern India.

I do not think it is correct to compare Tibet with Hungary. Hungary was in international law an independent state; Tibet has been recognised to be a part of the Chinese State though it was to enjoy autonomy in regard to its internal affairs.

I also do not think that the Soviet Government have had anything to do with those developments in Tibet. The Chinese Government promised the Tibetan, authorities not to interfere in their internal affairs. It is largely true that they did not interfere in the social or religious customs, but they kept a firm military grip and sometimes punished people who, they thought, were against them.

Three years ago, a revolt started in the Kham area which, though Tibetan in origin, has been ostensibly part of China proper for over forty years. The Khampas are a hardy and turbulent people who have hardly ever submitted to any firm governmental control from above. When the Chinese Government tried to introduce their new measures of land reform in the Kham area (which was not considered by them Tibet), there was a revolt there. There was a good deal of killing on both sides to begin with. Since then this revolt has continued in a guerilla form and has spread to East and South East Tibet. The Chinese have found it difficult to deal with it. They have repeatedly asked the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan authorities to suppress it. These authorities had neither the capacity nor the desire to fight against the Khampas. Indeed they must have sympathised with them secretly. Because of this revolt, there has been a continuing ferment in Tibet and the pressure of the Chinese Government on the Dalai Lama had been increasing.

Apparently matters came to a crisis about the 10th of March, when the Dalai Lama was invited by the Chinese Commander at Lhasa to visit him and was asked not to bring his retinue. This alarmed the people of Lhasa as they thought that this was a preliminary to the Dalai Lama being forcibly removed from them and perhaps taken to China. Large crowds collected around his palace begging him not to accept the invitation. For several days afterwards there were people's demonstrations in Lhasa and all kinds of meetings were held of the leading personalities there. There was much talk of declaring independence and if necessary fighting the Chinese. The Chinese authorities did not take any step against this for several days. Either this took them by surprise or they were not prepared for it and were waiting for reinforcements. Events were obviously heading towards conflict. Apparently the Dalai Lama secretly left Lhasa on the night of the 17th. Two or three days later fighting began. It is difficult to say how this started. Inevitably the small ill-equipped Tibetan army could not hold out against Chinese soldiery. After some shelling of important buildings in Lhasa, the Tibetan army surrendered. We do not quite know what the damage has been, but it must be fairly considerable.

Since then Lhasa has been relatively quiet, but the Khampa people appear to be still in some kind of control of areas in the South and South East of Tibet. Such brief reports as we have had from our representatives at Lhasa and two other posts in Tibet indicate that the Chinese authorities have come down with a heavy hand in various towns and probably elsewhere also.

I rather doubt if the Chinese wanted to take the initiative in bringing about this crisis, but their broad policies and the gradual development of the situation made a conflict inevitable and now the Tibetans must be suffering greatly. Even though the Chinese are strong in a military sense, it is no easy task for them to deal with guerillas in the high mountainous areas.

There has been much talk in foreign countries of the possibility of large numbers of Tibetans migrating to India. I rather doubt if this will happen though individuals may endeavour to come across. I have been informed that some attempts are being made in the United States to collect funds for Tibetan refugees. As expressions of human sympathy they are understandable, but in so far as they might serve to encourage Tibetans to leave their country, I do not think that they would be helpful in the present context.

It is difficult to forecast the future. We are, therefore, closely watching events. Yesterday I gave a long Press Conference on this subject.³⁹ In this I tried to express our views in restrained but clear language.

With kind regards,
Jawaharlal Nehru

To the Lok Sabha Secretariat: Chinese Restrictions on Indian Mission¹⁶

I regret I am unable to accept this Short Notice Question. For the information of Mr. Speaker, I might say that we are not aware that the Chinese Government have disputed the objectivity of our Consul-General at Lhasa.¹⁷ Also, that while there were certain restrictions placed on our Mission at Lhasa, we cannot say how far they were necessary. This would depend on the nature of the disturbances.

¹⁶ Note on a short notice question, 8 April 1959

¹⁷ S.L. Chibber

To the Maharaja of Sikkim: Tibet a Sensitive Matter¹⁸

April 8, 1959

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

I received your letter of March 24 some days ago from our Political Officer in Sikkim.¹⁹ We can well appreciate your concern and that of the people of Sikkim about the current events in Tibet. I have made a number of statements on the subject in our Parliament during the last two weeks. I also dealt with it in a Press Conference on the 5th April. We are all thankful that His Holiness the Dalai Lama has safely reached our territory. As I have said before, we shall treat him with the respect and regard due to his position as the spiritual leader of a large number of persons not only in his country but in India. We have not yet been able to ascertain what his wishes are, but it is our intention to arrange for him to stay in one of our hill stations in North India. You can rest assured that we shall look after him well.

As regards the happenings in Tibet, our position is a difficult and delicate one. Any direct intervention by us would be resented by the Chinese and would not do the Tibetans any good. Feelings are apparently running high on both sides and I do not therefore wish to make a direct approach to Premier Chou En-lai even informally at this stage. Such an approach would not produce any results. However, you can rest assured that the interests of the Tibetans are very much in my mind, although what we can do is not yet clear to me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

¹⁸ Letter to Tashi Namgyal, the Maharaja

¹⁹ Apa B.Pant

To C. Rajagopalachari: Khampa Revolt²⁰

8th April, 1959

My dear Rajaji,

On return to Delhi from Allahabad this morning I have received your letter of the 6th April. I have read the letter from Marco Pallis²¹ and I am returning it.

The situation in Tibet is, of course, a difficult one and an embarrassing one for us. We want to maintain good relations with China and at the same time-we should like Tibet to enjoy real autonomy. It was inevitable that social and economic changes should come to Tibet when its isolation was broken down. We hoped that these changes would come through Tibetan agencies, and perhaps gradually, and not be imposed by the Chinese authorities. I think that the Chinese Government themselves appreciated this position to some extent and therefore postponed all their proposed reforms. But the inherent contradictions in Tibet during the last few years almost made some kind of a conflict inevitable.

This conflict began in the Kham area which, strictly speaking, has not been part of Tibet for the last half century or more, though it is essentially Tibetan in character. This Kham area, being considered a part of China by the Chinese authorities, was not governed by the assurances given by China to the Tibetan authorities. The so-called reforms were imposed upon the Kham people. These people have hardly ever submitted to any

²⁰ Letter

²¹ (1895-1989); British composer, explorer, translator and scholar of Tibetan Buddhism; fought in the First World War; went on climbing expeditions to Tibet, 1923, 1933, 1936, 1947; embraced Buddhism, 1936; lived in Kalimpong, 1947-52; returned to England, and through his writings, helped raise public awareness about Tibet; author of Peaks and Lamas (London: Cassell, 1939), The Way of the Mountain (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom Inc, 1960), A Buddhism Spectrum (Bloomington, Indiana: World Wisdom Inc., 1980).

government. They are a tough fighting people who have owed only vague allegiance to a suzerain power whether this was Tibet or China. When the Chinese Government imposed its so-called reforms in this area, there was a rebellion. This revolt has been continuing for over three years now and has taken the form of guerilla activity. The mere fact that the Chinese authorities, who are not averse to taking the strongest measures, have failed to suppress this revolt during these three years indicates the toughness of the Khampa people.

The continuance of this Khampa revolt was naturally followed with the keenest interest and sympathy by the Tibetans, although the latter kept aloof from it. Lately, the Khampa groups spread out right up to Lhasa. Partly because of this and partly because the Chinese Government did not wish to relax its hold in any way over Tibet, many political measures were taken which bore down heavily on the Tibetans. While actual social and economic reforms were not introduced, politically if any person offended the Chinese, he had to suffer for it immediately.

All this has led to this conflict. There can be little doubt that the vast majority of Tibetans have a strong sense of independence and do not like Chinese or any other control. If they had real autonomy, possibly matters might have adjusted themselves.

You will have followed the various statements made on behalf of Government in regard to this matter. We have tried to adopt a balanced attitude which means that we have expressed our broad sympathy for the Tibetans and at the same time laid stress on our relations with China. Vaguely we have said that we hope Tibet would enjoy autonomy within the Chinese State.

The Indian public opinion has expressed itself much more strongly and the mere fact that we have given asylum to the Dalai Lama, though completely correct, is not going to be liked by the Chinese. I do not quite see what

more we can do. The real difficulty is that many people who talk loudly about Tibet today are not really interested in the people of Tibet, but are exploiting it in terms of the cold war. On the other hand, during the last year or so the Chinese Government has become progressively more rigid and there has been even a touch of arrogance in their dealings with other countries.

The only possible way for us to be helpful in this situation is to continue to have some kind of a balanced outlook. The moment we leave that, nothing more can be done by us. I know that even otherwise we cannot do much.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

To CPP: Tibetan Refugees²²

NO GENERAL ASYLUM TO EMIGRES FROM TIBET: NEHRU

New Delhi, April 9 - Prime Minister Nehru is understood to have said at a meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party here today that, while firmly upholding the principle of Tibetan autonomy, India would endeavour to maintain friendly relations with China.

He categorically declared that he did not want to leave any heritage of unfriendliness with China or any other neighbouring country lest posterity should think that at a rather critical time some action had been taken to impair the Sino-Indian friendship which had existed for several centuries. Pandit Nehru said that in deciding upon her attitude towards the Tibetan issue India had to be guided by Gandhiji's principles of universal friendship and refusal to compromise on principles.

²² Report of speech, New Delhi, 9 April 1959. From the National Herald, 10 April 1959

The policy of India like most other countries, he said, was guided by the principles of protecting her frontiers and endeavouring to maintain friendship with neighbouring countries. India would be firm and not submit on wrong principles.

Pandit Nehru deplored the use of "cold war language" in certain quarters in relation to the Tibetan developments. Both Communists and anti-Communists were, using strong language. This, he said, would not clear the way for negotiations even if there was a will to negotiate.

In an analysis of the recent developments he was understood to have said that the Tibetan trouble started in the Khampa area (Inner Tibet), an area not covered by the autonomy agreement, when the Chinese introduced certain land reforms and the like. Some of the Khampas who opposed the Chinese methods fled to Tibet and the anti-Chinese feelings created by them in course of time reached Lhasa. This "clash of wills" of "two extremes" had been there for some time and he had "sensed" it while in Bhutan recently.

In this atmosphere when the Dalai Lama was invited by the Chinese Commander people got an impression that the Chinese might take him to Peking, and there was a very big demonstration. The demonstration, he is understood to have said, was in the nature of an expression of the "national feelings and sentiments" of the Tibetans.

