

Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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Social Groups

135. In the Lok Sabha: Tibetan Refugees¹

Question:² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) The number of Tibetan refugees who have come to India since the 1st February, 1960;
- (b) The names of passes on the Northern Frontier by which they entered India;
- (c) The number of refugees who came through each of these passes;
- (d) The places where they have been rehabilitated; and
- (e) The total expenditure incurred on giving assistance to refugees by Government and private institutions?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru); (a) The numbers of Tibetan refugees, who have entered India from 1st February, 1960 to the end of May, 1960 are shown below:

¹ Written answers, 1 August 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLIV, cols 56-57.

² By Congress MPs D.C. Sharma, Padam Dev, Raghunath Singh, Mafida Ahmed, Hem Raj, H.C. Mathur, Rameshwar Tantia, D.N. Tiwari and Ila Pal Choudhuri; Independent MP Prakash Vir Shastri and Ganatantra Parishad MP Shraddhakar Supakar.

Place of entry	February	March	April	May
NEFA	68	386	587	563
U.P.	24	13
Ladakh	2	13	178	26
Sikkim	189	124	2	115
Himachal Pradesh	145

(b) The passes through which these refugees have come are: -

NEFA : Karpotsang, Lhala, Tulung, Nilakala.

U.P.: Lipulekh, Limpia, Nelang.

Ladakh: Jarala, Chardingla, Changla.

Sikkim: Nathula, Jelepla, Kongrala, Dongkyala, Thankarla.

Himachal Pradesh Shipkila, Nesang.

(c) It is not possible to state the number of refugees who came through each of these passes.

(d) The local authorities have been requested to find employment for the refugees in their areas, failing which the refugees would be kept in a Transit Camp until employment becomes available elsewhere in India.

(e) The total expenditure incurred by Government on relief and rehabilitation of refugees during the year 1959-60 is Rs. 41,59,614. The extent of assistance provided by private institutions is not known.

136. In the Lok Sabha: Expenses on Tibetan Refugees³

³ Written answers, 1 August 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLIV, col. 71.

Chintamoni Panigrahi:⁴ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) The amount of money which has been spent so far on Dalai Lama and his party in India; and

(b) The amount of money which has been spent so far for the rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees in the different camps in India?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) and (b). According to information received so far, a sum of Rs. 5,28,419/96 has been spent on the Dalai Lama and his party, and a sum of Rs. 41,59,614/50 on the relief and rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees.

137. To Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri: Petition from Chhapra Muslims⁵

August 6, 1960

Dear Shri Chaudhuri,

I have received the letter dated the 5th August, signed by you and a number of other Members of Parliament, with which you have sent a petition from a number of Muslim inhabitants of a village in Chhapra district, Bihar. I am writing to the Chief Minister⁶ to enquire into this matter immediately.⁷

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

⁴ Congress.

⁵ Letter to Lok Sabha MP, Revolutionary Socialist Party.

⁶ Srikrishna Sinha.

⁷ See item 138.

138. To Srikrishna Sinha: Muslims of Chhapra⁸

August 6, 1960

My dear Sri Babu,

Eleven Members of Parliament, most of them Communists, have sent me a letter with which they have enclosed a petition from the Muslim inhabitants of the village Babuka Hardya, Police Station Bhor, District Chhapra, Bihar. In this letter, it is stated that complaints about this ill treatment of the Muslims reached one of the signatories in the last week of June. Thereafter, one of these M.Ps wrote to the District Magistrate of Chhapra to enquire into this matter. No acknowledgement was received, and it is stated that the oppression of the Muslims is continuing.

Apparently, many of the male members of the affected Muslim families of this village work in the suburbs of Calcutta.

Will you kindly have an early enquiry made into this matter and, if found necessary, arrange to give protection to these people? I shall have to send an answer to the Members of Parliament.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

139. To Jagjivan Ram: A Railway Job for Kartik Uranv⁹

August 8, 1960

My dear Jagjivan Ram,

Your letter of today's date about Kartik Uranv, an Adivasi young man working in England now. We should certainly try to find suitable work for him here. But it seems to me that he has rather specialised in railway work and should,

⁸ Letter to the Chief Minister of Bihar.

⁹ Letter to the Minister of Railways.

therefore, particularly suit you and the Railways. I shall try elsewhere also. I think you should write to him and tell him that we shall make every effort to find a suitable post for him here. For that purpose anyhow, he will have to be interviewed here. He says that some kind of an interview for the A.M.I.C.E. has to take place. Although this might take place in India also, it would be better for him to complete this and then return to India.

He mentions having done some designing work for the Atomic Power Station. It is rather difficult to know exactly what work he has done. Anyhow, we can look into this also if he can send us further information.

I suppose you have his original letter with you. I am keeping the copy you sent me.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

140. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Dandakaranya¹⁰

Yes, please issue the letter to Dr. Mahtab¹¹ and send copies to the Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh.¹²

141. To Mehr Chand Khanna: Dandakaranya¹³

August 11, 1960

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of the 10th August about Dandakaranya.¹⁴

¹⁰ Note to the Minister of Rehabilitation, 8 August 1960. File No. 77/2/CE-60, GOI, Cabinet Secretariat.

¹¹ See Appendix 27. See also SWJN/SS/61/items 276, 280-282.

¹² See Appendix 33 for Mehr Chand Khanna's letter to Harekrushna Mahtab.

¹³ Letter.

I do not think it will be proper for us to make changes in this Authority without reference to the Chief Ministers of the three States concerned. This bypassing usually leads to complaint and trouble.

Nor do I see any absolute necessity for a representative of the Ministry of Finance to be a member of the Authority, though it would be desirable to have him there. His position is a special one and, whether he is a full member or not, his position is not affected.

I suggest, therefore, that you might write to the three Chief Ministers pointing out that it would be better to have a representative of the Ministry of Finance as a member of the Authority and ask for their approval. Meanwhile, you might issue executive instruction to the Dandakaranya Authority to associate the representative of the Finance Ministry with all their work, especially involving finance and for practical purposes to treat him as an ex-officio member.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

142. In the Lok Sabha: Tibetans in Sikkim¹⁵

Question: ¹⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether the attention of Government has been drawn to the news published in *The Statesman* (Delhi) of 20th June, 1960 wherein it has been reported that 500 Tibetans have occupied Khemchok, a small grazing field, in North-West Sikkim near Lachen;
- (b) If so, what is the truth about the matter; and
- (c) The action taken by Government in the matter?

¹⁴ See Appendix 33.

¹⁵ Written answers, 12 August 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLIV, cols 2319-2320.

¹⁶ By Congress MPs Ram Subhag Singh, P.C. Borooah, Rameshwar Tantia and K.R. Achar; Socialist MP Arjun Singh Bhadauria and Gantantra Parishad MP P.G Deb.

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Sadath Ali Khan): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). About 500 Tibetans, including men, women and children, arrived with large herds of sheep and yak in North-West Sikkim in June, 1960. On enquiry, it was found that they had come to Sikkim as refugees and did not intend to return to Tibet. They have been treated as refugees. Temporary employment is being found for them and Government have despatched a forage and a wool expert to advice about their resettlement with their herds in Sikkim.

143. To B.D. Jatti: Tibetan Refugee Settlements in Mysore¹⁷

August 15, 1960

My dear Jatti,

Some time ago, I wrote to you¹⁸ about a proposal to settle Tibetan refugees in a small forest area of Mysore, not far from Coorg. You sent a brief reply to me saying that you would enquire into this matter and let me know. Could you inform me if the proposal I made to you, is likely to be accepted by your Government. Details can, of course, be worked out later. We are anxious to go ahead with this matter if it is possible.

