

Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru

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March 16- May 31, 1962

In the Rajya Sabha: on the President's Address¹

...One thing more. It has appeared, I think, in the Press today that a Naga group of about 150 persons have managed to enter Pakistan crossing some Indian territory, Indian territory of about 60 miles at its narrowest or more round about Cachar. We had heard that they were going there some days ago, and we had alerted our people; still it is not easy. When people go in driblets, in twos and threes, through forests, they manage to get through. They did come into conflict, some of them, and some of them were shot down by our police force, but in the main they got through. Why they have gone there, I do not know. It is possible that they might have expected Mr Phizo to be there. They have gone to help him or welcome him. According to our information, Phizo is still in London, and there is no immediate possibility of his going there, though, of course, he might. Anyhow these Nagas, about 150 of them, after some casualties, managed to enter Pakistan, and apparently they were in touch with the Pakistan people because some Pakistan troops met them at the other end. They disarmed them, I think. Whether I would call it "disarmed" I do not know, it is not perhaps quite correct. Anyhow they left their arms here and then went with them. These Naga groups have lately been pressed hard by our security forces and have been driven right up to the Burmese frontier and some beyond that. The Burmese soldiers came into contact with them, and I do not exactly know what is happening, but they are in contact with them

¹ 3 May, 1962. Rajya Sabha Debates, Vol 38. Nos. 11-18 to 11 may, 1962, cols 1727-50

and at one time we learned that they surrounded them. Perhaps it is a somewhat exaggerated. It is possible that our four airmen² are with those people in Bursa at the present moment.

One thing more. In a communiqué issued by the Chinese Government it is stated:

"As a further evidence of Indian bad faith the paper quoting a dispatch from Taipeh. Formosa, stated that some 2,000 Tibetan youths recruited from refugee camps in India were about to undergo special training in Formosa so that they might become the future leaders of Tibet."

It is absolutely wrong. We have, as everyone knows, a large number, about 30,000 or so, of Tibetan refugees here. We have been particularly interested in giving opportunities of education and training to the young people among these refugees, and we have tried to settle them more or less permanently. Most of them are being settled in agricultural areas. Naturally we cannot settle them everywhere, because they cannot stand a very hot or a very wet climate. Fortunately, the Mysore Government gave us a piece of land, about 3,000 acres, or perhaps more, I forget, where 3,000 of these persons have been settled, and the Orissa Government is giving us another patch of land and the Madhya Pradesh Government also. So, we do not want to send too few of them, but enough in numbers to lead a community life and keep up their own traditions as well as modern things. We have in fact rather deliberately taken them away from the frontier. There are some in the frontier working at the roads etc., but most of them are away and many of them will also be removed. So, this story which has appeared in the Chinese Press communiqué is completely wrong. I do not know where they get their facts from. The editorial took exception to the recent visit of the American novelist, Miss Pearl Buck, to Darjeeling. Miss Pearl Buck certainly came here on behalf of an American Society to help these refugees and she visited some of the refugee camps. Then again they went on. The editorial

² See SWJN/SS/74/item 125.

ended with the words:

"The United States imperialism and the Chiang Kai-shek gang are making active preparations to enable Tibetan serf-holders to ride once again on the backs of the people of Tibet."

Well, whatever may happen in the future, at present it is pretty obvious who is riding on the backs of the people of Tibet?

Well, Sir, having disposed of some of these foreign matters, I should like to deal now with the main subject of the debate. And I do not know if it is worthwhile for me to deal with every point raised, and I do not remember all of them, although I have noted them somewhere. Apart from constantly blaming the Government for administrative lapses, etc., which is the right of any privileged person to do and which we welcome, one thing I should like to lay stress on is that in criticising the Government, the criticism becomes valid and helpful only if it is given in a balanced way. Many of the speeches delivered by the hon. Member opposite would show that all the activities in India, governmental, administrative, etc., are evil, root and branch. All the world knows that it is a false criticism. Even if there is evil, if one gives a balanced criticism, one sees good in what is happening in India. I do submit that what is happening in India is not only fundamentally good, but also fundamentally progressive and advancing in spite of the many lapses and it is a thing which is recognized all over the world as such. Somehow, it is a misfortune with

(j) Bhutan

**To Jigme Dorji Wangchuk: Opening of
Phuntsholing-Paro Road³**

March 27, 1962

My dear friend,

Many thanks for your letter in which you have suggested that Apa Pant⁴ and his family might come from Indonesia to attend the opening ceremony of the Phuntsholing-Paro road, and thereafter visit you in Bhutan.

We all know how helpful Apa Pant has been particularly to the construction of this road, and I appreciate your gesture in inviting him for the opening ceremony. He has, however, only recently gone to Indonesia. It is also desirable that he should remain at his post in view of developments in that region.

The new Government of India is expected to assume office next month, and the new Parliament will be sitting during the whole of April. I expect to be kept rather busy with these matters and later on I may have to attend the Disarmament Conference for a short period. I am very much hoping to be able to be present for the opening of the road to Paro about the middle of May. I hope that this postponement would not be inconvenient to you.

I am sorry that there has been some delay in replying to your kind letter.

With kind regards and all good wishes,

Jawaharlal Nehru

(f) China

³ Letter to the Maharaja of Bhutan.

⁴ Ambassador to Indonesia; formerly, Political Officer of India at Gangtok, Sikkim. See SWJN/SS/70/items 186-187.

450. For Kesho Ram: Minerals in Aksai Chin⁵

When Shri L. Zutshi⁶ comes to Delhi, you might perhaps see him. I shall be glad to see him, but I am terribly busy and any interview that I might be able to give him will be a very brief one.

2. So far as the mineral resources of Aksai Chin area are concerned, their exploitation by us will depend upon the political settlement in our favour of this area.

3. You might show the Project Report which he has sent to Commonwealth Secretary. Perhaps it might also be shown to Shri Ghulam Mohammed Bakhshi,⁷ who is in Delhi now.⁸

451. In the Rajya Sabha: Leasing Aksai Chin Road to China⁹

N. Sri Rama Reddy:¹⁰ Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state whether

⁵ Note, 23 March 1962, for the PPS. PMO, File No. 17(371)/59-66-PMS, Minute No. 31.

⁶ Honorary Secretary, Kashmiri Association of Europe; see SWJN/SS/52/appendix 3.

⁷ Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State.

⁸ See extracts of L. Zutshi's letter of 20 March 1962 to Kesho Ram, the PPS, sent from 53, Green Street, Park Lane, London, W.I.:

"I would be obliged if you will draw Prime Minister's attention to the correspondence on the mineral resources of Aksai Chin area. The enclosed project report on the formation of Kashmir Gold Mining Syndicate refers to the gradual Chinese encroachment in the Karakorum and the urgent need to develop mineral resources, particularly that of gold of Indus and Shyock rivers, as a means of providing defence in depth.

I am sending the aforesaid note together with that on the formation of Kashmir Non-ferrous Metals Syndicate to Mr D.P. Dhar and to the Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry, New Delhi. I sincerely hope that these will receive due consideration from them for we can do with as much gold and non-ferrous metals as we can obtain by developing our own resources." PMO, File No. 17(371)/59-66-PMS, Sr. No. 30-A. Only paragraphs 1 and 2 of Zutshi's letter available in the NMML.

⁹ Oral answers, 26 March 1962. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. 37, Nos. 1-13, 12th to 30th March 1962, cols 1146-1148.

¹⁰ Congress MP from Mysore State.

it is a fact that in an interview to the *Washington Post*¹¹ he indicated that India would agree to lease the Aksai Chin road area in Ladakh to China provided India's sovereignty over that area was accepted by China?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): No Sir; there was no such suggestion made at the interview given to the representative of the *Washington Post*.

N. Sri Rama Reddy: Sir, the basis of my information is newspaper reports. One of the reports says—

"What the Chinese in effect say is, 'What we have in Aksai Chin, we hold. Recognise this and we will not press our claim to NEFA south of the MacMahon Line which for the present you hold.'"

I want to know whether there is any truth in this statement which appeared in *The Indian Express*.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have not quite understood the statement. It is supposed to be made on behalf of the Chinese Government, is it?

N. Sri Rama Reddy: Yes, Sir. It is put in inverted commas. It says "What the Chinese in effect says is" and the rest of the quotation is put in inverted commas.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is an inference drawn by the newspapers concerned. So far as this matter is concerned about the report that suggested that a lease might be given of that Aksai Chin road, the answer is that there is no such thing- no question of a lease. It may be that the correspondent had said something about the lease but I did not. But there was no question of lease. But what we had suggested a year and a half ago, two years ago nearly, was that it was a temporary measure in order to be able to consider the question of the border. The Chinese forces should

¹¹ On 24 February 1962, published in the *Washington Post* on 25 February, see SWJN/SS/75/item 238.

withdraw from the area according to our maps and we should withdraw from the area according to their maps in the Ladakh area, not in the other places, leaving this middle area unoccupied, while we talked about it. That is a temporary thing. Well, we talked about it and in that we had suggested that so far as the Aksai Chin road is concerned which is an old caravan route, this might be continued to be used during the intervening period because it was there before too or some such thing. That was rejected by the Chinese then, nearly two years ago, and the question has not arisen in any form since then.

N. Sri Rama Reddy: It is very kind of the Prime Minister to have enlightened us on this subject. This House would like to have a categorical assurance from the Prime Minister that our territory in the northern border will not in any way be yielded to the Chinese under whatever circumstances such a demand came.

Jawaharlal Nehru: The hon. Member does not want an answer from me but an assurance. We have often discussed this matter, and where it is our territory, we will certainly not yield it but where the question arises whether a little bit here or there is our territory or not, that will be a question of discussion.

