

SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

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5. Public Meeting: Policy of Restraint on Tibet¹

Only Sensible Course Says Nehru

GHAZIABAD, May 15 - Prime Minister Nehru today referred to the attacks made on India by the Chinese press and leaders over the Tibetan issue and said that in spite of this India had continued to maintain her stand with restraint and dignity.

Pandit Nehru said that the reason why India did so was not because she was afraid of anybody but because "we think that this is the sensible course."

Pandit Nehru, who was addressing a public meeting here, said, "Even when we are abused, we maintain restraint. This is our attitude. It is not changed by threats. We maintain our opinion, as also dignity."

Referring to Tibetan refugees coming to India, he said that about twelve thousand of them had arrived. It, certainly, meant a burden on the country, "but we are not going to throw them out."

It had been the tradition of India, Pandit Nehru said, that whosoever came to her door for refuge had been welcomed and made a friend of the family.

"So, when we receive these Tibetan refugees and look after them, it is in the best traditions of our country", he added.

Pandit Nehru condemned recent communal disturbances at Bhopal, Sitamarhi and some other places in the country² and said, "Those who

¹ Report of speech. From the *National Herald*, 16 May 1959.

² See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 280-281,290-291,317 and also in this volume pp. 8-10 & 248-250

indulge in such acts of communal madness are fools and those who incite them are traitors."

Communal disturbances, he said, did positive harm to the country internally and made it hang its head in shame abroad. The people should, therefore, see to it that they were not carried away by religious slogans.

Non Alignment

Addressing the concluding session of the three-day conference of Congress workers here Pandit Nehru stoutly defended India's policy of non-alignment and said that if the country invited some foreign power to defend it anticipating possible attack." It will be the height of foolishness.

Pandit Nehru said that he heard talk of possible threats to India's security. Some people had even suggested that she should align herself with some foreign power to fortify her defences. But such an approach would be against the very basis of the country's stand and "if I agree to that, it will mean the negation of all that I have learnt during my fort Y years of association with Mahatma Gandhi."

Pandit Nehru said that India had no enemies and there was no question of her seeking help from abroad to defend herself. This business of inviting a third power, even when there is some trouble between two parties, is ridiculous. This is the way the British entered India and we must not forget this lesson of history."

The best defence, that a country could have, he said, was based on two factors: first, complete self-confidence and, secondly, national unity. It is the duty of every citizen of the country to help strengthen this pattern of national defence.

At Delhi: Press Conference³

...Prime Minister: Do you want anything? I have got to go, now, really.

Question: Tibet.

Prime Minister: What about Tibet?

Question: Has there been any response to what you said in Parliament on the question of Dalai Lama or it is just the same wall of silence between India and Peking over the Dalai Lama?

Prime Minister: There has been, broadly speaking, no further contacts of that type. If I may describe it, it is a wall of silence, with muffled whispers occasionally.

Question: Except to pay some tributes in the papers.

Prime Minister: It is not completely a wall of silence because we have sometimes given information, exchanged information or exchanged protests, as the case may be. This kind of thing has been going on, on a relatively informal level.

Question: Have you raised the question of MacMahon Line?

Prime Minister: No. It was mentioned previously many times. There is no question of raising it in connection with Tibet.

³ 10 June 1959. From PIB Files. Also available in JN Collections

Question: What are the Dalai Lama's plans? Is he staying on in India?

Prime Minister: Well, I imagine that his stay in India is going to be prolonged.

Question: Can you say that the Chinese are beginning to accept our bona fides in this matter?

Prime Minister: I cannot say. How can I what the Chinese are...

Question: Is the Dalai Lama's statement correct that the situation in Tibet is still causing concern?

Prime Minister: I have no doubt that it is causing him concern and causing others concern. To some extent it is causing us concern.

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To CCP: Nagpur Session and Other Matters⁴

...Now one or two things more. We have had a debate and various references repeatedly to what has happened in Tibet. Well I have had my say on many occasions and I do not propose to say much more. But everybody realises I am sure how extraordinarily difficult and delicate this question of Tibet is and therefore we shall have to keep this in mind, our sympathies, our feelings go out in one direction, our capacity to do anything is obviously limited. Other considerations national, international,

⁴ Speech at Valedictory Meeting, 9 May 1959

political and what not, everything comes in. I think that broadly speaking how we have acted has been the right way. I mention this because even in the debate in the Lok Sabha yesterday, a few speeches were delivered which seemed to me quite remarkably irresponsible. It does not matter what you say about, in your own country, but you are talking quite irresponsibly about other countries. That produces reactions. We have had quite enough of irresponsible talk in China about India. Now the point is are we going to compete with them in irresponsibility, or function in a different way. There is, I am told, a convention going to be held in Calcutta, and possibly not Congressmen, but members of other parties, will take this matter up and make it an important issue just to show that they can shout louder than Congressmen. Anyhow we are not going to compete, I hope, in irresponsibility with anybody. We have to consider these carefully, these matters. We have in fact arrived at a stage, our party, our organisation, when we have to face terrific problems, difficulties, and we can only face them with knowledge, hard work and a sense of responsibility. I think by and large we show that, but we are likely to be tested hard in the future and there is no way of getting out of it except through knowledge and hard work, there is no other way really to solve our problems. "

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136. To Lowell Thomas: Tibetan Refugees⁵

Many thanks for your telegram.⁶ The Government of India are preparing reception camps for the incoming Tibetan Refugees. A Central Relief

⁵ Telegram, 7 May 1959

⁶ Response to telegram of 4 May 1959 from Lowell Thomas, Chairman, Emergency committees for Tibetan Refugees (New York) offering to work in coordination with GOI to

Committee has been set up with J.B. Kriplani M.P., as Chairman. Its office is at 25 Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi. A high level representative of this Committee is now in Assam to survey the requirements of the refugees and to see how non-official efforts in India and abroad can be used and coordinated to supplement the arrangements which are being made by Government. We are asking the Central Committee to communicate with you earliest possible and advise you how best your Committee can help. Medicines are an essential immediate requirements.

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EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

(a) Pakistan

272. To M.J. Desai: Joint Defence with Pakistan⁷

I think that when you next write to our Ambassador in Washington,⁸ you might suggest that the kind of talk Pakistan often indulges in about joint defence, should not be encouraged or, at any rate, we should not say anything about it.⁹ The moment we talk about joint defence, the question arises as to who is the party that might attack us and against whom we are preparing our defence. We do not think that the Soviet Union will attack us.

provide humanitarian assistance to Tibetan refugees. Other members of this committee were William Douglas Joseph, Magnus Gregersen and Walter H. Judd.

⁷ Note to the Commonwealth Secretary, 2 May 1959

⁸ M.C. Chagla

⁹ On 25 April *The Tribune* quoted Ayub as saying on 24 April at Rawalpindi that, "in case of a threat to the territorial integrity of the Indian sub-continent, India and Pakistan should fight it out jointly." He made the statement when he was asked whether "Tibetan events" would bring India and Pakistan closer. *The Hindustan Times* on 2 May noted that this was the first occasion Ayub made a reference to the possibility of "joint military action" by the two countries in certain circumstances.

We are not going to take up an anti-Communist attitude. It is true that we are having some trouble with China at the present moment, but that will be of no interest to Pakistan.¹⁰ In any event, to talk of joint defence indirectly puts us in some kind of a military camp.

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288. India and. Nepal on Tibet¹¹

"Approach to Tibet issue: India and Nepal concur-Nehru's review of talks"

Kathmandu,

June 14

Prime Minister Nehru told a Press conference here to-day that "there is concurrence between India and Nepal in their approach to the Tibetan question".

The Nepalese Prime Minister, Mr. B.P. Koirala, was present at the Press conference which was held before the Indian Prime Minister flew back to Delhi.

Mr. Nehru said that he had found similarity of views in his talks with the Nepalese Government leaders. He had discussed with Mr. Koirala a wide

¹⁰ *The Hindu* on 5 May 1959 carried Nehru's statement, made in the Rajya Sabha on 4 May stating that he had ruled out a "defence pact" in the context of the developments in Tibet. In a debate on "the situation arising out of the recent events in Tibet," he stated: "We do not propose to have military alliances with any country, come what may." He added: "I don't understand when people say: 'Let's have a common defence policy.' Against whom? Are we going to become members of the Baghdad Pact or the SEATO or some other alliance? We don't want to have a common defence policy, which will be almost some kind of military alliance." See item 291, pp. 545-556.

¹¹ Report of a Press Conference, Kathmandu, 14 June 1959. From *The Hindu*, 15 June 1959.

variety of international subjects, recent events in Tibet and common projects.

Mr. Nehru said that he did not envisage any threat to the Indian frontier because of Tibetan developments.

A correspondent asked if the Dalai Lama's stay in India would help to solve the Tibetan question. Mr. Nehru said, "I cannot say that. A wound of heart takes time to heal. Moreover a solution does not depend on top men. There are so many factors involved".

To a question whether the Tibetan situation warranted reconsideration of the defence system of Nepal and India and whether he thought the present system adequate, Mr. Nehru replied that if the question suggested any threat from the North then "I do not envisage any such threat".

The Indian Prime Minister told the Press conference that India did not intend taking the Tibetan question to the United Nations.

Answering a question by a Nepalese correspondent, Mr. Nehru said, "Not one but many countries have violated the Panch Sheel". He, however, declined to name any of such nations.

A correspondent asked since India enunciated Panch Sheel with China would a similar agreement be effected with Nepal. Mr. Nehru said that there was no question of having an agreement with nations on Panch Sheel. It was a matter of principle and India agreed to the principle. He believed Nepal too agreed with it. "A paper agreement on Panch Sheel is no agreement", he said.

Replying to a question on the future of Tibetan refugees in India, Mr. Nehru said that it was still uncertain. Certainly, a large number of them would not be able to return to Tibet in the foreseeable future, he added.

The Prime Minister said that there were about 12,000 Tibetan refugees in India of whom many were trying to find work and earn living. India would make all endeavours to find them jobs.⁴⁴

Answering questions on the Nepalese check posts on the Nepal- Tibetan frontier, Mr. Nehru said that that was the business of the Nepalese Government. There were some Indian operators whose services were requested for by the Nepalese Government. As the Nepalese were being trained to man the posts, Indian operators were being replaced.