Yours sincerely,
[Jawaharlal Nehru]

144- In the Rajya Sabha: Tibetan Refugees Settle in Sikkim¹⁹

Maheswar Naik:²⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

¹⁷ Letter to the Chief Minister of Mysore.

¹⁸ See SWJN/SS/61/item 286.

¹⁹ Written answers, 19 August 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXX, col. 1466.

(a) Whether Government's attention has been drawn to a press report to the effect that some 500 Tibetans have occupied Khemchock, a pasture land in Sikkim near Lachen;

(b) Whether it is a fact that the Chinese authorities in Tibet have claimed this area to be inside Tibet and instructed these Tibetans to settle in the area permanently and pay taxes to the Chinese authorities in Tibet; and (c) If so, what action has been taken by Government in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon):

(a) About 500 Tibetans including women and children arrived with large herds of sheep and yak in north-West Sikkim in June 1960. On enquiry it was found that they had come to Sikkim as refugees and did not intend to return to Tibet. As they are refugees, temporary employment has been/ is being found for them and Government have despatched one forage and one wool expert to advise the government of Sikkim and help in their settlement.

(b) The Government have no further information on the subject.

(c) Does not arise.

145. In the Rajya Sabha: Tibetan Refugees in Bhutan²¹

M.H. Samuel:²² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) Whether the Government of Bhutan have requested the Government of India regarding the settlement of Tibetan refugees who are staying there, and

(b) If so, what action Government have taken in the matter?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes, Sir. (b) The Government of Bhutan informed us through our Political Officer that their limited resources would make it difficult for them to undertake the resettlement

²⁰ Congress.

²¹ Written answers, 19 August 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXX, cols. 1467-1468.

²² Congress.

of large number of Tibetan refugees in Bhutan. There are at present a little over 1000 refugees in Bhutan dispersed in a number of villages in east and west Bhutan. The Government of Bhutan have offered employment for about 3,000 refugees on road construction projects in Bhutan which would take a few years to be completed. Those refugees for whom employment cannot be found in Bhutan would be resettled in India.

146- In the Rajya Sabha: Antecedents of Tibetan Refugees²³

P.L. Kureel urf Talib:²⁴ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether Government have made any investigation about the antecedents and character of Tibetan refugees who have come to India; (b) The expenditure so far incurred on their rehabilitation by Government and other agencies, separately; and
- (c) Whether the Dalai Lama has given any assistance to any official or non-official agency for this purpose and if so, what?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): (a) It is not possible for Government to have an investigation into the antecedents of all the Tibetan refugees. They are, however, screened by our police on entering India.

(b) Rs.41,59,614, have been spent by the Government during 1959-60 on relief and rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees. Expenditure incurred by private agencies on this account is not known.

(c) The Dalai Lama is known to have distributed Rs. 50,000 among the Tibetan refugees. He has offered another Rs. 50,000 towards the establishment of a Tibetan school. It is likely that he has also provided assistance to the refugees in other ways.

²³ Written answers, 24 August 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXX, co Is 2049-2050.

²⁴ Socialist.

147. In the Rajya Sabha: Tibetans in Himachal²⁵

Savitry Devi Nigam:²⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the number of Tibetan families which crossed over into Himachal Pradesh during the months of June and July, 1960?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): 604 Tibetan refugees entered Himachal Pradesh in June, and 386 in July, 1960.

Savitry Devi Nigam: May I know whether these families are going to be rehabilitated in Himachal Pradesh or in some other State?

Lakshmi Menon: They are being rehabilitated in Kinnaur District in Himachal Pradesh.

Savitry Devi Nigam: What are the views of the State Government regarding the rehabilitation of these refugees? Has the State Government chalked out any plan regarding their welfare and employment?

Lakshmi Menon: The answer is already given. All these things are done in consultation with the State Government and as I have pointed out, they are being rehabilitated in Himachal Pradesh and those who cannot be rehabilitated either because they are old or infirm are looked after properly.

Savitry Devi Nigam: May I know whether these people are being given land or whether they are being given some training in various arts and crafts so that they may be able to earn their own livelihood?

²⁵ Oral answers, 29 August 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXX, cols 2455-2457.

²⁶ Congress.

Lakshmi Menon: Just now they are merely engaged in road construction works.

Maheswar Naik:²⁷ May I know if movement of these refugees from one State to another is regulated by Government or they are free to move to any part of the country?

Lakshmi Menon: These people came into Himachal Pradesh and they are being rehabilitated in Himachal Pradesh.

Maheswar Naik: But are they free to move from one State to another?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no legal bar to their movement. But there would seem to be practical difficulties if they wandered about. The Government does not particularly approve of their wandering about because there are difficulties. They do not know the language and other difficulties are there.

Savitry Devi Nigam: Is it not a fact that this road construction work is not going to last very long and is the Government thinking of giving them some other employment?

Lakshmi Menon: There are plans for long-term projects for the rehabilitation of these people. This is the immediate relief given to them.

Faridul Haq Ansari²⁸: May I know whether the Government has any information about the intentions of these people? Do they want to stay on in India or do they want to return to their homeland?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I suppose since they have come here and since they have

²⁷ Congress.

²⁸ PSP.

stayed on here, presumably they want to continue to stay on unless something happens which they pray for.

China

301. In the Lok Sabha: *Peking Review* Advertisements²⁹

Question: ³⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether Government have seen advertisements of *Peking Review* published in some Indian papers;
- (b) Whether Government are aware that this paper contains material about India-China dispute which is prejudicial to India; and
- (c) If so, the action taken in the matter?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Sadath Ali Khan): (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) and (c). During the year 1959 comments of an anti-Indian nature were noticed in some of the issues of this journal. Since the issue of Government of India's notification under the Sea Customs Act in November, 1959 banning the import of literature, maps, etc. which challenge the boundary of India, as described by the Government of India, no issue of the journal contravening this notification has come to notice.

P.G. Deb: May I know how many copies of *Peking Review* are imported into India by the Peoples Publishing House?

Sadath Ali Khan: I have no information.

²⁹ Oral answers, 1 August 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLIV, cols 6-10.

³⁰ By Ganatantra Parishad MP Badkumar Pratap Ganga Deb, Janata Party MP Arjun Sing Bhadauria and Congress MP Ram Subhag Singh.

Ram Subhag Singh: May I know the names of the national papers of India which have published that advertisement by *Peking Review* and whether they have given an assurance to the Government not to publish such advertisements in future?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): It is a very long list of 24 names.

Ram Subhag Singh: Some names of important national papers.

Speaker: The list may be placed on the Table.

Jawaharlal Nehru: *New Age*; *Swadhinata* (Bengali); *Hindu* (English), Madras; *Statesman* (English) Calcutta and Delhi; *Times of India*, Delhi and Bombay, *Hindustan Times*, Delhi; *Nav Bharat Times*, Delhi and Bombay, *Nav Neet* (Hindi), Delhi; *Arya Varat*, Delhi; *Hindustan* (Hindi), Delhi; *Satahak* (Hindi) Delhi; *Sewagram* (Hindi), Delhi; *Sarita* (Hindi) Delhi; *Nai Kahania* (Hindi) Delhi; *Blitz*, Bombay; *Illustrated Weekly*, Bombay; *Dharam Yug* (Hindi), Bombay; *Visalandhra* (Telugu), Andhra; *Janayugam* (Malayalam), Kerala; *Free Press Journal* (English) Madras; *Daily Jagaran* (Hindi), Lucknow; *Nav Jeewan* (Hindi), Lucknow; *Maya* (Hindi), Allahabad; *Jawala* (Hindi), Jaipur.