Jaswant Singh:¹² I would like to know whether the Prime Minister gave an interview to *The Washington Post* and, if so, whether this question was at all touched and, if so, in what form if not in the form in which the question has been asked.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have just given a long answer to that. I do not remember the words *The Washington Post* correspondent used. He might have used the word "lease" or not. I told him that as long as nearly two years ago we had suggested that there should be certain withdrawals which really meant the withdrawals of the Chinese from our territory. It did not

¹² Independent MP from Rajasthan.

mean our withdrawal from anywhere except our withdrawal from one village or two villages—I am talking about Ladakh area only—and in that I had suggested that they might continue the use of the Aksai Chin road for civil purposes pending our discussion of the subject. That was an old caravan route and possibly, *The Washington Post* correspondent did not quite follow what I said and made this error. I might mention that the Aksai Chin road covers a small sector in the northern sector or the area occupied by the Chinese. It does not cover the large area occupied by the Chinese. The idea was that they should withdraw from that large sector completely but we had suggested that they might use for civil purposes this old caravan route which is in our territory, we would permit them to use this pending the discussion because this was meant to facilitate the discussion of the issue.

A.D. Mani:¹³ The hon. Prime Minister said just now that while there is no question of yielding on major matters, with regard to little bits of territories here and there Government is prepared to discuss the matter with China. Sir, I would like to ask: In view of the attitude taken by the China Government, is it correct for the Government to keep an open mind even in respect of minor border adjustments?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I hope that whatever attitude anybody may take, our mind will always be open to do the right thing.

452. In the Lok Sabha: Meeting Chou En-Lai¹⁴

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:¹⁵

- (a) whether any approach has been made for a meeting between Prime Ministers of India and China to resolve border dispute between the two countries; and
- (b) whether Prime Minister of Burma has taken any interest in the matter

¹³ Independent MP from Madhya Pradesh.

¹⁴ Oral answers, 30 March 1962. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Vol. 62, Second Series, 27 March to 30 March 1962, cols 2595-2596.

¹⁵ Question by Congress MPs D.C. Sharma and H.C. Mathur.

and discussed it with either of the countries concerned?

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon):

(a) No, Sir.

(b) As a friend of both India and China, the ex -Prime Minister of Burma¹⁶ was naturally interested in the settlement of the problem but he had not, as he himself stated at Rajgir in January last, offered to intervene.¹⁷

Harish Chandra Mathur: May I know what was the nature of the interest taken by the ex-Prime Minister of Burma and whether he has made any proposal or suggestions in this connection?

Speaker:¹⁸ The Deputy Minister has replied to it just now.

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs (Jawaharlal Nehru): It was a subject that interested him. I do not know what the special nature of the interest was. He did not make any proposals or send them to us or anybody else.

Hem Barua:¹⁹ In view of the fact that except advancing the preposterous theory of actuality, China has not been able to advance any concrete reason for her occupation of our territory, may I know on what basis the Burmese ex-Prime Minister was suggesting negotiations? How can there be negotiations?

Jawaharlal Nehru: To begin with, he has made no suggestion and therefore, there can be no basis for that. Secondly, it is possible for people not to be quite of the same opinion as the hon. Member.

¹⁶ U Nu.

¹⁷ See SWJN/SS/74/items 4, 204, 207 and 242.

¹⁸ Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

¹⁹ PSP MP from Gauhati, Assam.

Harish Chandra Mathur: Since the report was submitted by the teams of officers, may I know what progress has been made and whether there are any prospects of a meeting?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I regret to say there has been no progress made and there is no prospect of our meeting together to consider that report.

Hem Barua: May I know whether the two reports of the joint official teams—one Chinese and another Indian—differ materially in any way and if so, may I know whether Government propose to send this matter for arbitration, as suggested by Shri Jaya Prakash Narain?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no talk of arbitration. There was a reference outside the House, but there has been no talk and no proposal, as far as I know, of sending it to arbitration.

453. For M.J. Desai: Tibet Treaty of 1954²⁰

I have read through your draft of the reply to be sent to the Chinese Government. I have also read SG's draft. The two are very similar except some re-arrangement.

I agree with your draft. There is one aspect which, though brought out, perhaps might be stressed a little more. The real question is, what was the position in 1954 or thereabouts. Have we done anything on our part to change that position, or have the Chinese Government by their activities on our border areas, changed it? In the draft this is referred to of course and emphasis is laid on Chinese Government or authorities having taken repeated steps to change the existing situation.

What the situation was in 1954 and earlier is shown by our maps. These maps are precise and the Chinese Government certainly knew about them. We have ourselves repeatedly drawn their attention to them. They knew

²⁰ Note, 9 April 1962, for the Foreign Secretary. [MEA], Agreement between India and China on Trade and Intercourse between India and the Tibet Region of China 1954—Decision against Renewal 1962. File No. F. 12/458/NGO/61.

those maps when the Tibetan Treaty was made. A map need not be final proof of what we say, but it is proof of what we said at the time and that the Chinese Government knew that we said it. All that the Chinese Government said then was not to accept our maps but vaguely to say that this matter required reconsideration.

Surely no treaty such as the Tibetan Treaty could have been arrived at with these huge reservations in the minds of one party.

I do not know if I have explained myself clearly. But I think some brief reference to this aspect might be included in a paragraph or two somewhere in our reply.

454. **In the Rajya Sabha: Correspondence on Border Dispute**²¹

Dahyabhai V. Patel:²² Will the Prime Minister be pleased to refer to the answer given to Starred Question No. 37 in the Rajya Sabha on the 14th March, 1962 regarding Indo-China border dispute; and state:

- (a) whether there has been any further correspondence between the two Prime Ministers for settling the border dispute; and
- (b) if the answer to part (a) above be in the negative, whether Government propose to do anything further in this matter?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon): (a) No, Sir. There has been no further correspondence between the two Prime Ministers on the Sino-Indian border problem although notes continue to be exchanged at Government level.

(b) The Government of India are alive to the problem and are actively pursuing courses open to them for the preservation and defence of India's territorial integrity and sovereignty. They are bound, in consonance with their declared policy, to endeavour, as long as

²¹ Oral answers, 23 April 1962, *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol.-38, Nos. 1-10, 17 April to 1 May 1962, cols 194-198.

²² Swatantra Party MP from Gujarat.

necessary, for a peaceful solution of the problem.

Dahyabhai Patel: The hon. Minister in reply says that there has been no correspondence between the Prime Ministers, but off and on we see notes in the Press regarding the views of the different Governments, particularly that the Chinese Government feel that India has been unfair or India has not behaved in a proper manner. Do these emanate from the Prime Minister, from the Chinese Government or from other sources?

Lakshmi Menon: If the hon. Member had listened to the latter part of the answer, it says, "... although notes continue to be exchanged at Government level." Those are the notes that he is referring to.

A.B. Vajpayee:²³ Is it not a fact that China has virtually closed the door for talks and negotiations as is evident from the recent notes received from the Chinese and, if so, may we have some idea of the steps that the Government propose to take in order to solve the problem peacefully.

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am afraid it is difficult and it will not be quite proper to state the possible steps that might be taken in the future. They depend on so many factors. All we could say is that every effort is made, every thought is given to this matter, and whenever an opportunity takes place, it is hoped that some possible steps might be taken. That may be a small one, whatever effect that might have.

T.S. Avinashilingam Chettiar:²⁴ Recently there was a news item in the Press that there was a further encroachment by the Chinese. May I know, Sir, what has been done about it, to keep the status quo pending negotiations, and have they heard from the Government of China about this encroachment?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I suppose the hon. Member is referring to the

²³ *Jan Sangh* MP from Madhya Pradesh.

²⁴ Congress MP from Madras State.

encroachment where the Chinese patrol came about six miles on this side, near Sumdo or some such place, to which a protest was sent to the Chinese Government. No answer has been received.

T.S. Avinashilingam Chettiar: Have they gone back?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I am not sure whether they have gone back from there. In one case where the patrol had come, their reply was they had gone back. They were not there later. Therefore, they must have gone back. In respect of the particular case, I am not sure whether they have gone back.

N .M. Lingam:²⁵ May I know, Sir, if this question was not taken up indirectly in connection with the renewal of the Trade Agreement of 1954? If so, what is the indication of the latest Chinese position on the border dispute?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is no evidence of any change in their position. More or less one presumes it is the same. But I understand that these papers are being placed on the table of the House. I thought they were going to be placed today, that is, all the subsequent correspondence up-to-date. If by any chance they are not placed today, they will be placed tomorrow.²⁶

A.D. Mani:²⁷ I would like to ask the Prime Minister whether, in the recent notes sent to China, any protests have been made to China that there are scandalous broadcasts made by the Peking Radio about Indian economic conditions and have they drawn the attention of the Peking Government to the fact that these broadcasts create a very prejudicial atmosphere for negotiations?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know to which broadcast the hon. Member is referring. A little while ago we were referring to an hon. Senator who spoke

²⁵ Congress MP from Madras State.

²⁶ *White Paper VI*. See also item, 455.

²⁷ Independent MP

in an unrestrained language.²⁸ The Peking Radio also is in the habit of speaking in an unrestrained language. That is no particular reason why we should become unrestrained in our language in regard to them.

Faridul Haq Ansari:²⁹ May I know, Sir, whether this particular encroachment by China is regarded by the Government of India as use of force?

Jawaharlal Nehru: What is regarded as use of force?

Chairman:³⁰ Is this encroachment to be regarded as use of force by the Chinese?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Well, that depends. In a sense it is use of force when a patrol marches to a place and occupies it and passes by it. It is use of force. It is not use of force in the sense of coming into conflict with force, the resultant of that. It is rather a theoretical question.