Pandit Nehru rejected the suggestion that India should open her doors to all those Tibetans who might like to seek refuge in India.

The grant of asylum on such a large scale would not be in the interests of the Tibetans who stayed back in Tibet, he is understood to have stated.

In a long speech, Pandit Nehru justified the granting of asylum to the Dalai Lama and a few others on the ground that it was permitted under international law.

Pandit Nehru said that, if everyone coming to India from Tibet was admitted, it might lead to a situation in which the Tibetans remaining in their country would be bereft of leadership. He cited the case of East Pakistan wherefrom the leadership had come back to India to the disadvantage of the non-Muslim population in that country.

So, Pandit Nehru added, those who were asking India to open the doors to Tibetan émigrés were doing a disservice to the Tibetans.

In a passing reference to Pakistan in this context he was reported to have remarked that the relations between India and Pakistan had not been happy. It was so in spite of India's continued efforts to maintain friendly relations with that country.

To P.N. Rajabhoj: Meeting the Dalai Lama²³

My dear Rajabhoj,

Your letter of the 7th April. I cannot suggest at this stage how you can contact the Dalai Lama because his programme itself is uncertain. I suppose you will have later opportunities to meet him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

**To the Parliamentary Consultative Committee on Foreign Affairs:
Tibet and Algeria²⁴**

²³ Letter to Rajabhoj, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay. J. N. Supplementary Papers, NMML.

²⁴ PTI report of speech, 10 April 1959. From the National Herald, 12 April 1959.

TIBET: NEHRU URGES NEED FOR AVOIDING COLD WAR ATMOSPHERE

April 10, 1959

New Delhi, April 11 - Prime Minister Nehru has stressed the vital need of avoiding the cold war atmosphere coming to India in the wake of happenings in Tibet.

Addressing the parliamentary consultative committee on foreign affairs on Friday, the Prime Minister is understood to have expressed his keen desire to maintain friendly relations with China.

He did not want that any trail of bitterness should be left behind in India on this matter.

The Prime Minister is reported to have expressed his anxiety on this issue and said that Sino-Indian relations should not be allowed to be embittered. Asked if the Chinese People's Government had sent any "reaction" to the concern expressed by the people here about the situation in Tibet, Pandit Nehru is understood to have said that there had been no communication from Peking on this matter even at the diplomatic level. Pandit Nehru reiterated the view that India could not follow an "open door policy" to admit every refugee that came from Tibet.

He is reported to have told the consultative committee that since March 1 last only seven refugees from Tibet had come to India apart from the party of eighty that came with the Dalai Lama. There was no large-scale movement of refugees. Any great influx of refugees would not be in the interest of the Tibetans themselves as it would deprive them of proper leadership.

He is understood to have reiterated the view that the basis of the uprising in Tibet was deeply rooted in a "national feeling."

Asked about the future abode of the Dalai Lama, Pandit Nehru is reported to have said that a semi-permanent abode was being selected at some hill station.

In reply to a question, Pandit Nehru is reported to have said that among the hill stations being considered for the Dalai Lama's stay were Mussoorie and Simla.

Asked whether a second Bandung Conference was likely to be called to iron out the differences among Afro-Asian nations on various international issues, Pandit Nehru is understood to have said that at the present moment it would require a very great effort to find a "common ground" for discussion of problems.

When a member suggested that the Chinese Government might consider the Dalai Lama's escape as "good riddance", Pandit Nehru is reported to have said that this was not correct. The Chinese authorities would have liked to prevent the Dalai Lama's escape, but they failed to do so.

Asked whether India would accord recognition to the Algerian provisional Government, Pandit Nehru is understood to have said that merely according recognition would not help solve the problem.

He added that during the last four years, nearly one tenth of the Algerian population had been killed in the fighting going on there. This was-a great tragedy.

Asked whether India would allow medical supplies to be sent to Aigeria, Pandit Nehru is reported to have said that this proposaI would be considered.

To M.C. Chagla: Tolstoy Foundation Help for Tibetan Refugees²⁵

Prime Minister has received a telegram from Mrs. Alexandra Tolstoy, Count Tolstoy's daughter,²⁶ datelined New York. Please communicate a reply to her on the following lines:

²⁵ Note to SG and FS for Dutt to forward to Chagla, 10 April 1959.

Prime Minister thanks her for her telegram and appreciates the offer by the Tolstoy Foundation 'of help for Tibetan refugees. Thus far however no problem of refugees has arisen. Apart from the Dalai Lama and his party of about 80 very few persons have come over to India. The Government of India have made themselves responsible for the Dalai Lama's party. If any problem of refugee arises, we shall gladly communicate with her again if necessary. The Dalai Lama is still in a remote part of North-East India and it will be another two weeks or so before he reaches the place which has been selected by us for his residence in India. It is then only that we can consult him about his own wishes in the matter. For the present, therefore, we think that it is not necessary for Count Tolstoy's grandson or anyone else to come to India to meet the Dalai Lama.

To Amrit Kaur: Tibetan Refugees²⁷

April 11, 1959

My dear Amrit,

Your letter of April 4 (why it has reached me today I do not know, unless you have given a wrong date to it).

No question of giving relief to refugees from Tibet has yet arisen. The only refugees thus far are 7, apart from the Dalai Lama's party of 80, which is the responsibility of the Government of India.

²⁶ (1884-1979); literary secretary to her father Leo Tolstoy; keeper of Tolstoy archives and estate; looked after the wounded soldiers in the First World War; arrested five times after the Russian Revolution; migrated to USA, 1929; founded Tolstoy Foundation, 1939 with President Herbert Hoover as Chairman (1939-64); worked for resettlement of refugees.

²⁷ Letter to Amrit Kaur, Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Punjab, and Former Union Minister of Health.

I rather doubt if many refugees will come over; a few might. People are apt to compare Tibet with Hungary, but the conditions are entirely different. Tibet is a very sparsely populated country and it is not easy to move about from one place to another. No doubt such movements now are not encouraged by the Chinese authorities, and the few passes to India will probably be guarded by them.

Thus I do not think that many people will come here. The few who might try to come will find no great difficulty from our side.

If help is needed, the Red Cross can certainly give it. As a matter of fact, we have had offers from organisations in other countries. I understand that a relief committee is likely to be started in Delhi also consisting of people from various Parties.

Yours, Jawaharlal

To U.N. Dhebar: Tibetan Refugees²⁸

April 11, 1959

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Your letter of the 10th April about the proposal to start a relief committee for Tibet refugees. I discussed this matter with Suchetaji²⁹ today. I told her that I saw no objection to a relief committee being formed. Indeed, I thought it desirable to have such a Committee to which people from different Parties can be invited. I would suggest, however, that it should not be too big a committee, and it should mainly be a Delhi committee, so that the people could meet whenever necessary.

²⁸ Letter to Dhebar, former Congress President. U. N. Dhebar Papers, NMML. Also available in AICC Papers, NMML and JN Collection.

²⁹ Sucheta Kiipalani

I do not myself think that any problem of a large number of refugees from Tibet is likely to arise. People have got into the habit of thinking of Hungary, but conditions were very different there. Tibet is a sparsely populated country and movements are difficult. The few passes into India are probably guarded by Chinese troops. So, quite apart from what we may or & may not do to incomers, there would not be many who can come. Nevertheless, I think it is a good gesture to have such a committee.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

To S. Dutt: Dalai Lama's Residence³⁰

I have read all these papers.

2. From the list of persons accompanying the Dalai Lama, it appears that the number is 120 and not 80 as we imagined. On a different paper, mention is made of the persons who are expected to accompany the Dalai Lama further, that is, to his ultimate place of residence. This is a much smaller list. It is suggested that the others accompanying him might go to Darjeeling and Kalimpong. Among these others who are supposed to go to Darjeeling or Kalimpong, are the members of his family, the tutors and other officials. I think that it would not be desirable for the members of his family or the Ministers and other high officials to be separated from him. All the important people accompanying him plus the necessary attendants, should come together to Mussoorie. If we allow the important people to establish themselves in Kalimpong or Darjeeling, difficulties would arise. This need not apply to the unimportant people or to the host of attendants.

³⁰ Note to FS, 12 April 1959. S. Dutt Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection

Some indication of our views might, therefore, be sent to P.N. Menon³¹ and K.L. Mehta.³² The Dalai Lama might be informed that we are arranging suitable accommodation for a fairly large party and that it would be desirable for his principal advisers as well as the members of his family to be with him. Possibly he is afraid of the members of his family being brought to the plains in the hot weather. He should be told that this will not be so and that they will be kept at a bill station.

3. The Dalai Lama should be informed that we are making arrangements at Mussoorie which is a bill station and which is fairly easily accessible from Delhi.³³

4. He should be informed also that I hope to meet him at Mussoorie soon after his arrival there and to discuss various points with him.

5. If they wish to bring some interpreters from Kalimpong, they can do so.

6. The Dalai Lama can be told that any particular persons who are indicated by him, will certainly be allowed entry into India. We may also permit entry to some unarmed Tibetans seeking asylum, but if the numbers are at all large, the matter will have to be given special consideration.

7. I presume that the Dalai Lama has been informed that we shall give every facility to his brother, Gyalo Dhondup,³⁴ and anyone else he wishes, to meet him, but this will be much more convenient at Mussoorie than en route.

³¹ Consul-General of India in Lhasa, 1954-1956; Director, External Publicity, at this time; met the Dalai Lama at Bomdila on 12 April as the GOI's representative.

³² Adviser to the Governor of Assam for NEFA. 57.

³³ Nehru had earlier written to Ila Palchoudhuri on 4 April 1959: "We cannot possibly keep the Dalai Lama near the frontier. Therefore, Darjeeling, Kalimpong, Siliguri, etc., are ruled out."

³⁴ Gyalo Thondup (h. 1928); elder brother of the 14th Dalai Lama.

8. The other points raised by the Ministers will have to be dealt with after the arrival of the Dalai Lama in Mussoorie and when we have had talks with him.

9. I agree with you that some kind of a statement should be issued by the Dalai Lama when he emerges from the NEFA. The proposed communiqué is not suitable for this purpose. At the same time, the statement he might issue at Tezpur should not be too bad. It should deal with the circumstances of his leaving Lhasa, but something more is needed. Perhaps, you might come to see me tomorrow evening and we can discuss this matter further.