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To Josip Broz Tito: survey of World Affairs

I now come to Tibet. We have naturally been much concerned about developments there. We know broadly of discontent in Tibet against Chinese authorities. But the actual upheaval there came as a surprise. Events followed each other fast, the Dalai Lama escaped from Lhasa and soon after there was fighting in Tibet between the Chinese forces and the Tibetans. After an arduous journey, the Dalai Lama and party reached a remote corner of the Indian frontier and we gave them asylum. Since then about 10,000 Tibetan refugees have entered India. This itself is a great burden on us. We have made some temporary arrangements for them near the mountains, and we shall have to think as to what we can do with them later. Being used to the cold climate of the high altitude of Tibet, they can hardly live in the plains of India. We have, therefore, to keep them somewhere in or near the mountains.

You will have observed the virulent attacks by the authorities and the press in China on India. You and Yugoslavia have had some experience of this type of language from China. It was our first experience, and I confess that it distressed me greatly. Our replies to it were restrained though firm, and we have avoided the language of abuse. Even so, the Chinese authorities have been very angry with us for giving asylum to the Dalai Lama and

others and because we ventured to criticise some of their activities. Lately there has been a slight toning down of the language used in China in regard to India. But, even so, an element of threat remains.

I am afraid the authorities in China have developed a peculiar habit of using abusive language and adding to it some kind of a threat. They have been doing this for years against America especially, later against Yugoslavia and now against India. In spite of everything, however, we have made it clear that we want friendly relations with China even though we adhere to our own views and policies. Some of the charges made by China against India are frivolous and without foundation.

Although there is a slight improvement in the previous tension between India and China, the fact remains that the presence of the Dalai Lama and thousands of Tibetan refugees in India is a constant irritant to China. We have, after all, done nothing against China except to give asylum to these people. We are certainly not going to push them away simply because China does not like their remaining here. Therefore, I imagine that some tension between India and China will continue, even though it may not take an acute form. We are not interfering, and indeed cannot interfere in Tibet. We recognise the suzerainty of China over Tibet. We realise also that Tibet is socially a very backward country and that reforms are needed, but the best of reforms, if imposed by an alien authority, are seldom accepted with good grace.

In a military sense, Tibet of course is very weak and China strong. But it may not be very easy for China to deal with guerilla tactics in some parts of the Tibetan highlands. These have been carried on for more than three years and are likely to continue. Some reports reach us of trouble in some of the Chinese provinces adjoining Tibet.

It is interesting and significant to note that the Soviet Union and the other East European countries have said very little about Tibet. Partly this may be

due to the feeling that China has gone too far and is becoming rather aggressive. Partly it may be due to their desire not to create resentment in India.

It is rather difficult to judge of internal conditions in China. It would appear, however, that during the last year or so, gradually, Mao Tse-tung has been pushed away from the centre of things. Mao represented a more moderate tendency. Chinese policy has, during this period, become much more rigid, and the success obtained in production programme has added to this rigidity and self-confidence. The history of China shows that the Chinese do not care over much for the opinion of other peoples. With the growth of power, this tendency has become more marked. And yet, they cannot ignore the fact that recent events have reacted against them all over Asia, and also elsewhere.

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3. (a) G. Parthasarathi to Nehru¹²

[Refer to item 297]

You would have seen the long article published in *People's Daily* yesterday. It is the culmination of the campaign against us and argues the Chinese case with dialectical skill of a particular variety. Obviously it has been prepared at the highest level. It needs careful study and analysis not only because of its relevance to the present controversy but for the insight it gives into the working of the minds of the Chinese Communists.

2. An offer is made in the article to stop mutual recrimination and the argument coupled with the threat that the Chinese campaign will continue

¹² Telegram No. 87, 7 May 1959.

so long as criticisms in India do not stop. It seems that from our point of view the time has come to limit ourselves to refuting definite charges of interference. You have stated our position in regard to Tibet with sincerity and goodwill towards China but it has made no impact on Peking which is determined to go its own way in bringing about a "peaceful revolution" in Tibet. There is no meeting ground in our respective approaches to problems of nationalities, autonomy, social reforms and progress. Further efforts on our part will only earn us more ill-will. It is not that we need to give up what we consider to be correct but there seems to be no point in engaging in a fruitless controversy.

3. The presence of the DALAI LAMA and thousands of refugees in India is not only an affront to the Chinese but it is bound to make reconciliation of Tibet more difficult. It is up to the Chinese to approach us to help in the solution of their problems if they so desire. They are not however now in a mood to seek our good offices relying as they seem to do on the correctness of their newly enunciated policy of "democratisation and socialization." It is better for us to wait and see what they do.

4. The news that Lok Sabha is to debate Tibet tomorrow has been received with indignation. I believe that CHOU EN LAI complained to MALALSEKARA yesterday (Ceylon's Ambassador to Moscow who was here at the invitation of the Buddhist Association) that whereas he had spoken on Tibet once in the People's Congress you had made eight statements on Tibet in our Parliament. It is not appreciated here that under our parliamentary system such discussions are unavoidable and much criticism is made of our interference in the internal affairs of China.

5. Taking all factors into account it appears to me that the stage has been reached for us to let the Chinese make the next move. Our relations are bound to be tense for some time to come. In the last few days I have noticed that Chinese leaders are polite but do not engage in conversation with us but we are not unduly concerned about it.

6. Russian Ambassador YUDIN had a long talk with me on Tibet on Tuesday evening. He is friendly to us personally but as you know he has got a doctrinaire mind. His approach to the Tibetan question was similar to that of the People's Daily. He had also some fantastic notions about Kalimpong and about the Indo-Chinese frontier being a British creation. I hope I succeeded in disabusing him of some of his ideas.

3. (b) G. Parthasarathi to Subimal Dutt¹³

[Refer to item 297]

In the last two days there were very few anti-Indian items in the Press. Yesterday a critical summary of the Rajya Sabha debate of 4th May was published. News items stating Lok Sabha was to discuss Tibet and that the India's Embassy had released the Dalai Lama statement were published with a note of disapproval. But the denunciatory articles and letters have stopped. Newspapers today published Indian press criticism of Pakistan's offer of common defence. *People's Daily* carved eulogistic article on Tagore.

2. Press carries long reports from Tibet to show that

(a) mass of people welcome reforms and ending of serfdom and

¹³ Telegram No. 88, 8 May 1959

(b) enthusiastic cooperation is being given to Chinese PLA units in rounding up rebels. Panchen Lama's activities in Peking are kept very much in public eye.

3. General impression is that anti-Indian campaign is in retreat and process of disengagement in terms of People's Daily article of 6th May has begun. But Chinese are watchful of Indian reactions and it is too early to say that the campaign against us has ceased.

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15. N.V. Gadgil to Nehru

[Refer to item 81]

Manali

25 May 1959

My dear Jawaharlalji,

I arrived here this morning from Kulu. I have been touring Kangra district for the last 3-4 days and in that connection I came here. This morning I met a number of traders and prominent citizens from the Lahaul and Spiti area beyond which is Tibet. I spent about an hour with them. Some of them are members of the Tribal Advisory Committee of the Punjab. The trade between Tibet and this part of Kulu Valley or rather Lahaul and Spiti valleys is there over centuries. The trade, however, is seasonal. It begins round about the beginning of June and continues about the end of October. The total value of trade, according to these gentlemen, comes to about Rs.40 lakhs. This obviously is a very rough calculation. The important point to note is that traders and merchants from our side give money in advance to the suppliers and producers of wool and Pashmina in Tibet. These advances are to the extent of 30 lakhs of rupees. The advances are made towards

the end of October and from the next June the goods are received by Indian merchants. Apart from wool and Pashmina, there are no other articles worth mentioning which are imported by India. The main exports from our side are Kut - a kind of a herb which is of high medicinal value and tea. It is exported in large quantities to Tibet. In other words, the export and import trade is round about Rs.80 lakhs per year.

2. The Lahaul and Spiti area is not green and lovely as the proper Kulu Valley and all kinds of commodities, food, clothes, etc, are sent to this area through Manali. The people live practically on meat, milk, and I am told by my visitors that 50% of them do not know the use of cereals. Anyway, the fact remains that people in this area are mostly dependent upon trade with Tibet and for their supply of necessities on the adjoining part, namely, Kulu Valley. They are, therefore, very much disturbed over the events that have happened recently in Tibet. Their information is very meagre but from what little I could gather was to this effect that the Khampas have not turned to this side of Tibet and, therefore, there is no active resistance to the Chinese. The old-styled arms were surrendered. Census of property, both movable and immovable, has been done by the Chinese without any resistance.. The feelings of my visitors are that the Chinese are cruel. It means that they are ruthless in whatever they do. My visitors are also afraid that their religion may not be honoured by the Chinese but none of the visitors have any recent contact with the people in Tibet. There are two ways through which trade is carried - one is Rohtang, then through a part of Kashmir territory, and then Tibet. The other is directly from Spiti into Tibet. The visitors suggested that there was a Brigade at some place called Karlog in Kashmir territory. A contingent of Punjab Armed Police is also at Lahaul. What they suggested was that if there was any possibility of trouble, it was in the area of Spiti or near about. I merely listened to them.

3. What they are concerned most is resumption of their trade now that June is near at hand. They wanted to know whether the Government of India would allow them to resume trade and whether pas sport arrangements would be made as usual. I told them that they should contact the Government of India and I was informed that some of them were leaving for Delhi almost in a day or two and perhaps would see you also. If the trade is resumed and takes its normal course, there is no problem so far as people in the area of Lahaul and Spiti are concerned. If for any reason trade is not resumed, then the position of these people would be miserable. Apart from losing means of livelihood which they have had over centuries, the advances to the extent of Rs.30 lakhs made as usual will not be recoverable. It is not unlikely that the economy there and the trade pattern there will be of the nature one now finds in China. In other words, it may be State trading. From one point of view, it may be good. From the other point of view, it may be very difficult. I have, advised them, however, to form a trade association so that they could find it easier to have facilities from the Government of India and perhaps at the relevant moment from the Government of Tibet. About two years ago, they suffered great damage on account of exceptional heavy snowfall. An amount of Rs.5 lakhs was given to them by way of loan and the time has now come for its recovery. I suggest that in view of their present predicament, it would be better if the Government of India either writes off that amount or, at any rate, suspends its recovery till such time as may be considered desirable.