N. Sri Rama Reddy:³¹ May I know, Sir, in regard to the latest occupation by China of Indian territory, what steps are proposed to be taken to see that the aggression is vacated?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have replied to that.

455. In the Rajya Sabha: Renewal of Indo-Chinese Trade Agreement³²

Arjun Arora³³ (On Behalf of B.N. Bhargava³⁴): Will the Prime Minister be

²⁸ See item 424.

²⁹ PSP MP from Uttar Pradesh.

³⁰ S. Radhakrishnan.

³¹ Congress MP from Mysore State.

³² Oral answers, 23 April 1962. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol.38, Nos 1-10, 17 April to 1 May 1962, cols 212-223.

³³ Congress MP from Uttar Pradesh.

³⁴ Congress MP from Uttar Pradesh.

pleased to state:

- (a) the final reply sent by Government to the Government of the People's Republic of China regarding the renewal of the Indo-Chinese trade agreement which is about to expire; and
- (b) what has been the Chinese reaction to our communication?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon):

(a) A copy each of the latest Chinese note on the subject and our reply thereto are placed on the Table of the House.

(b) The reaction of the Chinese Government to our last note is not yet known.

Notes Exchanged between India and China Re[garding] Renewal of the Indo-Chinese Trade Agreement³⁵

Copy

Note handed over by Director Chang Wen-chin, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, to Shri P.K. Banerjee, Charge d'Affaires of India, on the morning of Saturday, the 3rd March, 1962, on the question of renewal of 1954 Trade Agreement between China and India.

(62) Pu Yi Ya Tzu No.140.

(Translation)

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China presents its compliments to the Indian Embassy in China and has the honour to state its views again on the question of negotiations for an agreement on trade and intercourse between China and India, which the Embassy is requested to transmit to the Indian Government.

The Chinese Government has read the note of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs of December 15, 1961 in reply to the Chinese

³⁵ *White Paper VI*, pp. 191-192. Draft available in JN Collection.

Government's note of December 3, 1961 in which the Chinese Government proposed that the Governments of China and India hold negotiations so as to conclude, in accordance with the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence, a new agreement on trade and intercourse to replace the 1954 Sino-Indian Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between the Tibet Region of China and India, which will expire on June 3, 1962 and cease to be in force. It is wholly from the good desire of safeguarding the friendship between the two countries that the Chinese Government put forward this proposal. Contrary to expectation, however, the Indian Government in its note not only rejected this friendly proposal, but lacking elementary courtesy made willful and ill-intentioned charges and slanders against China. The Chinese Government can only express its disappointment and regret at this extraordinary reaction.

The question of an agreement on trade and intercourse between China and India and that of the Sino-Indian boundary are two different matters. There is no reason why the boundary dispute between the two countries should hinder the two sides from conducting negotiations for an agreement on trade and intercourse. That is why the Chinese Government, in putting forward the proposal for holding negotiations on the question of an agreement on trade and intercourse, and not link it with the Sino-Indian boundary question. In its note, however, the Indian Government insisted on linking the Chinese Government's proposal with the Sino-Indian boundary question. This can only complicate the matter. Since the Indian note has referred to the boundary question, the Chinese Government cannot but point out that it is India that has occupied big tracts of China's territory and laid claims to even bigger ones, and not the other way round. Even Puling-Sumdo, which is explicitly listed in the 1954 Sino-Indian Agreement on Trade and Intercourse as one of the markets for trade in western Tibet opened by the Chinese Government, was occupied by the Indian side shortly after the signing of the Agreement. Nevertheless, the Chinese Government, in proposing that

the Chinese and Indian Governments hold negotiations to conclude a new agreement on trade and intercourse, has not put forward any pre-condition for the Indian Government to fulfil.

The Indian Government in its note not only charge the Chinese Government with violation of the Five Principles, but stated that "the first essential for starting the negotiations is the reversal of the aggressive policies followed by China during the last few years and the restoration of a climate which assures the strict observance of the Five Principles both in letter and spirit." This charge is totally groundless. On the contrary, it is the Indian side that in fact has repeatedly violated the Five Principles and the 1954 Agreement. Apart from the boundary question, the following facts may be cited. At the time of the armed rebellion of the handful of reactionary traitors in Tibet, the Indian Government interfered in China's internal affairs by openly expressing its sympathy for the Tibetan rebels and conniving at their anti-Chinese political activities. Going back on its own pledge, the Indian Government even today allows the Tibetan rebels to operate in India in the virtual capacity of an exile government. Owing to various restrictions imposed by the Indian Government, the Trade Agency in Kalimpong, India, set up by the Chinese Government in accordance with the 1954 Agreement, has been placed in a situation where it is hardly able to perform its functions. These are undeniable facts. Now the Indian Government reverses right and wrong by slandering China as following aggressive policies, and preposterously asks China to reverse such non-existent policies as the first essential for starting negotiations for an agreement on trade and intercourse. Should the Indian Government persist in this attitude, the Chinese Government, regrettably, can only derive from this the conclusion that the Indian Government harbours the intention of rendering it impossible to hold negotiations for an agreement on trade and inter-course between the two countries.

The Chinese Government in proposing that the Chinese and Indian Governments hold negotiations to conclude a new agreement on trade and intercourse, is not seeking any interests of China alone, but proceeds from

the long-term and all-round interests of the two peoples. Therefore, the Chinese Government reaffirms its proposal made in its note of December 3, 1961 and hopes that the Indian Government will reconsider the matter.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Indian Embassy in China the assurances of its highest consideration.

Peking, March 1, 1962.

Embassy of India in China, Peking.

Government of India Ministry of External Affairs³⁶

New Delhi, the 11th April 1962

The Ministry of External Affairs presents its compliments to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China and has the honour to acknowledge receipt of the Chinese Government's note of 3rd March on the subject of a new agreement on trade and intercourse between India and the Tibet region of China.

2. The Chinese Government have repeated their proposal for negotiations for a new agreement to replace the present agreement which is due to expire on 3rd June. They have suggested that an agreement will help to safeguard friendship between the two countries and that trade and intercourse should not be linked with the border question as this may lead to complications. They have alleged that it is not China but India which has "repeatedly violated the Five Principles and the Agreement". This baseless allegation has been made before and has been refuted in notes sent earlier, but the Government of India are taking this opportunity to restate their position in this matter in some detail.

3. From the very start, after India became independent, the Government of India have consistently followed a policy of friendly relations with

³⁶ *White Paper VI*, pp. 193-196.

China. For some years after liberation, China's attitude towards the independent neighbouring countries of Asia did not show proper understanding of the new forces at work in independent Asia. The Government of India, however, persisted in their efforts to cultivate friendly relations with China and, in 1953, took the initiative to enter into negotiations with the Chinese Government. The purpose of these negotiations was to reach a settlement which would clear the way for friendly and cooperative relations. These negotiations resulted in the Agreement of 1954 and the enunciation of the Five Principles.

4. The Agreement of 1954 was obviously intended to settle all outstanding issues which had been inherited from the past. It laid down regulations for trade and intercourse with the Tibet region across the common border. It also, for the first time in history, laid down the Five Principles as a code governing relations between two friendly Governments. Each side gave a solemn undertaking that it would respect the other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. The Chinese side had full knowledge at the time of the negotiations of what constituted the territorial boundaries of India. If it had any doubt, what was the purpose of the undertaking which it gave to respect India's territorial integrity? Surely, it is not open to a Government which enters into a solemn agreement on the basis of the Five Principles, first to give such an undertaking and then to claim part of the other's territory as its own?

5. It cannot be said that the Chinese Government was in any doubt at the time of the 1954 Agreement about what India regarded to be the correct traditional boundary between the two countries. What Indian official maps clearly showed conformed to the territorial status quo of 1954 and earlier. The Government of India had published these Indian official maps which were precise and the Chinese Government knew about them. The Government of India had also repeatedly drawn the attention of the Government of China to the precise Indian official maps and to the bewildering variety of erroneous alignments shown in the Chinese maps. The Government of China in reply always assured the Government of India

that the old Chinese maps were products of the incorrect cartography of the Kuomintang regime and that they had no time to revise them. There was no ambiguity in so far as the Government of India was concerned about the traditional boundary alignment precisely shown in Indian official maps; nor did the Government of India have any reason to believe that there was any uncertainty on the part of the Government of China regarding the correctness of this alignment. There can be no doubt at all that the 1954 Agreement confirmed the territorial status quo, as it existed at that time. Surely no Agreement like that of 1954 negotiated over a period of some months could have been arrived at with substantial doubts and mental reservations on the question of the border in the minds of one of the parties to the Agreement.

6. The entire frontier was a peaceful one at the time of the 1954 Agreement and continued to be so for a few years thereafter. There was no conflict or trouble along the frontier. It is only during the last few years that conflicts and troubles have arisen along the frontier. These have not arisen because of any action taken by India. The cause of the recent troubles and conflicts along this frontier is the action taken by the Chinese authorities along this frontier. These actions taken by the Chinese authorities along the frontier have undermined confidence on the Indian side and led to conflict and misgivings.

7. So far as trade and intercourse are concerned, many restrictions have been placed on Indian traders, officials and pilgrims in contravention of the provisions of the 1954 Agreement. There has been a long exchange of notes on the subject and it is not necessary to repeat the factual details given in these notes.