Vidya Charan Shukla: May I know whether the attention of the Government has been drawn to some undesirable activities of established Chinese journalists who are operating from India and sending news out of this country which are false and unfounded?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, Sir. Our attention has been drawn to reports sent from India by a news agency. These reports seemed to us to be very incorrect, wrong and sometimes quite baseless and therefore the Government took some action in the matter. The action was that the visa was not renewed when it expired recently.

[Translation begins:

Seth Govind Das: Does the Honourable Prime Minister know that besides advertisements in the *Peking Review*, there are some newspapers, in particular secular newspapers that publish material which are likely to create circumstances that are against India and in favour of China?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes, it is their job to resort to such things.

Seth Govind Das: So has there been some thinking on how to deal with it or about what can be done in this matter?

Jawaharlal Nehru: A lot of thinking has gone into the matter.

Translation ends.]

Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that pamphlets and books of a subversive nature still continue to come into this country and if so, what steps the Government have taken to check the entry of these pamphlets and booklets of a subversive nature, and check the circulation of these pamphlets and books that come to this country by post?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult to answer this question. We have taken various steps-the State Governments, Customs, etc. I cannot give all the steps. Indeed, I do not know what all the steps are. Various steps are taken. After all, we function in this country in a somewhat open and free way. Therefore, there are ways open for such materials to come into this country.

Vajpayee:³¹ May I know if the Government have formulated any definite policy in regard to advertisements which are given by foreign agencies and published by the Indian press and whether any steps are contemplated to stop the misuse of this freedom?

³¹ Atal Bihari Vajpayee.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I really do not know if my colleague who deals with this matter has given particular thought to this question suggested by the hon. Member. At the moment, my mind is not clear how that can be dealt with. Possibly there are ways of dealing with it. There are many ways. Apart from advertisements, there is the well known way of giving large printing contracts and payments being made far in excess of normal charges. There are many ways of helping somebody if that is sought to be done.

Assar: May I know whether the Government is aware that some State Governments have banned the entry of *Peking Review*?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I did not know that.

P.G. Deb: May I know whether it is a fact that recently *Peking Review* has published some statements and maps which were issued by the Communist Party of Nepal?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know.

302. To Subimal Dutt: Chinese Meet at Yatung³²

I do not know how far this report from Gangtok is correct.³³ But if it is so, then this appears to me to be a clear case of interference in our internal affairs. This is something more than a newspaper's comments. It is worth considering whether we should not take exception to this action. I think we should.

³² Note, 6 August 1960. File No. 12(39)-EA/59, MEA.

³³ See Appendices 30(a) and (b) for Subimal Dutt's follow up on Nehru's Note and B.C. Mishra's response to Dutt's query.

303. In the Rajya Sabha: Indian Delegation to Peking³⁴

Maheswar Naik:³⁵ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state how far the work of the Indian official delegation sent to Peking in connection with the Sino-Indian Border dispute has so far progressed?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): After their meeting on the 25th July, 1960³⁶ the official Indian delegation concluded their discussions in Peking. During the discussions during which 18 meetings were held, the officials completed consideration of item one of the agenda i.e. location and natural features of the boundary as claimed by the two governments; further in the last few meetings the officials also commenced with the consideration of item two of the agenda i.e., the basis of the boundary alignments in treaties and agreements, tradition and custom. The discussions will be resumed in Delhi in the middle of August.

Maheswar Naik: May I know when the meeting is likely to take place and at which

Lakshmi Menon: It is given in the original answer, in the middle of August.

Maheswar Naik: I would like to know whether any fresh facts have been brought to light in respect of the contention of either country.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot answer that query; the enquiry is going on, and apart from the fact that the two parties are agreed not to discuss this matter in public till that enquiry is over, I can hardly deal with all the documents here.

³⁴ Written answers, 8 August 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXX, cols 47-48.

³⁵ Congress.

³⁶ See SWJN/SS/61/Appendix 14.

Gopikrishna Vijaivargiya:³⁷ I want to know whether it is also agreed that after the work is finished, our delegation will go to China again and continue the talks.

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir. It is decided that after this they will present their report-joint report or several reports-by the end of September.³⁸

304. In the Rajya Sabha: Pilgrims' Safety³⁹

Question:⁴⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) Whether any Indians visited Kailash and Mansarovar on pilgrimage during the summer of 1960; and

(b) If the answer to part (a) above be in the affirmative, whether Government have received any report from the pilgrims about their experiences there?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b) The pilgrim season commenced in May but is not yet over. A certain number of pilgrims went to Kailash and Mansarovar before the Chinese Government cautioned against pilgrims proceeding to these places.

M.P. Bhargava: May I know whether it is a fact that certain restrictions have been placed by the Chinese Government on pilgrims going to Mansarovar and Kailash?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Chinese Government have said that they should not come at all; they have advised the pilgrims not to come.

³⁷ Congress.

³⁸ See SWJN/SS/63.

³⁹ Oral answers, 8 August 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXX, eols 23-25.

⁴⁰ By Independent MP M.P. Bhargava and Congress MP P.N. Rajabhoj.

D.A. Mirza:⁴¹ May I know the reason for such advice?

Chairman:⁴² You have to ask the Chinese Government.

D.A. Mirza: What restrictions is the Government of India going to impose on the Chinese in India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not aware of any Chinese coming here on pilgrimage.

[Translation begins:

P.N. Rajabhoj: What are the restrictions imposed on these pilgrims?

Translation ends.]

(No reply)

B.P. Basappa Shetty:⁴³ May I know whether we would be prevented from going to Kailash and Mansarovar hereafter because of the Chinese intervention and their instructions?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know. How can I answer for the future? It is not an international right for us to go to another country but it is a matter either for treaty or it should depend upon the relations between the two countries. In this particular matter, they clearly said that they could not give security owing to the conditions prevailing in Tibet, in those areas of Tibet, to the pilgrims. Therefore, they have advised them not to come. There the matter ends. There can be no argument about it. When a country cannot give security, how can we insist on their giving security?

Rajendra Pratap Sinha:⁴⁴ India is emotionally attached to these two places

⁴¹ Congress.

⁴² S. Radhakrishnan.

⁴³ Congress.

⁴⁴ Independent.

Kailash and Mansarovar and as far as I remember, the Chinese Government have undertaken to respect the customary usages that are prevailing. In the light of this will the Government take steps to see that our rights to visit these places are fully guaranteed and adequate security is afforded to the pilgrims?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am sorry the hon. Member has not listened to my previous answer. If he reads it as recorded, he will find answer to his question also.

Gopikrishna Vijaivargiya: In his previous reply the Prime Minister said that the Chinese are not known to have come to India for pilgrimage but it is possible that some Tibetans usually come for pilgrimage. Tibetans were coming for pilgrimage to Rajgir, etc. in the old days.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Chinese also had been coming to India for pilgrimage to our knowledge before the last 1500 or 1700 years. It is a matter of history. I said there is no annual pilgrimage to India at present. Tibetans sometimes used to come certainly; now they come in another guise, as displaced persons driven out of Tibet.

Jaswant Singh: Since these pilgrims went on pilgrimage to Mansarovar and Kailash before the Chinese Government issued instructions, have we enquired as to what their condition is and have we told the Chinese Government that when they left, they did not know about these restrictions and have we ensured their safety, etc.?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know; I suppose when they come back, we shall know about them.