10. There is no mention in these papers of the alleged letters he is supposed to have written to the Chinese Commander in Lhasa, This question is agitating all the foreign as well as Indian correspondents, and some time or other he will have to say something about them. You might indicate to P.N. Menon to find out privately about this matter.

11. The latest message that he has sent me, should be suitably acknowledged.

12. I think that you should accompany me when I go to Mussoorie or, perhaps, you might even go a day before, I intend going to Dehra Dun on the 23rd evening and spending the night there. Early on the 24th morning, I shall go to Mussoorie. I shall be busy with my conference till lunch time and indeed a little after. I can, therefore, see the Dalai Lama on the 24th afternoon. I have some engagements then, but they can be adjusted. I intend returning to Dehra Dun on the 24th evening and coming back to Delhi on the 25th morning.

13. If you accompany me on the 23rd, you can go on straight to Mussoorie that evening and not remain at Dehra Dun, or you could go early in the morning on the 24th from Dehra Dun and see the Dalai Lama and others there on the morning of the 25th.

To the Lok Sabha Secretariat: Violation of Air Space³⁵

The following note should be sent to the Lok Sabha Secretariat for submission to Mr. Speaker:

"I have enquired into this matter. The press report appearing in the Indian Express of the 9th April appears to be very largely incorrect. The facts, as we know them, are that many of the planes which were found to have flown over Sikkim, Bhutan or Indian territory were our own aircraft carrying out Survey of India duties or other work assigned to them. Some of these aircraft were Soviet planes on the regular scheduled flights between Moscow and New Delhi. On two occasions they were Soviet planes bringing the King of Nepal and his party.

On two occasions, they were Chinese planes doing survey work on the border between China and Burma, and they might have accidentally partly overflowed our territory. In a number of cases, the planes have not been identified and they might have been Chinese planes. Whether these planes came over accidentally or not it is difficult to say.

There has been no report of violations of our air space in March or April 1959. Therefore, no question has arisen, insofar as we are aware, of any Chinese aircraft pursuing the Dalai Lama over our territory.

Steps for the security of our frontier have been taken. It is not possible to have air bases in the mountainous regions near the border as the terrain is not suitable for aircraft to land or take off. Even supplies have to be sent by airdropping in these areas.

Because of these facts, it is submitted to Mr. Speaker that a statement on this subject will not be desirable."

³⁵ Note, 12 April 1959

To the Dalai Lama: Advice on Meeting the Press³⁶

I thank Your Holiness for the message which you have sent me through our Political Officer, Shri Harminder Singh. I am myself anxious to meet you at the earliest opportunity. As you must have been informed, we are arranging for Your Holiness and the members of your family and your entourage to stay at Mussoorie. Delhi is getting warm now and Your Holiness need not take the trouble of coming here to meet me. In accordance with an earlier engagement, I am due to visit Mussoorie on the 24th and I propose to call on you the same afternoon.

2. I have seen the report of the talk which you had with our Political Officer on the 6th April. There are a number of matters which you and I might discuss personally and I am, therefore, not giving you a detailed reply at this stage.

3. We have certainly no objection to your brother, Gyalo Dhondup, meeting you, and we are arranging facilities for him to do so as early as possible. He can travel back with you to Mussoorie, if you so wish. I understand that some other important Tibetan personalities, who have been residing in India for some time, are also anxious to meet you. We feel these persons should not trouble you en route, but we shall certainly afford them facilities to call on you later in Mussoorie.

4. May I draw Your Holiness's attention to one particular matter. I am informed that a large number of press correspondents: from all over the world are now gathered in Tezpur and its vicinity awaiting Your Holiness's arrival. It would be difficult for you to avoid saying something to them, and I am inclined to the view that Your Holiness might release a brief statement

³⁶ Telegram to the Dalai Lama, sent through P. N. Menon, 13 April 1959.

to these correspondents.³⁷ Perhaps, you might defer a detailed statement on the political situation in Tibet and your future intentions until you have settled down in Mussoorie and have had time to reflect on the recent developments in your country.

5. We are making arrangements at Tezpur so that you might give darshan and blessings to people gathered there and also to allow pressmen to take photographs before you leave.

6. May I also suggest that in order to prevent embarrassment to you or distorted versions being published, it would be best if members of your party desisted from seeing the press correspondents individually and making statements to them.

7. I am looking forward to meeting Your Holiness,

With kind regard,

To Sampurnanand: The Dalai Lama's Accommodation at Mussoorie³⁸

April 13, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I am sorry for the delay in acknowledging two of your letters dated March 29 and 30.

So far as Tibet is concerned, much has happened since you wrote, and I have also spoken on that subject on several occasions. Naturally, we have a great deal of sympathy for the Tibetans and we should express it and have

³⁷ According to a report in The Hindu on 13 April, S. Sen, Joint Secretary, MEA, had been deputed to assist journalists assembled there to cover the arrival of the Dalai Lama. Over 75 pressmen, mostly from foreign countries, had gathered in Tezpur. The Dalai Lama issued a statement on 18 April 1959 at Tezpur, before leaving for Mussoorie, recounting the circumstances in which he left Tibet.

³⁸ Letter to the Chief Minister of UP

expressed it. The fact remains that the situation is a very difficult one and a wrong step by us will injure the Tibetans apart from other consequences. So far as the Americans are concerned, I am sure that most of them do not care for Tibet or for the Tibetans at all. They are only interested in using them for cold war purposes.

We have announced today that the Dalai Lama will be staying at Mussoorie. He will probably reach there on the 21st April. We are sending one of our Foreign Office officers, Jagat Mehta,³⁹ to help the local officials in regard to the arrangements for the stay. At your Government's suggestion, we have agreed to Birla House, etc. being reserved for this purpose.

I shall be going to Dehra Dun on the 23rd evening and shall go to Mussoorie the next morning. I have a conference, etc., to attend to in the morning. In the afternoon, I shall visit the Dalai Lama. That evening I shall return to Dehra Dun where I shall spend the night. The next day, 25th, I shall return to Delhi.

Yours sincerely, Jawaharlal Nehru

To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit: On Western Press Reports⁴⁰

Madurai, South India,

15th April, 1959

[My dear High Commissioner],

I have received your letter of April 9⁴¹ here at Madurai in South India, I am replying briefly now.

³⁹ Deputy Secretary, MEA, 1956-1960.

⁴⁰ Letter

⁴¹ See Appendix 11, pp. 587-589

So far as Tibet is concerned, I have made various statements and I shall no doubt refer to the subject again when the time comes. We have done more for the Dalai Lama and the people of Tibet generally than any Western power has done or is likely to do, except, of course, for strong denunciations of China's conduct. We do not propose to be hustled by British or American press comments. I shall probably be meeting the Dalai Lama at Mussoorie in about ten days' time. The article by Kingsley Martin in the *New Statesman*⁴² was on the whole a sensible article.

People used to cold war do not seem to realise that our approach to questions is different and that it does little good to shout loudly and denounce and condemn. We expressed sympathies with the grieved party which normally indicates our own thinking. To denounce and condemn is to use the methods of the cold war. There has been enough to condemn in Algeria and in Nyasaland, We have exercised restraint there.

Richardson's⁴³ article in the *Observer* is a foolish one. He ought to have known better even as regards the facts. It is well known that the Kuomintang Government and Chiang Kai-shek as well as the earlier Governments in China never renounced their claim to Tibet. In fact there was some trouble with the Kuomintang Government in 1946 over this

⁴² Of 9 April. The *Hindu* of 11 April published the following excerpt of that article with the heading "Nehru's Cautious Policy. Kingsley Martin's *Tribune*". Dated London, April 9, it continued: "Mc. Martin, Editor of the British left-wing weekly, *New Statesman*, today commended the caution of Mc. Nehru, India's Prime Minister, in the 'new and dangerous chapter in Asian history' opened by the 'Tibetan revolt and its suppression by Peking'

⁴³ Hugh E. Richardson (1905-2000); joined ICS, 1930, served in Bengal, in Baluchistan, 1934-36, in Tibet, 1936-40 and 1946-50, in India, Pakistan and China, retired in 1950; wrote books, articles, papers, and delivered lectures in universities on Tibetan history, language and culture; one of the founder-trustees of the Institute of Tibetan Studies, Tring; founded with others the Tibet Society of the UK and remained an advocate for Tibetan independence until his death.

matter.⁴⁴ It is true that the Chinese Government was too weak to interfere. When it became strong, it interfered. Even then we wrote to them stressing the autonomy of Tibet. At first they sent a rather rude reply. There was nothing that we or any other Government could possibly do later except to break relations with China and sit tight. The agreement we made with China in 1954 was strictly about our own matters in connection with Tibet. It is manifestly impossible for us to keep bits of our army there.

It should also be remembered that for three years or more, there has been a rebellion in the Kham area which is largely Chinese (not Tibetan); that this rebellion spread to parts of Tibet proper; that the Tibetan authorities practically joined the Khampa people and declared independence. I should very much like to know what, in the circumstances, England or America or any other power would have done.

The Chinese always and, more especially, now are given to arrogance and throwing their weight about, I have no doubt that they have treated the Tibetans very harshly, though I imagine that some of the reports are rather exaggerated. Anyhow, I just do not see what India could have done more than she has except, of course, for condemnation and denunciation.

I wanted to write more but it is just not possible from here.

[Yours sincerely]

Jawaharlal Nehru

In the Rajya Sabha: The Dalai Lama⁴⁵

Dalai Lama's Stay in India

⁴⁴ In fact, in 1947 in connection with the Asian Relations Conference, see SWJN/SS/2Ip. 502 and SWJN/SS/1/p. 525 for Tibetan Government's congratulations to Nehru on the formation of the Interim Government in 1946

⁴⁵ Reply to questions, 20 April 1959. Rajya Sabha Debates, Vol. XXV, cols 49-51.

Shri V. K. Dhage:⁴⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state where the Dalai Lama will stay in India?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon):
Arrangements for the stay of Dalai Lama and party are being made in Mussoorie.

Shri V. K. Dhage: May I know what privileges and facilities are afforded to the Dalai Lama and his party, and for the Dalai Lama particularity?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what the hon. Member means by 'privileges'. Facilities are facilities. Arrangements have been made for his comfortable stay having regards to security, etc.