8. A more serious matter is the violation by the Chinese Government of India's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Since 1957, Chinese forces have begun a process of intrusion and occupation of Indian territory in the Aksai Chin area. In September, 1958, they captured an Indian patrol at Haji Langar and interfered for the first time with the lawful exercise of Indian jurisdiction in the area. In disregard of the protests of the Government of

India, Chinese forces, by the end of 1959, spread further west and south of the Aksai Chin. They built roads from there to Kongka La and along the bed of the Qaraqash river which was being regularly patrolled by the Indian Border Police. In October 1959, an Indian Police force on patrol duty was ambushed by the Chinese forces at Kongka La and suffered heavy casualties. Between 1960 and 1961, the Chinese forces advanced further into Indian territory. All these facts have been brought to the notice of the Chinese Government by the Government of India in a series of notes. In addition to unlawful occupation, the Chinese Government have made unlawful claims to large parts of Indian territory.

9. The Chinese allegation that it is not China, but India, which has violated the Five Principles is manifestly groundless. No territory has been occupied or claimed by the Government of India which is not actually part of India and which was not known to the Chinese Government at the time of 1953-54 negotiations to be part of India. The Chinese Government's allegations that Puling Sumdo has, since 1954, been occupied by India illustrates the prevailing confusion in the minds of the Chinese authorities and their lack of knowledge of the correct delineation of the border in this region. The factual position is that Puling Sumdo lies to the north of the main watershed. It has been listed in the 1954 Agreement as one of the trade marts in western Tibet. It is part of Chinese territory and continues to be in Chinese occupation. It has not been occupied by the Government of India.

10. Another Chinese allegation is that by showing their sympathy for the Tibetans who had to leave the Tibet region in 1959 the Government of India interfered in the internal affairs of China. Tibetan refugees have been given asylum in India in accordance with international law and practice in this matter. The Chinese Government seem to lack a proper understanding of the international law and practice on this subject. Tibetan refugees have received no encouragement from the Government of India to indulge in political activities. The Government of India took measures to disarm the refugees on their entry into India and applied various restrictions on their

activities during their stay in India. The allegation that the Tibetans who have taken refuge in India have been allowed to form a government in exile is completely baseless.

11. The Chinese Government have also referred to restrictions imposed on the Chinese Trade Agency in Kalimpong. The Government of India have already explained to the Chinese Government that certain regulations have been framed, under Indian laws, to control the activities of foreigners for reasons of national security. They regret that the Chinese Trade Agency has been found on many occasions to be violating these regulations and abusing its privileged position. In any case, the regulations in Kalimpong are not nearly as harsh and all pervasive as the calculated measures which have been taken in the Tibet region to paralyse the activities of the Indian Missions.

12. The facts mentioned above show that it is not India, but China, which has violated the Five Principles and the provisions of the Agreement. Armed incursions and occupation of Indian territory by Chinese forces, since 1954, have aggravated the situation. This has led to an undermining of confidence and has created deep resentment among the people of India.

13. Although the Chinese policy since the Agreement of 1954 and their aggressive activities on the border have caused serious disappointment, there is no change in the Government of India's basic policy towards China. The Government of India are convinced that friendly and cooperative relations between India and China based on the Five Principles are in the interest, not only of the two countries, but also of peace in Asia and the world. In conformity with their policy, the Government of India would welcome any genuine effort to restore friendly and cooperative relations between India and China. They cannot, therefore, have any objection in principle to negotiations for a new agreement to maintain and develop trade and intercourse between India and the Tibet region. These negotiations, however, can hardly be undertaken till confidence in the bonafides of the Chinese authorities that they will implement the agreement both in letter and spirit is restored. Nor can an agreement on trade and intercourse

across the border be negotiated when the Chinese authorities continue to violate the territorial integrity of India along that border.

14. The facts relating to the border are now available to the Chinese Government in the Report of the Officials which has been published in India.³⁷ The Report which has not been published in China shows conclusively that the territory occupied, or claimed, by the Chinese Government is Indian territory. As these facts do not seem to have been considered by the Chinese Government, the Secretary General of the Ministry of External Affairs,³⁸ during his visit to China, drew their attention to them. The Government of India will be glad if, in the light of these facts, the Chinese Government will take early steps to implement their undertaking to respect India's territorial integrity and sovereignty, withdraw their forces from Indian territory and restore the status quo along the border as it existed in 1954. This alone can restore confidence and create the requisite friendly atmosphere for negotiating a new agreement.

15. The Ministry of External Affairs avails itself of this opportunity to renew to the Embassy of the People's Republic of China the assurances of its highest consideration.

The Embassy of the People's Republic of
China in India,

New Delhi

A.B. Vajpayee:³⁹ In view of the calculated measures taken up by the Chinese to paralyse the activities of the Indian Missions—I am quoting from the Note of the Government of India to the Government of China—may I know whether there is any proposal to take reciprocal measures against the Chinese Missions in India?

³⁷ Republished as SWJN/SS/66/Supplement.

³⁸ R.K. Nehru.

³⁹ Jan Sangh MP from Madhya Pradesh.

Lakshmi Menon: That question will turn up only when the Agreement is renewed. We will not renew the Agreement—the hon. Member will know by reading the correspondence—till China vacates her aggression.

A.B. Vajpayee: The Agreement does not stand in the way of the Chinese taking these measures against the Indian Missions in Tibet. Why should the Agreement stand in the way of taking reciprocal measures against the Chinese Missions?

(No reply)

N. Sri Rama Reddy:⁴⁰ In view of the Trade Agreement coming to a close shortly, may I know whether the Chinese Trade Mission at Kalimpong is going to be closed down?

Lakshmi Menon: It depends on what happens when the expiry of the Trade Agreement takes place on the 3rd of June and what decision the Government of India takes with regard to the renewal of the Agreement.

456. To Ras Bihari Singh: China¹⁶¹

April 26, 1962

Dear Shri Ras Bihari Singh,

I received your letter of the 26th March some weeks ago. I am sorry for the delay in answering it. As you perhaps know, I have not been well during this period.

I have no doubt that communalism and reactionary forces in India have to be combated. There is no question of appeasing either of them.

You write at some length about our border problem with China. We have certainly said that the Chinese must vacate their aggression. This does not mean that they must completely do so before we talk to them. But they must show some inclination to do so. Their attitude has been an aggressive

⁴⁰ Letter to an advocate; address: Off Bailey Road, Patna. Sent from Circuit House, Dehra Dun.

one throughout and we cannot possibly submit to this kind of bullying tactics.

Yours sincerely,

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

457. For Kesho Ram: Tan Yun Shan and the Intelligence Bureau⁴¹

I am not much impressed by the long note of the Intelligence Bureau about Professor Tan Yun Shan.⁴² Part of it is correct. I have known the Professor for the last nearly twenty-five years. He is of course a Chinese and we all know that he was a fellow student of Mao Tse-tung. He is very anxious for Indo-Chinese relations to become friendly, which is quite natural. But to imagine that he is indulging in any undesirable activities here is, I think, quite wrong.

In any event, the question of his becoming an Indian national does not arise as he himself does not want this. All that is necessary is that he should be allowed to stay here as long as he likes. This apparently has been done.

As for his son⁴³ and daughter,⁴⁴ they have grown up in Santiniketan and his daughter is a very good Bengali scholar. She had done extraordinarily well in the Calcutta University examinations. I believe she has married a Bengali Indian national.

I think that his children, if they so wish it, should be given Indian nationality, provided it is clear that they cannot be nationals of two countries, namely, China and India, at the same time. They will have to give up Chinese nationality. It is for them to decide this. If they do not wish to

⁴¹ Note, 3 May 1962, for the PPS.

⁴² 1898-1983.

⁴³ Tan Chung, born 1929, later taught at Jawaharlal Nehru University and Delhi University and awarded the Padma Bhushan in 2010.

⁴⁴ Tan Wen.

give it up, then they cannot get Indian nationality. They can then be allowed to stay here indefinitely like their father.

458. In the Rajya Sabha: Chinese Incursions⁴⁵

Will the Prime Minister be pleased to state:⁴⁶

- (a) Whether there have been any fresh incursions by the Chinese on the border; and
- (b) if so, what are the details thereof?

The Minister of State in the Ministry of External Affairs (Lakshmi Menon):

(a) and (b) There has been no further Chinese incursions into Indian territory; since they set up a post at MR 7834 E 3501 N, six miles west of Sumdo about which Government of India have lodged a serious protest on April 15, 1962.

Earlier there was a report of a minor Chinese intrusion in the Eastern Sector of the border. This intrusion took place in January, 1962 when two Chinese officials accompanied by an interpreter and two platoon commanders had temporarily crossed the border near Longju and visited the village of Roi half a mile south of Longju.

After due verification of facts relating to this incident the Government of India lodged a protest with the Chinese Government on April 18, 1962.

A.B. Vajpayee: The Government has been repeatedly assuring the House that our defence arrangements along the NEFA border are entirely adequate to meet any fresh Chinese incursion. Would the hon. Prime Minister elucidate how then it knows whether the price of salt in make fresh inroads into the Longju area (sic)?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I think our defence arrangements are quite adequate,

⁴⁵ Oral answers, 3 May 1962. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. 38, Nos. 11-18, 2 May to 11 May 1962, cols 1657-61.

⁴⁶ Question by Jan Sangh MP A.B. Vajpayee and PSP MP M.S. Gurupadaswamy.

but for two Chinese officials accompanied by an interpreter and one or two other persons to come across is not exactly an invasion of India. It is undesirable no doubt, but two or three persons coming across and going back cannot be considered a military or any other invasion of India.

A.B. Vajpayee: If two or three Chinese persons can come, then what is there to prevent 200 or 300 coming into Indian Territory?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I presume that if 200 come—can be more—the fact of their coming become much more obvious, and they are met. Just one or two persons or three or four persons can easily come this way or that way. There is no check on every yard of the frontier. If any force comes, as soon as it is known, it is checked.

A.B. Vajpayee: Sir, from time to time Chinese incursions are taking place. May I know whether at any time they have been engaged in military activity by our army personnel?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not think there have been any cases in recent months, possibly more, about a year or so, where there has been any conflict between Indian and Chinese soldiery.