4. On my way to Manali this morning from Kulu, I found a number of people who obviously were not local people living in small tents at various places. While talking to my visitors, this morning, I learnt that about a thousand people, partly Khampas, partly Tibetans, have entered into Punjab through the border between Tibet and Punjab. I do not know whether the police

officers have noted this. Myself, I thought that they were some tribes as we find in the whole of India who move from place to place but it was only here this morning that I learnt that they are non-Indians, as stated above, Tibetans and Khampas.

I have directed the police officers quietly to make enquiries and submit to me a report about their movements. I like you to take notice of this and direct us to deal with them from time to time. The deputationists also requested that the Government of India should give more for the uplift of the people in Lahaul and Spiti area. For Himachal Pradesh, Government has given huge funds and development is taking rapidly in that area. Some development undoubtedly is taking in Lahaul and Spiti area but if more could be done, it would go a long way off. There is no panic whatsoever except the anxiety about this trade.

5. I am writing this from the Forest Bungalow where you lived for a few days last year. The weather is excellent and the scenery, one need not say, is the best in this country. Many people are here as visitors including Justice Bhagwati and half a dozen lawyers from Bombay. They all complained about inadequacy of facilities. Some prominent citizens from Manali also met and suggested that if it was possible to introduce airplane service between Delhi and Kulu Valley, the tourist traffic would go up and that would mean some work and some money for local people also. It is for the Government of India to consider but I think we should develop this side of our activities also. Punjab can boast of half a dozen good hill stations, such as Dalhousie, Simla, Dharamsala, Kulu, Manali, etc. I will be here for another day and after stopping a day at Dharamsala where I distribute certificates to Election Officers, who did wonderful work during the last general elections, I return to Chandigarh on 28th afternoon.

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24. Sundarlal to Nehru¹⁴

[Refer to item 313]

16 June 1959

My dear Jawaharlal,

I have been thinking of writing to you for some weeks. I strongly feel I must seek your advice and guidance on some important matters.

The first of these is the Tibetan affair. Unfortunately I have not been able to see quite eye to eye with some of my colleagues in this matter. In the very beginning, when news from Tibet began to come in, I gave a brief interview to a foreign press representative which was published even by the New York Times. I so much appreciated your long statement in the Parliament that I could not help congratulating you. I hope you got my letter. I found that some of my friends were rather upset by that statement of yours. I re-read the statement carefully and again found myself in complete agreement with all that you had said. I had a three hour's talk with the Chinese Ambassador on that question. I explained to him how fair, how just and how friendly your entire approach to the Tibetan question was.

Sometime before the Tibetan affair, the China India Friendship Association of Peking had written to the India China Friendship Association to send a small Indian delegation to China in or about the month of May 1959. The Executive Committee of the India China Friendship Association met to consider the matter. I strongly advised that it was not proper to send a delegation as such a juncture. I advised that Uma Bhabi, as Chairman of our Executive Committee, should see you personally and we should all act

¹⁴ File No. 40(168)/59-70-PMS

according to your advice in the matter. I think she saw you and there the matter rests.

In May last I had the occasion to go to Stockholm to participate in the tenth anniversary of the World Peace Council. There I had long talks with Kuo Mojo and other Chinese friends concerning India and the Tibetan affair. I may not go into the details of those talks in this letter. I tried to impress upon them the correctness of India's position which meant the position of India's Prime Minister. I told them that there was no such being in India as an "Indian expansionist", that even those parties or individuals who had used harsh or even improper language when they used phrases like 'rebel bandits', mopping off' etc. I told them that their approach to the solution of the whole problem was political and military rather than human and psychological, and so on. The talks were all very cordial, frank and friendly.

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Bhutan and Sikkim

In the Lok Sabha: The Sikkim Lottery¹⁵

Hem Barua:¹⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) whether it is a fact that raffles run and organised in Sikkim are allowed to operate in India as well;

(b) if so, whether they are organised by Indian nationals living in Sikkim or by Sikkimese themselves; and (c) what are the reasons, if the reply to (a) is in the affirmative, for allowing these raffles here?¹⁷

¹⁵ 5 May 1959. Lok Sabha Debates (Second Series), Vol. XXXI. cols.14920-14722.

¹⁶ PSP, MP from Gauhati, Assam

¹⁷ See SWJN/SS/44/p. 303

Lakshmi Menon:¹⁸ (a) The Health Relief Charities Fund Lottery of Sikkim has been treated as an authorised raffle in India.

(b) This raffle is run by Indian nationals.

(c) The H.R. Lottery of Sikkim has been treated as a validly authorised lottery because of our special relations with Sikkim and because a fair amount of income derived by the Sikkim Government from the same is spent on health, social welfare works and relief to ex-servicemen from the Indian Army.

Hem Barua: May I know whether the Government are aware or whether the Government have asked the Indian nationals who have subscribed to this raffle to seek redress of their complaints in Sikkim, because the Jurisdiction of our Supreme Court does not extend to Sikkim and if so, may I know the difficulties that confront our nationals in this matter?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know what difficulties there may be. I do not know what difficulties have arisen and why they cannot seek redress in Sikkim itself. It is not necessary to go to the Supreme Court for a minor matter.

Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that section 294A of the I.P.C. does not treat this raffle as valid in India because our laws do not operate in Sikkim and if so, are Government aware of the difficulties on the way?

Lakshmi Menon: The Government are aware of all the difficulties and the matter has been very thoroughly gone into before this decision was taken to declare the lottery as an authorised one.

¹⁸ Union Deputy Minister of External Affairs

Hem Barna: May I know whether the Government are aware of the fact that the Indian national who runs this raffle can remit his profits to his family in India and at the same time avoid Indian income-tax and if so, are the Government aware of this fact, and what steps Government have taken so far to see that income-tax is recovered?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Income-tax on persons who win in the raffle?

Hem Barua: The Indian national who runs the raffle remits the profits to his family in India and also avoids Indian Income-tax. I want to know what steps are taken.

Mr. Speaker:¹⁹ The hon. Member will put down a separate question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Income-tax does not, to my knowledge, come up before us.

The Sikkim Government was very much interested in this because they got money for their hospitals out of it. They spoke to me. Their difficulty at that time was that the Indian post office people came in the way. Considering this as an unauthorised undertaking, they did not co-operate and may be, they even confiscated the tickets, etc. They spoke to me about it. Then, we discussed this matter here. Quite apart from our general policy in India, whatever it may be, we felt that we should not come in the way of the Sikkim Government in this matter. So, we declared it as an authorised raffle. The consequences on Income Tax, I am not aware of.

¹⁹ M. AnanthasayanamAyyangar

To Subimal Dutt: Code for Mission in Sikkim²⁰

I do not know what kind of a code is used in messages from our Mission in Gangtok to the Bhutan Maharaja²¹ or Government. If it is some simple code, then it is highly likely that the message reaches and is deciphered by unauthorized persons. This fact should be kept in mind and our representative at Gangtok²² should be told of it.

To Apa B. Pant: Intrigues in Gangtok and Kalimpong²³

May 23, 1959.

My dear Apa,

Dinesh Singh²⁴ and the Maharaja of Tehri-Garhwal²⁵ came to see me this morning and presented me with their report of their tour. There is nothing very special in this report about Sikkim. They have, however, written a good deal about Bhutan and made various suggestions for closer integration of Bhutan with India or, at any rate, for closer association in various ways such as the appointment of an agent by us in Bhutan and common defence.

I told them that I did not agree with their approach to Bhutan. I did not think it was at all desirable for us to appoint an agent there or to take any steps of a military nature.

²⁰ Note, 6 May 1959

²¹ Jigme Dorji Wangchuk

²² Apa Pant

²³ Letter to the Political Officer of India in Sikkim

²⁴ Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Banda, UP

²⁵ Manabendra Shah.

In the course of their report they have stated that according to rumours in Gangtok there are Soviet troops in Tibet helping the Chinese. I see telegrams emanating from Gangtok also to this effect appearing in the press. In fact, the longest message that I have seen about this matter was in Dawn, Karachi. In this it was particularly said that these Soviet troops have come to Gyantse and have been welcomed by the Chinese.

I am rather concerned about Gangtok becoming a centre for the dissemination of all kinds of rumours and gossip. In the old days, soon after the Soviet revolution, Riga on the then frontier of the Soviet Union became famous for long and tall stories about conditions in Russia that emanated from there. Lately, Kalimpong has attained a measure of notoriety in this respect. To some extent that is natural because of the presence of large numbers of foreign intelligence agents, refugees and odd people there who have been coming from Tibet in the past.

I do not want Gangtok to compete in this business with other places as a centre of sensational news. Gangtok is such a small place and there is the Indian Political Officer there. Almost every kind of news that comes out of Gangtok will be attributed to the Indian Representative, either directly or indirectly. Hence, we have to be very careful. Or else our reputation for objective news and reports will suffer and we will be considered purveyors of sensational stories.

I cannot believe that any Soviet forces could have come to Gyantse. The whole story is basically and inherently improbable and I shall not be prepared to believe this unless there is hundred percent evidence. Merely vague stories of some fair haired people or soldiers being seen in the streets and being mistaken for Russians is not enough. Nothing would be more unlikely, both from the Soviet and the Chinese points of view, than that Soviet troops should come to Tibet in this connection.

It may be conceded that some people from Northern Tibet with fair hair have been brought there by the Chinese or from some part of China, or even if they are Russians, they might be some experts for geological surveys and the like.

Anyhow, I am writing to you so that you might keep all this in mind and be vigilant about these rumours that refugees and others will spread. No one is less likely to give an objective and truthful account of occurrences than a refugee. It is not a question of straightforward lying, but of a state of mind which is terribly excited and believes every rumour.

Gangtok occupies a very special position both geographically and because of the presence of the Indian Representative there whose contacts are supposed to be with Tibet. Therefore, our mission in Gangtok must remain completely wide-awake and objective; otherwise it will not be able to serve us properly. It must not accept any odd story that comes and it must remain calm and untroubled, even though difficult situations arise.

During the last two and a half months our missions in Tibet have had to face some critical situations from day to day.²⁶ It is always difficult for a mission to function when the governing authority is not only uncooperative, but actually obstructive. I think our missions have done very well in these difficult circumstances and a great deal of credit goes to them.