Shri Rohit M. Dave:⁴⁷ May I know if the attention of the Government of India is drawn to the fact that in the statement issued on behalf of the Dalai Lama from Tezpur, concern has been shown for ensuring perpetual security of the sacred religion and freedom of his country, and if so, will the Dalai Lama be given reasonable facilities to carry on his legitimate activities in pursuance of this concern?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: If the hon. Member means if he will be given freedom to carry on legitimate religious activities, certainly. If he refers to political activities, political activities are not carried on from one country with regard to another.

⁴⁶ Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay State

⁴⁷ PSP, Rajya Sabha Member from Bombay State.

Dr H. N. Kunzru:⁴⁸ Is it a fact that in England which has freely granted asylum to political refugees" the refugees have been carry on normal political propaganda in favour of their views? Only they have not been allowed to collect arms or to make warlike preparations against the country to which they belong.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather difficult to draw a line. Certainly to some extent it is permitted and to some extent it may not be permitted. It is difficult for me to lay down hard and fast rules.

Dr. H. N. Kunzru: Does the Government of India ask these people to refrain from colleting arms for being sent to Tibet or doing any other thing which will amount to a warlike act against China, or even prevent the Tibetan refugees mm giving expression to their views with regard to the future of Tibet or stating matters of fact when they feel that it is necessary to do so to clear up imposition in Tibet?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member might have noticed that we have given a fairly large measure of freedom of expression of views to the people and Dalai Lama himself has made a statement as he felt like making it. We have not come in the way of his statement. As for what we expect people to do, that depends on many things. It is not a question of the Dalai Lama, but all manner of other folk coming in. The Dalai Lama is a responsible man and no doubt is acting in a responsible way. But there are so many others. We do not quite know how they might function and not function. It is an ordinary right in every country including England to limit the functioning of foreigners who create difficulties with other countries. There is no rule of law about it. The rule of law is that country - the host country - has the

⁴⁸ Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from UP.

right to limit it. To what extent it does so and in what manner, is always a matter of circumstances and the situation.

Dr. A. N. Bose:⁴⁹ Is it proposed to extend diplomatic immunities and extra territorial rights to the Dalai Lama and his party?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not understand his question. There is no such thing as 'extra-territorial rights'.

Shri Santosh Kumar Basu:⁵⁰ Should not the main consideration in these matters be the external and internal security of our own country?

Mr. Chairman:⁵¹ That is accepted. What he says is, the main consideration in these matters should be our security-external and internal. That is accepted on all hands.

In the Rajya Sabha: Tibetan Refugees⁵²

Tibetans Permitted to Enter India

Shri J. H. Joshi:⁵³ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the total number of Tibetans who have recently been given permission to enter India and stay here?

⁴⁹ PSP, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal

⁵⁰ Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal

⁵¹ S. Radhakrishnan

⁵² Reply to questions, 20 April 1959. Rajya Sabha Debates, Vol. XXV, cols 46-48

⁵³ Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay State

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): Since the 1st March 1959, the Dalai Lama with a party of 86 persons has entered India.⁵⁴ Apart from this party, 7 other Tibetans have also entered India.

[Translation begins:

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj:⁵⁵ Could I know whether the Government gives them some special facilities because the condition in Tibet is not normal?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Whom?

Shri P.N. Rajabhoj : I wish to ask about the Tibetan people who have come here. Is the Government providing them with some special facilities or not?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Those who have come, have come. As far as Dalai Lamaji's party is concerned, we have taken full responsibility for them. They are travelling to Mussoorie at present. As for the remaining five or ten people who have come, the question of rehabilitating them is not before us that they should be given under the charge of the Rehabilitation Ministry. Translation ends.]

Shri N. M. Lingam: May I enquire if the Government proposes to fix any limit beyond which refugees will not be allowed to enter?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Question of limit, Sir has not arisen. The questions are based on the assumption that large numbers are trying to push in. Very few, as I said-Only seven or eight-generally are trying to come in the whole month.

The question does not arise yet. We examine each case as it is.

⁵⁴ For other statements on the Dalai Lama's arrival, see also items 107, 119, 120 and 122

⁵⁵ Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay State

Pandit S.S.N. Tankha:⁵⁶ The hon. Deputy Minister stated that permission has been granted for 86 persons who are accompanying the Dalai Lama. Is it not a fact that the Dalai Lama's party now consists of 120 persons and they must all have been given permission?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No Sir, so far as I know, it does not consist of 120 persons. The figure 120 was mentioned at one stage, but on further enquiry and looking at the people, they are fewer.

Shri Gopikrishna Vijaivargiya:⁵⁷ I want to know whether, along with the Dalai Lama or independently, any of those who formed the Cabinet of the Dalai Lama-previous to the Panchen Lama Cabinet-have come here?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I believe that there are two, three or four - I forgot how many - of the previous ministers with him.

Shrimati T. Nallamuthu Ramamurthi:⁵⁸ Should we not allow friends of India to come into our country? Are we to limit the frontiers in such a way that intellectuals and friends would be barred from entering this country? What international law is there to prevent such people from entering the country?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, that is naturally expected, Sir.

Shri Jaswant Singh:⁵⁹ But the normal papers had to be carried by parties going from one country to another.

⁵⁶ Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP

⁵⁷ Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from MP

⁵⁸ Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras State

⁵⁹ Independent, Rajya Sabha MP from Rajasthan

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No restrictions. But the normal papers to be had to be carried by parties going from one country to another.

Shri Jaswant Singh: Even now, those who carry the normal papers, would they be allowed entry into our country?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have no doubt-if the normal papers are carried, they would. The question now arises about people who do not carry any papers at all and even they in certain cases, are admitted.

Shri D. A. Mirza:⁶⁰ May I know whether the Government of India will give protection to those Tibetans who want to take asylum in India?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Members referred to what I have said on previous occasions.

To B.P. Chaliha: Tibetan Refugees⁶¹

We have just received a report that a large number of refugees from Tibet, possibly involving many hundreds, are likely to seek refuge in our territory in the Kameng Frontier Division within the next day or two. In the present situation we shall have to admit them but we have issued strict instruction, to the border check post to disarm the refugees. For security and other reasons these refugees cannot be allowed to stay in the NEFA but will have to be moved down to the plains with the minimum delay. The question where they should be sent in future will be considered earliest possible. Meantime we shall be grateful for the Assam Government's cooperation and

⁶⁰ Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Madras State

⁶¹ Telegram to the Chief Minister of Assam, 22 April 1959

assistance in making arrangements for the temporary accommodation of the refugees. We are issuing instruction to the NEFA Administration and asking the Adviser to contact your Chief Secretary.⁶² Detailed suggestions are being separately communicated both to the Chief Secretary and to the Adviser by the Foreign Secretary.

In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Maps⁶³

ORAL ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS Maps Published in China and Russia

Question:⁶⁴ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) whether Government are aware of the fact that maps recently published in China and Russia show large chunks of our territory as part of their territories; and
- (b) if so, the action taken by Government of India in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b). Yes, Sir; Instances of maps, published in China and Russia, depicting certain parts of Indian territory as parts of China, have come to our notice. The attention of these two Governments has already been drawn to the discrepancies.

⁶² S.K. Dutta

⁶³ Reply to questions, 22 April 1959. Lok Sabha Debates, Second Series, Vol. XXX, cols 12715-12721

⁶⁴ By PSP MP Rajendra Singh, Jan Sangh MP P.R. Assar, and Congress MPs D.C. Sharma, Iqbal Singh, P. C. Borooah, Nek Ram Negi.

Shri Rajendra Singh: The hon. Minister has said that the attention of the concerned Governments has been drawn to this matter. May I know what results have so far been achieved in this connection?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): So far as the Russian maps are concerned, I think they had merely taken those maps or copied them from the Chinese maps without probably going into the matter, and when we addressed them they said they would enquire into this look into this.

So far as the Chinese maps are concerned, we are still in correspondence. As I have previously informed the House, their answer has been that "these are old maps and we are not sure of the exact border and we shall look into it and that the status quo should continue." That is not a very adequate answer, if I may say so, after so many years. We have pointed that out to them. I wrote to them again on the subject about a month or so ago, maybe a little more or a little less.⁶⁵ We have not had any further reply from them.

Shri Assar: May I know whether any other Communist countries of eastern Europe have also published such a map?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: We have not got all the maps. I cannot answer. They have not come to our notice. The Russian map was not published separately. It was part of a big atlas map that came to our notice.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: Is the Prime Minister aware that after he gave this House an explanation of the Chinese Government, recently new maps have been printed in about October, 1958, which contain the same encroachments as before?

⁶⁵ See SWJN/SS/47/pp. 451-454

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not exactly know. I have not seen these new maps, but it may very well be so. As I said, I am in correspondence with the Chinese Government on the subject. If the hon. Member is referring to what might be called newspaper maps or magazine maps

Shri Naushir Bharucha rose

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: What I mean is this. Inside a magazine, a page is given broadly, or, it may be regular cartographical maps.

Shri Naushir Bharucha: The news which I had got from Kalimpong and Gangtok when I was there was that fresh maps have been published after the explanation of the hon. Prime Minister.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I know that that has been going on. But what I was saying was that these are types of maps which appear in packs of magazines and others, not the regular atlas maps. But that would not make any difference.

I merely wanted to know what type of maps he was referring to.

Shri Dasappa:⁶⁶ May I know if during the Kuomintang regime it was found that the Chinese maps drawn up then had included any part of our territory which does not belong to China?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I suppose they did. I do not remember from personal knowledge, because the present Chinese Government's answer has always been that "we are reproducing the old maps".

⁶⁶ H.C. Dassapa, Congress Lok Sabha MP from Bangalore, Mysore State

Shri D.C. Sharma: May I know if there is any dispute about any border territory or any kind of territory between China and India and, if not, why is it that some parts of India which are obviously in India have been shown as parts of China?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It is rather difficult for me to answer that question. We have discussed one or two minor frontier disputes which comprise tiny tracts of territory, maybe a mile this way or a mile that way, in the high mountains where nobody lives and those are pending. We have discussed them and for the present no settlement has been arrived at. So other question has been raised for discussion; except that one sees this map, no other question has been raised that way.

Shri Hem Barua: In view of the fact that these cartographical encroachment on our territory persist and these are periodically reproduced in the periodicals-People China, October, 1954 issue, and in China Pictorial, July 1958 issue-and every time the explanation that the Chinese Government is giving to us is that this is the handiwork of the Chiang Kai shek regime, may I know whether Government propose to demand a correction forthwith of these incorrect maps and the same time demand the withdrawal of incorrect maps from circulation?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: That is exactly what the Government has done and the reply has been that while these maps may be incorrect largely but exactly what should be correct is the thing we want to go into before we change them. Therefore, let the status quo continue as it is. We cannot correct an incorrect thing by another incorrect thing. I am putting the arguments that they have put forward.