M.S. Gurupadaswamy: May I ask whether the Prime Minister visualizes an early settlement of this border question by peaceful means and, if not, what measures he is contemplating to take to get back our territory occupied by China.

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is hardly a question which I can answer briefly. If the hon. Member likes, I may refer to it in the course of my reply to the debate.

R.S. Khandekar:⁴⁷ How many protests have so far been sent to the Chinese in this connection?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Probably quite as many as the Chinese protest.

⁴⁷ PSP MP from Madhya Pradesh.

R.S. Khandekar: How many times, the number? 100,200 or whatever it is.

Chairman:⁴⁸ "Hundred or two hundred protests?"

(No reply)

N. Sri Rama Reddy:⁴⁹ Today's papers announce some very disturbing news, about an ultimatum said to have been issued to the Government of India with regard to the vacation of two outposts said to have been established by India on Chinese territory. May I know, Sir, what the Prime Minister has got to say with regard to this?

Jawaharlal Nehru: This is one of the protests of the Chinese to us. We have not received this note of the Chinese Government; we have received a summary of it by telegram but the full note has not come. Broadly speaking, this argument is about territory which, we believe, is ours, and which, they claim, is theirs. Naturally we patrol this territory; we establish checkposts there too, and the Chinese say, "You have established a checkpost on our territory", or "You have patrolled our territory." This protest is about that, and they say, "If you patrol our territory, then we will also begin to patrol." As a matter of fact, at no time did they stop patrolling in those areas and in the opposite areas. When we establish a checkpost which is often behind their check-post, or patrol some areas there, they are rather nervous about it.

A.B. Vajpayee: Is it a fact that the Chinese, unlike the previous years, did not withdraw from the Himalayan terrain during the winter season and, if so, whether this change can be deemed as complete fortification of their supply line?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I do not know to what the hon. Member refers when he

⁴⁸ S. Radhakrishnan.

⁴⁹ Congress MP from Mysore State.

says "unlike previous years" they did not withdraw. The withdrawal used to take place in the border opposite UP, near UP, which has no relation to the Ladakh border; they have never withdrawn from there, ever since they had come. I cannot say definitely to what extent they have fortified that area; to some extent they may have entrenched themselves-dug trenches, etc., but any major fortifications, I think, are unlikely.

459. To H.V. Kamath: China is not vacating Indian Territory⁵⁰

May 5, 1962

My dear Kamath,

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of April 24th with which you sent me a cutting from a Hindi paper. As you know, I have been unwell.

There is no truth, so far as I know, in the statement which Moolchand Deshlehra⁵¹ is reported to have made about the Chinese being ready to leave Indian territory which they have occupied. You will have seen the correspondence that has passed between the Chinese Government and the Government of India which we have placed on the table of the House.

Yours sincerely,

[Jawaharlal Nehru]

**460. In the Lok Sabha: Pakistan and China on Kashmir
Boundary⁵²**

Hem Barua:⁵³ Sir, under Rule 197, I beg to call the attention of the Prime Minister to the following matter of urgent public importance and I request that he may make a statement thereon:

⁵⁰ Letter to Lok Sabha MP, PSP, from Hoshangabad, Madhya Pradesh.

⁵¹ President, Madhya Pradesh PCC.

⁵² Calling attention, 7 May 1962. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 2, 30 April to 11 May 1962, 1st Session, cols 2872-2876.

⁵³ PSP MP from Gauhati Assam.

"The reported decision of Pakistan and China to negotiate alignment of the boundary between Kashmir and China's Sinkiang".

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): Sir, on the 3rd or 4th May, that is three days ago, simultaneous announcements were made by the Governments of Pakistan and China to the following effect. They said that the firm boundary between China's Sinkiang and the contiguous areas the defence of which is under the actual control of Pakistan had never been formally delimited and demarcated in history.

With a view to ensuring tranquility in the border and developing good-neighbourly relations between the countries they say the two sides have agreed to conduct negotiations so as to attain an agreed understanding on location and alignment of this boundary and to sign on this basis an agreement of a provisional nature. The two sides have, however, agreed that after settlement of the dispute over Kashmir between Pakistan and India, the sovereign authorities concerned shall reopen negotiations with Chinese Government regarding the boundary of Kashmir so as to sign a formal boundary treaty to replace the provisional agreement. This is what they have said.

Now, I need not tell the House that the Kashmir State as a whole is an integral part of the Union of India and this announcement of the Chinese Government to deal with Pakistan in regard to that part of Kashmir State which is occupied by Pakistan, occupied unlawfully according to us, seems to us an interference on the part of China in India's sovereignty over Kashmir, legal sovereignty and the acceptance by the Government of Pakistan of the Chinese Government's view that this boundary has never been delimited and demarcated in history and their willingness to demarcate it now is—I do not know—sounds rather an opportunist attempt to take advantage of a particular position, even though this might involve changes in the well-known boundary which has been known to exist for a long time. Obviously in these high mountain ranges boundaries are not

demarcated on the ground. There are some places which have not been reached by human beings, some mountain peaks; and others have been reached occasionally. Therefore, they are not demarcated. They are divided by various features and various understandings like watershed etc. We have made it perfectly clear even in the past both to the Pakistan Government and the Chinese Government about those parts of the frontier now in possession of Pakistan that we could not recognize any arrangements arrived at between them and Pakistan. I have stated the other day in the other House that a little more than a year and a half ago when I was in Pakistan I discussed this question or I raised this question with President Ayub Khan, with his Foreign Minister and others present, in a friendly way, because China was encroaching upon us and part of that boundary was at present under occupation of Pakistan. I wanted to know exactly where the Chinese were on that part of the boundary, and if they had given any trouble to Pakistan, what steps Pakistan had taken to meet the situation. There was an area-Hunza area-and the Mir of Hunza claimed it, he had protested to the Pakistan Government that the Chinese had occupied some grazing areas there belonging to his original State, Hunza, which is part of Kashmir territory.

This matter had come up before us too before, and we had examined all the old papers and we had found that this was an old dispute between the then Tibet Government and the Government of India through the Kashmir Government. The British Government, after due enquiry, had not accepted the Mir of Hunza's claim to that particular grazing area, and therefore had refused to intervene in this matter. That refers to a particular spot, the grazing area, and not to the whole frontier.

I may point out to the House that this matter came up before us, and I wanted to know what Pakistan's attitude was in this matter. Therefore, I raised it with President Ayub Khan and told him of the old papers we had. He agreed with that—that particular area—the grazing area of Hunza. He said we cannot lay claim to that in the circumstances when the British

Government had given it up.

Nevertheless, the major question remained about the border there-what the Chinese authorities were doing to it. It seemed to me that both sides were not fully cognizant of the facts of the situation. Such facts as we knew were a little more, than they knew. We knew that area. He discussed it. I showed them our maps and later they sent their maps, which differed slightly, not much.

Anyhow, I have given this past history just to keep the House informed, that we treated the Pakistan Government in a friendly way in this matter because we thought that any action which they might take should be in line with the action we were taking in regard to this border, and should not conflict. Unfortunately for various reasons they have come to this agreement with the Chinese which is an interference on both sides with India's legal rights in the matter.

Hem Barua: May I know whether the Chinese decision to deal directly with Pakistan can be interpreted as mute acceptance-I mean the provisional agreement also—of Pakistan's stand on Kashmir by China?

Jawaharlal Nehru: Not entirely, I think, because, as I have read out, they said that two sides have further agreed that after the settlement of the dispute over Kashmir between Pakistan and India, the sovereign authorities concerned shall reopen negotiations with the Chinese Government regarding the boundary of Kashmir so as to sign a formal boundary treaty to replace this provisional agreement. The idea apparently is that some kind of provisional agreement should now be arrived at between China and Pakistan about the boundary. This refers to the boundary west of the Karakoram pass; and they have apparently accepted the fact that when this matter has been, according to them, settled between Pakistan and India, then the sovereign authority of the area should sign the legal treaty.

Shree Narayan Das:⁵⁴ May I know whether the question of boundary between Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and Chinese Sinkiang was discussed by the officials of India and China when the whole boundary question was taken up and if so, what was the attitude then taken by the Chinese Government at that time?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I cannot exactly say, but the whole boundary was discussed and certain principles were laid down. I think the whole boundary was discussed. Hon. Members have got the books before them and they can verify it. There is no question of discussing this part of the boundary and that; the whole boundary issue was discussed then.

461. In the Lok Sabha: Firing in Kalimpong⁵⁵

The Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Atomic Energy (Jawaharlal Nehru): I want to say something about a matter raised yesterday by Shri Hem Barua about firing in Kalimpong. Now it has been found out that first of all no firearms were used. The firing was not by a firearm, but by an air gun. It appears that members of the Chinese Trade Agency at Kalimpong have been in the habit, or sometimes they discharge air rifles from their premises in the direction of the police headquarters, maybe just to frighten them, or whatever it maybe. In the past these slugs from the air guns did not hit anybody, they went into the air and fell down, but on the 22nd March when this was done, a slug from one of the air rifles fired from the Chinese Trade Agency's office hit a policeman in the thigh and there was a minor injury. On the 30th March, the SDO⁵⁶ at Kalimpong lodged a protest with the CTA about this incident. On the 2nd May the CTA⁵⁷ in his reply denied that anybody in the Trade Agency had fired an air gun on that day, and he dismissed the charge as a baseless slander. We have asked

⁵⁴ Congress MP from Darbhanga, Bihar.

⁵⁵ Statement, 11 May 1962. *Lok Sabha Debates*, Third Series, Vol. 2, 30 April to 11 May 1962, 1st Session, cols 3941-3942.