Jaswant Singh: That is true but in view of the conditions prevailing there they may not be safe. Have we on our part asked the Chinese Government to see that since they left before the issue of these instructions, something should be done in regard to their safety?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think; we have been warning them. They have gone deliberately taking the risk. It is a good thing for people to take risks but we cannot go about asking the Chinese Government even though they might have gone earlier.

Maheswar Naik: May I know whether there is any international convention in existence which protects the security of people who go or pilgrimage to other countries?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not that I am aware of.

D.A. Mirza: As there is no love lost between the Chinese and Indian Governments, may I know why restrictions are not imposed on the Chinese who are in India today?

(No reply)

305. In the Rajya Sabha: Bhotia Traders⁴⁵

P.N. Rajabhoj:⁴⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether it is a fact that the Chinese authorities in Tibet have invited Bhotia traders of Uttar Pradesh border villages to trade in Tibetan markets; and
- (b) If so, whether the Bhotia traders have resumed trade as they were doing in the past in view of the assurances given by the Chinese authorities?

Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) We have no information which would indicate that the Chinese authorities in the Tibet

⁴⁵ Written answers, 8 August 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. xxx, col. 86.

⁴⁶ Congress.

region have actually invited Bhotia traders from U .P. to go to Tibet for trade this year. However, in the past the traders did so in accordance with the customary trading practice and this has the sanction of Article 2 of the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954.

(b) Reports indicate that a certain number of Bhotia traders have in fact moved into Tibet in accordance with the customary practice.

306- In the Rajya Sabha: Press Reports on Chinese Incursion⁴⁷

Faridul Haq Ansari: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) Whether Government's attention has been drawn to a news item published in the *Hindusthan Standard* of the 8th June, 1960 (Delhi Edition) alleging that- "Chinese Communists are occupying some more enclaves belonging either to Bhutan or to India in addition to the eight villages of Bhutan that still remain under the occupation of Chinese army"; and

(b) If so, how far the news is correct?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): (a) Yes, Sir. (b) The press report is not clear as to which other, Bhutan or Indian enclaves reference was made as being under Chinese occupation. In any case, Government of India are not aware of any other enclaves except those about which protests have already been made.⁴⁸

Faridul Haq Ansari: May I know whether the Government of India has made any enquiry recently about this occupation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Enquiry about?

⁴⁷ Oral answers, 8 August 1960. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. xxx, co1s 41-42.

⁴⁸ See Appendix 49.

Faridul Haq Ansari: Enquiry whether the Chinese have occupied parts of India or of Bhutan?

Jawaharlal Nehru: We are not even aware of any such enclaves. We cannot enquire into the air. Except the eight enclaves belonging to Bhutan which are known, to which reference is made in this question, we are not aware of any other enclaves. How are we to enquire and from whom?

Bhupesh Gupta: But the PSP knows!

307. To N.K. Seshan: Map in *Discovery of India*⁴⁹

The English edition of the *Discovery of India* contains some kind of a map of India inside the cover. This is a rough map, but even so it has given us some trouble, and the Chinese have taken advantage of it to substantiate their claim in some of our frontier areas. In any future edition of this book, this map should be left out. You might write to the English publishers and ask them to note this.⁵⁰

2. I do not think that any such map is to be found in any other edition of this book.

308. In the Lok Sabha: Chinese Incursion⁵¹

⁴⁹ Note to Assistant Private Secretary, 11 August 1960.

⁵⁰ N.K. Seshan wrote to Bridget Tunnard of the India League on 12 August 1960. See Appendix 40.

⁵¹ Oral answers, 12 August 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLIV, cols 2288-2293.

Question:⁵² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) Whether any fresh and further incursion has been made by the Chinese into Indian territory since 1st May, 1960; and

(b) If so, when and where?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): (a) and (b). There has been one case of temporary Chinese intrusion into Indian territory since May this year. On the 3rd June, 1960, a Chinese patrol consisting of about 25 soldiers crossed into Indian territory in the Kameng Frontier Division and came upto Taksang monastery which is about 4 1/2 miles within our border. The patrol party withdrew soon afterwards when the attention of the local people was drawn to their presence. A strong protest has been lodged with the Chinese Government against this further instance of the violation of the Indian border.

Vidya Charan Shukla: In terms of our provisional understanding with the Chinese, we are not sending out any patrol parties to patrol our borders. How is it that the Chinese have sent out a patrol party and they made an incursion into our territory? Also, what means exist with us to find out whether any incursions have taken place in the absence of any patrol party being sent out?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): From the facts as known to us thus far, it is clear that the Chinese authorities, local or other, committed a breach of that understanding by these 25 men coming over for a while into Indian territory and then going back. That is why we have addressed them on the subject.

As for the question as to how we are to know that they came over, in a very long border, even if we had patrols all the time---of course, it is not for me to give the information about how we find out; it is not proper for me to do that---sometimes, a person can walk across the border somewhere. This is an odd

⁵² By Congress MP Vidya Charan Shukla; PSP MP Khushwaqt Rai and Ganatantra Parishad MP P.G Deb.

comer and there is a small monastery there. It appears that they came to the monastery and then went back .

[Translation begins:

Khushwaqt Rai: May I know whether besides the protest note that has been sent to them, has there been some investigation so that incidents such as these may be prevented?

Jawaharlal Nehru: If the honourable member has something to say on what should be done, I will give it some thought.

Braj Raj Singh: It can be told when we are there.

Khushwaqt Rai: It is for you to say, not for me to tell you.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is obvious that on such occasion, no other investigation is or can take place. They came and they left, are we now to go to Tibet and find out who had come?

Translation ends.]

P.G. Deb: May I know whether it is a fact that the Chinese had occupied two villages of Himachal Pradesh in May last?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No, Sir, not to my knowledge.

P. G. Deb: I refer to two villages in the Spiti Valley.

Vajpayee: It is not clear from the answer of the Prime Minister how they came into our territory.

Ranga: The hon. Prime Minister has said that they came in some odd corner. It is these odd things that have brought us into all this trouble.

Speaker: The hon. Prime Minister asked Shri Khushwaqt Rai, "What do you ask me to do? To chase them into Tibetan territory"?

Vajpayee: We are not here to reply to the questions of the Ministers. It is for the Ministers to give replies.

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is plain that some people came secretly like thieves in the night and went away after ten minutes or so. Now, what are we supposed to do except to take some local steps, of course? We cannot get hold of them. In fact, we got to know of this long after they had come and gone. They were there for a few minutes. The report came to us from Gompa or the little monastery that they were there for a few minutes and then ran away. Except to protest against this small intrusion, we cannot chase them into Tibet. We do not know where to chase and whom to chase?

K. C. Sharma:⁵³ Why not claim damages?

Vajpayee: It is not clear from the answer of the Prime Minister whether we had our patrol posts there. If we had, how did they come into our territory?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The patrol, by its very nature, is not everywhere it moves about. It has not got a fixed point. Patrols do move about, but they are not everywhere there-just like the Chinese patrols move about too. It is equally easy for people to cross the border here and there in a small group.

It is a highly reprehensible thing to have been done and that is why we have written to them. In a matter of this kind, we cannot capture them or chase them because, as I said, they come secretly like thieves in the night avoiding places where they might be found out.

Ram Subhag Singh: May I know the approximate time that might have been

⁵³ Congress.

taken up by the Chinese army men to reach the Taksang monastery over a distance of about 4 1/2 miles? May I also know whether our patrol personnel did go to the northernmost point from where they had entered into our territory, and what is the position at present?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is difficult for me to answer from what point they came....

Lakshmi Menon: They ran away when they heard that Indian patrols were there.