Shri C.D. Pande:⁶⁷ Apart from the maps, because after all, the question of the maps is academic, may I know whether there are certain portions of land between India and Tibet where they are encroaching on the basis of these maps -- encroaching into our territory,-particularly in Taklakot which is near the border of Almora? At Taklakot they have come six miles this way, according to their map. It is not a question of map alone. They have actually encroached on our territory; six miles in one pass.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I should like to give a precise answer to such questions. I would not like to venture to give an imprecise answer. Taklakot and another place – Hoti - have been places under argument⁶⁸ and sometimes, according to our reports we have received, some Chinese have advanced a mile or two, maybe, in high mountains. It is true. We have been enquiring into it. The difficulty is that in the winter months most of these places are almost inaccessible and more inaccessible from our side than from the other side.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

Several Hon. Members rose

Shri Ranga:⁶⁹ This is a very important question.

Mr. Speaker: Then shall I allow the whole of the Question Hour for this question? I would suggest that hon. Members may have authentic copies of these maps and others-whatever they are able to get-and if it is necessary

⁶⁷ Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Naini Tal, UP (now Uttarakhand).

⁶⁸ For Barahoti question, see also SWJN/SS/41/p. 673

⁶⁹ Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh

to have further elucidation, the hon. Prime Minister is willing to have a half-an-hour discussion.

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. You will permit us to say, with all respect, that I am not willing.

Mr. Speaker: Next question.

Several Hon. Members rose.

Mr. Speaker: There are 20 hon. Members getting up.

Shri Ranga: If the hon. Prime Minister is not going to have a half-an-hour discussion, let us have at least two or three minutes more in order to put some more questions on this subject.

Mr. Speaker: Yes.

Shri Braj Raj Singh: May I know whether Government's attention has been drawn to the news item published in several papers alleging that the Chinese have claimed some 30,000 sq. m. of our territory and they have also disputed the MacMahon line?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir; I would suggest to hon. Members not to pay much attention to news items emanating sometimes from Hong Kong and sometimes from other odd places. We have had no such claim directly or indirectly made on us.

Shri Ranga: What is the usual procedure in regard to these matters in order to come to some kind of settlement between the two Governments. It has

been stated that the Chinese Government was pleading an excuse that these were all old maps. Have they got the latest maps? If they have got the latest maps at all, may I know whether have our diplomatic representative in China made any representations and also had any discussions in order to see that there would be some understanding between them and us in regard to this particular matter? There must be a periodical revision of their own maps. If they are going to take umbrage behind the Chiang Kai-shek's maps, what is the present position in regard to our understanding with that Government about our boundaries?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just ventured to say something which is more or less a reply to Mr. Ranga's question. I think the attitude taken up by the Chinese Government in this matter is not at all an adequate answer. I cannot reply on their behalf. I am merely pointing out, it is not a question of our Ambassador raising the matter. I have raised it in personal letters myself continually, apart from the Embassy raising it.

[Translation begins:

Shri Vajpayee: The Prime Minister has said just now that the Chinese Government claims that the map was published in respect of Chiang Kaishek. Does our Government accept this argument and if it does not, has a formal protest been sent to the Chinese Government?

Translation ends.]

Mr. Speaker: That is what he has answered.

Shri Vajpayee: I want to know whether a formal protest has been launched.

[Translation begins:

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, the matter has been raised in as formal a manner as it could be raised and the process still continues.

Translation ends.]

Shri Surendranath Dwivedy: The Prime, Minister told us not to attach much importance to the news items appearing in the papers. May I know whether his attention has been drawn to a reference made by Mr. Chou En-lai in the Chinese National Assembly to the effect that boundaries between China and other countries are to be settled again peacefully? Does it mean and has it been enquired by our Ambassador that they do not accept the Macmahon line as the border line between India and China?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I did see something, some kind of a report to that effect. What exactly it means, I cannot interpret that. We are actually corresponding on this issue with the Chinese Government. I would like to wait for their answer before I interpret their meanings.

In the Lok Sabha: Restrictions on Consul-General in Lhasa⁷⁰

Indian Consul-General in Lhasa

Question:⁷¹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that our Consul-General in Lhasa was subjected to restrictions regarding his movements since the current unrest in Tibet; (b) if so, nature of these restrictions; and (c) whether these restrictions are still in operation?

⁷⁰ Reply to questions, 22 April 1959. Lok Sabha Debates, Second Series, Vol. XXX, cols 12759-12760.

⁷¹ By Congress MP SA Mehdi and PSP MP Bapu Nath Pai.

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshmi Menon): (a) to (c). For some days after fighting broke out in Lhasa on the 20th March it was impossible for the Consul-General and his staff to go out of the premises of the Consulate General. The Vice-Director of the Foreign Bureau told the Consul-General that in their own interest, except for very essential work the personnel of the Consulate General should not leave their premises. Chinese troops who were posted just outside the premises did not allow any person to go out of the premises or come in. When the Consul-General wished to go out on the 20th March to see the Indian nationals and send some members of his staff to the market, the Chinese guards informed him that they had to take up the matter with the Foreign Bureau. The Consul General found it difficult even to send a letter to the Foreign Bureau. Two or three days later, he was told by the guard that persons who were in possession of identity cards with photographs endorsed by the Foreign Bureau would be allowed to leave the premises. On or about the 8th April the Chinese Foreign Bureau returned the identity cards sent to them for endorsement and thereafter difficulties about the movement of the staff disappeared. The Consul-General was informed by the Foreign Bureau on April 11 that only cars with special permits of the Military Control Commission could be used. He would be provided with a car by the Control Commission whenever he required one. On the 17th the Foreign Bureau informed the Consul-General that he could use the Consulate car without any special permit and that the staff of the Consulate-General also could leave the premises without showing their identity cards or passports of the guards. Since then all restrictions appear to have been removed.

Shri S.A. Mehdi: Is it a fact that even wireless connection was cut off for some time after that?

Shrimati Lakshrni Menon: No, Sir.

Shri Vajpayee: Are we to understand that our Mission in Lhasa was virtually under house arrest in those days?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): No, Sir, that would not be correct. The facts indicate that conditions were such in Lhasa, if I may say so, that for some time it was not completely under the control of the Chinese authorities. As soon as they came more or less under their control, they permitted the staff of the Consulate to go out; but, not during the period when presumably the conditions were not wholly under their control.

In the Rajya Sabha: Prince Peter of Greece on Tibet⁷²

Maulana M. Faruqi:⁷³ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state Government's attitude in regard to the allegations made by Prince Peter of Greece to the effect that India rendered assistance to the Chinese Government in over-running Tibet in 1950?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Shrimati Lakshrni Menon): The statement of Prince Peter of Greece referred to by the hon. Member is entirely false and is a pure invention. It was contradicted officially on the 4th April, 1959 and again by the P.M. in his press conference on 5th April, 1959.

⁷² Reply to questions, 23 April 1959. Rajya Sabha Debates, cols 444-447

⁷³ Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from UP

[Translation Begins:

Maulana M. Faruqi: In the statement which Mr. Peter has given, he has said that when China wanted to occupy Tibet in the beginning of 1950 then at that time were trucks used in the transport at that time?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: You repeat the statement of Prince Peter and then ask whether it is true or not? It is absolutely incorrect. What he said was totally wrong and not only wrong but it is not included even in the probabilities, that is, no vehicle can go on the other side through Sikkim. Only mules go there.

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan: Is it true that when the Dalai Lama reached Tezpur, Prince Peter was given permission to go there? If this is true then why are such people allowed to live in the country who make such wrong statements?⁷⁴

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: Strange questions are asked, Sir, which have no relation to the events. I have no knowledge whether permission was given. I did not give it, nor do I have any willingness to do so.

Translation ends.]

⁷⁴ However on 21 April 1959, The Hindu reported: "In pursuance of the object of preventing undesirable activities from the Indian territory, the Government would keep a careful watch and take necessary precautionary measures. It is in pursuit of the same object that the Government of India has now refused to give a visa to Prince Peter of Greece to reenter India. The Prince who left India two years ago again applied for a visa some time ago and even claimed that as he was permitted by the Government of India several years ago to purchase a bungalow in Kalimpong he must be permitted to return. Instructions have been sent to the appropriate Indian Embassy abroad to refuse the visa to the Prince and also point out to him that the house in Kalimpong was purchased by him as leader of the Danish mountaineering expedition and not in his personal capacity. Mr. Nehru had described Prince Peter's allegations of Indian complicity in the Chinese occupation of Tibet as a fantastic and despicable lie."

Shri N.M. Lingam: May I know, Sir, if the Greek Government has expressed any view on the reported statement of this prince, and, if so, what it was?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: It does not concern the Greek Government of course, but the Greek Government has indicated that they are in no way responsible for what Prince Peter says.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta:⁷⁵ May I know, Sir, for how long this Prince lived in Kalimpong and in Darjeeling, and whether during his stay there the Government received any information through the Central Intelligence Bureau and through the Press about his anti-Indian activities?

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give the exact period of his stay there but he lived there for a number of years. He also acquired some house property. Some of his activities were not considered desirable by Government either by the Government of West Bengal or by the Government of India and it was suggested to him that it would be better if he left Kalimpong and indeed, India. Subsequently, I think, because of illness, either his illness or his wife's, the period of his stay was extended a little longer. Later he left.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: May I know exactly when the communication from the Government of West Bengal reached the External Affairs Ministry here and the Prime Minister came to know otherwise of his activities and why there was so much delay in dealing with a case against whom a report had already been sent to the Centre and also spoken about in the Press?

⁷⁵ CPI, Rajya Sabha MP from West Bengal

Shri Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot give the exact date and say exactly when I can only say that this matter has been a pending matter for some years. But finally, I think, it must be about two years ago or so, and the reason why we have not taken a decision is that we extended the period of his stay there, because we were told that his wife was very ill.

Shri Bhupesh Gupta: It appears that in a Calcutta Paper, Jugantar, Amrita Bazar Group, a statement has appeared of Prof. Delani, who is a French national teaching something in that area. She complains in the letter that she was approached by somebody, some important people, for doing espionage work with regard to certain things, to which the attention of the Government was also drawn.

May I know, Sir, whether Prince Peter was one of those people approaching her and if so, what action the Government has taken in the light of this public statement this lady had made?