⁵⁶ Sub Divisional Officer.

⁵⁷ Chinese Trade Agency.

the SDO at Kalimpong to let the CTA know that his reply was not satisfactory and if there is any further shooting from his premises, he would be personally held responsible. This is what we have got from the West Bengal Government.

Hem Barua: Undoubtedly this Chinese air-gunning is very interesting, but whatever it might be, they fired and injured a policeman, and these policemen are kept in Kalimpong to guard the Chinese Trade Agency. Are we to understand from this that the Chinese Trade Agency there in Kalimpong are not interested in having our policemen guarding them and all that? Or, what might be the reason?

Jawaharlal Nehru: That is probably so. The hon. Member said that the Chinese Agency was not interested in having policemen round about. That is probably so. They are interested, but they are interested in not having them.

462. For MEA Officials: Road for Civil Purposes in Aksai Chin⁵⁸

I think that we should repeat in this note what I have previously said on this subject. At a press conference and subsequently in Parliament⁵⁹ I have said that the use of the road for civil purposes can be considered. Any change in this phraseology now will not be advisable and it will give rise to comment and criticism in Parliament.

This is not some kind of an agreement arrived at with the Chinese Government, but a proposal for investigation. There is no reason at present at least, to go beyond what I said previously. If actually this is made the basis for talks, we may keep the other aspect in mind.

Therefore, I think that it is better to use the words "civilian traffic" at present.

⁵⁸ Note, 12 May 1962, for R.K. Nehru, the SG, and M.J. Desai, the FS.

⁵⁹ See item 451.

(g) Tibet

463. Talk with The Dalai Lama⁶⁰

The Dalai Lama called on the Prime Minister the 25th March, 1962, at 11 a.m. and again on the following evening at 6.30 p.m. on his way back from Mysore, where he had recently visited the Tibetan Refugee Settlement. In reply to PM's enquiry, the Dalai Lama said that the Mysore Scheme was going "excellently". He added, however, that the Tibetans would have to put in hard work in order to make the Scheme fully successful. The Dalai Lama expressed his gratefulness to PM for all that was being done to rehabilitate Tibetan refugees in India.

2. The Dalai Lama also spoke about the general question of settling Tibetan refugees on land as a long term measure: the programme for the education of Tibetan youths; the future of refugee Lamas in India; and his book, which he hoped to publish shortly. PM gave His Holiness a sympathetic hearing and passed necessary orders on points discussed on the above mentioned subject, which are summarised below:

Settlement of Tibetan refugees as agriculturists as long-term aim

3. The Mysore Scheme should serve as a prototype, and finalised as soon as possible. Measures should be taken urgently to provide adequate water supply, and medical cover. There is little point in opening primary schools unless teaching staff has been provided. As and when the time comes, there should be a middle school and later a high school.

4. The important thing was to realise the long term aim to rehabilitate all Tibetan refugees on land. It should be realised that the Tibetan refugees working on road etc. were doing so only as a temporary expedient, and

⁶⁰ Record, 29 March 1962, [signature not legible]. MEA, File No. F-IV/2/55/62, pp. 1-4/corr.

there should be no hesitation in pulling them out from being so employed as and when land becomes available to rehabilitate them.

5. The Scheme already approved administratively for Madhya Pradesh should be pushed forward, and early arrangements made to inspect one other site offered by the Government of Madhya Pradesh.

6. PM would mention to the Chief Minister of Orissa,⁶¹ or if necessary, write to him, to suggest alternative sites suitable to settle 5,000 Tibetan refugees; the sites so far offered having been found unsuitable.

7. PM felt that it should be possible to rehabilitate on land some 10,000 refugees in NEFA. The scope of the present Scheme should be expanded to make this possible.

8. PM offered to speak to the new Chief Minister of Mysore⁶² to take some 2,000 more Tibetan refugees as soon as the first lot of 3,000 have reached Mysore for settlement.

9. At the request of His Holiness, PM offered to write to the Chief Minister of Punjab⁶³ and the Lt-Governor of Himachal Pradesh⁶⁴ to provide some suitable land to rehabilitate Tibetan refugees.

10. JS(E) was directed to put up a note to PM as and when any of the Chief Ministers mentioned above came to Delhi to call on him.

11. Refugees who worked towards the implementation of such Schemes in reclaiming land etc. should be given a wage at the normal rate applicable in the area.

12. P.M. ordered that "we must take up these matters and finish quickly as well as we can—Mysore and others".

⁶¹ Biju Patnaik.

⁶² S.R. Kanthi.

⁶³ Partap Singh Kairon.

⁶⁴ Bajrang Singh Bhadri.

Education of Tibetan Youths

13. PM ordered that there should be residential schools for all Tibetan youths—boys and girls — of school-going age except in regard to children who formed part of an agricultural settlement and for whom good day schools can be provided, as for example in Mysore.

14. It would not be fair to expect that children would receive proper education in the so-called roadside schools. The requests from parents to send their children to residential schools should be complied with. It was pointed out by the Dalai Lama that this decision of the Prime Minister would meet the case of children living with their parents and going to roadside schools in such places as Narkanda.

15. PM felt that we should make proper arrangements for the running of the residential schools. PM also ordered that additional schools should be opened beyond the three functioning at Simla, Mussorie and Darjeeling at the moment, to meet the demands of all school going Tibetan youths wishing to receive education at such schools. In particular, arrangements should be made urgently to provide education to some 400 Tibetan youths who are at present in Sikkim. The best way to do it might be to set up a residential school in Gangtok itself on the lines of one of the three existing schools.

16. Prime Minister has also ordered that the nursery school at Dharamsala should become the responsibility of the Government of India. It was not desirable that a school of this type should depend on charity, mostly received from foreign sources.

17. The definition of students eligible to receive education under this programme should be widened to include those who came to India even before 31.3.59, but who were prevented from returning to Tibet because of political developments which took place since then. The only proviso would be that parents of such children, who are well to do should be asked to

contribute towards the expenditure incurred on the education of their children.

18. Children of refugee parents who are in Nepal and who for various reasons cross over to India should be given the same facilities for their education as admissible to Tibetan children whose refugee parents are in India.

19. PM mentioned several times that he would like highest priority to be given to the proper running of schools for Tibetan children.

20. PM enquired about the UK SCF⁶⁵ school in Simla and advised the Dalai Lama to suggest to the Principal, Lieut-Col. Young, not to try and run the venture as a British Public School.

Tibetan Lamas in India

21. The Dalai Lama mentioned that there were at least 7000 Tibetan Lamas in India of whom only some 2,500 were being kept as such at Baxa and at Dalhousie. The remaining 4,500 are working on roads and it could not, therefore, be said that all the Lamas were being maintained by the Government of India without doing any work. The Dalai Lama explained that the number of genuine Lamas would not be much less than those who are being maintained at Baxa and Dalhousie and requested the Government of India to ensure that nothing was done to come in the way of their following their religious pursuits—meditation etc. The Prime Minister agreed.

464. Meeting with Maurice Frydman⁶⁶

Maurice Frydman came to see me here this morning. He spoke of the Tibetan refugees and more particularly about their children. Once before he has vaguely mentioned to me about having a children's village in a suitable place. This was to be to some extent after the fashion of the children's

⁶⁵ UK Save the Children Fund School.

⁶⁶ Record of discussion with an engineer, 19 May 1962.

village started by the Swiss Government many years ago, called Pestalozzi, I think. This was meant for uncared for children. This has been a great success there. The Tibetan children, who had been sent to Switzerland, have been put in a corner of this village.

2. Frydman's suggestion was that a Tibetan children's village might be established preferably at Khali near Almora and that it should be open to all Tibetan children without restriction. At the present moment, he said, the Dalai Lama has got about five or six hundred children with him. He started with about a hundred but these go on growing as parents hand over their children to him, having faith in him. It is not possible for so many children to be looked after or arranged for by the Dalai Lama.

3. Khali is a place I know well because it used to belong to my brother-in-law, Ranjit Pandit.⁶⁷ It is a fine estate, about a thousand feet higher than Almora, and six or seven miles from it. There is a fair amount of accommodation there, a good style English house with plenty of out-houses, and surrounded by orchards. The owner of Khali at present is one Parekh in Gujarat, who has offered this estate for the Tibetan children and in addition is prepared to give rupees one lakh and perhaps more later. The Dalai Lama likes the idea and has also offered a lakh of rupees.

4. Maurice Frydman's idea is that a private charitable trust should be created and run privately with some Government supervision, a Government officer being one of the Trustees. Essentially, however, it should be privately run. All that Government need do is to give a grant for the balance of the expenditure necessary for it and generally supervise it.

5. He told me that if I gave my okay to this proposal, he would work it out in greater detail. I told him that the proposal appeared to me sound and desirable and he might take further steps in regard to it. One thing he laid special stress on was that no Tibetan children should be refused admittance

⁶⁷ Husband of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.

if they want to go there. The persons who will manage it, would be private men and women, well selected, plus a few older Tibetans who would help in looking after the children.

6. I am attracted to this proposal and I think it is a better way of dealing with the problem than having only officially run institutions with all their official routines. I hope you agree also. I have asked Maurice Frydman to see you whenever he goes to Delhi and discuss this matter with you.⁶⁸

(h) Pakistan

465. To Y.D. Gundevia: Mujibur Rahman⁶⁹

I agree with you. We should function in a neutral manner in this matter. It is unfortunate that Mujibur Rahman was handed over to the Pakistan authorities. If anyone from East Pakistan comes to India and seeks refuge, we should certainly give it. But otherwise, we should not play any part which might be construed as encouraging one party or the other.