These difficulties will continue, though at a lower level. I see no relief from them in the near future. A few days ago the Chinese Ambassador in Delhi²⁷ conveyed a message to our Foreign Secretary on behalf of his Government. This was, in our opinion, a very objectionable message and we are replying to it in our own way. You will get information of this from our Foreign Secretary. According to our policy and practice, we are replying to this firmly, but at the same time courteously, unlike the Chinese message.

²⁶ See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 224-226 and 443

²⁷ Pan Tzu-li

It is relatively easy to take up extreme attitudes and to talk without restraint. That is what the Chinese have been doing. We have to follow a more difficult path.

Gangtok, because of its geographical position and as a highway to Tibet and its contacts with Bhutan, has been for us an important centre. It has been our good fortune to have you there as our representative. This importance of Gangtok has grown greatly since recent developments in Tibet and your presence there is a comfort to us. I am writing to you particularly so that you should exercise your influence against gossip and rumour-mongering in Gangtok. Newspapermen and others go there and pick up bazaar rumours. They may go to you and repeat these rumours and even your silence may lead to certain inferences which might well embarrass you later. One has therefore to be particularly careful in dealing with newspapermen.²⁸

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

To Subimal Dutt: Aid to Bhutan²⁹

I agree in principle to our helping the Government of Bhutan more than we are doing at present. The amount suggested, that is, Rs.7 lakhs, in addition to the present Rs.5 lakhs per annum (total Rs.12 lakhs) does not appear to me to be unreasonable.

But I do not like the idea of considering this Rs. 12 lakhs as normal subsidy to Bhutan. In effect this means amending the Treaty between India and

²⁸ Nehru copied this letter with the report to Subimal Dutt; he rejected the idea of an agent in Bhutan as "our relations were close at present though somewhat on the informal level

²⁹ Note, 26 May 1959

Bhutan of 1949.³⁰ Also, indirectly, it would appear that this is a compensation for the territory that was taken from Bhutan in earlier days. I am inclined to think, therefore, that the Treaty figure of Rs.5 lakhs should remain as it is as the annual subsidy. In addition, we should agree to a Development Grant or Subsidy of Rs.7 lakhs per annum. This approach appears to me a somewhat better one. It keeps the additional subsidy of Rs.7 lakhs earmarked for development and we do not touch the old figure of Rs.5 lakhs, which was not earmarked and was largely treated as compensation for territory.

Although this Rs.7 lakhs would be an annual grant to be continued more or less indefinitely, it would stand on a separate footing from the Rs.5 lakhs mentioned in the Treaty. That is, the Rs.7 lakhs would not be a Treaty obligation, but an annual grant to be continued without any fixed period, but essentially at our pleasure.

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The Dalai Lama to Nehru

[Refer to item 296]

7 May 1959

At this moment the entire monk and lay people of Tibet are undergoing unbearable sorrows and miseries of tremendous magnitude which can be seen by the fact that thousands of Tibetans are rushing out of their country seeking refuge in India. In this connection, I would refer to Your Excellency's excellent suggestion during our recent meeting that Government of India would seek to find a peaceful approach to solve the problem and with which I had entirely agreed. Accordingly, I have been

³⁰ See SWJN/SS/44/p. 319

giving deep thought to every aspect of this problem. I would, however, like to submit the following four points for the time being which could form the basis of peaceful talks in the future. It would be extremely difficult to put any credence in anything promised by the Chinese until these four points are brought clearly into practice. We have no one except the Government of India to whom we can look for help and guidance and to the Government of India we would like to bring the following for their very kind consideration;

1. The communists should stop their diabolical activities in Tibet which has resulted in enormous bloodshed from a fixed date and should also immediately set free all the Tibetans who are either imprisoned or set to heavy manual task.
2. The entire Chinese military force should be withdrawn from Tibet and not a single soldier be left behind.
3. An enquiry should be made whether damage has been caused to Buddhism in Tibet, its institutions including precious scripts and idols, congregation of monks and the means of Tibetan people's livelihood, etc. A committee representing the countries having common boundaries with Tibet under the leadership of India with representatives of some neighbouring Buddhist countries accompanied by some of our Tibetan officials should be sent to all parts of Tibet equipped with wireless transmitting sets in order to make a thorough enquiry and ensure that the two points mentioned above are properly observed.
4. In order to give medical aid and assistance to the wounded persons and patients of Tibet and to prevent the outbreak of epidemic and famine as a

result of the present sanguinary clash, the International Red Cross should be permitted to open a branch in Tibet to serve all parts of Tibet. May these requests meet with Your Excellency's favourable consideration and sympathetic help so that these may find realisation.

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At Delhi: Press Conference³¹

Question: Any developments about Tibet since you last spoke in Lok Sabha³²

Prime Minister: Well, what about Tibet? The one thing I can tell you more or less definitely is the number of refugees that have come or are on the way, that have entered either the territory of India or Bhutan or Sikkim. Our present figures are 12,200. Of these, most of them have come through the NEFA Agency at Kameng and Subansiri. About 10,000 have come there. About 1,600 via Bhutan and about 300 via Sikkim. At present, we have organised two camps, one in Assam for about 5,000 persons, and one in North Bengal in Buxa for about a thousand or a little more. This Bengal camp is in the foothills, not right down the plains, it's a little higher up. Now, for the present, the immediate issue before us has been to provide some kind of accommodation for these people who are coming, and well, medical help, etc., whatever may be needed because I am told a number of them require medical attention. But it is not our intention to keep large camps permanently.

³¹ 14 May 1959. From PIB files. Also available in JN Collection

³² See item 293, pp. 556-568

I cannot say at present what other arrangements we might have to make, but for the able-bodied, the young persons, after a while we should like them to give them opportunities of doing some work and earning their living. I cannot indicate how exactly. Possibly, in those hill areas, we might use them for road-making if they so agree. It is not very easy to bring these people down in the plains because the summer in the plains will be very difficult for them to bear.

Question: Social strata of these people who have come from there...

Prime Minister: We have not stratified them in that way but it is obvious that if 12,000 persons come, a large number of them must belong to, well, must represent the common man in Tibet. No doubt there will be others there belonging to more or less what you might call upper strata. How many I cannot say.

Question: Any indication about children and women?

Prime Minister: No, I could not tell you, I believe there may be some but I could not tell you how many.

Question: Are there many Lamas?

Prime Minister: There must be again some Lamas because a very large proportion of the population of Tibet is Lamas. Practically every family contributes one or more members to the monasteries. So I take it there must be a good number of Lamas. There are a few persons who are called incarnate Lamas. How many I do not know.

Question: Have there been any diplomatic exchanges between India and China on Tibet about Dalai Lama going back or the Chinese Ambassador³³ seeing him?

Prime Minister: No. There have been no formal diplomatic exchanges. We told them when the Dalai Lama had sought refuge in India and just after his entering Indian territory, we had informed the Chinese Government officially of this that he sought asylum and we had given it him and his party. After that there have been no formal exchanges.

Question: You said in Parliament that India is concerned over the use of cold war language by China without regard to truth or propriety. Was it conveyed to them through the Chinese Ambassador here? Has any reply been received to that?

Prime Minister: Yes. You are right. We did convey a message sometime back then, and soon after we received not a reply to it but an independent message complaining of something that has been said and done in India. So there are the two independent messages crossing each other but there has been, so far as I can remember no exchange and then again we sent answer to their message. That is all as far as I can remember.

Question: Has it come to your notice that in China today, in their official publications, they have mentioned the Asian Relations Conference and the presence of the Tibetan Delegation there and they have mentioned it in connection with the movement of independence for Tibet and they say that the Asian Relations Conference was organised by Britain? Could you throw

³³ Pan Tzu-li

some more light on the genesis of the Asian Relations Conference and why and how the Tibetan Delegation was there and what they did?³⁴

Prime Minister: The Asian Relations Conference was held in the beginning of 1947. If anyone has made a statement that it was organised by Britain he is totally ignorant of the facts. Nothing to do with Britain or any outsider or any foreigner. It was organised by the, I forget the name...

A Correspondent: Indian Council of World Affairs.

Prime Minister: The one that preceded it, I think, out of which came the Indian Council of World Affairs - anyhow more or less the same body. And it was organised before we came into Government - we came into Government for the first time in 1946, August. We discussed this matter and a Committee was formed. Later, before that actual Conference took place, we had become members of the Government, but it remained a non-governmental conference, convened not under Government's auspices, but non-official auspices. Government had nothing to do with it except sympathy and all that. In that Conference all kinds of people were invited. Normally, we wanted to invite non-official organisations to it. But we found this difficulty that in a number of countries in Asia we could not get hold of a non-official organisation to invite. So the Governments of those countries sent some representatives - usually educationists and the like. So it was a kind of a mixed conference, essentially, non-official, but with an official element in it, from outside and from here in the same sense that we had become a Government then.

I remember in the course of this (Conference) the people from Tibet had been invited. I do not quite remember how they were invited - I mean to

³⁴ See SWJN/SS/2/pp. 501-523

say what organisation was addressed to send their representatives but they did come.

And I remember one incident on these days. There was a big roughly drawn map of Asia, drawn in chalk or something and there were some dotted lines as between Tibet and China. Now, none of us had noticed it. It was some effort of some artist who had put it up there. Nobody knew about it, but the representatives from China, that is to say the Kuomintang representatives - at that time Marshal Chiang-Kai-shek was the President of China - took objection to these dotted lines. He said: "You are showing Tibet as a separate country from China and they should not have separate representation." That incident arose. I am not quite sure, but I think the dots were removed then by someone. But the Tibetans who had come remained there. We told them it was not an official Conference; it was more a cultural affair.

Question: I happened to see the Chinese paper yesterday, Linli Pao, and the headlines there were very very uncomplimentary to India on the lines that we had heard in the speeches made in the People's Congress of China viz. "Chinese will never allow foul hogs to poke their snouts in our beautiful garden." Such kinds of headlines you will see in the People's Daily.

Prime Minister: What you have quoted presumably is something from somebody's speech.

Correspondent: It is headlines, Sir.

Prime Minister: Whatever it may be, I am saying that it was not contained in the message that we got.

Question: When the complaint about what was being said in India, there is said something against us also.

Prime Minister: What do you expect me to say, except that this is a kind of language which we do not use or like being used by others, that I call 'Cold War' language.