Jawaharlal Nehru: As soon as our people came, they ran away. According to the report from the monastery, they were there for a few minutes and then they ran away before our people came.

P. K. Deo: In view of the assurance given by the Prime Minister that any incursion into Nepal will be considered as an invasion of India, may I know what steps were taken when the Chinese incursion into Mustang took place?

Speaker: It does not arise out of this question.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is for Nepal to deal with. They have dealt with it. We do not impose ourselves on Nepal. It is for them to determine and to mention it to us if they so want.

Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that on the Ladakh border as also on the MacMohan Line there has, of late, been an increase in the Chinese armed strength? Is it also a fact, as disclosed by General Thimmayya, that the weapons used by China against India are Russian- made? If so, may I know whether our friendship with Russia that it supposed to grow like a banyan tree is hollow of branches?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not quite sure whether it is a question or a dissertation.

I do not know what weapons they use, but I do know that they manufacture a great deal of their own weapons. They may have had some Russian weapons- I have no idea of that-just as we manufacture most of ours and we also have weapons provided by other countries-we have bought them. So, I do not know what information the hon. Member wants.

Speaker: In any case, it does not arise out of this question.

Hem Barua: I had asked about the armed strength on the Ladakh frontier.

Jawaharlal Nehru: We have no information on the subject. The question was whether the Chinese armed strength on the Ladakh border has increased considerably. We have no information about that. As the hon. Member, perhaps, knows, recently, about a month or more ago, I went to one or two parts of this border-right up to the border-to see our own troops there. And, I did not hear anything particular about this matter there.

Yadav Narayan Jadhav:⁵⁴ May I know whether a prominent member of the Communist Party from Hyderabad made a statement to the effect that the Chinese have not committed any aggression or entered into India up to this time and that they also do not acknowledge the MacMohan Line?

Speaker: That does not arise out of this question.

Vidya Charan Shukla: May I know if there has been any major or minor clash with the Chinese patrol parties within this period, 1st May, 1960 to this date?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There has been no clash or contact in that sense.

⁵⁴ PSP

309. In the Lok Sabha: Indian Traders Flee Tibet⁵⁵

Question:⁵⁶ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) The number of Indian traders who left for Tibet during the months of May, June and July, 1960 by different routes of Sikkim, U.P., Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir; and
- (b) The facilities afforded by the Indian Government for their personal security and for the exchange of currency and bringing of merchandise?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): (a) According to information so far available 358 traders had left for Tibet from different routes of Sikkim, U.P., Himachal Pradesh, Punjab and Jammu & Kashmir during the months of May, June and July, 1960.

(b) As would be evident from White Papers on relations with China the Government of India have repeatedly impressed on the Chinese authorities the need to respect the provisions of 1954 Agreement which envisages that customary traders will be afforded due protection and be given necessary facilities to pursue their trade and repatriate their earnings.

310. To Subimal Dutt: Chinese Incursion⁵⁷

The question in the Lok Sabha today about the group of Chinese soldiers coming into Indian territory on the border of NEFA has disturbed me.⁵⁸ The matter by itself is not of high importance. But in view of our border situation and what has happened in the past there, it assumes a certain significance. I get the impression that not too much importance was attached to it by our

⁵⁵ Written answers, 12 August 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLIV, cols 2355-2356.

⁵⁶ By Congress MPs Hem Raj, Rameshwar Tantia and Ram Subhag Singh.

⁵⁷ Note, 12 August 1960.

⁵⁸ See item 306.

Ministry. I have not got the file with me at present and probably some of the questions I am putting below could be answered by a reference to that file.

2. So far as I can remember, I only learnt of this when the Lok Sabha question was placed before me. The incident itself happened early in June, that is, more than two months ago. It was important enough for us to inform Parliament as soon as it met and not wait for a question to be answered.

3. If twenty-five Chinese soldiers can come into our territory, I suppose it is equally possible for a larger number to come in this way. What kind of defences have we got in that area to protect against such an intrusion? What is the nearest checkpoint that we have got? Has the Defence Ministry been asked about this? How can we prevent this kind of thing from happening again?

4. When did our border people receive the first information about this intrusion and what steps did they take immediately? When did we in the Ministry first hear of it? Two months seems rather a long time for us to react to such a situation by sending a note to the Chinese Government. When was this note sent?⁵⁹

5. I should like the views of the Defence Ministry about this incident. Is it beyond our capacity to stop such intrusions? When they actually occur, can we take swift action? What indeed did we do when we were informed of it?

311. In the Lok Sabha: India-China Border⁶⁰

Question:⁶¹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state the progress made so far

⁵⁹ The Note was sent on 29 July 1960. See Appendix 7.

⁶⁰ Oral answers, 18 August 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLV, cols 3097-3103.

⁶¹ By Congress MPs D.C. Sharma, Bibhuti Mishra, Ram Krishan Gupta, Mafida Ahmed, Hem Raj, N.R. Muniswamy, Naval Prabhakar, Rameshwar Tantia, S. Mahanty, Ram Subhag Singh, Kalika Singh, Bhakt Darshan and Ila Palchoudhuri; Ganatantra Parishad MP Supakar; Independents S.M. Banerjee and B.C. Kamble; Forward Bloc (Marxist) MP Subiman Ghose and Jan Sangh MP A.B. Vajpayee.

in the compilation of points of agreements and disagreements between the Indian and Chinese officials on the Sino-Indian border dispute?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Sadath Ali Khan): After their meeting on the 25th July, 1960 the official Indian delegation concluded their discussions in Peking.⁶² During the discussions during which 18 meetings were held, the officials completed consideration of item one of the agenda i.e., location and natural features of the boundary as claimed by the two governments; further, in the last few meetings, the officials also commenced with the consideration of item two of the agenda i.e., the basis of the boundary alignments in treaties and agreements tradition and custom. The discussions will be resumed in Delhi in the middle of August.

P.K. Deo: May I know if the talks are going on according to the schedule and, if so, when the report will be available to this House?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): I do not know if the report will ever be available to this House. Such reports are not normally placed before Parliament; no doubt a summary of the report may be or may be the whole of it, I cannot say now. But according to the decision arrived at when Premier Chou En-lai was here,⁶³ the report should be ready by the end of September.⁶⁴

D.C. Sharma: May I know if only these two items are going to be discussed at the official level or there are other items also waiting for discussion?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The whole purpose of this meeting is to examine the factual data available- various kinds of facts. It is only a question of dividing them up into compartments to examine them. The main point is item I, to examine factual data, whether papers, documents, maps, records, etc. These officials,

⁶² See SWJN/SS/61/Appendix 14.

⁶³ See *SWJN/SS/61/items 1-45*.

⁶⁴ A request for extension to submit the Report was made by the Official Teams to their respective Prime Ministers. See Appendix 68.

obviously, are not going in for oral evidence. It is all documents, examination of papers, documents, and records. It is not open to them to decide anything. They merely record after examination of documents, etc., that have come in. May be, I do not know, may be, they may give their impression on the value of the documents.

[Translation begins:

Bibhuti Mishra: Regarding the examination of documents mentioned by the Prime Minister, how far are the Chinese officials in agreement with India's claim to the natural boundary in the China-India border?

Jawaharlal Nehru: To what extent they are in agreement, is a point I don't understand. In relations to the talks held now, I cannot say anything. The point of agreement does not arise, neither from their side nor from ours. In examining documents one can say, they are forged, they are wrong and have been prepared by an outsider who did not know. There might be arguments like these. However, the respective governments will not let go of their claims. They are merely evaluating the documents.

Translation ends.]