Mr. Chairman: This is another question. It does not arise out of that question.

In the Rajya Sabha: Indian Traders in Tibet⁷⁶

Shri Nawab Singh Chauhan: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:
(a) whether it is a fact that the Indian Traders Union of Tibet has requested the Government of India to approach the Chinese Government for the removal of their difficulties in Tibet in connection with their trade and daily life?

⁷⁶ Reply to questions, 23 April 1959. Rajya Sabha Debates, Vol. XXV, cols 493-498

(b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative; what are the difficulties experienced by the Indian traders there; and what steps have so far been taken by Government in this respect and with what results; and (c) what steps have been taken by Government for the safety of Indian traders during the recent disturbances in Tibet?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). The Government of India have received no request recently from the Indian Traders Union in Tibet for the removal of their difficulties. A statement explaining the action taken on the memorandum of the Bharatiya Vyapari Sangh Yatung presented by their representatives to Prime Minister in October, 1958 is placed on the Table of the House. (c) During the recent disturbances it was difficult for our Consul General and the Trade Agents to move about freely or to contact the Indian nationals. We spoke to the Chinese authorities and expressed our hope that full protection would be given to Indian nationals generally. We were assured that wherever Chinese troops were posted our nationals would be given protection.

STATEMENT

Action taken on the memorandum presented to the Prime Minister of India by the Bharatiya Vyapari Sangh Yatung

(i) Landing certificate for grant of rebate on excisable goods. - The Government of India is considering how far the existing procedure can be revised.

(ii) Delegation of powers to the Indian Trade Agent, Yatung to renew pas sports held by Indian traders.- The traders are not issued pas sports but hold traders' certificates prescribed under Article V(I) of the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954. The existing practice under which these certificates are

renewed by the Sikkim Checkposts is working satisfactorily and no change is considered desirable.

(iii) Running of private vehicles and purchase of lands in Tibet.- According to paragraphs (ii) and (13) of the Notes exchanged between the Governments of India and China on 29th April, 1954 Indian traders can hire means of transportation at normal and reasonable rates and also rent buildings and godowns in accordance with the local regulations. The local regulations do not permit the owning of lands and vehicles by foreigners in Tibet.

(iv) Recognition of Bharatiya Vyapari Sangh.-This question is being taken up with the authorities of China.

(v) Trade permits for foreign goods.-There are no restrictions on export to Tibet from India of foreign imported goods but under the Indo-China Trade Agreement of 1954 import permits for re-export to Tibet cannot be granted excepting the goods of Chinese origin.

(vi) Export quota of iron and steel and rice, etc.. It has not been possible to meet the request of the Yatung traders that monthly quota of 100 tons of iron and steel should exclusively be given to them as the traders of Kalimpong who have been trading in Tibet since time immemorial have also to be accommodated. For purposes of proper coordination it is also not practicable to authorise Political Officer in Sikkim to issue the quota certificates.

The Government of India is considering how far, in view of the acute shortage of food in the country, a rice quota can be allocated for-Tibet.

(vii) Petrol, Lubricants, diesel oil etc.- The request of the Yatung traders that the quota of the above articles reserved for Tibet should be given to Indian traders of Yatung and Phari, cannot be accepted as the existing practice of giving permits to bona fide traders on the recommendations of

the Indian Trade Agents and Consul General, Lhasa has worked well and is considered equitable.

To Congress Workers: Be Calm⁷⁷

Mussoorie, April .24-Prime Minister Nehru today said that the question of Tibet was a complicated one and "would cause a lot of worry as different countries are involved in it."

He was addressing Congress workers here soon after his arrival from Dehra Dun this morning.

Pandit Nehru said: "The Dalai Lama has not come here for mere pleasure, although you may be happy that Mussoorie was chosen for his stay in India. His coming is related to the circumstances that arose in Tibet. These are complicated circumstances and will cause a lot of worry to different countries which have relations with it (Tibet). Now, in this matter, sentiments and emotions are certainly aroused and there is an element of passion also. But we have to ponder over these things with a cool and calm mind. We should not be swept away by any sentiment or passion because international relations are involved."

The Prime Minister said that other countries were interested in the Tibetan question and India had relations with these countries. "I, therefore, want that all people should exercise wisdom and restraint and feel a sense of responsibility in saying anything on this matter. Whatever the sympathies of people might be over this issue-they have a right to express them - but giving an opinion on these complicated matters when full facts are not known is not a very responsible thing to do."

⁷⁷ Report of speech, Mussoorie, 24 April 1959. From *The National Herald*, 25 April 1959

Pandit Nehru asked the citizens of Mussoorie to remember that they should not do anything that might disturb the Dalai Lama.

"I do not mean to say that you will do anything conscious to disturb him, but you should not crowd round his house and disturb his thought," he said. The Dalai Lama, he added, should be allowed to live in peace. "You must remember that during the last month the Dalai Lama had to undertake a very big and difficult journey and the circumstances of the journey were also painful to the Dalai Lama. So it is only proper that the Dalai Lama should get an opportunity in a peaceful atmosphere to consult his colleagues on the ups and downs in Tibet and get over the mental strain."

To B.P. Chaliha: Tibetan Refugees⁷⁸

Thank you for your telegram 23459 of April 24.⁷⁹ We shall certainly give you every possible assistance, but our idea is that the camp should be purely temporary and arrangements for accommodation and feeding of the refugees need not be made on an elaborate scale. We do not contemplate keeping these refugees for a long period in camp or making financial and other provisions for them as in the case of the Indian refugees from Burma during the war. Nor is it our intention to draw up any long-term plan for the settlement of these refugees in India. We think that after the first rush is over, the frontier itself will be sealed by the Chinese and not many will be able to come in later. Our intention is that after those who have come in have been accommodated in a temporary camp and their details are sorted out, they will be asked to shift for themselves and if necessary we shall give them some ad hoc financial assistance. I agree that Tezpur is not an ideal

⁷⁸ Telegram, 25 April 1959

⁷⁹ See Appendix 14, pp. 594-595

location for Tibetan refugees, but no alternative arrangement at a more suitable place is practicable in the short time at our disposal.

2. We shall certainly send you some Tibetan knowing staff. Your proposal for sending two or three responsible persons from the Dalai Lama's entourage to help in the sorting out of the refugees is a good one and we are making immediate enquiries in this respect. There are certain obvious political objections to Government sponsoring a relief fund or making a public appeal. In fact we shall have to take care to prevent individuals and organisations from making political capital of the plight of these unfortunate refugees. A Central Relief Committee has been set up in Delhi and I have asked the Ministry of External Affairs to discuss with the organisers how they can assist.

To Sampurnanand: The Dalai Lama⁸⁰

25th April, 1959

My dear Sampurnanand,

I am sorry to learn from the press that you are laid up with gout. That is a very troublesome matter. Fortunately I have never had it.

I went day before yesterday to Dehra Dun and yesterday to Mussoorie for various functions. I had a long talk with the Dalai Lama. I returned this morning. I have impressed upon the local officials in Mussoorie to avoid making too much of a fuss of the Dalai Lama's stay there. Uptil now, there has been much too much evidence of this kind of thing. The Dalai Lama can go wherever he likes, so can the people in his entourage. They are not in detention. I have told the Dalai Lama that while it would be desirable to

⁸⁰ Letter. Sampurnanand Collection, NA!. Also available in JN Collection

avoid going to crowded localities, he can go for a drive anywhere in Mussoorie and he can go for a walk in the quieter parts of Mussoorie roundabout where he lives.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

To Y.B. Chavan: Defacing of Mao's Picture⁸¹

April 26, 1959

My dear Chavan,

The Chinese Ambassador has protested to us in regard to a recent demonstration in Bombay when, it is said, the demonstrators posted a picture of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Chinese People's Republic on the Chinese Consulate building and threw tomatoes at the picture. It is further said that the police were present on the scene. Later the police cleared the crowd to enable photographers to take pictures.⁸²

I am sorry that such a demonstration took place. I do not know who is responsible. Perhaps the P.S.P. or some Party did it. Whatever our views may be about Tibet, it is highly improper to insult the head of a great State in this way. We have already expressed our regret to the Chinese Embassy.⁸³ I think, however, that you might have some enquiry made into this and find out why the police permitted this kind of thing to be done. In future, care should be taken to prevent such demonstrations.

I am very glad to learn that you have largely recovered in health. I hope you will not rush back to work.

⁸¹ Chief Minister of Bombay.

⁸² The Chinese Government sent a formal protest note on 27 April 1959. See Appendix 15, pp. 595-596 and item 143, pp. 510-511.

⁸³ For GOI's formal reply of 30 April 1959, see Appendix 16, pp. 596-598.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

To Subimal Dutt: Chinese Forces Advance⁸⁴

The Chief Minister of the Punjab came to see me this afternoon. He spoke about a place named Kaurik on the border of Lahul-Spiti and Tibet. The Punjab Government has placed a check-post there which apparently remains at the place throughout the year. Information has reached the Punjab Government that Chinese forces have come right up to the border and have blocked the passage preventing people from going across or coming in. He was a little apprehensive of these forces trying to come right up to Kaurik. He said that he was issuing orders to the check-post not to give way. I agreed with him.

In the Lok Sabha: Permits for Trade with Tibet⁸⁵

Shri Hem Barna: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether it is a fact that Indian Traders have to obtain permits for their different commodities of trade with Tibet from the Political Officer at Gangtok in Sikkim;
- (b) If so, whether it is a fact that this procedure involves great difficulties so far as these traders are concerned; and

⁸⁴ Note, 26 April 1959

⁸⁵ Reply to questions, 27 April 1959. Lok Sabha Debates, Second Series, Vol. XXX, col. 13486.

(c) If so, what steps, if any, Government propose to take to improve the situation?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
(a) to (c). It has been arranged that permits be issued by the Political Officer, Sikkim, who is on the spot and can therefore assess the need for commodities exported more accurately. There have been no complaints against this system of issuing permits which seems to be working satisfactory and as such no further action in the matter is proposed to be taken.

In the Lok Sabha: Statement on Situation in Tibet⁸⁶

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Shri Jawaharlal Nehru):
Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have made several statements in the House in regard to the developments in Tibet. The last statement was made on April 3, in which I informed the House that the Dalai Lama had entered the territory of the Indian Union with a large entourage.⁸⁷ I should like to bring this information up-to date and to place such additional facts as we have before the House.