Question: Well I want to know how do you react to the Communist Party's latest resolution on the subject³⁵ which seems to be more or less a précis on what has already been written in the *People's Daily* of China on May the 6th?

Prime Minister: I have not compared the two but broadly speaking, I suppose, it is a précis with an attempt slightly to tone it down for Indian purposes.

Question: What is left of the Tibetan problem now?

Prime Minister: To begin with, Tibet is left. And there are so many aspects of it, problems like this do not disappear. They are in the habit of carrying on in spite of what happens. If you look at them in perspective, you see these ups and downs repeatedly. So far as we are concerned, at present, because our main concern is those large number of refugees who have come here.

³⁵ The Executive Committee of the CPI on 12 May 1959 attacked some parties in India for their campaign "to provoke India against China" and maintained that "Tibet was an integral part of China" and therefore whatever happened there was its "internal affair."

Question: About the policy of neutrality there has been a lot of criticism by Mr. Khrushchev and China of Col. Nasser and Marshal Tito and you particularly, about this policy of neutrality. Do you think it represents some change of policy on their part or some sort of disbelief in the policy of neutrality or just it is a temporary passing phase?

Prime Minister: I have not seen myself any criticism other than that appeared in China. Even there I do not know if any reference to neutrality has been made, reference to Panch Sheel has been made any to the Bandung principles and all that. But I do not remember even and Chinese criticism about our policy of neutrality. It may have been there but certainly I have not seen anything in Russia about it.

Question: Col. Nasser had been attacked so many times and Marshal Tito also.

Prime Minister: That is important as it is. But these are relatively local arguments.

Question: No Sir, Col. Nasser has interpreted it as an attack on the policy of neutrality. So has Marshal Tito. I think more or less you might not like to say it but it is actually an attack on the policy of neutrality, after all, what is Panch Sheel.

Prime Minister: The first thing is that nothing has been said about India, about these issues, at all; except in China in recent weeks or months, nobody else has referred to India in this connection, but there has been, as you say, a lot of hard words and bitter things said in Cairo and in Moscow about each other. It is so. I do not see how that comes in and can be

considered as - apart from China considered as an attack on the policy of neutrality or Panch Sheel. I do not see it at all.

Question: Do you think you will be making any approaches to China about helping the Dalai Lama to return on honourable terms? From your answers, it seems there was a kind of deadlock in communications between India and China.

Prime Minister: There is no deadlock. We always send messages to each other but recently we have not sent any official formal communications. Informally to some extent we always deal with each other. I mean to say that our Ambassador in China³⁶ meets some high dignitary there. That is a different matter. I cannot say when we may decide to send some communication and the content of it. That I cannot say now. It depends on circumstances.

Question: You have asked the Dalai Lama not to engage in political activity, haven't you? He has rather preferred to leave the case to be taken up by India.

Prime Minister: I have told the Dalai Lama that he is perfectly free to say or do what he likes, to go back to Tibet, to remain here or to go anywhere else. But having said that, I have pointed out that he will no doubt consider the circumstances, events leading up to his coming here and the present position and function wisely and with some restraint. It is a broad advice I have given him, no specific thing - I have told him to do or not to do. He is free to do that. In fact I have been advising him, in a small way, even while he is at Mussoorie, to come out of his house and wander about and go

³⁶ G Parthasarathi

about and to meet people. Of course now he meets a fairly large number of people who come for what might be called "Darshan", for his blessings. Large numbers of people go there now. He has given interviews too, chiefly to Buddhist representatives who have come sometimes from other countries. I say this because I have seen some comments, not here but in the foreign press, about his being kept under strict detention and all that. That is not true essentially. I think that as usual, the police have a way of throwing their weight about wherever they are concerned and we have told them to be careful about the Dalai Lama's security and so their idea of looking after a person is to be very evident themselves all over the place. We have again made it clear to them not to interfere at all and that naturally we are anxious about the Dalai Lama's security. So far as other members of his party are concerned, they can just go and do what they like in Mussoorie or go away from Mussoorie. Nobody is keeping them there.

Question: You told us at Mussoorie that the Dalai Lama was anxious to go back to Tibet if it could be arranged. How is this result to be achieved?

Prime Minister: What I said at Mussoorie I don't remember my words but it is a natural thing.³⁷ Nobody wants to come away or to be pushed out of one's country, one wants to go back. But the reasons which prompted him to come away, so long as those reasons persist; presumably there are some barriers to his going there.

Question: The Mongols ruled over China for a few centuries.³⁸ The Mongols made the whole country of China a province. Just like that the Manchus made Manchuria a part of China. But Tibet was never in that sense a part of

³⁷ See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 478-498. 93

³⁸ The Yuan dynasty (1271-1368)

China. Today Mongolia is an independent State, There is the Mongolian representative here³⁹. Even Siberia was a part of China once, hundred years ago it was. Would it not be wise and generous on the part of Chinese to give the same status to Tibet as they have given to Outer Mongolia?

Prime Minister: I don't think they have given any status to Outer Mongolia.

Question: But they have agreed to give it independent status.

Prime Minister: Outer Mongolia came into existence; well, in the twenties, long ago. After the commotion that followed all over Northern Asia after the Soviet Revolution, various things happened which ultimately reached Outer Mongolia and other things happened. As for Tibet, I think it is a question of history or if you like, of international law such as it is. It is all mixed up and there is no such thing really as international law when there is a conflict. So what the international status of Tibet might be, it is for lawyers and other to determine; but ultimately in international law though minor questions are often decided either by negotiations or, may be by the International Court of Justice at the Hague, major questions are decided by nobody, except by the countries concerned either peacefully or by the force of arms. About the status of Tibet, it is obviously a distinct entity, a place with an individuality, a Tibetan individuality. But it is true that through long periods of history, it has been connected with China in various degrees of intimacy, sometimes closely, sometimes remotely, but connected. And for the greater part of that period it has acknowledged various degrees of suzerainty of China; sometimes not, but for the greater part it has. For the present a jurist may give his opinion which will have no very great value except historically, and the question is really decided by the strength of the nation.

³⁹ Mangalyn Dugersuren

Question: My question is this. China has accepted Outer Mongolia as an independent State,⁴⁰ although it was an integral part of China till about a few years ago. So would it not be generous and magnanimous on the part of China to give Tibet the same status?

Prime Minister: How can I answer this question about generosity and magnanimity?

Question: Does it mean that China's claim which has been given in the Peking *People's Daily*, perhaps in reply to the statement in Parliament that China has full sovereignty over Tibet. Is that accepted now?

Prime Minister: The Chinese claim has been the same "suzerainty" and "sovereignty", in the English language I know. But what it is in the Chinese language I do not know. I do not know their exact connotation. But the claim has been identical, more or less, through all the later historical periods, whether there has been an emperor in China or there have been warlords in China or Chiang-Kai-Shek, in China or the present government in China. It has been an identical claim always. As for the measure of sovereignty etc., I have said that both practically and otherwise, there could not have been in the past any real intimate control of Tibet. It was physically not possible because of its remoteness, because of no communication and all that. Occasionally Chinese armies came to Tibet. Once or twice Tibetan armies went to China in the past. Occasionally a Chinese high official called "Amban", sits in Lhasa, rather in a controlling position, almost like the Resident, old-style British Resident in Indian States. So these varieties of control had been there, and sometimes no

⁴⁰ Effectively from 1911, and recognised officially by the PRC subsequently

control. You can draw any inference you like. But the fact is you have to view the situation as it is today.

Question: Is it your impression that so long as the Dalai Lama stays in India, there is bound to be some kind of strain in the relations between India and China?

Prime Minister: Well, it is rather difficult to look into the future and what might happen but possibly you are right that the presence of the Dalai Lama does involve a certain strain of that type.

294. In the CWC: Resolution on Tibet

Recent developments in Tibet, leading to a revolt and its suppression have evoked much concern and sympathy among large numbers of people in India. This is natural because of neighbourly relations and as many places in Tibet have from time immemorial been a part of the religious and cultural consciousness of the Indian people. Large numbers of pilgrims have gone there every year from India. Any happening there which leads to the suffering of the people of Tibet is, therefore, a matter for sorrow for people in India.

The Working Committee accords their full support to the policy of the Government of India as enunciated in the Prime Minister's statements in Parliament.⁴¹ They approve of the grant of asylum to the Dalai Lama, who is greatly respected in India, as also to a large number of refugees from Tibet. On humanitarian grounds, this was desirable and is justified by the principles of International Law.

⁴¹ See item 297, pp. 571-72

The Committee reaffirms the basic policy of India which is based on friendly relations with all countries and non-alignment with any military grouping. They agree that there should be no interference in the internal affairs of other countries, which is one of the Five Principles of the Panchsheel. They are anxious to maintain friendly relations with China. The Committee earnestly hopes that peace will soon be established in Tibet to enable the people of that region to live their lives according to their own wishes.

New Delhi May 8, 1959

295. To Subimal Dutt: No Political Activity by the Dalai Lama's⁴²

I agree with you. I think that our advice to the Dalai Lama should be that it is inadvisable to see political representatives of other countries. These people will exploit any talks they might have with him and give publicity to it in the wrong way. More particularly, seeing the head of a foreign mission for political reasons may lead to difficulties.

2. If anyone goes to pay respects to him as a Buddhist, that is another matter.

296. To P.N. Menon: Oral Answer to Dalai Lama⁴³

You can give an oral answer to the Dalai Lama on my behalf. This should be on the following lines:

⁴² Note to the Foreign Secretary, 9 May 1959

⁴³ Note to Deputy Secretary, MEA, and former Consul-General in Lhasa, 9 May 1959

I have received the Dalai Lama's letter.⁴⁴ I can very well understand his deep distress at happenings in Tibet. But on reading his letter, it seems to me that he has not fully appreciated the situation. The suggestions he has made would imply that the Chinese Government has been completely defeated in war, has surrendered and terms can be dictated to it. No Government, least of all the Chinese Government, can accept such terms or conditions. Even if there was war, such terms would not be accepted by it because they involve a complete surrender of their position in Tibet. It is impossible to expect a strong and powerful nation to accept these terms even if these are put forward by all the great powers in the world.