Vajpayee: In view of the fact that our dispute with China is confined to certain sectors only, may I know how is it that data regarding the entire border are being investigated and discussed by these officials?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The actual dispute does not refer to the entire border. But, it does refer to points in the entire border, here and there, points. If the hon. Member will read the various papers that are published in the White Papers, broadly, it is divided into three areas, the eastern, middle and western or northern. It is an odd area. In the eastern and western, it covers large areas of territory. In the middle area, there are specific points covered. In that sense, one has to look at more or less the whole of it. May be there are bits here and there. But, that would not be particularly helpful.

B.C. Kamble: May I know whether in these discussions maps were used and if so, whether the Government will, for the use of the Members, exhibit these in the Library with necessary data in support of the claim made by China and India?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Some maps have been put in the Parliament Library. But, these are maps in old books, old maps, may be obtained from distant countries- originals. Sometimes, there are no duplicates even. Sometime, if possible, they may be displayed; certainly.

Supakar: Even during the pendency of these talks, there have been incursions of the Chinese into our territory. I want to know specifically whether the point at which incursion took place is a subject matter of these talks.

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not that exact point. The hon. Member might remember that the Chinese claim is a very big one in the North-East, N.E.F.A. area. It includes hundreds of such points, over the whole area. That particular point is not mentioned.

[Translation begins:

Govind Das:⁶⁵ As the Chinese have laid claim to places that till now have been a part of our territory, are there some places which the Chinese have claimed as theirs, which from ancient records we can gather are our territory, like Mansarovar, Kailas etc. Have we presented our claims to these territories and asked that they be returned to us?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Ancient records do not contain proper maps.

Govind Das: Have any of our claims regarding this been put before China, the

⁶⁵ Congress.

way they have claimed some territories as theirs?

Jawaharlal Nehru: No.

Translation ends.]

P.K. Deo: In view of the latest Chinese incursion in the N.E.F.A. area in violation of the understanding that neither party would send out patrols and in view of the reported large concentration of Chinese troops and their intensified activities across our border, may I know if any useful purpose is served by pursuing these talks at the official level except wasting time?

Speaker: It is an opinion.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think the two have any real connection. They are independent avenues. So far as the recent Chinese incursion is concerned as I have said previously, we consider it very deplorable and we have protested to the Chinese Government. We have received no reply yet. But, I should like to make one correction. There was no agreement not to send out patrols by either party. In fact, we were not prepared to agree to that ourselves. Of course, the agreement was not to do anything which might bring about conflict. That, of course, is a rather vague phrase. In that sense one should not send patrols in an area which might bring about conflict. We were not prepared to accept that we should not send out patrols and therefore, we did not agree to it. We did agree that we will try to avoid conflicts. So that, that point does not arise. Here, admittedly, at least according to our information, a group of Chinese persons from 20 to 25 came through forest paths, grazer paths, etc., about four miles and rapidly went away when they were found out. We have protested about it. But, that has no relation to these talks.

Jaipal Singh: Quite apart from the summary that the Prime Minister says he may give Parliament in due course, may we know when the Government will provide Parliament with a fairly comprehensive White Paper so that we may be

fully conversant with our claims and the counter-claims that are being made, because, at the present moment, things are very vague?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Yes. When I said summary, I really do not know what I will be in a position to give, because, I have no idea of what the report would be like; I cannot say. The conclusions of the report will, of course, be placed before the House: not the details of the papers, this and that. We have been keeping Parliament informed by fairly comprehensive White Papers on the subject. Many of the materials are in the White Papers already. The additional material, when the time comes, will certainly be placed before the House.

Many Hon. Members rose-

Speaker: I have allowed so many questions. Shri Goray.

Goray:⁶⁶ I would like to know what exactly is the scope of the work of this Committee. When we read the papers we find that certain territories are being claimed by us and our claim is being refuted by China. What is it that this team is going to do? I want to know whether it is going to examine our claim or whether it is going to evolve some formula by which this claim can be ascertained.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member's question is rather odd. We have discussed this matter and I have just two minutes ago explained this fully.

312. In the Lok Sabha: Ladakhis⁶⁷

⁶⁶ N.G Goray, PSP.

⁶⁷ Written answers, 18 August 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLV, col. 3168.

Raghunath Singh: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that 50 Ladakhis have crossed in Kalimpong from Shigatse and 300 Ladakhis including some Muslims have been held up in Shigatse by Chinese authorities?

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

According to information available with us, only 5 families of Ladakhi Muslims, consisting of 25 members have returned to India. Besides, about 100 Ladakhis, which include some Muslims, are reported to be held up at Shigatse.

313. To Sundarlal: Role of All India Peace Council⁶⁸

August 22, 1960

My dear Sundarlal,

Your letter of August 18th.⁶⁹ When I spoke in the Rajya Sabha,⁷⁰ I had the following report in mind. This report is about a speech you delivered at the open session of the All India Peace Council in Calcutta on August 5th.

"Pandit Sundarlal, President of the All-India Peace Council, said that the Chinese threat to India had been manufactured by interested political parties in order to keep down the communists. He said that the dispute between China and India arose from differences between two sets of maps, one prepared by American agents of Chiang Kai-shek and the other prepared by the agents of the erstwhile British Government of India. He said that these differences could have been resolved if the Prime Minister of India was keen to arrive at a settlement when he met Chou En-lai in Delhi. He disclosed that Chou En-lai had provisionally agreed to withdraw Chinese forces from 38,000 square miles of

⁶⁸ Letter to the President of the All India Peace Council.

⁶⁹ Reiterating the All India Peace Council's commitment to the peaceful resolution of India-China border dispute, Sundarlal refuted any notions of the Council's affiliation to a political party, Communist or other and requested a meeting with Nehru.

⁷⁰ See item 262.

the disputed area if India agreed to withdraw from the remaining area of 12,000 square miles. He also alleged that the Prime Minister had, at an informal meeting with Vinoba Bhave before he met Chou En-lai, agreed to accept any such offer if made by the Chinese Prime Minister, but later at the meeting with Chou En-lai he backed out of it. He stated categorically that he did not believe that the Chinese had any aggressive designs on India."

What is said in this report is in many respects completely contrary to facts and is obviously partial to the Chinese viewpoint which we consider completely wrong. The reference to my meeting Vinoba Bhave in this connection is also without foundation.

You do not seem to realise the deep feelings in India, which I share to a large extent, about these border conflicts. The Communist Press is carrying on persistent and continuous propaganda against India's stand in this matter. It is a vicious and most unfair propaganda, and what you are reported to have said was more or less in line with that propaganda.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

314. In the Lok Sabha: Khampas⁷¹

Raghunath Singh: Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether it is a fact that a large number of Khampas who were engaged in constructing road from Sikkim to Darjeeling have deserted their jobs and their whereabouts are not known?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (J.N. Hazarika): So far as we know, a number of Tibetan refugees have left their road work in Sikkim. Some of them have reappeared in Kalimpong and Darjeeling. Some also

⁷¹ Oral answers, 22 August 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLV, cols 3913-3914.

keep away from work during the monsoon season. The exact number of refugees who have left their work sites in Sikkim is not yet known and enquiries are being made to locate them.

Raghunath Singh: May I know how many Khampas were employed on this road, how many have left the place and whether their whereabouts are known?

J.N. Hazarika: The number of those employed is somewhat more than 3,000.

Raghunath Singh: May I know whether any register is maintained by the Government of India of those persons who are entering India from the Khampa area or Tibet?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): I suppose; I cannot say. I have not enquired into this matter. It seems to me obvious that in every camp registers are kept of the people in the camp. One cannot come in and go out without any record.