466. For Y.D. Gundevia: Keep US Ambassador Informed⁷⁰

The US Ambassador⁷¹ would be returning to Delhi today and I suppose he will remain here when Mrs Kennedy goes to Pakistan tomorrow. I suggest that you should see him and report to him the conversations that have taken place between our High Commissioner in Pakistan⁷² and Mr Mansur Qadir⁷³ and explain to him the situation.

2. You might also explain to him about the Karnafuli Dam and how this is going to be inaugurated without any settlement with us about the area in our territory which will be covered by the reservoir created by this dam.

⁶⁸ Nehru also discussed health and diet with Frydman. See item 530

⁶⁹ Note, 16 March 1962, to CS.

⁷⁰ Note, 20 March 1962, for the Commonwealth Secretary, MEA.

⁷¹ J.K. Galbraith.

⁷² Rajeshwar Dayal.

⁷³ Foreign Minister of Pakistan.

People will be displaced in our territory. Although we agreed some time ago to allow this to be done, this was subject to an agreement and exact demarcation and such compensation as may be considered proper. No such attempt at an agreement for demarcation has yet taken place.⁷⁴

3. There is a telegram today from Chopra from Hicomind, Karachi, asking for information about Sikandra Rao⁷⁵ and Budaun. I think there is enough information available, including reports from District Magistrates, with our Ministry and with my PPS.⁷⁶ You might get this from him and inform Karachi, preferably by post, of what took place there.

The Hanoi regime made clear its objective when the Communist (Lao Dong) Party in North Vietnam stated at its 1960 Congress that a strategic task of "the Vietnamese revolution" is "to liberate South Vietnam"-the Communist jargon for conquering a country already free. Evidence based on captured documents and prisoners shows that, in order to carry out this task, the Hanoi regime is infiltrating armed personnel by the thousands into South Vietnam to mount ever increasing guerrilla war activities.

In view of this guerrilla campaign, the Government of the Republic of Vietnam has been compelled to appeal for increased military assistance and support from Free World countries to help prevent it from being overwhelmed by massive subversion from Communist North Vietnam, backed by heavily increased support from the Communist bloc. Even the regime in Hanoi has recognized that the free world's increased assistance is needed and being used in South Vietnam for defensive purposes, in an interview broadcast over Hanoi Radio January 1, 1962, Major General Nguyen Van Vinh, chairman of the so-called "National Reunification Commission", stated that the Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam supported by the United States is not now preparing for a "march to the

⁷⁴ See SWJN/SS/75/item 253.

⁷⁵ See item 299.

⁷⁶ Kesho Ram.

North."

On the other hand, the Communist bloc has conducted an extensive airlift of military supplies into North Vietnam for aggressive purposes for well over a year. Part of this military material has been sent on to Laos to support the rebels and Viet Cong fighting the legitimate Government there, but much of it has been turned over to the Communist regime in North Vietnam to build up its war potential against South Vietnam.

A grave threat to peace thus exists and can be removed only if the Communist regime in Hanoi is forced to desist in its guerrilla war against the legal Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam, of which I have the honour to be President. World opinion is likely to serve as an important factor in the future decisions of the Communist authorities about this guerrilla war. I am, therefore, writing to you, Excellency, to bring the facts about the serious situation in Viet-Nam to your attention and to request that you raise your voice in defence of freedom and peace in this area of the world by condemning the Communist aggression against the duly constituted Government of the Republic of Viet-Nam.

Yours sincerely

Ngo Dinh Diem

23. From Lal Bahadur Shastri: Hill Districts of Assam⁷⁷

[Refer to item 252]

31st March, 1962

My dear Panditji,

I am sending herewith relevant extracts from a letter of the Governor of Assam about the problem of the hill districts in that State. It seems

⁷⁷ Letter from the Home Minister. MHA, File No. 4/3/62-SR (R)-A, p. 4/c.

necessary that we should initiate some action about the adoption of the Scottish pattern at an early date. You had yourself suggested before about the appointment of a Commission which should go into the question of the pattern of reforms or changes to be made in the administration of the hill districts. I am, therefore, asking the Home Ministry to suggest how best we may now set about it. When the note is ready I shall discuss with you.

Yours affectionately,

Lal Bahadur Shastri

24. From B.N. Mullik: Report on NEFA⁷⁸

[Refer to item 251]

NEFA

During the week, 14th to 20th March, 1962, I visited certain places in Siang, Subansari and Tirap Divisions of NEFA. Siang and Subansari have frontiers with Tibet, whereas Tirap has frontier with Burma. Sri Luthra, Commissioner, NEFA, along with Col. Suleh, Director of Health Services, Sri Chopra, Superintending Engineer, PWD, and Sri Raisinghani, Director of Agriculture & Community Development Department, were with me during the visit to Siang and Subansari and this gave me an opportunity to see the manifold works of development that had been undertaken in this area.

2. I was struck by the very rapid progress that had been made in the Health Services. The hospital at Pasi Ghat (Siang) can compare favourably with any other hospital of corresponding size in India and the new hospitals that are being built at Zero (Subansari), Along and Tuting (Siang) have already been partially occupied and will be in full operation soon. A new hospital has been planned at Changlang (Tirap). There is a good scheme of training of junior and senior Medical Assistants in the hospital at Pasi Ghat.

⁷⁸ Note, 2 April 1962, by the Director of the Intelligence Bureau. MHA (MEA, File No. NI-28(6)/62, Sr. No.1/c.).

A junior medical assistant will be a joint compounder, dresser, vaccinator and public health inspector. The senior medical assistant will have higher qualification but below that of an LMP.⁷⁹ When these Assistants are produced in sufficient numbers, they will be able to cover the entire rural area inexpensively and yet adequately. This reminds me of a similar type of medical administration which the French had developed in Indo-China and which was considered to be much superior in rural areas than the British type developed in India. The present difficulty is about getting qualified medical officers to man all the hospital posts and I understand that nearly 30 to 40 per cent of such posts are vacant. As no private practice is allowed and, even if allowed, very little will be available, Medical Graduates are not attracted to NEFA Service. Yet, it was very pleasant to see a large number of doctors and nurses working devotedly in these hospitals. However, an increase in emoluments, at least for a temporary period till road communications are properly opened up, seems to be unavoidable if the posts are to be filled up. A system of deputation for limited periods from various States with deputation allowances may also be tried. The advantage of this will be that whilst NEFA builds up its own Medical cadre, and this should be done gradually, work will not suffer during the transition period.

3. PWD work is progressing very fast and everywhere large building activity was in evidence. Good quarters for officers and staff, school and hospital buildings have been built or are under construction. Some of these buildings are better than those one sees in a normal district headquarters in India. Along even has a beautiful Circuit House. A fair amount of electrification has been done. Drinking water supply is also being provided. What is remarkable is that very good progress has been made in building living accommodation for men at the frontier posts. I was particularly interested in this aspect because a large number of policemen are engaged on the frontier. The biggest difficulty which the PWD faces is in getting subordinate staff willing to come to this remote area. Probably, increase in

⁷⁹ Licensed Medical Practitioner.

emoluments for some years to come may solve the difficulty. A firm in Margherita produces pre-fabricated wooden structures for building and these have become very handy and helped to build accommodation at all places speedily.

4. Much progress was seen in agriculture and animal husbandry work. Beautiful farms exist at Along and Zero and one is being developed even in Tuting. Various types of grains, vegetables and fruits have been tried and found to be successful. When communications improve, there is no reason why this area should not develop into a reservoir of fruits as the other Himalaya areas are. Good breed of cattle and sheep and poultry have also been imported and distributed. An experiment has been made with fertilizers but the villagers are yet reluctant to utilise it because they will have to pay 50 per cent of the cost and are not quite sure of success. Probably, free supply for the first two to three years could have been helpful and the amount spent on fertilizers could have been compensated by the production of more grains.

5. Much progress has also been made in the spread of education and there are higher secondary schools at all the divisional headquarters and other places also. There is a training institution for village Sewaks at PasiGhat and a very good institution for training teachers at Changlang. Arrangements are being made to bring boys of various schools of one division together in sports and other functions from time to time to bring about a sense of unity. I was present at a very enjoyable function at Along. It was nice to see that whilst the elders amongst the tribals were more or less all illiterate, the younger generation could talk in Hindi and a few of them could even talk in English. Some difficulty is caused because the students have to learn three languages simultaneously i.e. Assamese, Hindi and English. It would have been much easier to start with Hindi and English only and bring in Assamese at a later stage.

6. The visits to Delhi during the Republic Day functions of dance and

cultural troupes from the divisions of NEFA have become very popular and people who came have gone back very impressed. There is a sense of competition amongst the various tribals about selection for coming to the next Meet at Delhi and the next one and the one after that and so on. As a result of these visits, I understand that the tribal dances etc. and music have also shown signs of improvement. Weaving centres have also helped in improving the pattern of cloth and the tendency is towards more adequate and attractive covering now than before.

7. I met Mr and Mrs Heimendorf⁸⁰ at Zero. He is an Austrian by birth but is now a naturalised British subject and is working in the London University. He had worked previously in NEFA. He has come back for a few months stay for a further course of study. Mrs Heimendorf is an English lady whose father was in the IMS⁸¹ and previously on the staff of the Viceroy.

8. A visit like this would strike one with the remarkable all round development that is taking place in NEFA in the fields of health, public works, agriculture, animal husbandry, education and also cultural. For this, the NEFA Administration deserves to be congratulated.

9. A point which struck me during this tour, time and again, was the question of emotional integration of this area with the rest of India. Though, as mentioned above, people who have come to Delhi during the Republic Day and on other tours have been very impressed and though one feels happy being greeted by the words "Jai Hind", yet it was obvious that they do not consider themselves to be Indians but something apart. As education has been spread, representation has been given in the Parliament, separatist voices have also started appearing. Some tribals have started commenting that India is using all this development as a bribe to remain as part of India. A remark made by a village elder that I heard was that "Whilst the 'Nigams'

⁸⁰ Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf, 1909-1995, the ethnologist. Mullik has misspelt the second part of the surname.