2. During the last few weeks, the Chinese Government have attacked India and its leaders with extreme virulence. This itself shows how much they have been upset by India's attitude, moderate as it was. India has, in fact, gone as far as it can. Any further step would mean a break with China. In any event, India cannot put forward any demands on China. The most that can happen is for a situation to develop gradually which will induce the Chinese Government to moderate their attitude on Tibet. There is no other way.

3. It should be remembered that while the question of Tibet stands by itself, it is intimately connected with the world situation. Even such a powerful country as the United States of America could not bring enough pressure to bear on China in regard to the islands of Quemoy and Matsu, not to speak of Formosa or Taiwan. Tibet is more important in China's eyes than Quemoy and Matsu.

⁴⁴ For Dalai Lama's letter to Nehru, 7 May 1959, see Appendix 4

4. It has to be noticed that China's great ally, the Soviet Union, is not fully supporting China in this matter as it has said very little about the Tibet situation. But of course, they will not go against China. If any external pressures are brought to bear on China in regard to Tibet, then the Soviet Union will come into the picture also and support China fully.

5. At present, the Communist countries of Europe have, on the whole, remained silent about Tibet. The other countries have expressed sympathy with Tibet. In the countries of South-East Asia, which are mainly Buddhist, there is, of course, great sympathy for Tibet. None of those countries can take any action, but the mere fact that there is such a large body of world opinion not approving of China's action in Tibet is itself a continuing pressure on China. Also the fact that the Dalai Lama is in India and so many refugees from Tibet have come here, is not at all to the liking of China and is a constant irritant to her.

6. Therefore, taking all these facts into consideration, the best course appears to be to await events and not take any further step. If a further step against China is taken, this will intensify China's hostility and activities in Tibet and no country will be able to check her.

7. It must be realised that nothing can happen soon in Tibet. A situation has been created which cannot be reversed quickly. We have to function carefully and await events.

8. Some heads of foreign missions or other foreign diplomats may want to see the Dalai Lama. It would be inadvisable for the Dalai Lama to discuss political matters with these foreign diplomats. They will exploit any such conversation for their own advantage, and this will not do any good to

Tibet. Of course, if any person wants to see the Dalai Lama as a Buddhist or to pay his respects, there can be no objection to this.

297. To G. Parthasarathi: China Policy⁴⁵

Your telegrams 87⁴⁶ and 88⁴⁷ of May 7th and 8th.

I agree with your analysis of the situation. We have broadly followed the policy you indicate. It must be remembered, even though the Chinese do not appreciate it that there are many parties in India functioning with complete freedom and every Opposition Party, except the Communist⁴⁸ in this case, are bent on saying hard things about China chiefly to embarrass our Government. During the last few weeks, frequent questions have been asked in Parliament and various motions made. Because of the abundance of these questions and motion, I have made one or two statements.

2. Parliament has now adjourned for three months. There will thus be no further speeches in Parliament. I imagine also that the press here will tone down. But I think that some kind of anti-China propaganda will be carried on by some opposition parties and individuals, chiefly as an attack on our Government. I understand that some kind of a convention is being held in

⁴⁵ Telegram, 10 May 1959.

⁴⁶ For G Parthasarathi to Nehru, see Appendix 3 (a).

⁴⁷ For G. Parthasarathi to Subimal Dutt, see Appendix 3 (b).

⁴⁸ For instance, commenting on the CPI's stand on Tibet, Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary of the CPI, said in his interview in New Delhi on 5 May that it was an "integral affair" of China, with which India had close and friendly relations. He asked the Indian Government to look upon the issue as a purely "domestic affair" and demanded that India should not make any observation which might be interpreted in "sympathy" or "support" for the Tibetan rebels. See The Times of India, 6 May 1959

Calcutta for this purpose.⁴⁹ We have disassociated ourselves from it and disapproved of it. I made this clear in my speech in the Lok Sabha yesterday.

3. Generally speaking, the attitude taken up by our Government and my speeches have been much more moderate than Indian public opinion demanded.

The Congress Working Committee has passed a resolution which is more or less restrained.⁵⁰

4. We do not, therefore, intend to carry on a controversy. But we cannot stop odd individuals or groups delivering objectionable speeches.

5. It is clear that there is a basic difference in our approach and that of China and that we use same words and phrases but with different meanings.

We realise, however, that any kind of controversy will do no good to Tibet or to us. At the same time, we shall adhere to our basic position even though the Chinese do not like it. As you say, the presence of the Dalai Lama and thousands of refugees in India is a continuing affront to the Chinese Government.

6. It might be kept in mind that the publication of maps in China showing large parts of North-East India as Chinese territory, has been a constant irritant to India, whatever the reasons the Chinese may give for it. There is

⁴⁹ See item 273, p. 562

⁵⁰ The CWC resolution, drafted on 8 May, and published on 10 May, said: "The Working Committee accords its full support to the policy of the Government of India as enunciated in the Prime Minister's statements in Parliament and to the granting, on humanitarian grounds, of asylum to Dalai Lama and the refugees from Tibet."

widespread feeling here that the Chinese Government often act as a bully, India for all her moderation and restraint, has also a good deal of pride and self-respect.

7. Anyhow, so far as we are concerned, we shall let matters remain as they are and leave the next step to the Chinese. I do not expect any such step to come soon. Meanwhile, the Dalai Lama, not fully appreciating the situation, imagines that we can issue demands and bring pressure on the Chinese Government. I am trying to explain to him that this does not fit in with the facts of life.

8. It is worth noting that the Soviet Union and other Communist countries have on the whole been silent about Tibet. This does not mean any love of Tibet. Probably it indicates their feeling that China has gone too far. Also, to some extent, their friendly relations with us lead to some restraint. As for other countries, in Asia or Europe, they have become more anti-China than before. Thus as a result of Chinese action in Tibet, there is a certain isolation of China in regard to world opinion. I realise that in the present mood of China, this has no great effect. Nevertheless, it cannot be ignored.

9. We have no authentic news about happenings in Tibet and elsewhere. But I rather doubt if it will be easy for the Chinese to put an end quickly to the hostile elements in Tibet. Vague reports reach us also of trouble elsewhere.

10. There is an impression here that Mao Tse-Tung being a man of wisdom, had exercised a restraining influence, but his influence has been waning since his "hundred flowers" speech⁵¹, and more aggressive people have

⁵¹ On 2 May 1956.

come to the front. Progressively Mao has been pushed aside from major seats of authority.

298. To J.B.S. Bist: Tibet Trade and Bhatiyas⁵²

May 10, 1959

Dear Shri Bist,

Your letter of May 9th about trade with Tibet. I can well understand that there is much dislocation of this trade and that the Bhotiya community in Almora and Garhwal are the sufferers.⁵³ I am afraid, however, that we can do nothing in this matter, more especially now when our relations with the Chinese Government are rather strained. If an opportunity arises, we shall raise this question.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

299. To Twain Michelsen: Help to Tibetans⁵⁴

May 12, 1959

Dear Judge Michelsen,

Thank you for your letter of May 2nd.

⁵² Letter to Bist, Congress, Lok Sabha MP from Almora, UP

⁵³ A Hindustan Times report of 2 May noted: "The present unrest in Tibet has caused anxiety to the Bhotiya traders of Niti and Mana Valley in North Garhwal. It is feared that barter trade with Western Tibet would be affected. Indian traders take grams and clothes and get in exchange wool, rock salt, skins, drugs, musk, and goats."

⁵⁴ Letter to Michelsen, Judge, Superior Court of California, San Francisco

The editorial comments which you have sent to me, about our attitude to Tibet, were evidently not based on any knowledge of the situation here of what we have done. I am sure you must have learnt later of the steps India has taken and how we have given shelter not only to the Dalai Lama but to about ten thousand other refugees from Tibet.

All good wishes.

Yours sincerely, [Jawaharlal Nehru]

300. To Chester Bowles: Helpful on Tibet⁵⁵

May 14, 1959

Dear Chester Bowles,

Thank you for your letter of May 5th. I have read reports of your speeches and your article with great interest. Indeed, we have been following your speeches in the House of Representatives with gratitude. Through your efforts and the efforts of other friends, it seems that the thinking of the American public in regard to India has changed considerably. We are very happy about this.

It is difficult to forecast the future of China and the Chinese people. As neighbours of this enormous State, we are naturally concerned with what happens there. The whole Tibetan episode does little credit to China. Even though in a military sense, they may record victories. I think that in the long run, their reputation will suffer considerably. Even the biggest and most powerful countries cannot afford to suffer in the eyes of the rest of the world.

All good wishes.

Yours sincerely, [Jawaharlal Nehru]

⁵⁵ Letter to Bowles, Member of the US House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

301. To Subimal Dutt: Tibetan Academy at Leh⁵⁶

Shri Kushak Bakula,⁵⁷ the head Lama of Ladakh, came to see me today.

You will remember that he has been wanting to start a kind of Tibetan Academy at Leh and we have promised him some support for this.

Previously, a considerable number of Lamas and others from Ladakh used to go to Lhasa and other places in Tibet for study in Buddhist scriptures etc. Kushak Bakula thought that it would be desirable to have some academy in Leh itself. This would be much more convenient and would save much expense to the people who have to go to Tibet. Also, because of the new developments in Tibet, it had become increasingly difficult for people to go there.

2. This proposal was made last year or even earlier.⁵⁸ This was broadly accepted by us subject to its being worked out properly. This involved at that time obtaining the services of some well-known professors or teachers from Tibet for this academy in Leh.

3. Kushak Bakula said to me today that now that so many eminent Lamas and learned men had come from Tibet, it should be quite easy to choose a few of them for this academy. I agreed with him.

4. In this connection it struck me that perhaps we might be able to send a relatively small number of these Lamas to Ladakh-say fifty or a little more.

⁵⁶ Note, 16 May 1959

⁵⁷ He was also the Minister for Ladakh Affairs in the Kashmir Government

⁵⁸ The proposal was made when Kushak Bakula was the Deputy Minister for Ladakh Affairs in the Jammu and Kashmir Government. See SWJN/SS/36/p. 230

I would not like to send a large crowd, and, of course, this will depend on the consent of the Kashmir Government. Probably they would not have any objection to a few dozen going there.

5. Kushak Bakula also said that the Dalai Lama did not have some necessary articles and books for his daily worship. He had sent him therefore some articles from Delhi and he proposed to send him some books from Ladakh.