Hem Barua: May I know whether it is a fact that the Tibetan refugees who have been sent to the N.E.F.A. for road building work in the early part of this year have deserted their work and come back and concentrated themselves in the camp at Misamari?

Speaker: This relates to Sikkim-Darjeeling road. The hon. Member is referring to the people being transferred to N.E.F.A. for construction work and their having deserted the work and come back to the camp. The hon. Minister may like to have notice. Next question.

315. In the Lok Sabha: Maps and Bhutan⁷²

⁷² Oral answers, 22 August 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLV, cols 3905-3906.

Question:⁷³ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

(a) Whether Government of Bhutan have asked the Government of India to protest to Chinese Government against the cartographical aggression showing large chunks of Bhutanese territory within Tibet;

(b) If so the reaction of the Government of India thereto; and

(c) The steps taken or proposed to be taken in the matter?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (Sadath Ali Khan): (a) to (c). In accordance with our Treaty with Bhutan, Government of India are responsible for Bhutan's external relations. Accordingly, Government of India have already taken up matters on behalf of Bhutan with the Chinese Government. Copies of notes exchanged with the Chinese Government are contained in White Paper No.1.

Bishwanath Roy: May I know whether any point in this connection will be raised before the Chinese authorities who are here at present?

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): I do not think so, Sir. We are perfectly prepared to discuss this matter, but I rather doubt whether any point like this is likely to be raised.

Vidya Charan Shukla: May I know if this point was raised with the Chinese Government by the Government of India on its own initiative or was it raised after the Government of Bhutan had drawn the attention of the Government to this point?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Which point?

Vidya Charan Shukla: The protest regarding cartographical aggression against

⁷³ By Congress MPs Bishwanath Roy, D.C. Sharma, Ram Krishan Gupta and C.K. Bhattacharya; Ganatantra Parishad MP P.K. Deo and PSP MP Hem Barua.

Bhutanese territory.

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is reference to this in the White Papers published.⁷⁴ The Bhutanese Government have drawn our attention to it.⁷⁵ I cannot say about the dates as to when they did it, but this happened two or three times.

Hem Barua: In view of the fact that cartographic aggression was a prelude to the occupation of our territory by China, may I know what steps Government have taken to help Bhutan so that similar fate does not befall it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Cartographic way? Which way?

Hem Barua: Cartographic aggression was a prelude in our case and China occupied a portion of our territory. What steps Government have taken to see that a similar thing does not happen in the case of Bhutan because their external relations are governed by us?

An Hon. Member: Ask the Defence Ministry.

Speaker: Are any steps being taken to avoid this cartographical aggression being implemented in actual aggression?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is a hard question to answer. We are responsible for the safety of the frontier. We take steps, so far as Bhutan is concerned, naturally in consultation with the Bhutan Government in whatever we do.

Nepal

⁷⁴ See Appendix 49.

⁷⁵ See Appendix 66 for Subimal Dutt's letter to Jigmie P. Dorji.

316. To Harishwar Dayal: Talks with the King⁷⁶

August 22, 1960

My dear Harish,

I have received your letter of the 16th August about your talk with the King. I think that you should tell the King, when you happen to see him next, that you conveyed the substance of his talk to me in accordance with his wishes.

It is, of course, difficult for me to give advice, but should he wish for my advice on any particular situation which might arise, I shall gladly express my opinion for his consideration. Broadly speaking, I feel that the difficult situation in Nepal can only be met satisfactorily by the King and the National Congress people pulling together. The removal of the present Government will create a vacuum which no other group in Nepal can fill. It would not be easy for the King to rule through autocratic rule. The burden on him would be great and all manner of people would oppose this. If a new election is held later, that may not improve the situation. My general suggestion therefore is that every effort should be made for the King and the present Government to know each other's mind and endeavour to cooperate in dealing with situation as they arise. Even if there is internal friction in the present Ministry, the King might try to help in healing these rifts.

It is largely true, as he says, that in Nepal democracy is without foundations. Nevertheless, it is developing some foundations. The other basic factor is the King himself. I rather doubt if either of them can function with success independently of the other. Hence my suggestion that there should be a certain frank understanding of each other and an attempt to cooperate. It would be unfortunate and would lead to critical situation if this attempt broke up. There are many matters in which the King, with his experience and knowledge of conditions, could advise the Ministry.

Democracy brings out certain evils. Even in the most advanced democratic

⁷⁶ Letter to the Ambassador of India to Nepal.

countries these evils appear. But to give up democracy is to plunge into a situation which will develop into greater evils. It is desirable to work towards stabilization.

As for Nepal being a Republic, I do not think this is a feasible proposition. In the circumstances as they exist in Nepal today, it will probably lead to greater trouble. (But I do not want you to mention this to him as if coming from me.) Tell the King that I appreciate his making any reference to me and I shall gladly try to help when I can.⁷⁷

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

317. In the Lok Sabha: Indians Making Trouble in Nepal⁷⁸

Question:⁷⁹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether it is a fact that Nepal Government has externed two Indian nationals from Nepal; and
- (b) If so, the reasons thereof?

The Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of External Affairs (J.N. Hazarika):

- (a) Yes, Sir.
- (b) It is understood that Dhan Bahadur Singh and Sham Lal Pandey were externed because they had campaigned against the Nepalese language and fomented dissension among local groups.

Raghunath Singh: May I know whether any enquiry was instituted?

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

⁷⁷ Dayal met the King on 11 September 1960. See Appendix 67 for Subimal Dutt to Dayal on the same.

⁷⁸ Oral answers, 25 August 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLV, cols 4761-4762.

⁷⁹ By Congress MPs Raghunath Singh and Ajit Singh Sarhadi.

whom?

Raghunath Singh: By our Government.

Jawaharlal Nehru: How can we enquire into things that happened in Nepal? It is for the Nepal Government to enquire.

Assar: May I know whether it is a fact that the tempo of anti-Indian feeling in Nepal is rising due to deliberate propaganda carried on by Communist agents in Nagaland, if so, whether our Government has drawn the attention of the Nepal Government towards this anti-Indian propaganda?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Is it a supplementary or a new question?

Speaker: Is it on account of this that this kind of propaganda is being carried on?

Jawaharlal Nehru: It is a rather difficult question. These people started a number of schools and colleges in the Nepal- Terai area. Then they got rather mixed up with local politics and brought an element of Indian communal politics there, which was objected to by the Nepalese authorities. They put up also a kind of conflict between Hindi and Nepalese. So, the Nepalese Government did not like all these communal activities and asked them to depart.

Tibet

318. In the Lok Sabha: Documents of the Dalai Lamas⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Written answers, 4 August 1960. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. XLIV, col. 878.

Question:⁸¹ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:

- (a) Whether it is a fact that a number of important historical documents including old letters addressed by Tibet's Dalai Lamas to the Rajas of Ladakh have been secured by Government.
- (b) If so, whether these letters have been examined; and
- (c) If so, whether these letters throw any light on the border between Tibet and Ladakh?

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

- (a) Yes.
- (b) Yes.
- (c) The letters in question are those carried by the Lopchak and Chhoba missions. These are formal communications which refer to the mission and the gifts carried by it. These letters do not throw any light on the boundary question.

319. For Kushak Bakula: Grants for Education⁸²

With reference to Shri Bakula's representation, you might send a reply to him. Say that an enquiry is being made about the scholarships.⁸³

2. As for building a boarding house for students of the School of Philosophy at Leh, I am afraid we cannot undertake this in the near future. We have had difficulty even in raising money for the Ladakhi Buddhist Vihara in Delhi. When the school was started at Leh, it was clearly understood that the Gompas would make the necessary arrangements for board, etc. of students.