A few days ago, the Dalai Lama and his party reached Mussoorie, where Government had made arrangements for their stay. I have had occasion to visit Mussoorie since then and have had a long talk with the Dalai Lama. In the course of the last few days, reports have reached us that considerable numbers of Tibetans, numbering some thousands, have recently crossed into the Kameng Frontier Division of the North East

⁸⁶ 27 April 1959. Lok Sabha Debates. Second Series, Vol. XXX, cols 13493-13503.

⁸⁷ See item 107, pp. 435-437

Frontier Agency and some hundreds have also entered the territory of Bhutan. They sought asylum, and we have agreed to this. Such of them as carried arms were disarmed. We do not know the exact number yet. Temporary arrangements are being made in a Camp for their maintenance until they can be dispersed in accordance with their wishes and the necessities governing such cases. We could not leave these refugees to their own resources. Apart from the humanitarian considerations involved, there was also the law and order problem to be considered. We are grateful to the Government of Assam for their help and cooperation in this matter. So far as the Dalai Lama and his party are concerned, we had to take adequate measures on grounds of security and also to protect them from large numbers of newspaper correspondents, both Indian and foreign, who, in their anxiety to obtain first-hand information in regard to a matter of world importance, were likely to harass and almost overwhelm the Dalai Lama and his party. While we were anxious to give protection to the Dalai Lama and his party, we were agreeable to giving these newspapermen suitable opportunities to see him. I had received an appeal from nearly 75 representatives of news agencies and newspapers from Tezpur requesting me to give them such opportunities. A senior officer of the External Affairs Ministry⁸⁸ was, therefore, deputed to proceed to Tezpur in advance to deal with the press representatives and photographers who had assembled in that small town of Assam. This officer made the necessary administrative arrangements to meet, as far as possible, the wishes of the newspapermen to see the Dalai Lama and to photograph him. Soon after entering India, the Dalai Lama indicated his wish to make a statement. We were later informed that this statement would be released at Tezpur. Our officer made arrangements for the distribution of a translation of the statement to the newspaper correspondents.

⁸⁸ S. Sen.

In view of certain irresponsible charges made, I should like to make it clear that the Dalai Lama was entirely responsible for this statement as well as for a subsequent briefer statement that was made by him from Mussoorie. Our officers had nothing to do with the drafting or preparation of these statements.

I need not tell the House that the Dalai Lama entered India entirely of his own volition. At no time had we suggested that he should come to India. We had naturally given thought to the possibility of his seeking asylum in India and when such a request came, we readily granted it. His entry with a large party in a remote corner of our country created special problems of transport, organisation and security. We deputed an officer to meet the Dalai Lama and his party at Bomdila and to escort them to Mussoorie. The particular officer was selected because he had served as Consul-General in Lhasa and therefore was to some extent known to the Dalai Lama and his officials.⁸⁹ The selection of Mussoorie for the Dalai Lama's stay was not finalised till his own wishes were ascertained in the matter and he agreed to it. There was no desire on our part to put any undue restrictions on him, but in the special circumstances, certain arrangements had necessarily to be made to prevent any mishap. It should be remembered that the various events in Tibet, culminating in the Dalai Lama's departure from Lhasa and entry into India had created tremendous interest among the people of India and in the world press. After arrival in Mussoorie, steps were taken to prevent the Dalai Lama from being harassed by crowds of people trying to see him as well as by newspapermen. Apart from this, no restrictions about movement were placed on him. He has been told that he and his party can move about Mussoorie according to their wishes. It should be remembered that the Dalai Lama has recently not only had a long strenuous and dangerous journey, but has also had harrowing experiences which must

⁸⁹ P. N. Menon

affect the nerves of even a hardened person. He is only just 24 years of age.

These are some bare facts, but behind these facts lie serious developments which may have far reaching consequences. Tragedy has been and is being enacted in Tibet, passions have been let loose, charges made and language used which cannot but worsen the situation and our relations with our northern neighbour. I am sure that the House will agree with me that in considering matters of such high import, we should exercise restraint and wisdom and use language which is moderate and precise. In these days of cold war, there has been a tendency to use unrestrained language and often to make wild charges without any justification. We have fortunately kept out of the cold war and I hope that on this, as on any other occasion, we shall not use the language of cold war. The matter is too serious to be dealt with in a trivial or excited way. I would, therefore, appeal to the press and the public to exercise restraint in language. I regret that occasionally there have been lapses from this on our side. In particular, I regret that grave discourtesy was shown some days ago to a picture of the head of the Chinese State, Chairman Mao Tse-tung. This was done by a small group of irresponsible people in Bombay. In the excitement of the moment, we cannot allow ourselves to be swept away into wrong courses.

It is not for me to make any similar appeal to the leaders, the press and the people of China. All I can say is that I have been greatly distressed at the tone of the comments and the charges made against India by responsible people in China.⁹⁰ They have used the language of cold war regardless of truth and propriety. This is peculiarly distressing in a great nation with

⁹⁰ In a speech to the second session of the National People's Congress in Peking on 18 April 1959, Chou En-lai said: "Although the Dalai Lama has been abducted to India, we still hope he will be able to free himself from the duress of the rebels and return to the motherland." A sharp anti-India campaign developed in the Chinese press during this period

thousands of years of culture behind it, noted for its restrained and polite behaviour. The charges made against India are so fantastic that I find it difficult to deal with them. There is the charge of our keeping the Dalai Lama under duress. The Chinese authorities should surely know how we function in this country and what our laws and Constitution are. Even if we were so inclined, we could not keep the Dalai Lama under some kind of detention against his will, and there can be no question of our wishing to do so. We can gain nothing by it except the burden of difficult problems. In any event, this matter can be easily cleared. It is open to the Dalai Lama at any time to go back to Tibet or wherever he wants to. As the Panchen Lama has made himself responsible specially for some strange statements, I have stated that we would welcome him to come to India and meet the Dalai Lama himself. Should he choose to do so, every courtesy will be extended to him.⁹¹ I have further said that the Chinese Ambassador or any other emissary of the Chinese Government can come to India for this purpose and meet the Dalai Lama. There is no barrier for anyone to come peacefully to India, and whether we agree with him or not, we shall treat him with the courtesy due to a guest.

Another and an even stranger allegation has been made about "Indian expansionists" who, it is alleged, are inheritors of the British tradition of imperialism and expansion. It is perfectly true that British policy was one of

⁹¹ According to The Hindu of 30 April 1959 , the Panchen Lama said at the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking on 29 April: "If the Indian Prime Minister meant that he hoped I would go to India to enter into talks on the so-called Tibet question, then I must point out that the Tibet question can be solved only in Tibet." The New China News Agency also quoted him as saying about his trip to India in 1956: "some Indian officials often showed a certain discrimination against me in arranging receptions.

My entourage had to sleep on the trains sometimes because they were not provided with housing." He also complained that the stupa at Samath and several monasteries "were in a poor state."

expansion into Tibet and that they carried this out by force of arms early in this century. That was, in our opinion, an unjustified and cruel adventure which brought much harm to the Tibetans. As a result of that, the then British Government in India established certain extra territorial rights in Tibet. When India became independent, we inherited some of these rights. Being entirely opposed to any such extra territorial rights in another country, we did not wish to retain them. But in the early days after Independence and Partition, our hands were full, as this House well knows, and we had to face very difficult situations in our own country. We ignored, if I may say so, Tibet. Not being able to find a suitable person to act as our representative at Lhasa, we allowed for some time the existing British representative to continue at Lhasa. Later an Indian took his place. Soon after the Chinese armies entered Tibet, the question of these extra territorial rights was raised and we readily agreed to give them up. We would have given them up anyhow, whatever developments might have taken place in Tibet. We withdrew our army detachments from some places in Tibet and handed over Indian postal and telegraph installations and rest houses. We laid down the Five Principles of the Panchsheel and placed our relationship with the Tibet region on a new footing.

What we were anxious about was to preserve the traditional connections between India and Tibet in regard to pilgrim traffic and trade, our action in this matter and whatever we have done subsequently in regard to Tibet is proof enough of our policy and that India had no political or ulterior ambitions in Tibet. Indeed, even from the narrowest practical point of view, any other policy would have been wrong and futile. Ever since then we have endeavoured not only to act up to the agreement we made, but to cultivate the friendship of the Chinese State and people.

It is therefore, a matter of the deepest regret and surprise to us that charges should be made which are both unbecoming and entirely void of

substance. We have conveyed this deep feeling of regret to the Chinese Government, more especially at the speeches delivered recently in the current session of the National People's Congress in Peking.

I stated some time ago that our broad policy was governed by three factors: (1) the preservation of the security and integrity of India; (2) our desire to maintain friendly relations with China; and (3) our deep sympathy for the people of Tibet. That policy we shall continue to follow because we think that a correct policy not only for the present but even more so for the future. It would be a tragedy if the two great countries of Asia, India and China, which have been peaceful neighbours for ages past, should develop feelings of hostility against each other. We for our part will follow this policy, but we hope that China also will do likewise and that nothing will be said or done which endangers the friendly relations of the two countries which are so important from the wider point of view of the peace of Asia and the world. The Five Principles have laid down, inter alia mutual respect for each other. Such mutual respect is gravely impaired if unfounded charges are made and the language of cold war used, I have already made it clear previously that the charge that Kalimpong was the centre of the Tibetan rebellion is wholly unjustified. We have a large number of people of Tibetan stock living in India as Indian nationals. We have also some Tibetan émigrés in India. All of these deeply respect the Dalai Lama. Some of these have been exceedingly unhappy at developments in Tibet; some, no doubt, have anti-Chinese sentiments. We have made it clear to them that they will not be permitted to carry on any subversive activities from India, and I should like to say that by and large they have acted in accordance with the directions of the Government of India. I cannot obviously say that someone has not done something secretly, but to imagine or say that a small group of persons sitting in Kalimpong organised a major upheaval in Tibet seems to me to make a large draft on imagination and to slur over obvious facts.

The Khampa revolt started in an area of China proper adjoining Tibet more than three years ago. Is Kalimpong supposed to be responsible for that? This revolt gradually spread and, no doubt, created a powerful impression on the minds of large numbers of Tibetans who had kept away from the revolt. Fears and apprehensions about their future gripped their minds and the nationalist upsurge swayed their feelings. Their fears may have been unjustified, but surely they cannot be denied. Such feelings can only be dealt with adequately by gentler methods than warfare.