⁸¹ Indian Medical Service.

[Migams] (officer guests) will go back to their places in cars, we shall have to walk." This was made at an otherwise very pleasant and happy function. Tribal leaders whenever they go to Shillong, associate with APHLC⁸² leaders. In the training institutions, Naga boys and the tribal boys of NEFA are being educated together. The Nagas who have fought for and gained a separate State and who yet do not consider themselves to be Indians and who are much more advanced than the NEFA tribals, may put odd ideas in the minds of the NEFA boys. One or two tribals from NEFA, who went to work in the tea gardens in Darrang district, have been converted to Christianity and have come back to their homes and are propagating the new faith. We know how the Baptist and Protestant Missions have worked in a disruptive way amongst the tribals in North-East India. This dangerous activity may happen in NEFA also.

10. It seems inevitable that as more people get educated, demand for democratic representation will be voiced more insistently and along with this a demand for a separate NEFA State is also bound to come. When the twenty-six different Naga tribals, who had no common tongue, and who had been hostile to each other for centuries, could, within a decade, combine to demand for, and ultimately achieve, a separate Naga State, the tribals [tribes] of NEFA, though they are about 40 in number, are also bound to combine and ask for a separate State. The demand for a separate State by itself is not serious, but when this separate State forms a wedge between China and India, this may give rise to serious international intrigues and there is little doubt that the people of NEFA will freely lend themselves to it. China has already started working in the Lohit Frontier Division and many children have been taken to Lhasa and Peking, educated and returned to this area. We are, of course, making a similar attempt to open a type of Public School to bring the NEFA boys and give them higher education, but pressure from China will also continue to increase. It is only to be expected that the local people will use this for bargaining purposes.

⁸² All People Hills Leaders' Conference.

11. It is for consideration, therefore, that along with material development which is taking place and which is very necessary, what steps should also be taken for the emotional integration of the people of this area with Indians in the plains, so that they grow up to be Indians and not something different. The vast empty spaces and many of the unpopulated, but otherwise fertile valleys which exist in NEFA (Area 32,000 square miles-population = 400,000) suggest that in these areas people from over-populated States like Bihar, Eastern UP and West Bengal could be settled. (I have mentioned these three categories of people because for a long time they have lived in adjoining areas in Assam in the tea gardens and practically the entire "Tusker" labour is from these places. People from other states may also be considered. I casually met a group of Bihari and Eastern UP people at Ledo who were willing to go to any places upto the border of Burma for cultivation purposes). This settlement of plains people will not, in any way, change the tribal culture and tribal economy because the plains people will be settled only in areas which are not at present occupied by any tribals and which the tribals will not be able to occupy for decades yet. The example of Tripura, where a whole jungle area has been converted into a very well populated and cultural part of India, without affecting the economy or the life of the tribals, is an example to the point. Introduction of plains people will assist the tribals in developing new forms of agriculture and industry and the plains people, who go there, will also profit by seeing the example of cooperative village living and the tribal culture of dancing and music as well as different tribal arts. If this resettlement is done properly, it will be a painless operation as has happened in Tripura, and soon the plains people will counterbalance the tribals, and the danger of subversion from outside will be greatly lessened.

12. To protect the tribals, laws could be passed to secure present holdings of the tribal villages which they will not be able to alienate and also to keep a protecting eye on them for a couple of decades till they can come up to the level of plains people. In this respect, the integration that has

taken place amongst the Santhal tribals and the plainsmen in the districts of Santhal Parganas of Bihar and Birbhum and Maida of West Bengal and in certain places of Orissa is worthy of emulation. That integration, without in any way affecting the economic or cultural life of the Santhals, has taken place by close association in the everyday life between the tribals and the plains people and not in isolation of the former from the latter. Some people still consider that the tribals should be left to themselves with the minimum amount of governmental guidance. This was possible before independence but is not possible now. The present aim is to bring the tribals to the same level as the plainsmen. In this frontier area, it would be dangerous either to allow the tribal people to live like museum pieces, because the impact of development that is taking place across the frontier is bound to be felt amongst them, and they will be attracted towards China, or on the other hand, to allow them to develop in isolation from plains people because that will give rise to a feeling of separatism.

13. If some form of rehabilitation of plainsmen in this area is decided upon, then it will be necessary to give under the NEFA Administration a proper Rehabilitation Department.⁸³

25. From Rajendra Prasad: Appointment as Prime Minister⁸⁴

[Refer to item 4J]

April 4, 1962

My dear Prime Minister,

I have received your letter dated the 4th April 1962 tendering the resignation of yourself and your colleagues in the Council of Ministers. I accept the resignation, but at the same time I request you as Prime Minister, and your colleagues to carry on the administration till such time as other arrangements are completed.

⁸³ For the FS M. J. Desai's response, see appendix 26.

⁸⁴ Letter from the President. President's Secretariat, File No. 8/62, p.3.

I have been informed that a meeting of the Congress Legislative Party, which is the majority party in the Parliament, was held yesterday and you were duly elected as the Leader. I would therefore appoint you as the Prime Minister and request you to communicate to me the names of other Ministers to be appointed. I quite appreciate that it may take a little time on account of your unfortunate indisposition before this is completed, but that is not likely to be misunderstood and I have no doubt that administration will not suffer in any way in the meantime.

I quite understand the short delay in tendering formally the resignation of your Cabinet, but I do not think there has been any constitutional or other impropriety in it and I fully understand the circumstances in which it has occurred.

I need hardly assure you how much I appreciate your kindly sentiment. I have no doubt that you and your colleagues will carry on the great work which you have undertaken with the same devotion and enthusiasm which you have brought to bear upon it in the past. I wish you all success in your great endeavour for the cause of our dear country.

Wishing you a speedy recovery from your indisposition.

Yours sincerely,

Rajendra Prasad

26. From M.J. Desai: On Mullik and NEFA⁸⁵

[Refer to item 251]

PM may see Shri Mullik's note dated 2-4-62 on his visit to NEFA.⁸⁶

2. As regards shortage of medical and engineering staff, the best way is to arrange, as we are doing now, for deputation of staff from various other

⁸⁵ Note, 8 April 1962, by the Foreign Secretary. MHA(MEA, File No.NI-28(6)/62 p.1.).

⁸⁶ See also, Appendix 24.

States for limited periods with requisite deputation allowances till local trained talent becomes available to man these posts.

3. I agree with Shri Mullik that the supply of fertilisers may for the next two years be made free on an experimental basis to popularise the use of fertilisers. We will put this matter to the NEFA Administration for further action.

4. I would not interfere at this stage with the languages taught, viz. Hindi, English and Assamese. Any move at this stage to postpone the teaching of Assamese to a later stage will bring in protests from Assam. It will also interfere with the higher education of the students from NEFA as the bulk of them go to the University at Gauhati for higher education.

5. I agree with Shri Mullik that a demand for a separate State of NEFA is bound to arise in future. This partly arises from the prejudice against Assam that most of the Hill tribes have and will be further encouraged by the example of the Nagaland State. It is desirable, therefore, to encourage rehabilitation of plains people from other areas, who are good cultivators, in tracts which are not occupied or inhabited by the NEFA people at present, the interest of the NEFA people being safeguarded by necessary reservations of specific areas in which they are now settled. This will not only make for national integration, but will also fill up the population vacuum that exists in various parts of NEFA. The most effective way of guaranteeing the security of the frontier areas is to have them adequately settled with people who have a definite stake in the defence and security of these areas. This project will have to be carefully worked out and implemented in consultation with the NEFA Administration. We will take it up with the Governor⁸⁷ after PM has accorded his general approval in principle to the implementation of this project.

⁸⁷ S.M. Shrinagesh.

27. From B.A. Mandloi: Communal Peace and Congress⁸⁸

[Refer to item 237]

April 15, 1962

My dear Prime Minister,

I have to refer to your previous letter in which you had emphasised the need for ensuring communal peace during the Holi festival.⁸⁹ I had postponed a reply with a view to avoid any strain on you during your recent illness. I need not say how people in Madhya Pradesh have been anxiously praying for your speedy recovery to complete health. In their prayers, I join my own and hope that by the time this reaches, you will have been restored to your normal health which never knew disease or even fatigue.

2. It gives me great satisfaction to report to you that as a result of constant vigilance maintained by the officers and full cooperation extended by the people from all sections, communal peace was maintained throughout the State during the "Holi" which passed off without any incident. The Madhya Pradesh had witnessed in the recent past unhappy communal relations in some of the cities. It was hardly a week that the new Ministry had taken over. Our task was difficult. The Police and Civil Officers were assigned personal responsibilities. They kept patrolling sensitive spots and were in a state of alert. Personal appeal was made to the leaders of various parties and to the Press. Our efforts were rewarded. An atmosphere of goodwill came to be created in which the anti-social element had to lie low. I would like to mention here the unhelpful role played by the extra State Urdu Press including *Al Jamait* as against the contribution of local Urdu and other Press in the maintenance of communal peace.

3. The new Ministry took over on the 12th of March. The situation in the

⁸⁸ Letter from the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh. Sent from Bhopal. MHA, File No. 33/9/62-Poll (I).

⁸⁹ See SWJN/SS/75/items 163-164. See also SWJN/SS/76/item 299.

State has, however, radically changed with the Congress no longer enjoying its absolute majority. In the House of 288, it could secure only 141 seats. Later five elected Independent and one nominated Anglo-Indian Member joined the