⁸¹ By Congress MPs Ram Krishan Gupta and Iqbal Singh.

⁸² Note to Kesho Ram, 6 August 1960.

⁸³ See Appendix 35 for Kesho Ram's letter to Shankar Prasad containing Nehru's minute.

3. We have made every effort to get the Head Lama of Hemis to return to Ladakh. That is not in our power. We are continuing to make efforts.
4. We have been looking into the case of Tibetan refugees working in the Leh-Kargil road.
5. I do not know who is giving these scholarships to the 18 students from Ladakh referred to in para 2 of Bakulaji's letter. Is it the Education Ministry or the External Affairs Ministry or some other Ministry? You might find out and you may convey to them that the payment of these scholarships is often made rather late and causes much inconvenience. They should be paid in time. Further, you might enquire if it is possible for these scholarships to be utilised in other Government institutions. I do not see why this should not be done. In fact, probably this will be better for them.
6. You might also convey to them the request of Bakulaji for seven additional scholarships.
7. After writing the above, I saw the letter of Bakulaji dated 1st August. You might enquire into this matter further.

320. To the Dalai Lama⁸⁴

August 7, 1960

Your Holiness,

Thank you for your letter of July 25⁸⁵ which reached me about a week ago. In this letter you have been good enough to express your appreciation and

⁸⁴ Letter

⁸⁵ See Appendix 4(a).

gratitude for the deep sympathy in India for the Tibetan refugees and for all that has been done for their rehabilitation in India. At the same time, you have expressed your profound sorrow at the state of affairs in Tibet and the plight of the people there, and your strong feeling that "something must be done, and done now, to save the lives of these people".

I can well appreciate your distress as well as your desire that something effective should be done. Unfortunately it is not always possible to give effect to our wishes and desires, and circumstances beyond our control prove limiting factors. We have, therefore, to consider all these circumstances and then come to decisions. Otherwise, any action that we may take may not only be totally ineffective but might also, to some extent, injure the very cause that we have at heart.

I am glad that you have written to me frankly about your feelings and your wishes. I think it is right that I should write to you also frankly what I think about these matters. Some of the activities undertaken on your behalf in the past have been a matter of concern to us, and we have felt that they are not rightly conceived or carried out. I have had a feeling that some of your advisers have not given you right advice. I have in mind particularly the activities of your brother Gyalo Thondup and one or two others of your entourage.

Two questions face us. One is the proper rehabilitation of the Tibetan refugees who have come to India; the other is the larger and more difficult issue of what is happening in Tibet itself. So far as the former question is concerned, it is not simple or easy of solution, but we have undertaken responsibility for it, and we shall do our utmost to rehabilitate them in India. We hope that with your help we shall succeed. The question of these refugees is an internal matter for India which has to be dealt with by the Government of India in consultation with and according to the advice of your goodself { [sic] }. Other countries are not concerned.

We have given asylum to more than 20,000 Tibetans in our country and the stream of such refugees has not stopped. Your Holiness knows well that this act of ours in giving refuge and asylum to all these Tibetans has created considerable friction between India and the People's Republic of China.

Nevertheless, we have considered it our duty to receive these Tibetan people who have come to India and to help them to rehabilitate themselves. The only condition we have attached is that Indian territory must not be made a base for hostile propaganda or activities against the People's Republic of China. It is true that our relations with the Government of China are strained because of various reasons. That is a matter between India and China. But it would be against international convention and usage for refugees, who have taken asylum in India, to use the soil of India for any kind of hostile activities against another country.

Thus we have assumed full responsibility for these Tibetan refugees. We have not asked other countries for financial or any other kind of help for this purpose. It is true that three countries, namely, New Zealand, Australia and the United States of America, have offered financial help for rehabilitation and we have accepted these for specific schemes. But whether that help came or not, our responsibility for rehabilitation would remain.

The other question that arises is a much wider one, that is, the condition of Tibet and the fate of the people there. Any action contemplated in regard to Tibet must necessarily raise difficult and complicated international issues and has to be considered with the greatest care. We live in a world which often hovers over the brink of war, and in which what is called the cold war vitiates the atmosphere of international relations. No subject of international importance can be considered calmly or objectively in this atmosphere, and the decisions of Governments or even of the United Nations itself are governed by these international controversies and conflicts.

I fear that some of your advisers have not got all these aspects in view and have, therefore, often given you wrong and even harmful advice. I have ventured in the past to give you such advice as I thought proper. But you have not always been in a position to accept it. It has not been our desire to interfere with your judgment even though I have regretted some of the decisions our Holiness has taken.

Last year, in rather special circumstances, we gave travel facilities to your brother Gyalo Thondup and one or two others, and some amounts of foreign

exchange were also made available to them to enable them to visit a number of countries and thereafter to proceed to New York. Our information is that Gyalo Thondup collected some money last year for Tibetan refugees. We do not know whether he has given full accounts for the money he had collected to Your Holiness. Our information further is that while he was abroad he spent rather lavishly and lived in expensive hotels. I do not think that in the circumstances this was fitting or desirable.

I feel that collecting money abroad in this way is not in keeping with the dignity of Your Holiness or that of the Government of India. The Government of India have not only taken the liability for this purpose, but Your Holiness has also some funds at your disposal. We have no objection to receiving help from other countries, as we have already accepted some such offers. But for individuals to go about in foreign countries begging for aid for the Tibetan refugees appears to us to be totally inappropriate. Further what guarantee is there that the money so collected would, in fact, be properly utilised?

Your Holiness may remember that there were questions in our Parliament about the treasure that was handed to you last year.⁸⁶ We had relaxed some of our rules in this matter in our desire to be of help to Your Holiness. We had hoped that the money, as Your Holiness said, would be utilised for the rehabilitation of your people in India.

I have now received requests from Gyalo Thondup and his wife for travel documents to enable them to go abroad. Among the reasons for going abroad, they have mentioned that they would promote an appeal in foreign countries for help towards the rehabilitation of Tibetan refugees in India. For the reasons I have indicated above, we are entirely opposed to any such appeal being issued, more especially by individuals. In the circumstances, therefore, we have regretfully reached the conclusion that we should not give travel documents to Gyalo Thondup and his wife.

Similarly, we have got a request from Mr Rinchen for facilities for going abroad. I am told that he would arrange for the publication of a book which you have

⁸⁶ See SWJN/SS/50/items 159 and 161.

written. I have no idea of what this book is about, but Your Holiness, no doubt, knows that it is not necessary for one of your staff to go abroad Just to arrange for the publication of a book.

Speaking generally, we have no objection to travel documents being allowed to Tibetans who wish to leave India permanently. We have, however, to consider carefully requests for endorsements which would facilitate return to India at a later date. We have to take particular care to see that facilities of easy travel between India and foreign countries by foreigners are not abused.

Your Holiness has mentioned in your letter that you are proposing to take steps to appeal once again for "mediation by the United Nations". As I have said above I do not wish to interfere in your judgment, but I do feel that I should tell you as a friend that this attempt is not likely to produce any practical results. I can very well appreciate your feelings and your desire to see something done, but my own judgment is that in view of a number of important events that have taken place during the last twelve months, any such appeal to the United Nations would have to face even greater difficulties this year than the last year. If I feel so, as I do, I can hardly be expected to encourage you to follow a course of action which I consider unhelpful and possibly harmful.⁸⁷

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

⁸⁷ See Apendix 4(b) for Dalai Lama's letter of 25 August 1960.