When Premier Chou En-lai came here two or three years ago, he was good enough to discuss Tibet with me at considerable length. We had a frank and full talk. He told me that while Tibet had long been a part of the Chinese State, they did not consider Tibet as a province of China. The people were different from the people of China proper, just as in other autonomous regions of the Chinese State the people were different, even though they formed part of that State. Therefore, they considered Tibet an autonomous region which would enjoy autonomy. He told me further that it was absurd for anyone to imagine that China was going to force communism on Tibet. Communism could not be enforced in this way on a very backward country and they had no wish to do so even though they would like reforms to come in progressively. Even these reforms they proposed to postpone for a considerable time.

About that time, the Dalai Lama was also here and I had long talks with him then, I told him of Premier Chou En-lai's friendly approach and of his assurance that he would respect the autonomy of Tibet. I suggested to him that he should accept these assurances in good faith and cooperate in maintaining that autonomy and bringing about certain reforms in Tibet. The Dalai Lama agreed that his country, though, according to him, advanced spiritually, was very backward socially and economically and reforms were needed.

It is not for us to say how far these friendly intentions and approaches materialise. The circumstances were undoubtedly difficult. On the one side there was a dynamic, rapidly moving society; on the other, a static, unchanging society fearful of what might be done to it in the name of reform. The distance between the two was great and there appeared to be hardly any meeting point. Meanwhile, change in some forms inevitably came to Tibet. Communications developed rapidly and the long isolation of Tibet was partly broken through. Though physical barriers were progressively removed, mental and emotional barriers increased. Apparently, the attempt to cross these mental and emotional barriers was either not made or did not succeed.

To say that a number of 'upper strata reactionaries' in Tibet were solely responsible for this appears to be an extraordinary simplification of a complicated situation. Even according to the accounts received through Chinese sources, the revolt in Tibet was of considerable magnitude and the basis of it must have been a strong feeling of nationalism which affects not only upper class people but others also. No doubt, vested interests joined it and sought to profit by it. The attempt to explain a situation by the use of rather worn-out words, phrases and slogans, is seldom helpful.

When the news of these unhappy developments came to India, there was immediately a strong and widespread reaction. The Government did not bring about this reaction. Nor was this reaction essentially political. It was largely one of sympathy based on sentiment and humanitarian reasons. Also on a certain feeling of kinship with the Tibetan people derived from long-established religious and cultural contacts. It was an instinctive reaction. It is true that some people in India sought to profit by it by turning it in an undesirable direction. But the fact of that reaction of the Indian people was there. If that was the reaction here, one may well imagine the reaction among the Tibetans themselves. Probably this reaction

is shared in the other Buddhist countries of Asia. When there are such strong feelings, which are essentially not political, they cannot be dealt with by political methods alone, much less by military methods, we have no desire whatever to interfere in Tibet; we have every desire to maintain the friendship between India and China, but at the same time, we have every sympathy for the people of Tibet, and we are greatly distressed at their hapless plight. We hope still that the authorities of China, in their wisdom, will not use their great strength against the Tibetans but will win them to friendly Cooperation in accordance with the assurances they have themselves given about the autonomy of the Tibet region. Above all, we hope that the present fighting and killing will cease.

As I have said above, I had a long talk with the Dalai Lama three days ago at Mussoorie. He told me of the difficulties he had to face, of the growing resentment of his people at the conditions existing there and how he sought to restrain them, of his feelings that the religion of the Buddha, which was more to him than life itself, was being endangered. He said that up to the last moment he did not wish to leave Lhasa. It was only on the afternoon of the 17th March, when, according to him, some shells were fired at his palace and fell in a pond nearby, that the sudden decision was taken to leave Lhasa. Within a few hours the same day he and his party left Lhasa and took the perilous journey to the Indian frontier. The departure was so hurried that even an adequate supply of clothes, etc., could not be brought. When I met the Dalai Lama, no member of his entourage was present. Even the interpreter was our own. The Dalai Lama told me that the two statements which had been issued were entirely his own and there was no question of anybody coercing him to make them. Even though he is young, I could not easily imagine that he could be coerced into doing something he did not wish. All my sympathy goes out to this young man who at an early age has had to shoulder heavy burdens and to face

tremendous responsibilities. During the last few weeks, he has suffered great physical and mental strain. I advised him to rest for a while and not to take any hurried decisions. He felt very unhappy at conditions in Tibet and was especially anxious that fighting should stop.

To Subimal Dutt: Regret at Defacing of Mao's Picture⁹²

In reply to this protest,⁹³ you might state that we deeply regret this incident and in fact the Prime Minister has already expressed his regret in Parliament. We have enquired into the matter. The facts are not wholly as stated in the Chinese Memorandum. More particularly the suggestion that the police connived at all this is not correct. I think you might give in your reply or separately a brief summary of the police report.

You might add that under our law processions cannot be banned so long as they function peacefully. In fact the Chinese Embassy must be aware of such processions being held even near Parliament House from time to time and indulging in highly objectionable slogans not only against the Prime Minister but even against Mahatma Gandhi. An incident occurred when portraits of Mahatma Gandhi and the Prime Minister were taken out by some irresponsible persons and treated in an insulting way. Under our law, a great deal of latitude is allowed to people so long as they do not indulge in actual violence.

It might be pointed out further that this misbehaviour was on the part of a small party called the Socialist Party which broke away from the major Socialist Party, namely, the Praja Socialist Party, some years ago. It is the

⁹² Note, 27 April 1959

⁹³ See Appendix 15, pp. 595-596

definite programme of this party to indulge in highly objectionable behaviour towards Government. It is a small group of no importance. In any event, we deeply regret that such discourtesy was shown to a picture of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

You might add that while we can understand and appreciate the resentment of the Chinese Embassy to such an incident, we regret the language used in the Memorandum. It should be clear to the Chinese Embassy that this deplorable incident was the act of a few persons and there was certainly no question of connivance of the police or the Government. Further that under our laws civil liberty is guaranteed and under its cover even misbehaviour can take place to some extent.⁹⁴

For the Lok Sabha Secretariat: Pro- and Anti-Chinese Propaganda⁹⁵

The Lok Sabha Secretariat might be informed that it will hardly be desirable to answer the question attached. There has, of course, been some distribution of pro-China propaganda by the Communist Party. There has also been much propaganda against China by other parties. To some extent all this is allowed. It is only when it goes beyond normal limits that objection is taken. Such objection is taken only in special cases.

2. If this question is put up for answer, the other aspect is also likely to be put forward.

To G. Parthasarathi: China and the Dalai Lama⁹⁶

⁹⁴ For GOI's reply of 30 April, see Appendix 16, pp. 596-598.

⁹⁵ Note, 27 April 1959.

I have seen your messages and text of resolution of National People's Congress on Tibet. You must have seen my statements in Parliament and our communications to Chinese Government. On 4th May there will be debate on Tibet in Rajya Sabha.⁹⁷ I shall adopt the same line there.

2. I am leaving Delhi for three days. Recent developments in Tibet have raised difficult problems not only for India but for China also and of course for Tibet itself. I can appreciate to some extent Chinese attitude, constituted as Chinese are at present. We realise that Tibet is very backward. Nevertheless the regimented and virulent attacks on India in China and their insistence on patent falsehoods have surprised and distressed me. It seems to me that Chinese authorities have developed a habit of trying to bully and imagine that offensive language will produce results they desire. It produces exactly opposite results in any self-respecting country. It is difficult enough to restrain these strong reactions in India, but we shall do so. Our general policy will remain firm though not unfriendly to China. We realise the importance of these friendly relations, but friendship cannot be obtained by threats and coercive attitude. If Chinese friendship is necessary for India, so is Indian friendship for China. The time for any country to display arrogance in dealing with India is long past. We have still some remains of what we learnt from Gandhiji. We shall, therefore, continue to be polite and seek friendship and at the same time to hold firmly to the policy we consider correct.

3. It seems to me that Chinese would very much like to get Dalai Lama back and his remaining in India is a continuing affront and irritation to them. As I have said, Dalai Lama can go back if he so wishes but there is

⁹⁶ Telegram to Indian Ambassador to China, 29 April 1959.

⁹⁷ See SWJN/SS/49/pp. 545-555

no chance of his going back unless circumstances change radically. This means also that relations of India and China will remain tense even though we might avoid crises,

4. I do not know if you will have any chance of talking informally to people who count. If so, you might explain to them how opposition parties have full freedom to function here and in fact they frequently hold demonstrations against Government and criticise it in strong language. Obviously this is not understood in China where no opposition is allowed. Also that during twelve years of our Independence, no country, big or small, has used such offensive language towards India as Chinese leaders and press recently. In spite of this grave provocation, we have remembered Gandhiji and will continue to keep our tempers.⁹⁸

At Birpur: Talk with Correspondents⁹⁹

Nehru: It will be Good if Dalai Lama Can Really Return Home

Kathmandu, May 2 - If the Dalai Lama "can really return" to Lhasa that would be good for all concerned, Prime Minister Nehru told a group of Nepalese journalists in a special interview on Thursday on the banks of the Kosi.¹⁰⁰

The Prime Minister met the correspondents from Kathmandu after his talks with King Mahendra at Birpur on the India-Nepal border.

⁹⁸ For Parthasarathi's reply of 3 May 1959, see Appendix 18, pp. 601-603.

⁹⁹ 30 Apr11959. From the National Herald, 3 May 1959

¹⁰⁰ See also item 171, pp. 546-548

Asked, if the present relations between India and China would improve if the Dalai Lama came to Nepal, Pandit Nehru is reported to have said that he did not know.

He is reported to have said that the Chinese were asking that the Dalai Lama should return to Tibet and they believed that his return would help. He refused to comment when asked whether he personally thought that the Dalai Lama's return to Tibet would ease the situation there. He is quoted as having stated: "I cannot say anything on this."

Answering a question about the Dalai Lama's going to Nepal "which is between India and China" could help the Prime Minister is reported to have said that the Dalai Lama was absolutely free to go and stay anywhere he liked. "He is a free agent and can even go back to Tibet." He added that this could, of course, be good for all concerned "if he can really return to Tibet."

Pandit Nehru estimated that about five-thousand Tibetan refugees had crossed into India and Bhutan. He then asked Gen. Subarna Shamsheer, Chairman of the Nepalese Council of Ministers, who was also there how many Tibetan refugees had come into Nepal and was told that "there might have been small groups of them who have come to Nepal but it is difficult to distinguish a refugee and other people."

Pandit Nehru is also reported to have told the Nepalese newsmen that India was prepared to review the Indo-Nepalese trade agreement.