6. He also told me that long ago an order had been sent from Leh to Lhasa for a biggish image of Buddha, gold-plated. They had been informed that this image was ready, but they required some gold for it to plate it over. I told the Kushak Bakula that there was no question of their getting this image now or sending any gold for this purpose. We will have to wait till conditions are more favourable.

302. To Subimal Dutt: Circulating Pamphlets in Yatung⁵⁹

I agree with you that a special note in Tibetan should not be circulated at Yatung or elsewhere. The pamphlet that Shri Apa Pant⁶⁰ is preparing can certainly be used among the Tibetan population in India.

I think, however, that Tibetan versions of the statements made by me in Parliament should certainly be prepared. These will be necessary not only for Tibetans in India, but may be sent to Yatung and perhaps elsewhere. I agree that these statements will not be much good for the illiterates and semi-literates in Tibet. But some literates will be able to understand them

⁵⁹ Note, 18 May 1959. On Yatung, and Nehru's visit, see SWJN/SS/44/pp. 19-27

⁶⁰ Political Officer of India in Sikkim and Bhutan from 1955 to 1961

and even the others will know that we have said something and not accepted the charges.

I do not suggest that such a pamphlet should be distributed or widely circulated at Yatung or elsewhere. Some copies can be kept in our Mission reading room and possibly given to some others. But it should be confined to my statements.

I saw the reading room at Yatung when I was there. It is quite good though perhaps it is not frequented by Tibetans now.

303. To Subimal Dutt: Continuation of Panchsheel⁶¹

Foreign Secretary should send for the Chinese Ambassador and speak to him on the following lines. In order to avoid any misunderstanding, an informal note of what the Foreign Secretary has said should be handed to him:⁶²

"The statement made by the Chinese Ambassador to the Foreign Secretary has been considered. The Foreign Secretary has been directed to make the following reply to the Chinese Ambassador:

The Government of India have learned of this statement with regret and surprise.⁶³ It is not only not in consonance with certain facts, but is also

⁶¹ Note, 22 May 1959

⁶² See, Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements Signed between the Governments of India and China, /954/959. White Paper (n.p., n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], pp. 68-69.12

⁶³ The Chinese Ambassador alleged that the "armed rebellion" of 10 March 1959 in Tibet was "caused by India." For the Ambassador's statement of 16 May 1959 to Dutt, see Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreements signed between the Governments of India and China, /954-/959. White Paper (n.p. n.d.) [New Delhi, 1959], pp. 73-76.

wholly out of keeping with diplomatic usage and the courtesies due to friendly countries. It is a matter of particular surprise and disappointment to them that a Government and people noted for their high culture and politeness should have committed this serious lapse and should have addressed the Government of India in a language which is discourteous and unbecoming even if it were addressed to a hostile country. Since it is addressed to a country which is referred to as friendly, this can only be considered as an act of forgetfulness.

2. We have no desire to enter into a lengthy argument about facts or opinions, much less about the discourteous language used in the statement made on behalf of the Chinese Government. It has been the consistent practice of the Government of India, to treat other countries with courtesy and friendliness even though any country might express opinions opposed to theirs. With China they have endeavoured to maintain and develop friendly relations, and they propose to continue to do so in spite of the discourtesy shown to them by the Chinese Government. This is in consonance with India's past culture and background and Mahatma Gandhi's teachings.

3. In so far as facts are concerned, the Prime Minister made a statement in the Lok Sabha on April 27 as well as on some subsequent occasions.⁶⁴ These statements give a correct narration of facts, and the Government of India stand by them. They can only regret that the Peoples' Government of China is unable to accept these facts.

4. The Government of India realise that the system of Government in China is different from that prevailing in India. It is the right of the Chinese

⁶⁴ See SWJN/SS/48/pp. 503-510

people to have a Government of their choice, and no one else has a right to interfere; it is also the right of the Indian people to have a Government of their choice, and no one else has a right to interfere. In India, unlike China, the law recognise many parties and gives protection to the expression of differing opinions. That is a right guaranteed by our Constitution and contrary to the practice, prevailing in China, the Government of India is often criticised and opposed by various sections of the Indian people. It is evident that this freedom of expression, free press and civil liberties are not fully appreciated by the Government of China, and hence misunderstandings arise. So far as the Parliament of India is concerned, it is a sovereign body, and each one of its 750 members has perfect freedom to express his or her opinion under the protection of the law, whether anyone likes it or not. The People's Government of China should understand that this is a sovereign Parliament of a sovereign country and it does not submit to any dictation from any outside authority.

5. From the statement made on behalf of the Peoples Government of China, it appears that, according to them, the Panchsheel or the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-Existence may or may not be applied according to convenience or circumstances. This is an approach with which the Government of India is not in agreement. They have proclaimed and adhered to these Principles as matters of basic policy and not of opportunism. They will continue to hold to these principles and endeavour to apply them according to their own thinking.

6. The Government of India does not consider or treat any other country as an enemy country, howsoever much it may differ from it. It is their constant endeavour to develop friendly relations with all countries and try to remove tensions, bitterness and ill-will, while adhering to the policy they

consider right. In particular, they have endeavoured to cultivate the friendship of the Chinese people and Government in spite of differences of opinion. They have avoided interference with China's internal affairs. They will continue this policy, but this must not be understood to mean that the Government of India will discard or vary any of its own policies under any pressure from outside."

304. To MEA: Talk with Ellsworth Bunker on Tibet⁶⁵

Two days ago, the United States Ambassador⁶⁶ came to see me as he was going away on fairly long leave to the United States.

2. We talked about various subjects, including the recent discussions with the World Bank President on Canal Waters, the Foreign Ministers' Conference at Geneva,⁶⁷ our planning in India and our approach to the third Five Year Plan, and the Tibetan refugees in India.

3. In regard to the Tibetan refugees, the Ambassador told me that the American people were anxious to help in giving relief.⁶⁸ In fact,

⁶⁵ Note, 22 May 1959

⁶⁶ Ellsworth Bunker

⁶⁷ The Council of Foreign Ministers of The USSR, the United States, the UK, Britain and France, formed after Potsdam agreement in August 1945, was authorized to draw up treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland and to propose settlement of territorial questions on the termination of the Second World War including a peace settlement for German unification. This conference, the ninth in the series held in Geneva from 11 May to 20 June and 13 July to 5 August 1959, failed to reach agreement on Germany.

⁶⁸ The Hindustan Times reported on 21 May 1959 that Ellsworth Bunker had personally donated Rs. 2000 to the Indian Red Cross Society for Tibetan refugee relief.

considerable pressure had been brought to bear on his Government to help officially. He wanted to know what they could do in this respect. I told him that these refugees were the Government of India's responsibility and we were looking after them. Probably they will have to stay in India for a considerable time. We hoped to disperse them as far as this was possible. We might even arrange for some work for them. As for relief coming from America for them, I suggested that, for the present, this might be chiefly in the form of medicines and other forms of medical relief. I also said that the American Relief Committees should deal directly with the Indian Relief Committee. The American Red Cross should deal with the Indian Red Cross.⁶⁹ In fact, medicines, etc. should normally be sent to the Indian Red Cross. There was some mention of food supplies. The Ambassador said that foodgrains could be made available to the Tibetan refugees from existing stocks in India, and the U.S. Government would replace them. I said then that we would consider this matter. Later, when I discussed this matter with the Food Minister, we found that the quantity of food-grains required was a relatively small one and there was no particular point in our accepting a gift of foodgrains for this purpose from the U.S. Government. This matter, therefore, should not be pursued.

4. But there is one other form of relief that could be accepted by us. This is milk powder, tinned butter and tinned meat of various kinds. It must be remembered that the Tibetans consume large quantities of meat of every kind.

⁶⁹ According to The Hindustan Times of 9 May 1959, Lowell Thomas, the Chairman of the American Committee for Tibetan refugees, informed the Indian Relief Committee that more than \$ 700,000 in supplies and food had been approved and that the medical supplies had been sent to Acharya Kripalani, the Chairman of the Central Relief Committee for Tibetan Refugees. General Alfred M. Gruenther, the President of the American Red Cross, had donated \$ 5,000 to the Indian Red Cross

5. In the course of my general talks with the U.S. Ambassador, I said that while our relations with the U.S. Government and people were very friendly, the fact of their continuing to give military help to Pakistan was ever present in our minds and created adverse reactions in our people. Recent reports were to the effect that the U.S. Government was supplying about 400 amphibious vehicles to Pakistan. By no stretch of imagination could it be thought that these amphibious vehicles could be used against the Soviet Union. They can only be used against India. In fact, General Ayub, before he became President, had said something about the use of such vehicles in the rivers. I had a vague recollection that the leader of our Delegation to the UN⁷⁰ last year had referred to this remark of General Ayub. Thus for the U.S. Government to give these amphibious vehicles to Pakistan could have only one meaning, that they were supplying Pakistan with something for possible use against India.

6. The Ambassador said that he did not know about the supply of these amphibious vehicles. He would enquire. But in regard to the general question of military aid to Pakistan, he had long been greatly distressed and he had repeatedly drawn the attention of his Government to the undesirability of this aid and to the reactions in India. He proposed to take up this matter again on his return to Washington.

305. To Rameshwari Nehru: Afro-Asian Solidarity and Tibet⁷¹

May 23, 1959

Thank you for your letter⁷² of the 23rd May and the report of the National Conference of Afro-Asian Solidarity.⁷³ I have partly read your speech and

⁷⁰ V.K. Krishna Menon

⁷¹ Note, 23 May 1959

also glanced through the resolutions. There are so many resolutions that it is a little difficult to grasp them all.

Your resolution on Tibet was, considering all the circumstances, fairly suitable.⁷⁴

306. To Subimal Dutt: Tibetans' Haj Pilgrimage⁷⁵

Please see the attached picture and the note on it about Tibetans wanting to go on Haj pilgrimage. I think that we should try our utmost to facilitate their going on this pilgrimage. They have come from a tremendous distance, braved many obstacles and spent a lot of money. They should certainly be given some priority. There are not many of them.⁷⁶

⁷² She said: "...I shall be grateful if you will kindly glance through it which will give you an idea of what our movement stands for... I had much difficulty in getting it through both from the Chinese fraternal delegates and from our Communist friends as well as the P.S.P. friends. The former did not want any reference to be made at the conference as they held it to be an internal problem of China and the latter wanted to bring resolutions asking for independence of Tibet as well as condemning the treachery of the Chinese and the cruelty perpetrated by them on the innocent Tibetans. The conference had to find a via media and I am glad that we succeeded in our efforts to get our resolution passed by a large majority."

⁷³ The conference, second of its series, took place in Calcutta from 2 to 5 April 1959. Congress and INTUC participated.

⁷⁴ See fn 113 in this section

⁷⁵ Note, 25 May 1959

⁷⁶ The Hindustan Times of 26 May reported that sixty-five Tibetan Muslim Haj pilgrims were stranded in Bombay for not having "proper", that is, valid international travel documents. The Chinese Consulate in Bombay refused to entertain them; hence the appeal for help to Nehru

307. To Subimal Dutt: Institute of Tibetan Culture⁷⁷

Please see the attached letter from Dr. Raghu Vira.⁷⁸ His ideas are usually rather airy. I am not sure that his present idea has much realism about it. Nevertheless, there is something in it which appeals to me. In alllikelihood, we are likely to have the Tibetan Lamas in India for an indefinite time. We shall try to disperse them and all that. It might be worthwhile considering the feasibility of starting an Institute of Tibetan Culture, Religion, etc. It should be run almost entirely by them. We may start in a relatively small way. If it functions properly, it will grow.

If there is anything in this idea, it, could be discussed with the Dalai Lama. Nalanda is hardly a place suited for this purpose. So far as Tibetans are concerned, they would find it difficult to live there because of the heat. Has anything been done about the Huan Tsang Institute at Nalanda for which the Chinese Government gave us about Rs.5 lakhs?

308. To Tsung-Lien Shen:⁷⁹ Calls for Restoring the Dalai Lama

June 14, 1959

Dear Professor Shen,

Our High Commissioner in London has forwarded to me your letter of the 1st June. Thank you for it.

Should you come to India, I shall gladly meet you. I am not going out of India during the next few months, but, of course, I have to travel frequently in India. The best place to meet me would be in Delhi itself as I am usually here, apart from my visits to other parts of India.

⁷⁷ Note to the 6 June 1959

⁷⁸ Congress, Rajya Sabha MP from Bombay

⁷⁹ Letter to Professor Shen, Lynchburg College, Virginia, USA

I do not understand what you mean by suggesting that the Dalai Lama should be promptly restored to Tibet. He came to India of his own free will and we have assured him that he can go back to Tibet or anywhere else or stay in India as long as he likes. As for the smuggling of arms into Tibet, I am sure there has been no such smuggling from India. I cannot guarantee some individual taking some small arms secretly but even that is difficult. Whether there is any smuggling from other countries to Tibet, I cannot say. But certainly there is no possibility of this taking place via India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

309. To Suniti Kumar Chatterji: Panchsheel Ignored⁸⁰

New Delhi, 15th June 1959.

My dear Dr Chatterji,

I have received your letter of June 13 reminding me of the anniversary of the Declaration of the Five Principles and asking me for a message for this occasion. I do not quite know what kind of a message to send you, because we have seen repeatedly cases of the violation of these Five Principles by those very countries which spoke loudly in their favour.

The Government of the People's Republic of China accuses us of having violated these Principles because we have given shelter to the Dalai Lama and other Tibetans and because the Indian press as well as some others have criticised Chinese policy in Tibet. We think that China has offended against the spirit of those Principles on several occasions.

⁸⁰ Letter to Chatterji, the President, India-China Friendship Association, West Bengal, Calcutta

What then am I to say in a message? I do not wish to go on criticising the Chinese Government. That does not help. At the same time, I can hardly shout in praise of something which is not being acted upon.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

310. To Subimal Dutt: On Visiting China

There is nothing that we can do about this matter. I rather doubt if any invitation would be coming to me from China, more particularly after the Dalai Lama's statements today.⁸¹ Also, I think that the October celebration is not a good time. It is by no means easy for me to rush off to China then or indeed at any time. Merely an invitation to go there would hardly be enough unless there was some further advance made otherwise.

(J. Nehru) 20-6-1959

311. To A.D. Mani: Futility of Empty Protests⁸²

June 26, 1959

⁸¹ His first press conference after his escape to India was held at the Birla House, Mussoorie, on 20 June 1959, and reported in all newspapers on 21 June. He said he would return to Lhasa only after he had obtained the "rights and powers" the Tibetans had enjoyed before 1950. He noted that the Sino-Tibetan agreement "imposed" by China had been "violated." He described the Government headed by the Panchen Lama as a "deceptive government" with all powers in the hands of the Chinese and was confident that the people of Tibet would never recognise that government. He hoped India would help Tibet in the manner it had other countries like Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco

⁸² Letter to the Editor, *The Hitavada*, Nagpur

Dear Shri Mani,

Thank you for your letter of the 25th June. I have read your article. Many people in India and abroad have criticised our policy in regard to Tibet. I fail to understand, however, what exactly they expect us to do more than what we have done except that we could have shouted more loudly and condemned, people right and left. Such shouting and condemnation does not seem to me to be the right basis of any policy. We have done everything we possibly could in this matter short of the shouting.

Yours sincerely,

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

312. To Subimal Dutt: The Dalai Lama's Treasure⁸³

I am, for the present, keeping the letters from the Dalai Lama.⁸⁴ I should like to discuss them with you. Broadly, I agree with what you have written in your note on them.

2 But there is one matter to which I want to draw your attention immediately. This is about the gold and silver bullion which was deposited at Gangtok and which the Dalai Lama now wants. I suppose this will have to be given to him. But we should not agree to private sale of this bullion. You should consult the Finance Ministry about it. Also about the Customs Duty which might be applicable to this bullion.

3. I told you today that some silver or other commodities had been brought by the Dalai Lama's party with them and they wanted to dispose of them.

⁸³ Note, 27 June 1959

⁸⁴ For Dalai Lama's letter to Nehru, 23 June 1959. Appendix 26

Here also we should know exactly what these things are and consider whether Government should buy some of them before we allow private traders to purchase them.

313. To Sundarlal: JP is Troublesome⁸⁵

June 28, 1959

My dear Sundarlal,⁸⁶

I am sorry for the delay in acknowledging your letter of the 16th June.⁸⁷ I read of your talks in various places abroad with much interest.

I am afraid that the developments in Tibet and the presence of the Dalai Lama in India do come in the way of normal friendly relations with China.

So far as we are concerned, we shall adhere to the policy we have expressed. Unfortunately, Jayaprakash⁸⁸ and some others are adding to our difficulties.

The Dalai Lama to Nehru

7 May 1959

At this moment the entire monk and lay people of Tibet are undergoing unbearable sorrows and miseries of tremendous magnitude which can be seen by the fact that thousands of Tibetans are rushing out of their country

⁸⁵ File No. 40(168)/59-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection

⁸⁶ Chairman, All India Peace Council, New Delhi

⁸⁷ See Sunderlal to Nehru. Appendix 24

⁸⁸ According to *The Hindustan Times* of 27 June 1959, Jayaprakash Narayan addressed a public meeting in Dehra Dun on 25 June 1959 when he demanded Nehru's resignation over his handling of the Tibetan issue. He regretted GOI's "original mistake" of accepting Chinese suzerainty over Tibet.

seeking refuge in India. In this connection, I would refer to Your Excellency's excellent suggestion during our recent meeting that Government of India would seek to find a peaceful approach to solve the problem and with which I had entirely agreed. Accordingly, I have been giving deep thought to every aspect of this problem. I would, however, like to submit the following four points for the time being which could form the basis of peaceful talks in the future. It would be extremely difficult to put any credence in anything promised by the Chinese until these four points are brought clearly into practice. We have no one except the Government of India to whom we can look for help and guidance and to the Government of India we would like to bring the following for their very kind consideration;

1. The communists should stop their diabolical activities in Tibet which has resulted in enormous bloodshed from a fixed date and should also immediately set free all the Tibetans who are either imprisoned or set to heavy manual task.
2. The entire Chinese military force should be withdrawn from Tibet and not a single soldier be left behind.
3. An enquiry should be made whether damage has been caused to Buddhism in Tibet, its institutions including precious scripts and idols, congregation of monks and the means of Tibetan people's livelihood, etc. A committee representing the countries having common boundaries with Tibet under the leadership of India with representatives of some neighbouring Buddhist countries accompanied by some of our Tibetan officials should be sent to all parts of Tibet equipped with wireless

transmitting sets in order to make a thorough enquiry and ensure that the two points mentioned above are properly observed.

4. In order to give medical aid and assistance to the wounded persons and patients of Tibet and to prevent the outbreak of epidemic and famine as a result of the present sanguinary clash, the International Red Cross should be permitted to open a branch in Tibet to serve all parts of Tibet.

May these requests meet with Your Excellency's favourable consideration and sympathetic help so that these may find realisation.

The Dalai Lama to Nehru⁸⁹

[Refer to item 312]

23 June 1959

The Government of India have been kind enough to give every possible help to the Tibetan refugees and I have expressed my heartfelt thanks recently through Shri Mehta and Shri P.N. Menon. I am thanking the Government of India once again for the kindness. But, I could not help giving you the following trouble and hope that you will not mind.

1. Younger members of the Tibetan refugees, during their stay in India, may kindly be given education and other possible training by the Government as soon as possible. If they are favoured with this opportunity, it will not only be helpful to them, but it will be of great help to the Government of Tibet in future.
2. As discussed during our recent meeting, I am thinking of sending some of my representatives to the Eastern and Western countries in

⁸⁹ Government of India, Ministry of External Affairs, p. 77.

order to establish religious links. Lists of the names of the representatives will be sent to you later. It is requested the Government of India may be kind enough to give them facilities such as the grant of passports to visit foreign countries and also permission to return to India on completion of their work, and foreign exchange to meet their required expenses.

3. I am thinking of removing the gold and silver bullion that I have deposited in Gangtok to Calcutta for sale. Permission may please be granted to do so and also customs duty on them may kindly be exempted.
4. In order to maintain my Government and staff, for a period of one year, I may kindly be granted a loan of Rs. 47,36,000.00 (forty-seven lakhs and thirty-six thousand only).
5. I wish to send some young Tibetans to have foreign education. If this proposal comes through, I will submit their names and hope they will be granted passports to go to foreign countries. They may also be permitted re-entry into India on completion of their education.